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Introduction



Défis de l'urbanisation au Ghana

Paul W.K. Yankson et Monique Bertrand

L'urbanisation constitue, en particulier depuis le début du XXe siècle, l'un des processus de transformation sociale les plus déterminants. La ville rime, de par le monde, avec modernisation, développement économique, progrès social et innovation culturelle. Toutefois, la nature du développement urbain, particulièrement en Afrique sub-saharienne dont le Ghana, demeure une entrave sérieuse à la productivité des villes et plombe de ce fait leur capacité à remplir le rôle qui leur revient dans le chantier du développement national. Les insuffisances en matière d'infrastructures et de fourniture de services, la pauvreté, la pollution, le surpeuplement, l'encombrement des voies de circulation et la pénurie de logements abordables concourent à saper l'influence civilisatrice de l'urbanisation (Uwe 2003).

Depuis la moitié du vingtième siècle, le Ghana connaît une croissance urbaine extrêmement rapide. La fraction de la population résidant en ville, conformément à la définition officielle (toute agglomération d'au moins 5000 d'habitants) a galopé au fil du temps, passant de 9 pour cent en 1931 à 31,3 pour cent en 1984 et à 43,8 pour cent en 2000. Il convient de relever, toutefois, que l'urbanisation moderne au Ghana reste circonscrite à la région Accra-Tema et à deux autres foyers de développement urbain du pays. Accra s'impose par la taille de sa population ; cependant cette primatie découle également de son importance sur les plans politique, administratif, économique et culturel.

On observe une concentration continue de la population citadine dans les quelques grands centres urbains du pays. Il est intéressant de relever qu'autour des deux principaux pôles que représentent les zones métropolitaines d'Accra et de Kumasi, ainsi que de la municipalité de Tema, se développent des zones suburbaines à forte croissance telles Ashaiman dans le cas de Tema et d'Accra, et Madina et Kasoa dans la banlieue d'Accra.

Avec ses 150 312 habitants en 2000, Ashaiman arrive au cinquième rang des bidonvilles les plus peuplées du Ghana. Sa population estimée à 50 918 en 1984 a quasiment triplé entre 1984 et 2000. Située dans la banlieue de Tema, Ashaiman abrite aujourd'hui une population numériquement supérieure à celle de la ville de Tema elle-même (141 479 habitants). Établie au nord d'Accra, Madina est la dixième agglomération du pays. Elle constitue une autre banlieue-dortoir pour la cité capitale. Elle a connu une croissance extrêmement rapide : partie de 7 480 habitants en 1970, sa population est passée de 28 364 individus en 1984 pour se hisser à 76 697 habitants en 2000.

À l'ouest d'Accra se trouvent deux autres villes en pleine explosion : Kasoa, qui comptait à peine 863 habitants en 1970 abritait 34 719 âmes en 2000 ; la population de Buduburam, un camp de réfugiés bien connu, quant à elle, a bondi d'à peine 40 habitants en 1984 à 18 713 en 2000.

A l'instar de nombreux pays d'Afrique, l'augmentation du taux d'urbanisation au Ghana résulte de la combinaison du taux élevé d'accroissement naturel de la population nationale avec l'immigration nette vers les zones urbaines. Ces deux processus majeurs se renforcent mutuellement, en dépit de la variation au fil du temps de leur importance relative. Un fort taux d'immigration interne, i.e les migrations des zones rurales vers les zones urbaines, en particulier vers les grandes villes et, depuis un certain temps des petites villes vers les plus grandes, constituait le facteur prépondérant dans la première phase d'urbanisation du pays. Cette situation s'expliquait en grande partie par les différences de niveau de développement entre les zones rurales et les zones urbaines, en vertu de la relation privilégiée entre l'urbanisation et le développement. Toutefois, depuis 1970, le taux élevé d'accroissement naturel des villes du Ghana est resté, plus que les migrations, le principal facteur d'accélération de la croissance démographique. Si les taux de fécondité sont de 15 pour cent plus élevés dans les zones rurales (Ghana Statistical Service, 1988), les taux de mortalité et de morbidité, eux, sont beaucoup plus bas en zone urbaine du fait de la traditionnelle concentration des infrastructures modernes de santé dans les villes, en particulier dans l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (GAMA).

Une autre dimension de la croissance urbaine reste l'expansion territoriale des villes au-delà de leurs limites officielles, surtout dans les principales zones métropolitaines du pays. Dans le passé, cette dilatation géographique a imposé un réajustement des démarcations officielles des principales villes avec pour objectif d'annexer les tracés des zones nouvellement urbanisées contiguës aux démarcations officielles de ces grandes villes pour en faciliter l'approvisionnement en services et en infrastructures. La suburbanisation est une caractéristique essentielle de l'urbanisation moderne non seulement dans les villes des pays développés, mais également dans les villes en pleine croissance du Sud. Il existe deux principales raisons à ce phénomène. La première justification est basée sur la demande et provient de la croissance rapide de la population urbaine et de la hausse du salaire disponible (Palen 1989 ; Herbert et Thomas 1990 ; Thorns 1980 ; Knox 1994). La deuxième porte sur les problèmes fiscaux et sociaux que connaissent les grandes métropoles : taxes élevées, qualité approximative de l'éducation publique et des autres services administratifs, tensions raciales, grande criminalité, engorgement des routes et mauvaise qualité de l'environnement. Telles sont les raisons qui poussent les résidents des centres-villes à migrer vers les banlieues (Mieszowski et Mills 1993). Ces facteurs agissent différemment à la fois entre et à l'intérieur des villes des pays industrialisés (McGrath 1992) et entre ces derniers et les villes des pays en développement à l'instar des celles de l'Afrique subsaharienne. Dans les régions en développement, les villes sont assises sur un système de valeurs différent au point où, en Afrique subsaharienne, un ensemble de facteurs locaux, institutionnels, culturels, et sociaux

tels que l'exploitation et la gestion foncière « coloniales », par opposition aux pratiques coutumières, en la matière ainsi que l'affectation de logements invalident les hypothèses des modèles occidentaux du processus de suburbanisation (Sada 1972 ; Ozo 1986 ; Onokerhoraye 1977). A titre d'exemple, les premières études publiées sur le Ghana insistent, dans leur grande majorité, sur les mouvements des populations rurales et de celles issues des migrations internationales vers les grandes villes du Ghana (Addo 1969 ; Caldwell 1969 ; Bobo 1974). D'autre part, peu de travaux ont été consacrés aux modèles généraux de mobilité résidentielle à l'intérieur des villes et, entre les villes et le reste du pays voire au-delà. De même, les mouvements d'ampleur plus réduites entre les zones résidentielles et à l'intérieur d'elles-mêmes, y compris les mouvements à l'intérieur des habitations de cour, figurent parmi les questions qui n'ont été, jusqu'ici, que marginalement abordées dans les études sur les villes du Ghana et d'Afrique de l'Ouest en général. Le relogement d'individus, de ménages et de familles urbaines tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur des zones métropolitaines est fonction des possibilités de logement, de la disponibilité de nouvelles habitations issues de l'expansion suburbaine, de rénovations et de réhabilitations dans les grandes villes entre autres, et des besoins en logement et attentes des ménages, eux-mêmes fonction du revenu, de la taille de la famille et du mode de vie (Knox 1982). Il serait intéressant d'étudier les interactions de ces facteurs dans une métropole subsaharienne comme l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (GAMA). Dans le même ordre d'idées, il importe de déterminer si le relogement dans la zone résidentielle se conforme strictement à l'hypothèse et aux caractéristiques de l'offre et de la demande, ou si les contraintes et potentialités des familles ont un rôle à jouer dans le processus.

La croissance démographique rapide des villes pose le problème de la fourniture en quantité suffisante de facilités de logements. De nombreux fournisseurs de logements – individus, promoteurs immobiliers privés et organismes nationaux – s'activent depuis un certain temps dans l'acquisition de terrains, surtout à la périphérie des villes, à des fins de constructions de logements ou pour d'autres utilisations de l'espace urbain. Cependant, l'acquisition de terrains destinés à la construction de logements et au développement urbain demeure problématique dans les cités ghanéennes. Au rang de ces écueils figurent les difficultés inhérentes à la planification et la maîtrise foncière, la demande en terrains, les dispositions institutionnelles et légales régissant l'aménagement de terrains et la question des marchés fonciers urbains et périurbains. Mettre des terrains à la disposition des groupes financièrement vulnérables pour la construction de leurs propres logements reste, à n'en point douter, un casse-tête pour les autorités (Asiama 1984, 1985). La faible capacité de cette offre à satisfaire de manière efficace la demande de logements a créé des tensions dans le parc immobilier et les infrastructures des villes ghanéennes, surtout dans l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra. Promiscuité grandissante, qualité approximative des constructions et difficulté d'accès aux services, tels sont les traits caractéristiques du parc immobilier du Ghana. Le niveau d'occupation moyen des logements estimé à 12,1 personnes à Accra, par exemple, se classe parmi les plus élevés du pays, attestant ainsi de l'urgence du problème de l'habitat (Ministry of Works and Housing).

D'après le recensement de la population et de l'habitat de l'an 2000, les deux tiers environ des 2 181 975 logements du parc immobilier se trouvent en zone rurale. Mais pendant que le parc rural augmentait de 53,1 pour cent à partir de 1984, le parc urbain, lui, galopait de 159,4 pour cent au cours de la même période. L'offre actuelle de logements représente une hausse de 77,5 pour cent du stock enregistré en 1984, excédant de loin la croissance de la population au cours de la même période. Le nombre moyen de personnes par habitation a baissé de 10 à 8,7 en l'an 2000 (Ghana Statistical Service 2002). Cependant, la situation en ville n'est pas plus reluisante qu'en zone rurale en dépit d'un accroissement significatif du parc immobilier urbain. La région du Grand Accra a remporté la palme d'or de cet agrandissement du parc immobilier. Ce regain de vitalité constitue un des effets les plus visibles de la libéralisation de l'économie. Le programme de libéralisation a en soi-même, contribué indirectement à l'expansion physique de la ville d'Accra (Grant et Yankson 2003). Les autres grands centres urbains du pays ont connu, certes à un degré moindre, un scénario similaire.

La libéralisation a entraîné deux conséquences majeures sur le marché du logement. Tout d'abord, en réaction aux conditions plus libérales sous-tendues par le Programme d'Ajustement Structurel (PAS), la communauté d'expatriés présente dans les villes du Ghana, et celle d'Accra en particulier, a connu une certaine hypertrophie, qui, ajoutée à l'expansion de la classe moyenne, a entraîné une amplification de la crise du logement. De plus, la déréglementation du secteur financier a rendu possible les opérations en devises, avec la majeure partie des sommes brassées provenant des Ghanéens travaillant à l'étranger et avec de fortes chances d'être investies dans l'immobilier. Des recherches ont établi à 276 millions de dollars US le montant des fonds rapatriés par la diaspora ghanéenne pour la seule année 1996 (Briggs et Yeboah 2001:23). Le secteur du bâtiment attire également des investissements provenant de Ghanéens aux revenus moyens soucieux de protéger leurs épargnes de l'inflation. Le bâtiment a joué un rôle de tout premier plan dans l'expansion territoriale de la ville d'Accra, les habitants ne rechignant pas à investir les zones non desservies en prévision d'une éventuelle fourniture de services, tout en spéculant sur le moindre coût d'acquisition des terrains dans ces zones (Briggs et Yeboah 2001:21). Selon certaines estimations, 50 pour cent au moins de l'ensemble des bâtiments construits depuis la mise en application des PAS l'ont été sans permis de bâtir (Yeboah 2000:99). L'essentiel du développement résidentiel de la périphérie d'Accra s'est déroulé dans la précipitation et en l'absence de tout contrôle, avec de graves conséquences sur la gestion du patrimoine foncier et sur la conservation de l'environnement dans le pourtour de l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra. Toutes les études menées sur cet espace font état de l'existence d'un marché foncier actif destiné tant à un usage résidentiel ou citadin qu'à des fins spéculatives. Ce phénomène représente une menace pour la survie des populations natives des anciens villages situés dans cette zone périphérique (Yankson et Gough 1999 ; Gough et Yankson 2000 ; Kasanga et al. 1996), au vu du rythme soutenu de conversion des terres cultivables à des usages non agricoles.

En dépit de la rapide augmentation du nombre d'unités de logement dans la ville d'Accra, le document national de stratégie du secteur de l'habitat, le National Shelter

Strategy Document (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001), révèle qu'environ 85 pour cent du parc immobilier demeurent l'œuvre d'une multitude de petits entrepreneurs en bâtiment et de propriétaires individuels. Les 15 pour cent restants se partagent entre les entreprises parapubliques opérant plus ou moins en qualité de promoteurs commerciaux, et qui bénéficient de l'encadrement de la politique et des programmes gouvernementaux, et les promoteurs immobiliers privés placés sous l'égide de la Ghana Real Estate Developers Association (GREDA). La quasi-totalité des logements construits par la GREDA se trouvent en zone urbaine, particulièrement dans la zone d'Accra-Tema. Les logements produits par le secteur privé ont pour cibles principales les personnes aux revenus moyens et les tranches de revenus élevés, tandis que les logements issus de la promotion publique visent en priorité les consommateurs aux revenus moyens. Dans le passé, le secteur public s'est engagé à satisfaire la demande des ménages à revenus limités. Cette initiative a tourné à l'échec. De plus, la plus importante fraction du parc immobilier se trouve dans les villes et les grands centres urbains. Il se pose, dès lors, le problème de la possibilité pour les ménages démunis d'accéder au logement dans un contexte marqué par l'accroissement de la demande d'une part, et de l'insuffisance de l'offre d'autre part.

Pourtant, la question du logement au Ghana ne se résume pas à cette disparité flagrante entre l'offre et la demande en zone urbaine ; elle prend également en compte le non respect, en zones rurales, des standards en matière de logement, la pénurie de logements dans les villes et la détérioration du parc immobilier dans le noyau central des villes. Cette généralisation concernant la qualité des structures et l'insuffisance du parc immobilier est en rapport avec la taille de la population (Owusu 1993). Les zones urbaines se distinguent par la dégradation des bâtiments et de mauvaises conditions de logement consécutives à un défaut prolongé de maintenance. Les questions liées aux mauvaises conditions de logement, et à l'entretien des « maisons familiales » en particulier, ont fait l'objet de recherches portant sur Kumasi, la deuxième ville du Ghana (Tipple et Korboe 1995 ; Peil 1994 ; Korboe 1992).

Le développement urbain du Ghana butte sur la défaillance du système administratif et de gouvernance urbaine. Cette faiblesse tire ses origines d'une gouvernance municipale défaillante héritée de la colonisation. En effet, les exécutifs municipaux et métropolitains actuels (Municipal and Metropolitan Assemblies) ont démontré leur incapacité à mettre à disposition et à gérer des infrastructures et services d'un niveau appréciable dans leurs territoires de compétence. Pareillement, les organisations et agences parapubliques nationales, en charge de l'offre de certains services particuliers dans ces juridictions, n'ont pas pu fonctionner avec efficacité. Cette donne est venue compliquer la tâche aux ménages citadins à revenus limités dans leur recherche de logements décentes. Aussi une importante frange de la population urbaine démunie se confine-t-elle dans un habitat précaire, avec son corollaire de risques liés, entre autres, à la santé. Dans une large mesure, le déficit de logements a été résorbé en grande partie par l'habitat spontané. Le manque d'emplois sécurisés et la croissance du chômage et du sous-emploi en zone urbaine ont contribué à détériorer davantage la situation des ménages démunis en matière d'accès au logement.

La grande majorité des ménages installés en ville vit en location. A Accra, par exemple, plus de 60 pour cent des ménages vivaient en location tandis que moins de 10 pour cent étaient propriétaires de leur logement en 1980. Dans les autres centres urbains, les sources analogues ont indiqué 50 pour cent de locataires et 25 pour cent de propriétaires (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001). Le parc immobilier urbain du Ghana est dominé par l'habitat de cour de type traditionnel. Ce type d'habitation se caractérise par une large structure rectangulaire ouverte sur une cour. Le bâti est généralement constitué, sur trois côtés du rectangle, d'un alignement de 10 à 15 chambres avec véranda donnant sur la cour. Le quatrième côté du rectangle abrite habituellement des toilettes et une cuisine. La plupart de ces maisons sont construites en parpaings au lieu de la traditionnelle terre battue. Les principales villes comptent de nombreuses cours bâties à deux ou trois étages dans lesquelles les chambres d'en haut s'ouvrent sur un balcon continu dessinant la cour, et où l'on accède au moyen d'un escalier interne. Qu'il s'agisse des bâtiments de plain pieds ou de ceux à deux voire trois étages, les ménages louent les chambres, individuelles ou en chambre-antichambre, et partagent tout ce dont la maison dispose de cuisine, toilettes, salle de bain, approvisionnement en eau, etc. (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001:6). Ainsi se présente le type de logement accessible à la grande majorité des locataires, en particulier aux ménages à faibles revenus.

C'est le lieu de se demander si cette situation a évolué au rythme des mutations sociopolitiques du pays. Il semble pertinent, avant de se pencher véritablement sur les questions soulevées plus haut, de présenter le terrain de l'étude, Accra. Ce préalable sur la capitale permettra de comprendre son évolution et l'impact de ces transformations sur les questions abordées dans l'ouvrage. Une vue synoptique de l'évolution de la ville d'Accra s'impose pour replacer l'étude dans son contexte, avant de passer aux points détaillés dans les différents chapitres.

Croissance démographique et expansion territoriale d'Accra

Située au sud-est du pays, la ville d'Accra (Fig. 1.1) fut fondée au seizième siècle par les Ga. Il s'agissait à l'époque d'un petit village de pêcheurs situé sur la côte. Cette période coïncide avec l'ère mercantiliste en Europe et les Européens n'ont pas tardé à débarquer au Ghana pour donner la première impulsion à l'urbanisation à travers la construction sur la côte de forts et de châteaux. Ils en construisirent trois dans la ville d'Accra : le Fort Ussher sera érigé par les Néerlandais en 1650, suivi en 1651 du Château de Christianborg construit par les Danois et du Fort James en 1673 par les Anglais. Toutefois, la croissance de la ville d'Accra va traverser une période de stagnation du fait du déclin de la traite des esclaves avant de se relancer en s'orientant, cette fois, vers l'exportation des produits agricoles. Cette reprise d'activité a insufflé un élan nouveau aux ports d'Ada et de Prampram situés à l'est d'Accra en raison de l'incomparable facilité d'accès qu'offraient ces localités aux régions productrices d'huile de palme, de caoutchouc et de kola. Accra verra redorer son blason en 1877 quand elle sera choisie, en dépit des ses inconvénients physiques, comme siège de l'administration britannique sur la Côte-de-l'Or. A la faveur de cet événement, les

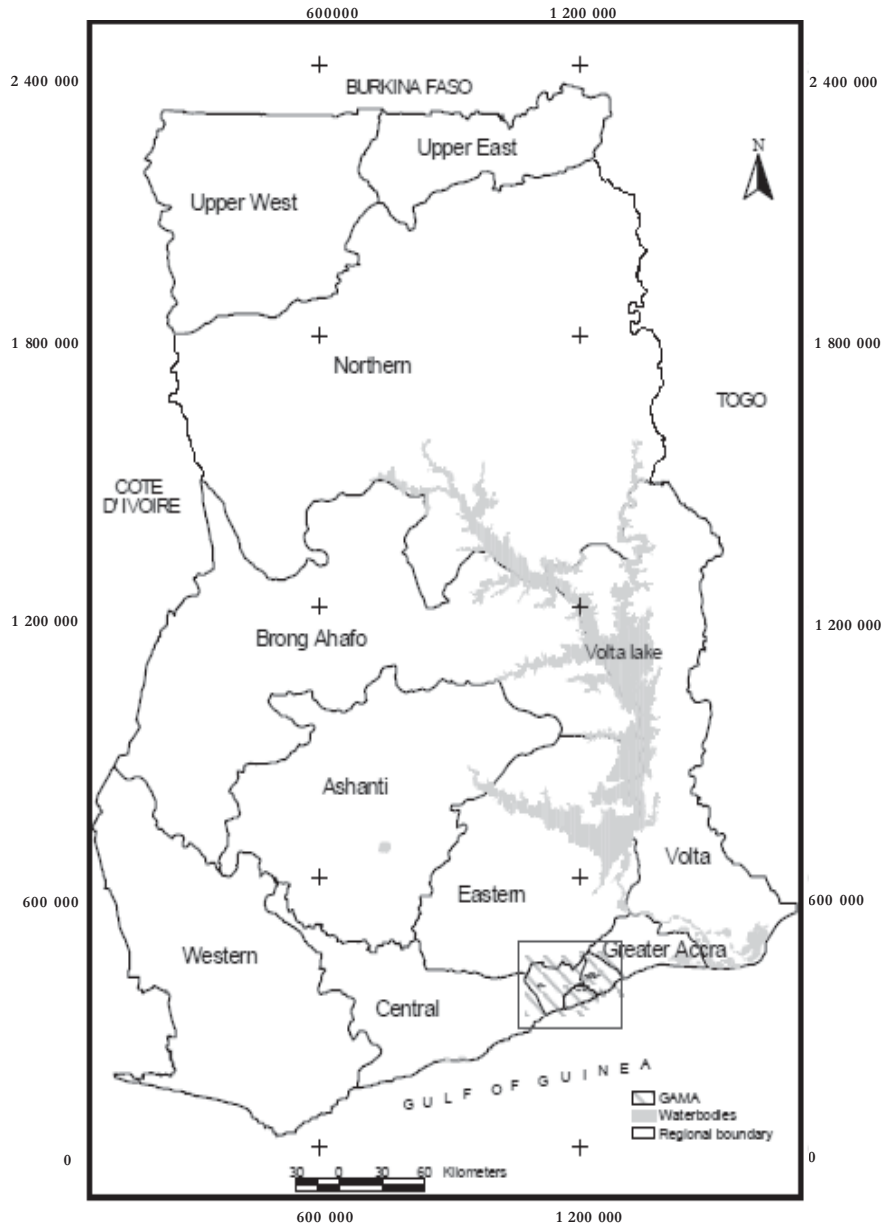
activités et intérêts de la Couronne seront transférés de Cape Coast à Christianborg, dans la ville d'Accra. Ses avantages ont rapidement supplanté ses inconvénients : en effet, la sécheresse du climat et sa proximité d'Aburi faisaient d'Accra un environnement plus favorable aux Européens. Par ailleurs, l'absence de paludisme et l'impact réduit de la maladie du sommeil ont fait du nouveau site un cadre idéal pour les chevaux (Amoah 1964:42-7 ; Dickson 1969:258-9).

Cette décision impériale garantissait à la ville une croissance future à la fois solide et incontestable. Pour preuve, c'est Accra qui fut choisie comme terminus oriental de la voie ferrée ; plus tard, c'est encore elle qui servira de point d'ancrage de la voirie terrestre dans la partie orientale du pays, atout supplémentaire pour le potentiel portuaire de la ville ; et logiquement, la ville abritera l'unique port international du pays. Les améliorations en termes d'accessibilité ont contribué à l'expansion de la sphère d'influence et, par voie de conséquence, à la stimulation de la croissance de la ville d'Accra. Figurent parmi ceux irradiant à partir de la cité capitale, les axes majeurs suivants : Accra-Winneba, Accra-Nsawam-Kumasi, Accra-Aburi-Dodowa et Accra-Tema-Aflao.

La ville d'Accra a connu un taux de croissance accéléré qui l'a hissée au premier rang des villes en pleine expansion de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Sa population, estimée à environ 18 000 en 1901 a été multipliée par 35 autour des années 1970 (Bobo 1974:71). Les premières décennies du siècle dernier ont été marquées par les débuts du boom cacaoyer avec Accra comme principal centre des opérations d'exportation. Ce boom s'est poursuivi pendant la période 1924-38 et a généré les recettes fiscales qui ont permis d'alimenter la croissance d'Accra sous le gouverneur Ferederik Gordon Guggisberg. L'expansion de la ville l'a rapprochée territorialement à la fois vers l'ouest du Lagon de Korle dans les zones telles Korle Gonno, Mamprobi et Sabon Zongo, et vers le nord, au-delà de la gare ferroviaire, dans la zone d'Adabraka.

Un puissant tremblement de terre a secoué Accra en 1939. Suite à cette catastrophe, l'administration coloniale lance le projet de construction de logements administratifs dans les quartiers de Korle Gonno, Osu, South Labadi, Kaneshie, Sabon Zongo et Abossey Okai. L'augmentation des opportunités d'emploi engendrée par la Deuxième Guerre mondiale provoque une migration massive vers les villes : Accra abrite le quartier général des forces alliées en Afrique de l'Ouest. Cette période voit la construction des établissements militaires, des camps Burma et Gifford et les travaux d'extension de la partie nord d'Accra abritant les Cantonnements et l'aéroport (Amoah 1964:77-8 ; Dickson 1969:299 cité par Bobo 1974:71-2). A l'occasion, la zone qu'entourait la Ring Road s'est transformée en un vaste chantier entre 1946 et 1957, année de l'indépendance. Ont ainsi poussé de terre, au terme de ces travaux, les commerces, les banques, les salles de cinéma et les bâtiments à usage commercial du Central Business District (CBD) ; les bureaux administratifs de la zone de Victoriaborg entre le CBD et Osu, et les logements privés dans la section résidentielle. Kaneshie, Accra New Town et Nima ont connu une expansion considérable au cours de cette période. En même temps qu'Accra gagnait du terrain vers le nord et l'ouest, la population continuait de s'entasser dans le vieux noyau de la ville (Amoah 1964:78-81).

Figure 1.1 : Carte régionale du Ghana indiquant l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (GAMA)



Source : Survey Department, Accra.

Le développement de la ville d'Accra en tant que foyer d'activités politiques avant l'indépendance et la présence de structures d'éducation, comparativement aux autres localités, constituaient une raison de migrer supplémentaire pour les familles avec enfants ou les enfants en âge scolaire (Caldwell 1969). Les migrants vers Accra provenaient de toutes les régions du pays, spécialement des régions contiguës, à savoir la Volta, l'Est et le Centre. Malgré le rôle prépondérant joué par les migrations dans la croissance de la ville d'Accra, les concentrations par groupes ethniques ne sont pas légion. Les autochtones Ga, premiers occupants du site, prédominent dans les quartiers les plus anciens de la ville, notamment à Ussher Town, James Town, Tudu, Christianborg et Labadi. Sabon Zonga et Nima constituaient les deux sites d'accueil des immigrants dans les années 1950. Malgré leur réputation de forteresses Haoussa, ils ont accueilli des migrants d'autres groupes ethniques venus du nord. Avec le surpeuplement progressif de ces zones, les Haoussa ont été déplacés et relocalisés dans les zones actuellement couvertes par Sabon Zongo et Nima (Bobo 1974:75). Dans son expansion géographique, Accra a ainsi progressivement phagocyté d'autres localités telles que Labadi, Teshie, Nungua, entre autres (Acquah 1958).

La consolidation de l'expansion territoriale de la Municipalité d'Accra (désignation de l'époque) s'est poursuivie entre 1917 et 1927 sous le règne de Sir Gordon Guggisberg. Les réalisations telles que la construction de l'Hôpital de Korle Bu et l'école d'Achimota remontent à cette époque. L'extension du réseau routier et la densification du parc de logements qui relèvent de cette période ont favorisé la transformation des secteurs septentrionaux de Tudu et d'Abraha en un prolongement commercial et résidentiel des sites originels de Ussher Town et James Town. Les autres zones résidentielles de Korle Gonno, Korle Bu et Mamprobi ont été établies dans la partie occidentale des deux quartiers centraux d'Accra.

L'expansion territoriale de la municipalité d'Accra trouve également son fondement dans la politique de logement mise en place par l'Etat à la suite de catastrophes naturelles : la peste bubonique, le tremblement de terre de 1939. La politique foncière de l'Etat a favorisé l'aménagement de North Kaneshie et d'Awudome pour faire face à la démographie galopante causée par les migrations internes (Frimpong-Bonsu 1999:33). Les autres quartiers tels qu'Accra New Town, Asylum Down, Tesano et Odorkor vont se constituer plus tard, à la faveur de la même mesure. Ces zones étaient toute peuplées initialement de population migrante, non Ga (Aryeetey et Anipa 1992). Leur expansion témoigne de l'importance d'un réseau des transport amélioré dans l'expansion territoriale de la ville d'Accra. L'industrialisation et l'activité économique ont également contribué à la croissance de la zone métropolitaine car elles ont permis de recruter résidents et main-d'œuvre pour la ville d'Accra.

Il reste à noter, toutefois, qu'aux premiers instants de l'accélération de sa croissance, la ville d'Accra n'a bénéficié d'aucun effort de planification. Le centre-ville se constituait d'une série de masses compactes de bâtiments disposés dans le désordre et séparés par de tortueuses venelles. Deux sous-systèmes d'aménagement se sont développés parallèlement dès le départ : d'un côté, une zone résidentielle européenne bien aménagée, entourée des maisons de quelques commerçants fortunés locaux et, de

l'autre, une masse de quartiers "indigènes" non aménagés. Cette croissance sauvage s'est aussi accompagnée de graves problèmes de salubrité. Ces difficultés étaient en partie imputables à l'inefficacité des méthodes d'administration urbaine et de gestion. Toutefois, l'administration britannique prit des mesures de redressement, notamment en matière de salubrité dès 1885 (Dickson 1969:258). La Municipalité d'Accra vit le jour en 1898 conformément au Town Council Ordinance de 1894. Seulement, par manque de moyens financiers, la municipalité était incapable de fournir avec satisfaction les services municipaux et butait sur la réticence des populations à payer les taxes. Ce n'est qu'après la peste bubonique de 1907 que les citoyens comprendront l'importance des services communaux.

Quoi qu'il en soit, un coup de fouet majeur sera donné à la croissance et au développement de la ville d'Accra après l'indépendance. En effet, le gouvernement ghanéen met en place et poursuit alors une dynamique stratégie de développement favorable à l'urbanisation. Au cours des premières années de souveraineté internationale, le Ghana adopte une stratégie de modernisation basée sur une industrialisation de substitution des importations. Cette démarche débouchera sur un certain nombre d'initiatives qui s'avéreront salutaires, à terme, pour le développement de la ville d'Accra. Parmi ces initiatives figurent la création d'un nouveau port et du nouveau district de Tema, à vingt kilomètres à l'est d'Accra, la création d'un nouveau tissu industriel à Accra et la rapide dissémination des organismes parapublics et des administrations en général à l'intérieur de la ville. Toutes ces réalisations ont été créatrices d'emplois pour l'agglomération d'Accra-Tema. Non moins importante s'est montrée la concentration géographique, dans la ville d'Accra, de certains secteurs clés de l'activité économique ghanéenne : banques, assurances, commerce, industries etc., ajoutée à la création du district industriel satellite de Tema, elle a déclenché de nouvelles migrations rural-urbain et urbain-urbain vers l'agglomération d'Accra (PLAN CONSULT 1989). Ainsi se justifie l'accroissement rapide de la population d'Accra et Tema tel qu'indiqué dans le Tableau 1.1.

Le marasme économique qui a ensuite frappé le pays, au début des années 1970 et la moitié des années 1980, a affecté la ville d'Accra à plus d'un titre. Il s'est traduit par une émigration massive, depuis la région Accra-Tema et les autres grandes villes du pays, vers les pays limitrophes, en particulier le Nigeria voisin. Cette saignée a eu un impact sur les opportunités d'emploi dans le secteur économique formel mais également sur la croissance démographique, qui a connu un ralentissement par rapport à la période précédente. La mise en application depuis 1983 du Programme de Relance Economique (PRE)/Programme d'Ajustement Structurel (PAS) a enfin injecté du sang neuf dans l'économie de la ville d'Accra, autant dans le secteur formel que dans l'informel. L'un des effets de cette embellie reste lisible dans la croissance démographique.

Selon les résultats du recensement de 2000, la population de l'Aire métropolitaine d'Accra a augmenté de 4 pour cent par an entre 1984 et 2000 contre une croissance démographique nationale d'environ 2,6 pour cent par an. En 1957, la veille de l'indépendance, la population d'Accra n'était que de 190 000 habitants. D'à peine ce

million (969 195) d'habitants en 1984, cette population a bondi à 1 658 937 âmes en 2000. La zone métropolitaine du Grand Accra composée des Districts d'Accra et de Tema, ainsi que du District Ga, comptait 2,8 millions d'habitants en 2000.

Tableau 1.1 : Tendances de la croissance démographique de la l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (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 et 2000.

Un autre effet de la libéralisation économique est perceptible dans le boom immobilier. La libéralisation des échanges a facilité l'accès à un large éventail de denrées dont les matériaux de construction. Cette dérégulation a favorisé la création d'ensembles résidentiels dans le périmètre de la ville d'Accra et leur extension, au fil du temps, vers les districts de Ga et de Tema, en particulier le long des voies principales. Le programme de libéralisation a contribué de manière indirecte à l'expansion territoriale de la ville d'Accra (Grant et Yankson 2003). Par ailleurs, d'importants travaux de réhabilitation effectués sur les artères principales ont également exposé les zones périurbaines, les moins aménagées, à des usages non résidentiels. La mobilité résidentielle des locataires à faibles revenus, du centre-ville vers les zones périphériques à la recherche de logements bon marché, constitue une autre question importante. La mise en application du PAS a libéralisé le secteur du logement au point de rendre caduque le mécanisme de régulation de la location jadis en vigueur. Cette nouvelle donne, accompagnée des effets pervers du PAS, a obligé les ménages à faibles revenus, voire à revenus moyens, à se replier vers les logements plus accessibles des zones périphériques. Les études de Kasanga et al. (1996), Møller-Jensen et Yankson (1994), Kufogbe (1996), Yankson et Gough (1999), Gough et Yankson (1997, 2000) et Maxwell et al. (1999) ont notamment montré cet impact de l'urbanisation sur les zones périphériques d'Accra et de Kumasi.

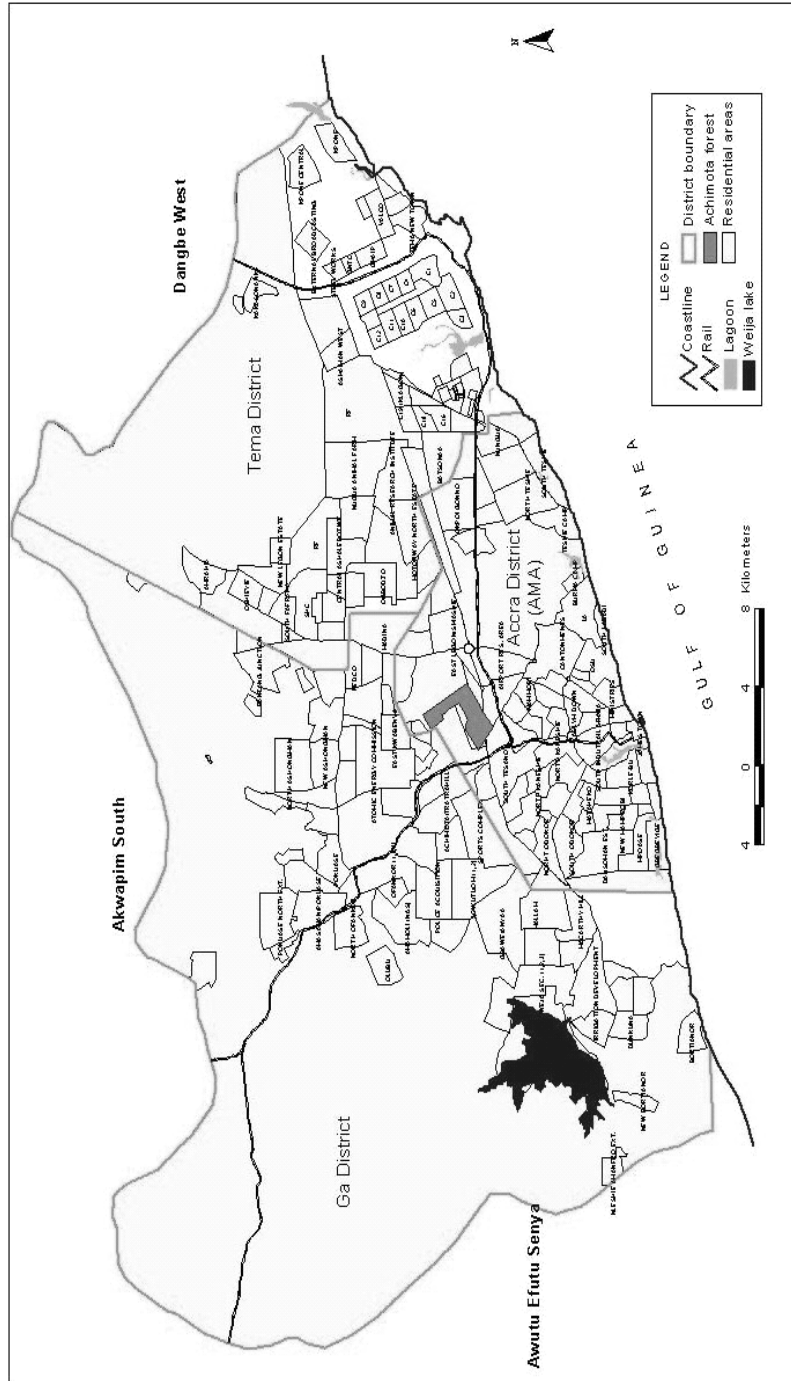
L'expansion territoriale d'Accra s'explique également par la révision périodique des limites officielles de la ville. Ce tracé a été revu en 1943 pour inclure dans le territoire de la ville d'Accra, de manière officielle, les zones alors reculées de Mamprobi, Labadi, ainsi que le secteur de l'aéroport. La limite fut révisée en 1953 pour servir de base formelle au Plan d'Aménagement de la ville d'Accra de 1958. En 1963, cette démarcation a connu de nouveaux réaménagements au moment de définir les limites de Tema. La démarcation de 1963 continuait de servir de délimitation des ressorts territoriaux d'Accra et de Tema. Toutefois, les grandes réserves résidentielles d'Accra restent celles de McCarthy Hill, Weija et Malam-Gbawe, toutes deux faisant partie d'une zone qui s'étale jusqu'à Gbawe, au nord-est de Kwashieman. Le long de l'axe Accra – Nsawam s'est mis en place un développement sectoriel dynamique en marge de la limite nord. Ces zones comprennent

New Achimota, Dome, Christian Village, West Legon, Kwabenya, Haatso, Taifa, Ofankor, en direction de Pokuase et Amasaman. Sur l'axe Accra–Aburi/Dodowa, se sont installées d'autres villes-dortoirs. C'est le cas sur l'axe Madina/University of Ghana/Agricultural Research Station, où ont émergé un certain nombre de satellites résidentiels au cours des deux dernières décennies, dont Ashaley New Town, le village d'Ashaley Botwe et la zone située au nord d'Ashaley Botwe New Town. Le long de l'autoroute Accra-Tema se développe un autre secteur d'aménagement résidentiel et commercial s'étirant en direction de Tema. La majeure partie de ces extensions urbaines est désormais placée sous la compétence territoriale du District Ga.¹

Les trois assemblées territoriales du District métropolitain d'Accra, du District municipal de Tema et du District Ga constituent la Zone du Grand Accra (Ministry of Local Government 1992). Cette vaste zone englobe plusieurs villages peuplés de natifs, qui ont servi et servent encore de sites aux nouveaux aménagements. Le District Ga disposant encore de réserves foncières, il absorbe la majeure partie des entreprises résidentielles des habitants provenant principalement du centre-ville d'Accra (Fig. 1.2).

A ces extensions s'ajoute un flux d'ensemble des populations en quête de logements accessibles, locataires pour la plupart, du centre-ville vers les quartiers périphériques. Le District Ga a connu une croissance démographique plus accélérée entre 1970 et 1984 et entre 1984 et 2000 que le District métropolitain d'Accra et la municipalité de Tema (voir Tableau 1.1) ; la majeure partie de la croissance du District Ga a eu lieu dans les zones urbanisées, à savoir, les petites localités situées le long des principaux axes régionaux. Par ailleurs, la croissance a été ralentie dans les villages, les plus affectés restant ceux éloignés des grands voies d'accès. Ces villages étaient sujets à une forte émigration favorisée par la pauvreté rurale, le manque de services, d'opportunités d'emploi, et les avantages économiques qu'offrent les centres urbains (Ministry of Local Government 1992:190). Cette croissance était rapide certes, mais il lui a manqué une programmation systématique et coordonnée. Par conséquent, la croissance de la ville d'Accra demeure fragmentaire, caractérisée par un mitage urbain et par un marché foncier inefficace (Larbi 1996). Les constructions autour d'Accra se sont étendues au point de rendre floues les limites avec les districts avoisinants. Le Plan Stratégique de l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra, mis sur pied au début des années 1990 (Ministry of Local Government 1992) avec l'assistance de la Banque mondiale est encore en cours d'application. Le cadre administratif actuel du GAMA, qui comporte alors trois districts séparés et indépendants, constitue un frein supplémentaire à la planification et la gestion de cet espace urbain. Autrement dit, les données et les objectifs de l'Assemblée métropolitaine d'Accra en matière de planification ne sont pas à confondre avec ceux de la masse des autres districts périurbains (Gough 1999). La majorité des aménagements effectués dans la périphérie d'Accra ne connaît aucune planification. A la vérité, aucun plan détaillé n'a été conçu pour les districts périurbains, tous ignorés à la fois des urbanistes et des agences humanitaires avec de graves conséquences pour l'environnement (Yankson and Gough 1999).

Figure 1.2 : Carte de l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (GAMA),



Source : Jacob Songso, avec l'assistance de Ben Doe et Doris Tetteh au programme de maintenance des cités d'Accra et CERSGIS, 1999.

En plus, un important marché foncier s'est installé dans ces zones périurbaines avec pour corollaire la transformation de terres cultivables en zones résidentielles ou pour tout autre utilisation de l'espace urbain. Cette conversion entraîne des conséquences à la fois fâcheuses et positives pour les modes de vie des communautés locales (Gough et Yankson 2000, Kasanga et al. 1996). Le phénomène de l'immigration affecte non seulement les zones périurbaines mais également la Zone métropolitaine du Grand Accra dans sa totalité. À l'intérieur de celle-ci, on observe une intensification des mouvements résidentiels des ménages (Benneh et al. 1990 ; Quartey-Papafio 1995). Ces mouvements se produisent entre zones résidentielles et au sein même de ces zones. Toutefois, selon Benneh et al. (1990), la mobilité entre quartiers s'avère être le processus le plus significatif de l'Aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (GAMA).

Famille, logement, mobilité : le triptyque analytique d'une grande agglomération

L'organisation du travail de terrain et de l'ouvrage qui en présente les principales conclusions découle ainsi du fil conducteur de la mobilité résidentielle dans un espace métropolisé. Deux axes d'étude en fondent les principales hypothèses : celui des familles citadines, d'une part, et celui du logement urbain, d'autre part.

Plus encore que d'autres capitales de la même envergure démographique et de fonctions portuaires comparables, la capitale du Ghana souffre d'un réel défaut de mesures empiriques aux trois niveaux territoriaux de la ville, de l'agglomération et de la région d'Accra. Ni les besoins de son marché immobilier, ni les déterminants sociaux et économiques de l'offre de logements ne sont précisément évalués. L'acuité du problème est pourtant partout ressentie en termes quantitatifs et qualitatifs : insuffisances du nombre et du confort des maisons. Le défaut des études est d'abord méthodologique : les acteurs des politiques censées s'atteler à la question résidentielle manquent de recul critique et de typologies adéquates à l'égard des catégories de base de l'analyse : notions de ménage et de mode d'occupation du logement, caractérisation géographique et économique des individus et de leurs familles. Le manque est, en outre, théorique puisque la question de la mobilité résidentielle n'est souvent pas pensée – quand elle n'est pas franchement occultée – dans un ensemble urbain pourtant déjà fort de près de trois millions d'habitants et en constante expansion territoriale.

À l'heure où les gestions urbaines affichent sur le continent africain des termes de référence mondialisés et des « Projets » de court terme, sous l'égide des coopérations multilatérales, bilatérales et même décentralisées, il nous paraissait nécessaire de valoriser la recherche en amont et en aval de « prêts-à-penser » et de « prêts-à-banquer » de l'expertise au développement. Plus que jamais, deux nécessités s'imposaient. La première était de promouvoir une mesure des processus d'urbanisation et de recomposition métropolitaine qui s'attelle à la critique des statistiques usuelles. Nos objets d'étude se devaient d'être repensés selon une approche multi-scalaire ; de faire émerger, par un effort renouvelé de contextualisation et de typologies, les citadins dans l'analyse non comme une collection de « populations-cibles », *a priori* définies,² mais plutôt comme les acteurs pluriels de véritables décisions

ou les sujets non moins homogènes de contraintes structurelles. La géographie étant notre discipline de référence, la seconde nécessité était de promouvoir une comparaison raisonnée des contextes africains entre eux et de zones d'étude urbaines localisées entre elles.

Ainsi ce programme a-t-il été motivé à ses débuts par la mise en perspective des dynamiques sociales et territoriales de deux capitales ouest-africaines, relevant d'environnements géographiques, de trajectoires politiques, d'héritages institutionnels et historiques différents dans les milieux anglophone et francophone. Nous avons, toutefois, pris le parti de limiter ici la présentation des résultats de l'étude au seul cas du Grand Accra qui nourrit déjà un volume conséquent de sept chapitres de travaux et de conclusions. Ce choix était d'abord motivé par le déficit de connaissances rappelé plus haut : une telle « monographie ghanéenne » se montre aujourd'hui précieuse dans la perspective de la constitution d'un Institut d'études urbaines sur le campus universitaire de Legon. Celui-ci devrait répondre aux besoins d'expertise des bailleurs de fonds et lancer une dynamique académique pluridisciplinaire et durable, comparable à celle de l'Université des Sciences et Technologies de Kumasi (recherches en Architecture, planification et aménagement du territoire). Les études empiriques menées dans le Grand Accra représentaient, en outre, le terme commun aux deux composantes ghanéenne et française de l'équipe. Les références méthodologiques et les problématiques développées à Bamako ont toutefois été mises à profit par cette dernière, comme on le verra dans deux chapitres de l'ouvrage.

Pour l'heure, l'option monographique a parfaitement mis en adéquation des résultats importants de la recherche contractuelle et ses attendus :

- une formation à la recherche par la recherche, pour des étudiants susceptibles de s'engager ensuite dans l'expertise locale ou de rajeunir le potentiel universitaire ;
- une collaboration avec les chercheurs confirmés d'un pays peu connu des francophones, la demande d'insertion du Ghana dans les échanges scientifiques avec ses voisins de l'Afrique de l'Ouest allant croissant ;
- la valorisation de bases de données longitudinales³ susceptibles d'être reprises dans la perspective d'observatoires des changements urbains locaux ;
- la mise à disposition pour les collectivités locales, les agences d'urbanisme, et les services techniques ministériels, enfin, de données utiles en matière de logement, d'environnements physiques et socio-économiques et de toute mesure éclairant les processus d'urbanisation avec lesquels les mouvements citoyens interfèrent : systèmes locaux de promotion de l'habitat, marchés fonciers, offres locatives, logiques de genre et pluralité des familles citadines, division sociale de l'espace.

On ne doute pas que cet éclairage de la composition territoriale d'une grande ville ouest-africaine continuera de trouver aisément la place qu'il a commencé à prendre dans les lieux, disciplinaires ou pluri-disciplinaires, de diffusion scientifique internationale. La contextualisation des connaissances s'est en effet organisée autour de deux axes qui éclairent les déterminants des mobilités résidentielles vers, depuis, et

surtout au sein des espaces métropolitains, et que le jeu de ces flux contribue en retour à influencer. Il s'agissait :

- d'une part des ménages citadins, de la circulation des cadets sociaux dans les systèmes résidentiels familiaux, de la montée en force des femmes chefs de ménage et du rôle des tuteurs dans les ménages, auxquels a été consacrée la première partie de ce rapport (chapitres 2 à 4) ;
- d'autre part de l'habitat et de ses profils locaux, ainsi que de la segmentation du marché locatif en rapport avec les moyens financiers et fonciers de ses promoteurs, qui occupent la seconde partie du volume (chapitres 5 à 8).

Questions et hypothèses

Les deux directions de recherche ainsi dégagées doivent d'abord être replacées dans les dynamiques d'ensemble qui affectent le Grand Accra, comme d'autres capitales africaines ayant dépassé le seuil du million d'habitants, par-delà les décalages chronologiques, leurs différences de taille, de rayonnement économique et de structuration institutionnelle. On note particulièrement :

- le renversement des influences respectives du solde migratoire et du solde naturel, au profit du second, dans la balance démographique d'ensemble de la région urbaine ;
- la combinaison de flux externes et de redistributions internes dans la redistribution spatiale des populations citadines ;
- un mouvement de chasse des ménages depuis les vieux centres vers les périphéries de la ville, et au-delà vers les zones suburbaines et les marges rurales ; la densité et le rythme d'accroissement annuel présentent ainsi des gradients inverses, respectivement décroissant et croissant depuis grossièrement la ville-centre de son agglomération et ses principaux satellites économiques ;
- une composition urbaine qui oppose les évolutions « spontanées » aux mécanismes de la planification et de la gestion au sein de dispositifs institutionnels complexifiés par les réformes de décentralisation ;
- le grippage de l'accès à la propriété ; la diffusion du marché locatif dans des parcs immobiliers de générations et de qualités différentes ;
- une chronologie de ces dynamiques urbaines qui fait souvent écho aux conjonctures nationales et internationales : inflexions et revirements de l'émigration internationale, transitions politiques et ajustements économiques depuis les années 1980, mais aussi évolution des termes de références et enchaînement des conditionnalités des bailleurs de fonds du développement ; l'accent est ainsi mis, dans la dernière décennie, sur la gouvernance décentralisée, la préservation d'un environnement durable et la lutte contre la pauvreté ;
- le bilan en demi-teinte des politiques locales d'habitat : gestion déficitaire des parcs de logement nés d'une impulsion publique, limites et privatisation de l'offre immobilière moderne, laborieuse rationalisation des marchés fonciers.

Les zones d'ombres dont nous sommes partis pour améliorer la connaissance des positions résidentielles au plus fin des trames urbaines n'étaient pas seulement dans le chiffrage des processus et la mesure de leurs conséquences. Elles portaient également sur les outils conceptuels à même de catégoriser les dynamiques en cours et d'en définir les problématiques.

- L'hésitation entre plusieurs définitions des ménages, la saisie des relations sociales dont ils sont le cadre, ne sont toujours pas réglées dans le *Census* ghanéen. Les nomenclatures continuent d'être transposées « clefs en main » depuis un corpus international de référence. Cela conduit à divers biais d'analyse inhérents à une terminologie occidental-centrée (chapitres 2, 3 et 4).
- Malgré une contribution importante à l'étude des processus d'insertion urbaine, l'approche démographique privilégie la migration et l'entrée dans le milieu considéré en négligeant la suite des parcours résidentiels. Bien des mesures se passent d'une investigation infra-urbaine, oubliant l'inscription territoriale la plus locale des pratiques citadines en termes de cohabitation résidentielle et de construction d'une urbanité dans les espaces de voisinage. La variation sémantique des termes d'« hébergés » et de « propriétaires », que l'on retrouve pourtant à l'identique dans les recensements de l'Afrique francophone et anglophone, n'a pas donné lieu à une véritable discussion sur la comparabilité de catégories résidentielles qui renvoient à une production historique et sociale (chapitre 5).
- A la différence des marchés locatifs des métropoles latino-américaines, qui ont fait l'objet de nombreux travaux dans les dernières décennies, l'essor de la location et ses différentes formes manquent singulièrement d'études empiriques dans les villes africaines (chapitres 5, 6 et 7).

L'expansion du Grand Accra nous paraît donc, d'emblée, soumise à une tension structurante entre deux processus apparemment contradictoires : d'une part la complexification des mobilités résidentielles des individus et des ménages, du fait d'une combinaison de mouvements diversement orientés vers, depuis et au sein de ses composantes urbaines : îlots, quartiers, localités et districts ; d'autre part les effets d'ancrage territorial et de composition démographique que suscite un investissement aussi stratégique, mais également sélectif socialement, que l'accès au sol et à la propriété d'une maison. Cette dialectique nous paraît constitutive de la modernité des métropoles.

En amont des diagnostics mondialisés du développement urbain, trois hypothèses étayaient cette problématique des mouvements et ancrages liés à la ville. Elles sont aujourd'hui confirmées et constituent les préalables de futures recherches.

La première hypothèse est que la mobilité résidentielle n'est pas le fait d'électrons libres dans la masse urbaine, ce qui pose une question de fond dans son interprétation sur le long terme : par delà des recompositions « classiques » au regard d'autres métropoles, les choix résidentiels des citadins conservent-ils à Accra des caractères locaux et endogènes ? Sont-ils encore redevables d'un substrat original et d'héritages historiques : logiques de terroir, appartenance communautaire au *hometown* ? Ou se

trouvent-ils, au contraire, totalement banalisés par les logiques quasi-universelles du cycle de vie, de la rente foncière, de l'accès aux transports et aux services marchands urbains ?

La deuxième hypothèse concerne la dimension politique de l'habiter en ville. Elle rejoignait l'enjeu de la gouvernance si abondamment martelé dans le montage des Projets urbains de la Banque mondiale dans la dernière décennie.

La deuxième hypothèse met en jeu la dimension politique de l'habiter en ville. Elle rejoignait l'enjeu de la gouvernance si abondamment martelé dans le montage des Projets urbains de la Banque mondiale dans la dernière décennie. La collecte de données empiriques de terrain devait permettre, en effet, d'en examiner de manière critique les pré-requis à l'heure des politiques de décentralisation :

- des citoyens mobilisables pour le développement communautaire, la fiscalité et la participation locales ;
- une maille territoriale stable et bien identifiée à la base des espaces d'intervention et de gestion urbaine.

L'alignement des agendas de recherche et de l'expertise urbaine sur les termes de référence du *new management*, est en effet patent, au Ghana comme plus généralement dans la sous-région africaine : transparence des marchés publics, nouveaux partenariats recherchés avec l'entrepreneuriat local et mondial, efficacité de la mobilisation financière décentralisée, revendication du développement durable par la « société civile ». Le succès des études environnementales portant sur les risques écologiques et sanitaires, la ville pensée comme un milieu « généré », la privatisation des services marchands de proximité, tout cela témoigne des relations établies entre les orientations académiques et la rhétorique de la « soutenabilité » de l'urbanisation. Mais dans un contexte de paupérisation d'envergure, il ne paraît pas concevable de maintenir l'impasse que nombre d'études prospectives consacrées aux investissements à mobiliser et à gérer *in situ* continuaient de faire sur les mobilités citoyennes. Au contraire, la nécessité de s'y atteler découle d'une interrogation sur les réponses populaires apportées à la crise d'ajustement structurel et à son expression urbaine.

Le fil conducteur de nos recherches géographiques était donc une interrogation sur de quoi est fait ce « local » des bonnes gouvernances promises par le renforcement institutionnel des districts, des programmes pilotes de réhabilitation urbaine et des projets ciblés de développement. Il s'agissait notamment d'en éclairer la composition en termes de densités citoyennes, de pratiques résidentielles, d'inscription des ménages dans les marchés fonciers et immobiliers, le tout susceptible de comprendre tant l'offre que la demande sociale de logements dans un marché encore largement auto-promu. Quelle était la cohérence de ces « communautés » désignées comme les acteurs quasi-naturels d'une bonne gestion participative, mobilisables *a priori* en tous lieux et à l'identique ? Ce « local » renvoyait-il aux sous-composantes gestionnaires des districts (*sub-metro, zonal et local councils, unit committee*) ? A des quartiers remaniés en vertu d'un cycle de vie propre de la constitution au vieillissement ? Ou encore aux espaces de voisinage qu'ont tenté de circonscrire les grappes résidentielles enquêtées sur quelques îlots bâtis ? On se demandait notamment si les pratiques les plus fluides

observées dans l'espace urbain biaisaient ou rendaient au contraire plus flexibles les attendus d'une ville « durable », pensée par les experts en développement urbain.

Fortement liée à la mondialisation des normes de gestion libérale, la surenchère du « local » trouve en effet un écho important dans l'essor des coopérations décentralisées. Elle cherche ses arguments dans une culture du territoire pour partie héritée des communautés rurales, pour partie empruntée aux pressions municipales. Un tel projet pour la ville valorise en réalité des « groupes-cibles » que l'on identifie par leur attachement aux lieux, principalement les « autochtones », les propriétaires et les migrants / locataires stabilisés. Il suppose leur relation à l'espace ancrée, voire confinée par divers investissements – patrimoniaux ou spéculatifs – et marques d'appropriation – matérielle ou symboliques – dans la cité. La perspective de la mobilisation – fiscale, électorale, associative – se fondant sur une logique territoriale, la question des mailles de compétences de la gestion urbaine est posée : comment rattacher des périphéries-dortoirs aux budgets des principales localités ? Comment recaser, sur le domaine réservé d'une autre communauté, les « déguerpis » d'une zone irrégulière et les victimes d'un *resettlement* forcé ?

Qu'en est-il en outre des citoyens « immatures », mal fixés dans les marchés du logement et du travail, ceux qu'une insuffisante durée de résidence urbaine prive d'entregent et exclut des « canons » de la participation ? Migrants ruraux les plus récents, célibataires encore en quête d'aventures et d'opportunités, épouses transposées des régions d'origine avant d'être renvoyées au village au gré des aléas d'emploi de leurs maris, locataires itinérants, jeunes diplômés-sans-emploi naviguant entre chômage et secteur informel au gré d'hébergements divers, citoyens précarisés dans une pluri-activité instable, derniers clients des maîtres du sol, soumis à leur cupidité et à leurs dissensions : un tel ensemble, composite mais non exhaustif, ne fait qu'exprimer le constant renouvellement des villes par des générations en apprentissage de la citoyenneté.

Plutôt que d'opposer alors les perspectives de la mobilité et celles de la fixation territoriale, la troisième hypothèse porte enfin sur les relations dialectiques que ces deux termes entretiennent dans la fabrique métropolitaine. Des investissements immobiliers de haut niveau ne sont-ils pas gérés à distance, depuis des lieux d'immigration internationale, par des Ghanéens expatriés en direction de leurs pays d'origine ? Bien des jeunes ne circulent-ils pas au sein de systèmes résidentiels pluri-localisés ? Certaines formes de décohabitation des hommes et de leurs épouses sont-elles encore à l'ordre du jour ?

Valoriser des corpus originaux de recherche et d'intervention urbaine

L'équipe constituée dans le cadre de l'appel à contribution du FAC Sciences sociales s'est en outre donnée des moyens rigoureux d'investigation empirique, à la mesure de nos préoccupations disciplinaires mais aussi des enjeux méthodologiques posés par la mesure des pratiques citoyennes. L'expertise ainsi dégagée par un investissement de collecte conséquent sur le terrain – pas moins de cinq enquêtes menées auprès d'environ 2 500 unités domestiques, 35 zones d'étude sélectionnées pour leur mise en œuvre, ainsi que les enquêtes complémentaires liées à chaque contribution – se

démarque de l'isolement exotique ou misérabiliste du continent africain souvent observé sur la scène scientifique internationale.

L'initiative est d'autant plus opportune que le milieu académique ghanéen manque encore de données précises, de mesures fiables et surtout continues dans le temps. La perspective d'un Institut universitaire, fédérateur pour les études urbaines, rend celles-ci plus que jamais nécessaires. Insistons ici sur l'intérêt des analyses longitudinales. Celles-ci nous permettent de dépasser un individualisme méthodologique pourtant tenace dans l'approche urbaine du mouvement social et spatial, de comprendre les pratiques résidentielles à l'œuvre selon diverses temporalités, les déménagements sous diverses échéances, de saisir les interactions espaces / sociétés selon différents modes de composition territoriale : structurant (gradients de densité, de pauvreté ou encore de mobilité), fragmenté (types de familles, profils de cohabitations), ou encore réticulaire (déplacement des cadets sociaux, investissement immobiliers financés depuis l'Europe ou l'Amérique du Nord).

Bien des diagnostics préalables s'imposent en matière de politique urbaine ; la demande d'évaluation s'accroît également de la part des bailleurs de fond à l'égard des projets qu'ils ont financés. Mais les responsables du dernier *Census* tardent à mettre ses résultats à la disposition des chercheurs, quand il ne s'agit pas purement et simplement d'en monnayer chèrement les données de base. On ne rappellera donc jamais assez les limites des corpus déjà constitués, en particulier pour un traitement spatialisé des questions de mobilité urbaine, et la nécessité de mesures *ad hoc*.

Avec une croissance démographique de 4,4 pour cent par an pour la région du Grand Accra, point n'est pourtant besoin d'épiloguer sur les délais entre le recensement ghanéen de 1984, peu crédible, et celui de 2000, encore fort peu exploité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'offrent, de fait, de réelles possibilités d'analyse secondaire ni de croisement des données désagrégées selon des variables que la recherche retient généralement comme hautement significatives de la mobilité résidentielle : l'âge des individus, le statut d'occupation de leur logement, les principaux jalons des cursus migratoires, le capital scolaire. Les mouvements internes à l'espace métropolitain ne sont guère informés. Remaniées d'une opération de comptage à l'autre, les sections d'énumération coïncident enfin mal avec les limites administratives des localités, elles-même changeantes, *a fortiori* avec l'espace vécu des populations dans leurs quartiers. Quant aux enquêtes démographiques centrées sur la migration, elles restent de portée nationale et négligent les découpages locaux des agglomérations.

Pour répondre à ces limites, l'équipe s'est imposée un échantillonnage des ménages – résidents, investisseurs, bailleurs et leurs locataires – et de leurs pratiques résidentielles sur *une double base territoriale* : la discontinuité dans la grande ville et la proximité dans la petite zone d'étude. La première imposait de piocher dans la masse des quartiers, et pour cela de recourir à la typologie des « communautés » susceptibles d'être sélectionnées parmi plusieurs choix possibles ; la seconde offrait aux étudiants et aux enquêteurs la possibilité d'administrer un nombre non négligeable de questionnaires, voire même de revenir sur les lieux d'étude à la faveur de passages répétés à un an d'intervalle.

Une autre préoccupation méthodologique commune à plusieurs enquêtes a été de saisir *les citadins dans la durée* : par quelques questions, plus souvent rétrospectives que prospectives, concernant l'accueil de nouveaux membres dans les familles (chapitre 2) ou encore les moyens et les projets des propriétaires immobiliers (chapitre 5) ; enfin par les deux orientations longitudinales – biographies résidentielles et suivis en continu – de l'enquête « *Housing Practices and Residential Mobility in the Greater Accra Region, 2000-2001* » (chapitres 4, 5 et 8). Une telle approche est inédite dans les études urbaines consacrées au Ghana. C'est même à une réflexion plus large que s'attelle ce dernier protocole, d'une part sur les temporalités de la composition urbaine, d'autre part sur l'articulation, dans ces dynamiques croisées, de processus d'ensemble et d'itinéraires particuliers.

Notes

1. Postérieurement à notre recherche, les deux Districts Ga et Tema ont été remaniés par deux fois en 2004 et 2008. Avec l'autonomie municipale prise en outre par un secteur oriental du District d'Accra, l'aire métropolitaine du Grand Accra (GAMA) compte aujourd'hui huit assemblées territoriales locales : métropolitaine, municipales ou de district.
2. *Deprived communities, female-headed households, street children* en sont quelques-uns des exemples les plus souvent commentés dans la dernière décennie.
3. Plus précisément l'enquête *Housing Practices and Residential Mobility in the Greater Accra Region, 2000–2001* (M. Bertrand, IRD/University of Ghana, Legon).



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.

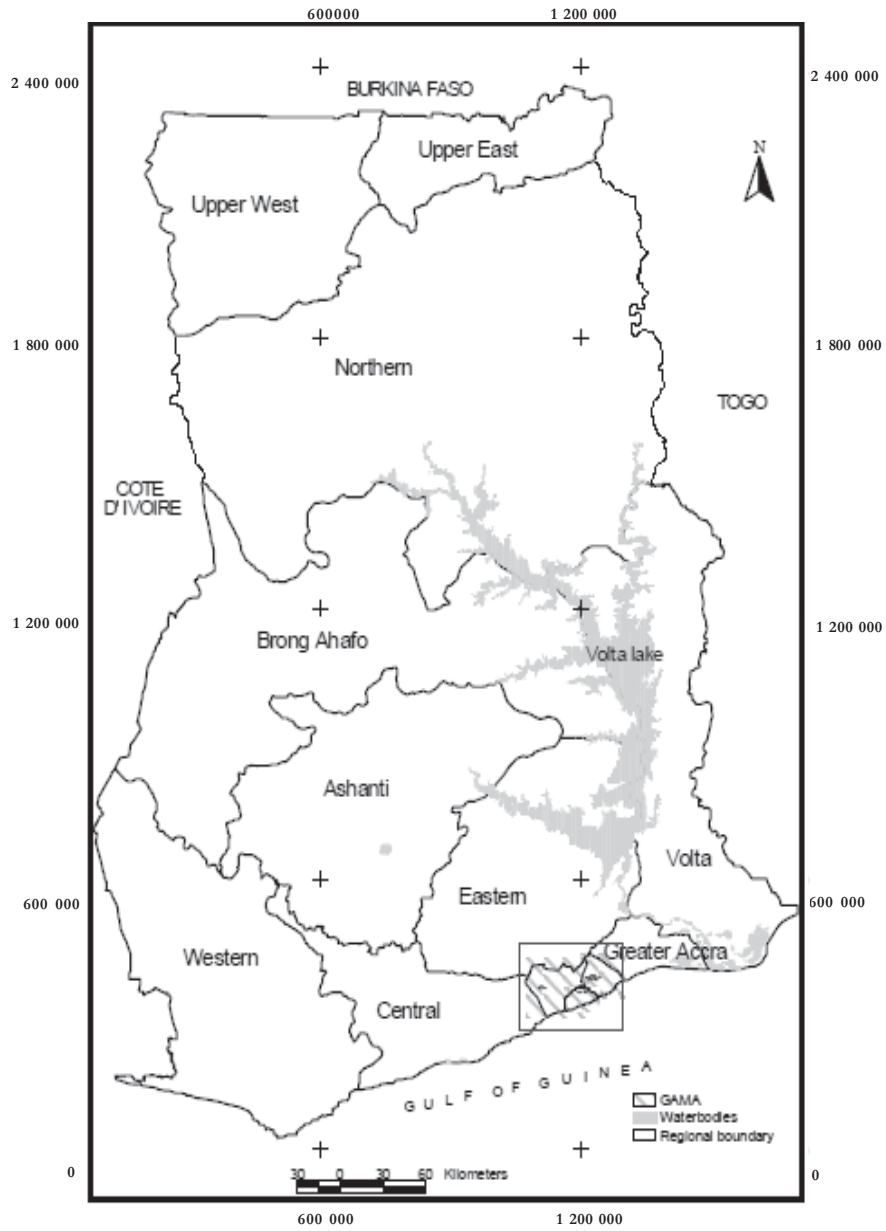
Growth and Physical Expansion in Accra

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.

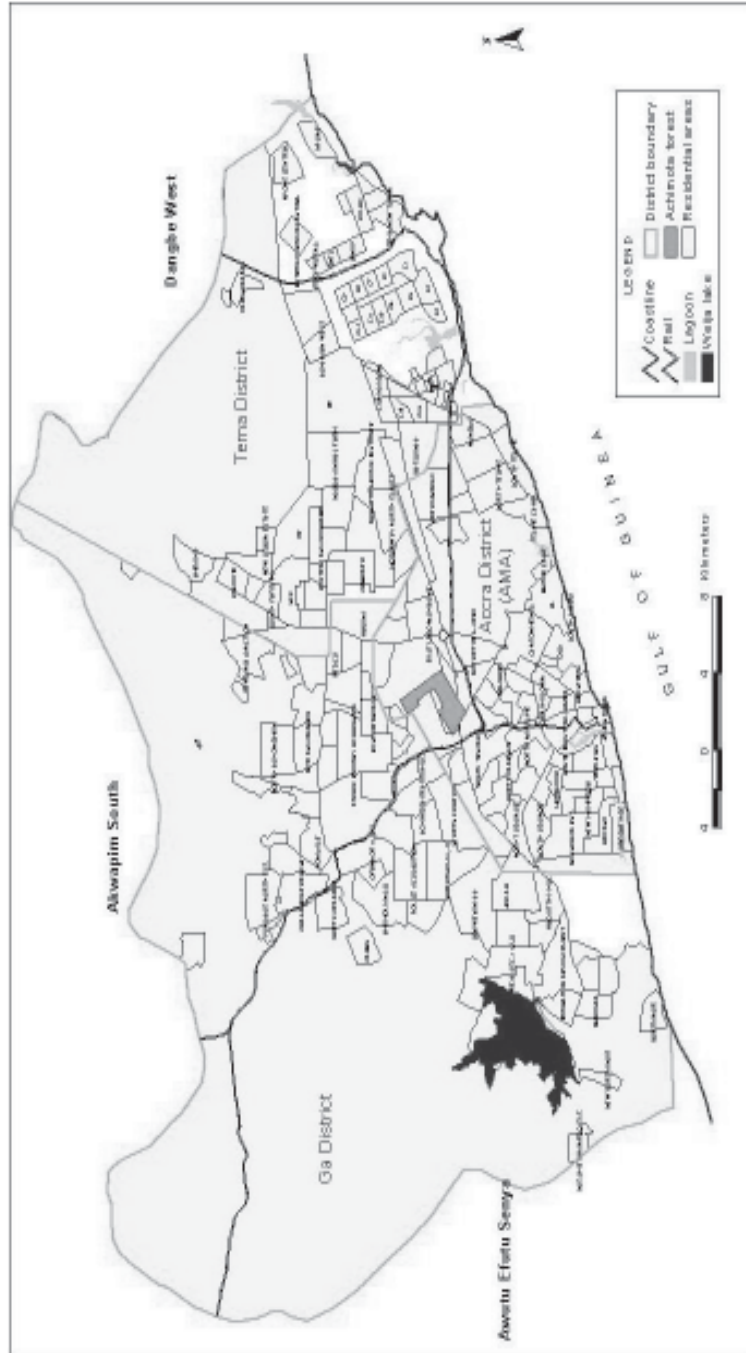
Accra's growth is partly explained by the periodic revision of the legal/administrative boundary of the city. The first demarcation of Accra city was done in 1924. This boundary was revised in 1943, when outlying areas such as Mamprobi, Labadi and the airport areas were formally included in Accra. In 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).

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2

Urban Families and Residential Mobility in Accra

Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf

Introduction

In recent times, the family, as a basic unit of society in Africa, has attracted increasing attention for the critical role it plays in development. In the Ghanaian society, the concept of the family defies easy and simplistic definition. While some researchers consider it from the perspective of the conjugal family to extended family relationships, others see it from the point of view of descent to clanship association. The case of Ghana is complicated by changes in the socio-cultural milieu in which new family forms are emerging. Whereas traditionally, the Akan, for instance, would denote only their matrilineage as their family, the formally educated Akan may refer to their wife and children as their family. Certain forces seem to be changing the traditionally accepted relationships between male and female, parents and children, among siblings and among generations, both vertical and lateral of related kin.

In Ghanaian society, enormous transformations in social interactions have taken place in the past two decades in particular. Changes in the structure have given rise to much discussion and controversy. It is observed that the extended kin still plays a prominent role in the familial residential arrangements of Africans in urban areas, and that this phenomenon persists even though the kin network no longer functions as effectively as it did as a traditional unit (Goode 1970). The type of marital arrangement greatly affects and influences the demographic and residential pattern of the family. Polygyny as a major form of marriage, practised by over 80 per cent of African societies, complicates the issue.

Although extensive work has been done on the family in Ghana, there is a paucity of research output and literature on relationship between families, household and residential mobility and the mobility behaviour of families. This has meant that there is a lack of information on intra-urban mobility of all this too-important human institution and the places in which families reside. Apart from being dynamic,

the family is highly susceptible to the effects of such phenomena as urbanization, industrialization and modernization in towns with the high rates of population growth found in Accra.

Orientation of the Family and Residential Mobility

It has been noted that there is a relatively small proportion of home-ownership among urban families, and this has resulted in a pattern of high residential change each year. This has propelled residential mobility through which many urban families satisfy their housing needs (Burgess and Locke 1960). Residential mobility is defined as the number of times a family changes its location within cities and towns.

The family as a social organization is in a state of flux and the changes that take place in it are manifested mostly in its size, forms, structure and composition. Current trends include fewer marriages, fewer children, more divorce, more single-parenting families, step-families, more working mothers and increasingly less connection to kin network. Several other forms of family are also emerging. While some see the recent changes in the family as an indication of serious trouble and warn that if nothing is done about it, the family will collapse, others regard these developments as a reflection of the flexibility of the family and its ability to adapt to the increasing challenges of modern life. Most families in urban areas are not spared the changes in the sense that, apart from the inter-family developments that occur, they are also faced with the challenges associated with urban life. All these have conspired to add stress, ranging from the need to find more spacious decent accommodation, which is often impeded by inadequate finance; to starting fresh rental agreements, arbitrary increases in rent, eviction, lack of accommodation in other parts of the city to such factors as tradition and habit. Some housing problems of the urban family could be solved when a change of residence is possible. However, for various reasons, not all urban families in Accra and other urban areas of Ghana can change their places of abode.

It is time for a reassessment of the dynamics and residential mobility behaviour of urban families in Accra. Many pertinent questions arise, such as the nature of families in Accra, and how the structure of the family has changed within the last ten years. How has this change reflected in space needs, hence in the residential mobility of families in the city? Of particular importance are the basic characteristics of families, the residential mobility patterns of indigenous and migrant populations, the space needs of urban families, why some urban families are mobile and others are not, and the implications of residential mobility for urban planning in Accra.

Objectives

In order to study the nature and changing structure of urban families in Accra and the relation to their changing residential space needs, the following specific objectives were adopted:

- To identify the basic characteristics of urban families in Accra.
- To examine and analyze the changing nature of urban families in Accra over the past ten years.

- To analyze the relationship between urban family dynamics, space needs and residential mobility.
- To investigate variations in the movements in various residential zones of Accra.
- To examine reasons for the residential mobility in Accra.
- To identify sending and receiving areas of residential mobility in Accra.

The Concept of Family

The family is not an easy concept to define in general terms in Ghana. In western connotation, a family is considered as 'any two or more related people living in one house' (Rice 1999). This definition covers only people who are present at a particular time because it states that family members must live together in one home. This means that if adult children move out of their parents' home and establish families of their own, they are no longer considered as part of their parents' family. In Africa, the conventional family is conceptualized differently. Bell and Vogel (1960) define the family as a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, who maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted.

In Ghana, family members may share a common residence, economic cooperation and also reproduce to ensure the continuity of their lineage. But it is not always the case that family members share a common residence. Some members may stay in separate residences according to custom and others may choose to stay in residences away from their neo-natal homes. Regardless of their residential location, they are still regarded as members of their respective families. In many urban areas in Ghana, family members do not stay together under one roof. A family may be considered as a domestic group in which parents, children and other dependants live together and cooperate economically. A family is a group of persons linked by kinship connections, with the older members taking care of the younger ones.

Of importance to the concept of the family are marriage and kinship. Marriage can be defined as the socially acknowledged and approved sexual union between two adult individuals while kinship ties are connections between individuals established through descent or marriage. In Ghana, the family is recognized within wider kinship groups. The essence of the family lies in the unique combination of its functions. These reflect procreation, child bearing, nurturing and rearing, socialization of the young and maintenance of family members including provision of food and shelter. Even though these functions can be attained outside the family, it is only in the family that they are all fulfilled together, with a reinforcing mechanism that guarantees their fulfilment (Ardayfio-Schandorf 1994).

The family ensures its continuity through marriage, procreation and adoption. It applies a principle of consanguinity to determine members born into it and a principle of affinity through marriage to ensure a supportive kinship structure. The simplest form of family is the conjugal or nuclear family, which comprises a husband and

wife, with or without children. This type of family as a proportion is declining in recent years as compared with the extended family that consists of married persons, their children and other relatives who might live with them in their households. The extended family, which is usually a lineage group, is more widespread in Ghana.

In Ghana, single-parent, nuclear, extended, polygamous and cohabiting families are common. With this wide variety of family forms, 'family' in this study refers to such forms as nuclear, extended, single-parent, monogamous, polygynous and cohabiting. These family forms may also be identified in the urban milieu. Thus, in this context, when one speaks of the family, one is referring not to the nuclear family consisting mainly of husband, wife and children but to the extended family which comprises a large number of blood relatives who trace their descent from a common ancestor who may be patrilineal or matrilineal. The family forms have implications for space needs and residential mobility. Accra, the focus of the study, exhibits interesting family characteristics, composition and residential patterns, and even more so the ethnic and indigenous traits of the Ga who are the indigenous people of the area.

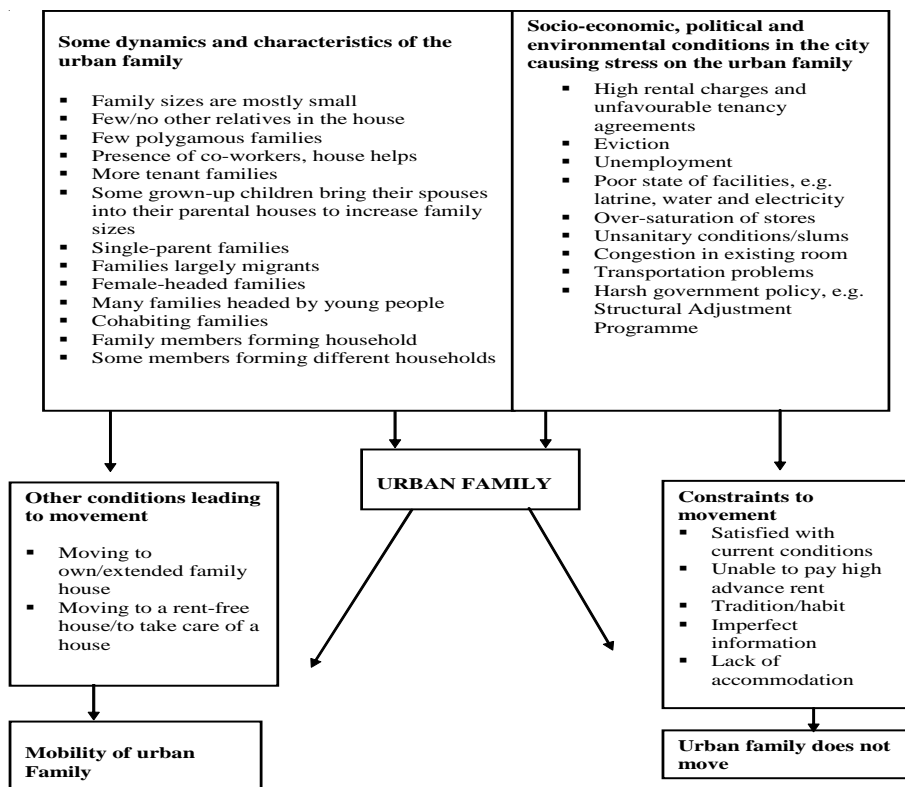
The Ga are duo-local. Men live separately in a compound called *hiiamli* (men's compound) and women in *yeiamli* (women's compound). When a man marries, he continues to live with his father, and the wife also lives with her mother. Each couple thus tends to be more attached to his/her parents than to each other. Children of a union initially live with their mother in *yeiamli*, but when sons attain the age of seven they join their father in *hiiamli*. The wife visits the husband mainly at night. But in polygynous families, wives visit their husbands in turn. Wives cook in their mother's compound and bring the food to their husbands in *hiiamli* (Field 1940; Azu 1966). When the sons grow, they do not leave their fathers' homes altogether; rather, they build a *plama* (outhouse) near their fathers' compound. The future sons of young fathers will also live around this compound. This gives rise to a specific residential arrangement, which strengthens the patrilineal system of the Ga. In this study, indigenous family refers to the Ga traditional family.

Conceptual Model for the Urban Family and Mobility

In view of the above, a model is adopted to demonstrate the linkages between urban family dynamics and residential mobility choices and behaviour. The model explains urban families' residential mobility in relation to their dynamics and environmental conditions. It states that the decision by an urban family whether or not to move from one part of the city to another is viewed as a product of the changes that occur within the family and the socio-economic and environmental conditions in the city, which may produce stress on the urban family. As shown in Figure 2.1, the urban family will either improve the conditions and stay or decide to move. It will search for available vacancies in other parts of the city and match vacancies with its needs and aspirations before moving out. Even here, it still has the option of improving conditions at the current residence and remaining there. The model is viewed as a continual process because at any point in time, stress can set in and urban families have to redefine their aspirations and needs to suit the situation or move out.

Specifically, the model considers the conditions that may precipitate or hinder urban residential mobility. It further shows the main dynamics and characteristics of urban families in Accra and socio-economic and environmental conditions that occur in the city. Some of the changes in the families, e.g. increase in family size, single-parent headship and grown-up children, can combine with such environmental conditions as congestion.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Model of Residential Mobility by Urban Families



Source: Population Census

Many families may move as a result of the increased stress, but some try to contain the stress and remain in the same place. Other conditions causing movement of families include moving to own or extended family houses, or moving to occupy rent-free housing or taking care of a house. It is also true that some families do not relocate at all. These families may either be constrained by certain factors or are

motivated by certain conditions in their present residential areas. The last category may include families that occupy their own or extended family housing, rent-free occupants and those who fail to move out because of attachment to a particular area. The model directs us to find answers to such questions as: what are the basic characteristics of urban families in Accra? What types of families are common in Accra and in which part of the city are they found? Do changes occur in urban families of Accra? Is residential mobility in Accra the result of stress created by the interplay of environmental conditions and family dynamics? What is the pattern and direction of urban mobility in Accra among other cities?

The Urban Family Survey

Studying the nature and changing structure of urban families in Accra in relation to changing residential space needs calls for both qualitative and quantitative methodology, hence the two-stage research methodology used here. The first stage involved focus group discussions (FGDs) of 50 family heads, selected from six indigenous Ga settlements and migrant areas in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). Eight participants were selected on the basis of age and sex. Two separate discussions were carried out at Accra Central and in the migrant areas. At least one Ga participant was included in order to capture intra-city mobility patterns of the indigenous people. There were five participants in each male and female group. The ages of the respondents were categorized into 21–30, 31–40, 41–50, 51–60 and over-60 groups.

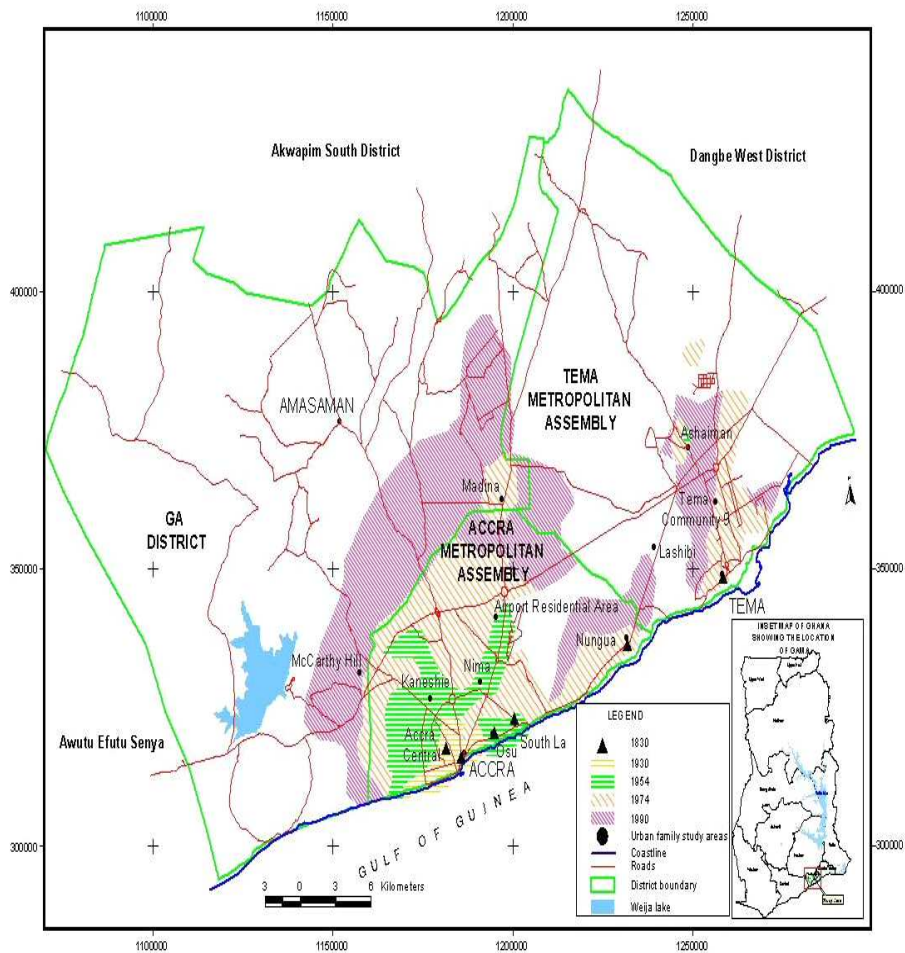
The second stage was a sample survey of 400 families, selected from six residential areas. Random sampling methodology was used in choosing the family heads. The survey covered both nuclear and extended family homes, and was carried out between February and May 2003. As a family differs from a household, as already pointed out, care was taken not to include households that were not families. Only those people who were related through blood, marriage or adoption and their dependants were selected. The families were used as the sampling frame and respondents were selected randomly among the residential areas, using the number of houses as the basis for selection. The Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was used for the analysis and for generation of frequencies and tabulations.

Based on the history, spatial development, location and place utility, the study identified two major forms of family in the GAMA with regard to zonation: the core or indigenous areas and the migrant areas. The latter zonation is divided into old and migrant areas as each zonation is distinguished by different family structures, characteristics, dynamics, space needs and intra-urban residential mobility. The use of zonations is an attempt to establish the variations that exist in movement of families in the core and migrant residential areas and to account for the differences.

The core areas accommodate localities more associated with the unemployed, informal activities and more deprivation, as in Central Accra or other peripheral core areas like South La. The expansion and growth of Accra from the nineteenth century give generally the direction of movement of new development areas in the

city of Accra (Fig. 2.2). The settlements selected for the study are Accra Central, Osu and South La, representing core indigenous areas, Nima as an old migrant area and Madina and Ashaiman, representing new migrant areas. All discussions on urban families were based on these categories.

Figure 2.2: Study Settlements and Expansion of Accra



Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Accra as the Study Area

The study area focuses on Accra, as the most urbanized area of Ghana. It provides residences for families with varied backgrounds and at different levels. Accra in the study is defined to include Tema Municipal Assembly and Ga District as urbanization and residential mobility in the city has occurred towards these areas. It is the capital city and also the financial, economic, transportation and industrial hub of the country.

The city began in the sixteenth century as a collection of fishing villages, namely James Town, Usher Town and Osu. The Ga people were believed to be the main occupants of the area. Later on, they were joined by various groups of Europeans and Africans who either settled for trading purposes or came there for administrative services (Boateng 1959; Acquah 1958). The settlement began to grow at a faster rate with the transfer of the headquarters of the Gold Coast from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877. The city has extended beyond its boundaries and has now merged with Awoshie, Taifa, Ofankor, Dome, Haatso, Madina, Adenta and other peri-urban areas around it within the neighbouring Ga District and Tema Municipal Assembly (Ghana Statistical Service 1960, 1984, 1987, 2001).

In addition to the spatial expansion is increased crowding in the existing residential areas. This has resulted in the infilling of vacant plots of land in the existing residential areas. Presently, the Accra District forms the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area with Tema Municipal Assembly and Ga District (Fig. 2.2). For the sake of this study, Accra has been divided into three categories, namely core/indigenous areas, old and migrant areas.

Many urban families are migrants, especially those living outside the core areas of the city. They arrived from other parts of the country with some of them being nationals of Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, Mali, Niger, Liberia and other West African countries. The 2000 Population and Housing Census gives the population of GAMA as 2,725,896. Figure 2.2 shows the expansion of Accra, GAMA and the study areas.

The Dynamics and Socio-economic Characteristics of Families

The empirical evidence demonstrates the patterns of residential settlement and the gender characteristics of heads of urban families. A total of 73 per cent of the sample families were headed by males while 27 per cent were headed by females. Differences, however, exist in the residential areas. New migrant areas had the highest proportion of female-headed families at 31 per cent. In indigenous Ga and old migrant areas, female-headed families constituted 26 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively.

Women were family heads in core/indigenous Ga settlements mainly because of polygyny. Husbands married to two or more wives may live with some of them while other wives lived in different houses owing to duo-local residential arrangements. In all, 31 per cent of the female heads in core areas said their husbands were living with other wives in different houses. Female-headed families resulting from widowhood constituted 24 per cent. Families headed by single females formed 17 per cent and those whose husbands had travelled as well as those who gave other reasons formed a small percentage of female-headed families in core areas. The latter comprised 7 per cent each of the female-headed families found in those areas.

In predominantly migrant areas, most of the female family heads indicated that their husbands had travelled in contrast to those in the core areas. Specifically, about one-third of all female heads of old migrant and new migrant areas respectively said that their husbands had travelled. According to them, the husbands were working in another town in or outside the country. In new migrant areas, death of husbands and husbands living with other wives elsewhere were the next popular reasons. But in old

migrant areas, those female-headed families resulting from a polygynous residential arrangement formed the smallest proportion of all the reasons given by female heads. Again, female heads who had not married before formed only 9 per cent of all the female heads in new migrant areas, but in old migrant areas such families constituted 18 per cent.

In addition, some females were heads of their families because their husbands agreed that they should stay in a separate home for various reasons. However, others were living separately from their husbands in order to look after their ageing parents, younger brothers and sisters or other relatives. Female-headed families resulting from temporary absence of husbands formed the highest proportion, with about 25 per cent of the female heads falling into this category.

Residential Areas and Age of Urban Family Heads

There is a general notion that most families in the urban areas are headed by young people. The study found instead that most families in both core indigenous areas and predominantly migrant areas were headed by people who were not that young. In the core areas, these families formed 27 per cent; in old migrant areas, they constituted 35 per cent and in new migrant areas 34 per cent. Overall, nearly one-third (32%) of the sampled families were headed by people within the 31–40 age cohort. Notwithstanding the zonation similarities, differences can be observed in the ages of family heads in the various residential areas. Families headed by people in the 21–30 age cohorts formed the least proportion in core and new migrant areas; but in old migrant areas, families whose heads were over 60 years constituted the least proportion, indicating a predominance of retired people.

If family heads below the age of 40 are classified as young, then it can be said that at the time of the study, 43 per cent of the families in Accra were headed by young people while the remaining 57 per cent were headed by old people. This shows that more families in Accra were headed by old people. The findings in this study do not corroborate the general notion of young family heads in urban centres.

Residential Areas and Educational Level of Urban Family Heads

A large proportion of families in all the residential areas of Accra were headed by people who had completed second-cycle schooling, i.e. they have had secondary, technical, commercial or vocational education. In core and old migrant residential areas, about 30 per cent of family heads had completed second-cycle institutions. In new migrant areas it was 23 per cent. The proportion of families headed by people with no formal education was higher, with 33 per cent in core indigenous areas. None of the family heads in core areas had had Koranic education, but this was important in old and new migrant areas. Also in migrant-dominated areas, junior secondary school was the level with least proportion of families. On the whole, 79 per cent of the families in Accra were headed by people with some form of formal education, while 21 per cent were headed by people with no formal education. It can also be said that in both old and new migrant areas, more people were exposed to other forms of education than junior secondary school-level education.

Residential Areas and Marital Status of Urban Family Heads

Marriage is a very important social institution in Ghana because it ensures the continuity of the family. It was not surprising, therefore, that in Accra, 69 per cent of urban families were headed by married people. They formed the majority in both core indigenous Ga settlements and predominantly migrant areas. In the core and old migrant areas, 72 per cent of the families were headed by married men and women, respectively. In new migrant areas, families headed by married people constituted 56 per cent. Cohabiting families were as important as families headed by divorced people in both core indigenous and migrant areas, with each group constituting 10 per cent. Families headed by separated and single parents were not common in Accra (Table 2.1). In core areas, for example, no family was headed by married people who were separated.

Table 2.1: Marital Status of Urban Family Heads in Accra

Marital status	Residential areas of families						Total	
	Core areas		Old migrant areas		New migrant areas			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	82	72	101	72	83	56	276	69
Single	2	2	0	0	4	3	6	1
Separated	0	0	1	1	2	1	3	0.7
Divorced	8	7	15	11	17	12	40	10
Widowed	12	10	11	8	13	9	36	9
Cohabiting	9	9	12	8	28	19	39	10
Total	113	28	140	35	147	37	400	100

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

One-third of the male-headed families in old and new migrant areas of Accra were polygamous, with the exception of core areas where 51 per cent of the female heads were in polygamous union. Higher proportions of female heads in old and new migrant areas were found to be monogamous. This shows that as many as 89 per cent of the female family heads in old migrant areas were monogamous, thus confirming the reasons given by female heads in old migrant areas that their husbands had travelled. Those female-headed families resulting from polygamy constituted the least percentage of all the reasons given by old migrants in Accra.

Apart from the fact that 69 per cent of the families were headed by married people, 27 per cent were headed by women. Though available literature indicates that most urban families do not live with their relatives, the study showed that most families in Accra are of the extended type. A total of 71 per cent of the families in Accra stayed with relatives from either of the spouse's extended families, in the case of married people, or from the heads' family, in the case of single-parent families. About 89 per cent of the families lived with other dependants who may be aunts, uncles, nieces or nephews and others.

Occupation Status of Families in Accra

The occupations of family heads and their earning capabilities among other things could put a stress on urban families in Accra and their tenure status. This is generally manifested in employment status, though other means of support such as remittances from children and other close relatives may also augment and provide financial means for family heads. Accordingly, 68 per cent of urban families were gainfully employed, 11 per cent unemployed, 6 per cent retired while students and apprentices, categorized as other, comprised the remaining 15 per cent. Spatial variations showed that in indigenous areas, 66 per cent of families were headed by working people, and 25 per cent by the unemployed. In old migrant areas, 78 per cent of families were headed by workers and in new migrant areas 61 per cent. Family heads in Accra were mostly self-employed, in private ventures or organizations. Spatial variations characterized the nature of jobs done by the family heads as well. Indigenous family heads were self-employed, mostly fishermen and carpenters, whereas 50 per cent of old and 42 per cent of new migrant family heads were in the public/civil service.

Accra is characterized by a high proportion of tenants. This corroborates the findings that most African cities have a higher proportion of tenant families (White and Tsui 1986). Migrants in Accra formed 78 per cent while the indigenous Ga constituted 22 per cent. Of the families studied 34 per cent were small-sized, 66 per cent were medium or large-sized. This does not corroborate the general observation that families in urban areas are usually small in size (Bongaarts 2001). With regard to ethnicity, as expected, the Ga can be found in the peripheral and core areas, but also were well represented in the migrant areas.

Among the urban families can be identified several different ethnic groups ranging from Ghanaians and others from the West Africa sub-region. These notwithstanding, the four major ethnic groups encountered were the Ga, Akan, Ewe and Mole Dagbani. The others included ethnic groups from countries like Togo, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger. On the whole, 22 per cent of families in Accra were Ga and 78 per cent were migrants of mixed ethnicity. Variations could be found in each residential area. In the core areas, the indigenous Ga families formed the majority with 52 per cent, followed by the Akan with 31 per cent, Mole Dagbani 4 per cent and other ethnic groups 4 per cent.

In old migrant areas, Akan families formed the majority, representing 43 per cent and other ethnic groups forming 25 per cent. For instance, in Madina, families of Akan ethnicity dominated with over 50 per cent. In new migrant areas, families of other ethnic groups dominated; though in Ashaiman, families from other groups constituted 33 per cent.

Tenure Status of Urban Families

Tenure status of urban families is one of the important variables that affect and influence frequency of residential mobility. The findings in this regard confirm some of the studies conducted elsewhere in Ghana and other parts of Africa that cities in Africa contain a high proportion of tenants (Gilbert 1999; Gilbert and Gugler 1982).

Up to 51 per cent of all families in Accra were found to be tenants, 31 per cent owners, and 10 per cent occupied extended family property (Table 2.2). In old and new migrant areas, 57 per cent and 58 per cent respectively were in tenant houses. The table further demonstrates that old migrants were more likely to occupy their own personal houses. On the contrary, indigenous families were mostly found to occupy extended family property. Many people who would wish to own a home were constrained by a number of factors, prominent among which were low levels of income and the process of land acquisition. Consequently, it generally takes a longer time in Accra to become a home-owner than it is in many cities in the developing world. Similarly, Asiamah (1994) maintained that access to land was the principal barrier to ownership in urban areas. Another phenomenon that was found to have emerged in Accra is that families were rent-free occupiers or caretakers of new housing developments in the city, a factor in all the three residential areas.

Table 2.2: Tenure Status of Families in Accra

Tenure status	Residential areas						Total	
	Core areas		Old migrant areas		New migrant areas			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owner	32	28	48	34.3	43	29	123	31
Caretaker	7	6	3	2	6	4	16	4
Tenant	40	35	80	57	87	58	205	51
Rent-free	8	7	2	14	7	5	17	4
Family property	26	23	7	5	6	4	39	10
Total	113	28	140	35	147	37	400	100

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

The Nature of Urban Families in Accra

The nature of families, both Ga and non-Ga, and their residential characteristics have undergone transformation with time. Majority of the indigenous Ga of Accra were found concentrated in the core zone. Migrants from one geographical area or region outside Accra were also found in specific zones of the city. The implication is that migrants to Accra tended to settle in zones where people from their home towns or ethnicity were found. Such people used to meet very often to discuss matters affecting their welfare, and occasionally went home together and celebrated funerals and festivals together. Similarly, in the quest to buy land or build a house, they were normally guided to areas where people from their home town could be found. This type of community living was being enjoyed by migrants, and according to most of them, they least felt that they had been away from their traditional family members in their home towns. In terms of structure, the family included many people from the extended families of the wives and husbands, in addition to the spouses' own biological children.

The family heads, however, indicated that this pattern is dying out in many parts of Accra in contemporary times. Only few people from the same ethnic area meet

to do things in common these days. An individual way of living is now taking over from community living. The respondents claimed that 'many houses in the city are walled, as if to prevent people from other families from entering'. Participants of the focus group discussions (FGDs) affirmed that the nature of work of many urban dwellers and problems associated with urban life did not allow family members to visit each other and interact as they used to. Young men and women often leave their parents' residence and stay elsewhere in the city. Even if this occurred in the past, it is now becoming more widespread. Owing to the cosmopolitan nature of Accra, only a few areas such as indigenous areas and old migrant areas like Chorkor and Nima have contiguous areas of particular ethnic groupings.

In terms of composition, even though many families are still composed of other relatives, the number of such members is declining. What is noticeable currently is the presence of house helps. Most families in Accra were found to be staying with people who were not their biological children. In all, 85 per cent of urban families in new migrant areas were staying with non-biological children. The percentage in indigenous and old migrant areas was almost the same.

Family Types in Accra

The relationship between family heads and the people with whom they lived was investigated as a way of establishing whether families in the city of Accra were nuclear or extended. The findings show that a large proportion of families in Accra are extended families, with 71 per cent of the families in all residential areas of Accra including relatives in their homes. Those families who lived with only their biological children (nuclear families) constituted 16 per cent and those with only house helps or other non-relatives formed the remaining 13 per cent.

It follows that in spite of the influence of urbanization and other socio-economic and political pressures on urban families, the extended family linkage is still strong in Accra. This finding does not corroborate the assertion made by Burgess and Locke (1960) that the changes that have occurred in the family have brought about less connection between most family members and their kin. It also refutes the notion that few families in Accra accommodate relatives in their homes. It, however, corroborates the findings of White and Tsui (1986) that the nuclear family has been declining in proportion in many urban areas. It also confirms what Addai-Sundiata (1995) stated that despite the changes in the traditional institutions on which the family is based, the family system and the African concept of the family persist.

Households within Urban Families in Accra

Family members may form a household in urban areas. That is to say that people forming a family can make common living and catering arrangements. But it is also possible to have more than one household within a family, especially within extended families. One of the issues in the conceptual framework for this study was that urban family members form households. Most families provided accommodation and / or meals to the people with whom they stayed. The dependency of people on

their families is very important to this study because it can, in a way, influence the choice of residence and, hence, residential mobility.

In Accra, about 89 per cent of the families shared common catering arrangements. In core areas, 88 per cent of the families formed households, with only 12 per cent of the families sharing catering arrangements with the people they were staying with. In old migrant areas, about 93 per cent of the families formed households with their dependants, while only 7 per cent of them had separate catering arrangements. In new migrant areas, those families that shared common catering arrangements were 86 per cent while the families forming separate households were 14 per cent. This shows that in Accra, a large number of families formed shared common catering arrangements.

Indigenous and Migrant Families in Accra

Most urban families are largely migrants. The indigenous Ga families formed 52 per cent of the families in core areas, the migrant families constituting the remaining 48 per cent in peripheral areas. In old migrant areas, 11 per cent of the families were indigenous Ga while 89 per cent were migrants. New migrant areas like Ashaiman had a lower proportion of Ga families; 9 per cent of the indigenous Ga families were identified in new migrant areas. The migrant families formed the overwhelming majority of 91 per cent. It was also observed that 48 per cent of the families in Accra were migrants. The indigenous Ga families constituted the remaining percentage.

Small families, as used in this study, signify families whose members number no more than six. Seven- to nine-member families are regarded as medium while those with ten or more members are large. Most families in core areas are smaller than in old and migrant areas, where small-sized families formed 45 per cent. It was also observed that 33 per cent of the families in old migrant areas were small-sized. In new migrant areas, 25 per cent of their families were identified as small, more than half were medium and 21 per cent were large. Overall, 34 per cent of families in Accra were small while medium and large ones constituted 66 per cent. This negates the observation made by (Bongaarts 2001) that urban families have small sizes.

Determinants of Residential Mobility in Accra

The level of residential mobility found among urban families in Accra demonstrated that residential mobility is an important phenomenon in the nation's capital city, thus confirming the mobile nature of households in Accra. Frequency of movements has, therefore, been examined in relation to family types and residential areas. Movements occurring within the last ten years showed that 67 per cent of the sample families had moved within Accra, at least once, and 33 per cent had not. However, there were variations in the levels of movement among types of family and within different residential zones (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Movements by Families within Accra

Frequency of movement	Residential areas of families						Total	
	Core areas		Old migrant areas		New migrant areas			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Once	14	12	47	33	57	39	118	30
Twice	8	7	39	28	32	22	79	20
Three times	4	4	14	10	20	14	38	9
Four times	0	0	11	8	10	6	21	5
Over four times	0	0	4	3	8	5	12	3
None	87	77	25	18	20	14	132	33
Total	113	28	140	35	147	37	400	100

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

The level of movement by families showed that 23 per cent in core areas had moved, with 12 per cent of them moving once, 7 per cent twice and 4 per cent three times. The remaining 77 per cent had not moved. In old migrant areas, families that had moved at least once formed the majority, 82 per cent of the families having actually moved with 33 per cent moving once, 28 per cent twice and 21 per cent thrice or more. Thus, families that had not moved in old migrant areas constituted 18 per cent. Similarly, in new migrant areas, as many as 86 per cent of the families had moved, with 39 per cent moving once, and 47 per cent moving twice or more. Only 14 per cent of the families in new migrant areas had not moved at the time of the study. Movements within Accra have a common pattern in terms of frequency. As the number of movements increased, so did the number of mobile families decrease in all the residential areas, contrary to the observation of some scholars that residential mobility was not an important feature of households in Accra.

Residential Mobility among Nuclear and Extended Families

Nuclear families in Accra had a higher propensity to move: 68 per cent of such families had moved in the past ten years as compared with 32 per cent of extended families who had not moved. Among the extended families, 65 per cent had moved while 35 per cent had not moved. Variations in the different residential zones indicated that nuclear families in core areas had a higher propensity to move than extended families in core areas. Specifically, 69 per cent of nuclear families in core areas had moved, with 46 per cent having moved once, and 23 per cent twice. Only 33 per cent of the nuclear families in core areas had not moved. Among the extended families in the same residential areas, however, it was observed that 23 per cent had moved at the time of the study: 11 per cent moved once, 7 per cent twice and 5 per cent three times. This shows that a higher proportion of 77 per cent of extended families in core areas had not moved. Even though nuclear families in core areas had a higher propensity to move, their frequency of movement was lower, as compared with that of extended

families of the same areas. None of the nuclear families moved three times in core areas but 5 per cent of extended families moved three times within Accra.

This implies that movement by both nuclear and extended families in core areas was low, owing to the fact that most families there are indigenous Ga, who are the custodians of the land. This makes most of the families more or less free from problems like eviction, and payment of high rent advances that leads to many families in other residential areas of the city deciding to move. This may also explain why many families in core areas of the city were engaged in limited mobility. In old and migrant areas, a larger proportion of extended families moved than nuclear families: 83 per cent of extended families in old and new migrant areas, respectively, had moved within Accra in the past ten years.

It follows from the above mobility pattern that families in core areas of Accra were more stable than those in the migrant areas. In core areas, the proportion of both nuclear and extended families that moved was 30 per cent as compared with 70 per cent of the latter. On the other hand, in old migrant areas about 78 per cent of both nuclear and extended families moved, while 22 per cent did not move. In new migrant areas, 81 per cent moved while 19 per cent did not move. The relative stability of extended families may be explained by the fact that because they were comparatively larger in size, it was not easy for them to move as they might need larger forms of accommodation and at higher cost.

Gender of Family Heads and Residential Mobility

About 73 per cent of families in Accra were headed by men, as shown in Table 2.4. In core areas, movements by both male and female family heads were low. Less than 25 per cent of both sexes had moved. However, the male heads had a greater tendency to move than the female heads. It was observed that 24 per cent of the male-headed families had moved, out of which 13 per cent moved once, 6 per cent twice and 5 per cent three times. Female heads moved less at 20 per cent, with 10 per cent moving once, and another 10 per cent moving twice. None of the female-headed families in core areas had moved more than twice.

In addition, male-headed families were more mobile in old migrant areas, with a mobility rate of 83 per cent. A third moved once, with 30 per cent moving twice, 10 per cent three times and another 10 per cent at least four times. The pattern is different in new migrant areas where female-headed families had still a higher propensity to move: no less than 91 per cent female-headed families had moved, with about half of them moving once, 20 per cent twice, 13 per cent three times and 7 per cent at least four times.

With regard to the relationship between the age of family heads and mobility within Accra, families headed by both young and old people in core areas were less mobile. However, their residential mobility pattern differed in terms of frequency. Families headed by people within the 31–40 and 51–60 age cohorts were the most mobile families in core areas: 28 per cent of each of these families headed by people within the two age groups had moved. The middle group of 41–50 years had the least propensity to move in core areas.

Table 2.4: Movement of Family Heads by Gender

Res. area/ gender of family head	Frequency of movement												Total	
	Once		Twice		3 times		4 times		Over 4 times		None			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Core areas														
Male	11	13	5	6	4	5	0	0	0	0	63	76	83	21
Female	3	10	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	80	30	8
Old migrant areas														
Male	36	33	32	30	11	10	6	5	5	5	18	17	108	27
Female	10	31	8	25	3	9	4	13	0	0	7	22	32	8
New migrant areas														
Male	35	34	22	21	14	14	9	9	6	6	16	19	102	25
Female	23	51	9	20	6	3	2	5	1	2	4	9	45	11
Total	118	30	79	20	38	9	21	5	12	3	132	33	400	100

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Only 12 per cent of these families had moved while 88 per cent of them remained stable. In case of old migrant areas, families whose heads were over 60 were the most mobile group since 90 per cent of them had moved. Out of this percentage, 30 per cent had moved once, 40 per cent twice and 20 per cent three times. Families whose heads were within the 31–40 age group had the least number of movements in old migrant areas. Furthermore, families headed by people who were 60 years and above moved in new migrant areas. They comprised 95 per cent of those that had moved.

Marital Status of Family Heads and Residential Mobility

The levels of movement by families headed by married and single people were considered with respect to the various residential areas of Accra. In the core areas, families headed by married couples and single parents had almost the same level of movement. In old migrant areas, single-parent families tended to be more mobile than families headed by married parents. At the time of the study, 93 per cent of single-parent families in old migrant areas had moved. Movements by both married-headed families and single-parent families within new migrant areas were not different from those occurring in old migrant areas, where single-parent families had a higher rate of movement, with 89 per cent of them having moved, of which 44 per cent had moved once. It can then be said that with the exception of the core areas, single-parent families were more mobile within the city of Accra

Tenure Status and Frequency of Movement

A clear pattern of tenure status of families and their propensity to move shows that in the core areas tenant families had the highest rate of mobility: 30 per cent of such families had moved, with 18 per cent moving once, 8 per cent twice and 4 per

cent three times. A quarter of the families in the core areas that are owners had moved, of which about 9 per cent had moved once, another 9 per cent had moved twice and 6 per cent three times. Families occupying rent-free housing and those that are caretakers are the most immobile in the core areas, as no family in these two groups had moved. The pattern in the old migrant areas contrasts with that in the core areas. Families occupying rent-free houses had the highest propensity to move, as 50 per cent had moved at least once within Accra in the past ten years. They were followed by tenant families in the old migrant areas.

In new migrant areas, families in rent-free houses were the most mobile group, following the same pattern as in the old migrant areas. All the families in rent-free housing in new migrant areas had moved, 57 per cent moving once, 29 per cent twice and 14 per cent three times. Families who were owners and tenants also had a high propensity to move within the new migrant areas: 91 per cent of the families that were owners and 88 per cent of tenant families had moved, respectively. Families occupying their extended family property had the lowest propensity to move within the new migrant areas: whereas 67 per cent of these families had moved, about 33 per cent had never moved. No family among the extended families had moved more than four times. It can then be concluded that in core areas of Accra, tenants had the highest propensity to move, but in old migrant areas, those in rent-free housing moved more than the other families in those areas. In new migrant areas, it was the property-owning families who had moved most.

The relatively high number of property-owning families in new migrant areas and families occupying rent-free housing in old migrant areas who were most mobile could be related to the fact that those families had been mobile for a while before moving to their own and current residence. As the families based their answer on the history of their residential mobility within Accra for the past ten years, it was possible that most of such families had been tenants for some time. That might have accounted for the high mobility rates among them since tenants are usually mobile.

Determinants of Residential Mobility in Accra

So far, the discussion has demonstrated that residential mobility is very important in Accra, and as much as 67 per cent of families in Accra had moved from one part of the city to another at least once in the past ten years. Several factors account for such mobility within Accra. Generally, people moved to be near their work places or when their family circumstances change, particularly when there is increase in family size, or when ejected. Besides this general pattern, variations of determinants of mobility could be found from one residential area to another.

Moving to an extended family house or joining other relatives provides a major reason why families moved into core areas, with 46 per cent families moving for these reasons. Moving for marriage reasons is the second important factor: 32 per cent had moved to join their spouses, and 11 per cent moved as a result of separation, divorce or death of their spouses (Table 2.5).

In old migrant areas, about 30 per cent of families who had moved within the past ten years did so because their family sizes increased and they wanted more spacious accommodation. This reason confirms the life-cycle model, which states that as the size of the family increases, members try to look for alternative accommodation, especially if provision was not made in the initial stages for capacity to expand. Other important reasons given by families were eviction (12%), and affordable rent and proximity to jobs (11%). For instance, construction activities in and around Madina in the 1990s accounted for the many labourers and artisans including masons, carpenters, painters, plumbers and steel fabricators who moved to the area to work. This also caused about 10 per cent of the families to move to the old migrant areas. Moving for safety concerns was not popular among the families in the old migrant areas, as shown in Table 2.5.

Most families moved to new migrant areas because they wanted to live near their workplaces. Many families at Ashaiman said that they were staying in other parts of Accra but moved when they got jobs at Tema because Ashaiman had many more places to accommodate them. Once it becomes problematic for many workers to commute to work owing to heavy traffic congestion associated with their residential areas, they find it prudent to stay near their workplaces.

Eviction is another important reason underlining the movement of families in new migrant areas of Accra. Most landlords are accustomed to collecting high advance rents before tenancy. As soon as the period of the advance expires, some of them either demand another huge amount of money as a further advance or ask the tenants to move. This seems to be a common occurrence in almost all the residential areas of Accra. Moving to own house was one of the important factors causing movement of many families into new migrant areas. Many people were encouraged by affordable and easily available building plots in the 1960s and 1970s in new migrant areas as Ashaiman, Awoshie and Haatso. Many families took advantage and built their own houses there and moved. Rents also became affordable in these areas.

Other reasons that also caused families to move included an unfavourable residential environment such as facility-sharing, lack of privacy, unsanitary conditions, urban sprawl and lack of playing grounds for children.

In spite of the clear evidence that the city of Accra is on the move there were certain families that never relocated. In all, about 33 per cent of families claimed that they had never moved from their places of abode as already indicated. A total of 40 per cent of these families who lived particularly in indigenous areas resided in their extended family houses, which were rent-free, so they found the arrangement convenient; 14 per cent were in their own house, and 13 per cent were satisfied with the conditions in their current houses. Other reasons that discouraged families to move included inability to pay high rent advances, unavailability of suitable vacancies, and living in employer-provided housing.

Table 2.5: Main Reasons for Last Relocation in Accra

Reasons	Residential area						Total	
	Core areas		Old migrant areas		New migrant areas			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Safety concerns	0	0	0	0	10	8	10	4
Move to extended family house	17	46	10	9	7	6	34	13
Proximity to jobs	0	0	12	11	35	28	47	18
Eviction	3	8	13	12	17	14	33	12
Marriage reasons	12	32	6	6	4	3	22	8
Separation/divorce/death of spouse	4	11	7	7	6	5	17	6
To own house	0	0	5	5	16	13	21	8
Increase in family size	0	0	35	32	13	11	48	18
Affordable rent	0	0	12	11	5	4	17	6
Other	1	3	8	7	10	8	19	7
Total	37	14	108	40	123	46	268	100

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Pattern and Direction of Residential Mobility in GAMA

Several views have been expressed on the direction of residential mobility in cities. The most prominent among them is that there is an outward movement from the inner city to the outer zones. Many urban families first settle in the inner city, and when they become established they move to the periphery. Studies in Lagos and Benin City respectively support this observation (Afoloyan 1982; Azu 1966; Vaughan and Feindt 1973). In Accra, it has been shown by earlier scholars that movements within the city are mainly directed from such areas as the Central Business District (CBD), the old Ga settlements and areas like Chorkor, Maamobi and Nima to outer peri-urban areas of Accra, Tema and Ga Districts. These areas of out-migration are areas of stress from which many families try to move out to communities where conditions are relatively better. It is also maintained that areas like Madina, Haatso and Adenta in the Ga District, Dansoman and East Legon in Accra District as well as Ashaiman and Tema in the Tema District serve mainly as receiving areas. Movement from one zone to another is also common, and it is possible for families in the core areas to move to another residential area within the core zone. Families that moved from residential areas other than those found within the three zones of Accra were not considered. This is because the study was concerned with the movement from one part of Accra to another.

As Table 2.6 shows, 82 per cent of movements into core areas were directed from other core areas of Accra. The families that moved into core areas of Osu, South La and Accra Central came from other core areas like James Town and Old Teshie, while the remaining 10 per cent and 8 per cent came from the old migrant

areas and new migrant areas, respectively. In old migrant areas, movements of families into the areas were directed from other old migrant areas such as Accra New Town and Achimota. Some 45 per cent of the families moved from other old migrant areas; another 40 per cent came from new migrant areas and 15 per cent from the core areas.

In new migrant areas like Ashaiman, many families came from other new migrant areas like Tema and Awoshie. It was found that 78 per cent of all the families that moved into these areas were from other new migrant areas, particularly neighbouring Tema. Many migrant families at this residential area were former workers of Tema Harbour, the Ghana Armed Forces and other industries in Tema who were living in retirement. They took advantage of the relatively available land in the area some time ago, and built their own houses. 'Adjei Kojo' and 'Lebanon' are examples of suburbs of Ashaiman that contained many retired workers. Also in the area were Ghanaians who had lived abroad and had returned, popularly known as 'burgers'. The situation in Ashaiman shows that home owners are more likely to be found in either the inner zone or the recent periphery (new migrant areas) than in the former periphery (old migrant areas) as shown in Table 2.7.

Table 2.6: Previous and Present Locations of Urban Families

Present location	Residential areas						Total	
	Core areas		Old migrant areas		New migrant areas			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Core areas	40	82	14	15	3	5	57	27
Old migrant areas	5	10	44	45	10	17	59	29
New migrant areas	4	8	39	40	47	78	90	44
Total	49	19	97	37	60	23	206	100

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Many families also moved from the old migrant areas such as Nima, Maamobi and Kaneshie to the new migrant areas like Ashaiman. Specifically, 44 per cent of the movements in Accra were directed into the new migrant areas alone. Few of the movements were from the new to the old migrant areas. Individual families whose previous residences were in new and old migrant areas were less likely to move to the core areas.

Consequences of Residential Mobility

Residential mobility combines with other factors to lead to expansion of towns. Knox (1987) argues that the city begins to expand in spatial terms when families and households move from one part to settle in another. As this occurs, the city moves into its neighbouring peri-urban areas. This process is true of Accra. The city began as three small fishing towns, namely James Town, Osu and Ussher Town, with

Dodowa, Ada and Pokuase at the farther end. The town began to expand with the arrival of the European traders whose activities attracted many merchants and other migrants from the interior parts of the country and the rest of West Africa (Dickson 1969). Further expansion of the town in precolonial days is attributed to the bubonic plague that hit Accra in 1908 and the earthquake of 1938. These led to the resettlement of many families in such areas as Korle Gonno, Mamprobi, Adabraka, Odorkor, Chorkor, Kwashieman and Tesano (Engmann 1971). It is apparent that residential mobility has combined with factors such as mass movement and resettlement to cause the expansion of Accra into its current status as a metropolis.

Residential mobility can lead to land invasion and subsequently squatter settlements, as found in many developing countries. In Accra, access to land in many urban areas is attained through monetary transactions, which in most cases are beyond the capability of many families. The difficulty in acquiring land for housing purposes has tended to reduce the level of house-ownership in Accra.

Table 2.7: Tenure Status of Families in Accra

Tenure status	Residential Areas						Total	
	Core Areas		Old Migrant Areas		New Migrant Areas			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owner	32	28	48	34.3	43	29	123	31
Caretaker	7	6	3	2	6	4	16	4
Tenant	40	35	80	57	85	58	205	51
Rent-free	8	7	2	1.4	7	5	17	4
Family property	26	23	7	5	6	4	39	10
Total	113	28	140	35	147	37	400	100

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2003.

Change of residence within the city also results in the weakening of family ties. As a family changes residence, its regular networking and interactions may be reduced. This situation applies mostly to the indigenous families in Accra. Even though there is an improved transportation and telecommunication network within many urban areas of Ghana, which makes it easy for many families to remain in contact with their relatives, such families are sometimes constrained by the numerous challenges associated with city living. Furthermore, the ever-increasing demand for housing against the limited number of housing supply favours land-owners and house-owners. This has led to land and housing speculation in Accra to the detriment of tenants. In the old and migrants areas, 62 per cent and 78 per cent of family heads, respectively, paid rent advances. This has become a prohibiting factor on residential mobility in Accra.

Conclusion

In addressing the major concerns of urban families and residential mobility in Accra, this study identified the main dynamics and characteristics of urban families in the city. It also identified the changing nature of these urban families and the major

factors leading to residential mobility in Accra, the direction and pattern of the movements and their consequences in the past ten years.

The findings clearly demonstrate that Accra, which started as a small fishing settlement, has really been on the move since the sixteenth century. The growth has accelerated since it was established as the capital city in 1877. In contemporary times urbanization and modernization, giving rise to a rapid rate of population growth, physical development and urban sprawl to the peri-urban areas has been instrumental in the transformation of Accra from a village to a town, city and now a metropolis. While physically and spatially Accra is on the move, the population and families in relation to residential spaces are equally on the move, creating conditions of stress for urban families and acting as a push factor precipitating mobility among them. As stressful as the determinants of residential mobility can be, some families managed to overcome the challenge and were able to move, while others for various reasons such as unemployment, poor environmental conditions, congestion, high rent charges, eviction and transportation, were unable to move. Other major determinants of residential mobility in Accra are the dynamics and the characteristics of the urban family itself.

Many forms of family, like young families, cohabiting families, monogamous, single-parent, female-headed and predominantly migrant families, are putting down roots in Accra. As the institutions on which the family is based change, so is the tendency for families in urban areas to change as a result of socio-economic and political factors, with some families reducing in size. In spite of the changes, the extended family system is still strong, with most urban families characterized by medium to large sizes, headed by old men and women. Most families were extended, with only 16 per cent being nuclear; 71 per cent of all families included relations, which enlarged the family size.

Apart from the core Accra areas, where only 33 per cent of families moved, in both old and new migrant areas, over 80 per cent of families had actually moved at least once. As the frequency of mobility decreases, so did the number of families who moved. Male family heads had a higher propensity to move than female heads. However, when the spatial variation was considered, 83 per cent of male heads moved in old migrant areas, while in the old migrant areas 91 per cent of female family heads had moved once. In the core areas, the male heads moved more than the female heads. Females moved less and at a lower frequency rate. In addition, single-parent families tended to move more to other core areas and new migrant areas. In old and new migrant areas, many families came from other new migrant areas.

Variations clearly exist in movements among family types in Accra and from one place to another. In indigenous areas most families (46%), moved to extended family houses with free accommodation. In old migrant areas, increase in family size was the major reason but in new migrant areas, it was nearness to jobs and workplaces. In new migrant areas, the greatest proportion of those who moved was rent-free occupiers, including caretakers of new housing developments. Another reason that

accounted for mobility of families was eviction. Mobility among families is directed towards new migrant and peri-urban settlements. Female family heads and single-parent families tend to move more than old and married family heads. Among the families in Accra, some did not move because they are occupying their own houses or extended family houses that are rent-free or the fact that they are satisfied with their current situation. Others were compelled by circumstances such as inability to pay high rental advances, and the unsanitary current environment.

Recommendations

The pattern and direction of residential movements in Accra has implications for urban policy and provision of housing in large and growing urban centres. Aggregate demand for accommodation and housing, arising out of increases in family size and urban sprawl, changes in marital circumstances and nearness to workplaces, accounts for major determinants of residential mobility of families in Accra. Most of the settlements such as Ashaiman, Haatso, Awoshie and Madina, which are the receiving areas, are characterized by high rates of urbanization and overcrowding in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Authority.

This observation calls for proper planning of such identified areas in view of the ever-increasing rise in population. There is, therefore, a need to ensure proper and timely planning and development of housing in fringe and new migrant areas to facilitate movement of families. Lack of such planning usually results in encroachment, overcrowding and development of slums. Similarly, development plans for new suburban areas should be sufficiently equipped with social services including schools, clinics, markets, places of convenience, water and roads to make such settlements self-sufficient, if at all possible.

In Accra and other urban centres in Ghana, residential sprawl and development tend to be forerunners of urban planning and regional development by the state. At this level, the state and related ministries and agencies should ensure that major plans exist for new areas demarcated for residential development. Mechanisms should then be instituted to ensure the implementation and execution of the plans by the state, private development agencies, traditional authorities and individual house owners and all landowners and landlords. At another level, tenants should be encouraged to enter into formal or proper agreements with landlords in order to avoid harassment and unwarranted evictions. In furtherance of a follow-up to this research, the problems of core indigenous areas that constitute bottlenecks in the Central Business District have to be tackled, because of their limited space for mobility. At the same time population growth contributes to overcrowding, stress, poverty and insanitary conditions, yet families may find it convenient to remain there because of affordability. The implications could be costly in so many aspects that the state should endeavour to find ways and means of resolving the issue of the core indigenous families occupying the city centre of Accra.

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3

Household Dynamics and Residential Patterns in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area

Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf

Introduction

One of the critical issues for cities and urban centres in the developing world is the influx of people from rural areas to the cities. Access to employment is the primary reason for many migrant households relocating into the city. As people move from various locations in Ghana to the Greater Accra Metropolitan Areas (GAMA) in search of employment or to pursue education among other things, they come to form households. Such mobility patterns suggest that fundamental social change is under way (Ghana Statistical Service 2000). Several authors and demographic surveillance systems have also shown that changes in households are becoming profound in urban centres, leading to household structural transformation over time and shifts in residential patterns. However, empirical evidence on change in households remains surprisingly scanty. In his attempt to compare household structure over time and between cultures, Sanjek (1982) sees households as more than mere tables of personnel. As economic and political institutions are changing, so also are social institutions like households. The two variables that have widely been associated with household alteration are industrialization and urbanization, a situation typical in GAMA.

Trends in the proportion of households formally headed by women have changed. They have risen roughly by 7 per cent over a 27-year span to 29.4 per cent (Ghana Statistical Service 1988). Changes in the number, composition and characteristics of households, either headed by males or females, are of paramount importance to determine the variations of household structure for a number of reasons. The size, composition and characteristics of households are essential in evaluating their housing needs even as they serve as determinants in evaluating housing preferences. Again, the household characteristics affect procurement of consumer goods and services since the household is the basic unit of consumption. The relevance of household unit for consumer behaviour is important for various aspects of the economy such

as security, transportation and communication, provision of water, energy and especially housing. The Population and Housing Census (1960 to 2000) shows that there has been a 4 per cent increase in average urban household size as compared to an 8.7 per cent increase in average rural household size of the total of Ghana by residence. Accra is the first metropolitan area to experience a high demographic growth over the past three to four decades, as examined in Chapter 1.

As Accra settlements grew in number and trade developed, larger aggregations of people that replaced the scattered original settlement came into being. The urban settlement phenomenon was to require new modes of readjustment, which GAMA is still seeking today. People of all social classes, especially the middle- and high-class status populations, are no longer clustered around the Central Business District or the core but are moving out. The major factor in the explanation of the changing residential pattern of the city is that of demand for space, in a sense the question of public taste in the matter of space consumption.

Settlement patterns are both complex and dynamic and constantly adjust to changing conditions over time. Such changes in residential patterns are, however, not without important implications for the human condition and therefore for public policy goals. Knowledge of the mechanisms producing change in households and residential patterns provides an important basis for such public policy. It is the intent of this chapter to examine these changes in household forms and residential patterns, and to attempt to explain and identify some of the implications of these for public policy. It is believed that studies of household dynamics and residential patterns can make an important contribution to understanding the determinants of household dynamics and identifying factors associated with different housing patterns.

The Concept of the Household

The literature contains a variety of views on the concept of the household. One notion that seems to have gained support is that, throughout developing countries, households represent the main institution responsible for the mobilization and distribution of goods and services between generations. They may also be the principal avenue through which age and kinship roles are expressed (Thornton, Chang and Sun 1984; Becker 1991; Kuznet 1978).

Working towards a universal definition, the United Nations has recommended that the concept of household should be considered on the basis of arrangements made by persons, individually or in groups for providing themselves with food and other essentials for living. This implies that a household may be a single-person household, i.e. a person who makes provision for his/her own food without combining with any other person. This concept differentiates between household and family where, in the latter case, to set up a family there is by definition a need to be more than one person. With the family, these persons have to be related by blood, marriage or adoption. The household may also be a multi-person one, i.e. a group of two or more persons who make common provisions for food or other essentials for living. The persons in the group may pool together their incomes and have a common

budget to a greater or lesser extent. They may be related or unrelated persons or a combination of both. Households may occupy the whole, part of, or more than one housing unit. They may also be found in boarding houses, camps, hotels or as administrative personnel in institutions, or they may even be homeless. Though it is observed that the distinguishing factor of a household is the cooking pot, Vercrijssse et al. (1974) defined the household using four concepts, distinguishing between the sleeping unit, cooking unit, eating unit and earning unit.

This makes households institutions within which interpersonal transactions at the micro-level can be studied. Residentially, distinct households are relatively easy to identify in most settings. They provide efficient units within which to study people's domestic lives and assess their relative welfare. In her work on household headship and women's earnings in Ghana, Ardayfio-Schandorf has discussed the concept of household and household headship. She pointed out that in the context of the Ghana Population Census, a household is used to cover members or persons who live in the same dwelling unit and share a common pot.

Within the extended system, the household is the basic unit for the day-to-day organization and management of its members. Household sizes vary greatly by rural/urban location and ecological zones. Sizes range from one-member to more than ten-member households. The average household size in urban Ghana is 4.7. Whenever the economic system expands through industrialization, household patterns change. Extended kinship ties weaken, lineage patterns dissolve, and a trend towards some form of the conjugal system generally begins to appear, i.e. the nuclear unit becomes a more independent kinship unit (Goode 1963). Presumably, this weakening of ties refers to a reduction in social interactions and financial and other forms of support. The household seems to be undergoing structural and functional modification with urbanization. Almost all households are undergoing dramatic changes, owing to the modernization process.

Changes in the number and composition of households are of paramount importance to determine the variation of household size. The dimension of co-residency in the household automatically makes the household the perfect and essential unit of analysis and prediction underlying policy formulation in the field of housing. The predictors of household sizes, which include occupation, income level and education, have led to variations in household sizes, especially in relation to the number of people per household.

In the patrilineal Ghanaian society, the head of the household is used generally to refer to the oldest male in the household, though in a few societies in the 'north', this may also be a woman. In certain cases, the household head may not be co-resident, but residing elsewhere. He is, however, consulted in all major decisions by either the nuclear or extended family. In Ghana, rural/urban and other forms of migration, as part of modernization and the economic process, are raising the number of *de jure* female household heads including widows, the divorced, abandoned wives or single parents. Ardayfio-Schandorf further observed that many women in unions are also practically *de facto* household heads. Women, as important economic actors,

provide income and other resources for themselves, husbands, children and other members of the extended household. She argued that married women are heading households and carrying out responsibilities in households that were traditionally considered the preserve of men. Beyond the traditional head of household, the presence of an adult male in the household is an important factor in the structure of the household, its characteristics and dynamics, its mobilization of resources, residential pattern and mobility.

The issue is not necessarily the one who contributes most or takes the decisions, but the presence or absence of an adult male or female in the household could be decisive. The presence of the male adult is expected to impact on household access to and mobilization of resources, decision-making and type of residence. It may also affect the type, space, location, residential pattern as well as propensity of the household's intra-urban mobility. Sex is also an important determinant of the composition of households and their intra-urban mobility. Though some studies have been carried out on families, households, residential patterns and housing, there have been no studies so far on types of households, their tenure and socio-economic status and changing intra-urban residential patterns. Neither are there studies that attempt to analyze household composition with reference to the presence of adult male or female and how that impacts on household residential change and housing patterns in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area.

Objectives

The study attempted and adopted the following objectives:

- To find out the existing structure and structural characteristics of households in GAMA;
- To investigate changes in the structural characteristics of households between 1984 and 2003;
- To discuss the factors that have accounted for these changes;
- To examine the effect of these changes on the housing demands of households and residential characteristics of households; and
- To find out the policy implications of change in household structure and housing patterns for urban development.

The study was premised on the propositions that change in housing patterns and lack of change in residential patterns is not the result of satisfaction with current residential status, but the inability to move, owing to certain socio-economic factors. It is further proposed that age and gender of household head is a factor in the change of residential patterns and that socio-economic status affects residential location of households today. To some extent, it can be suggested that residential choice, particularly in intra-urban relocation, which plays an important role in determining the total pattern of residence, is the function of total activity systems such as work, social functions and recreation, among others.

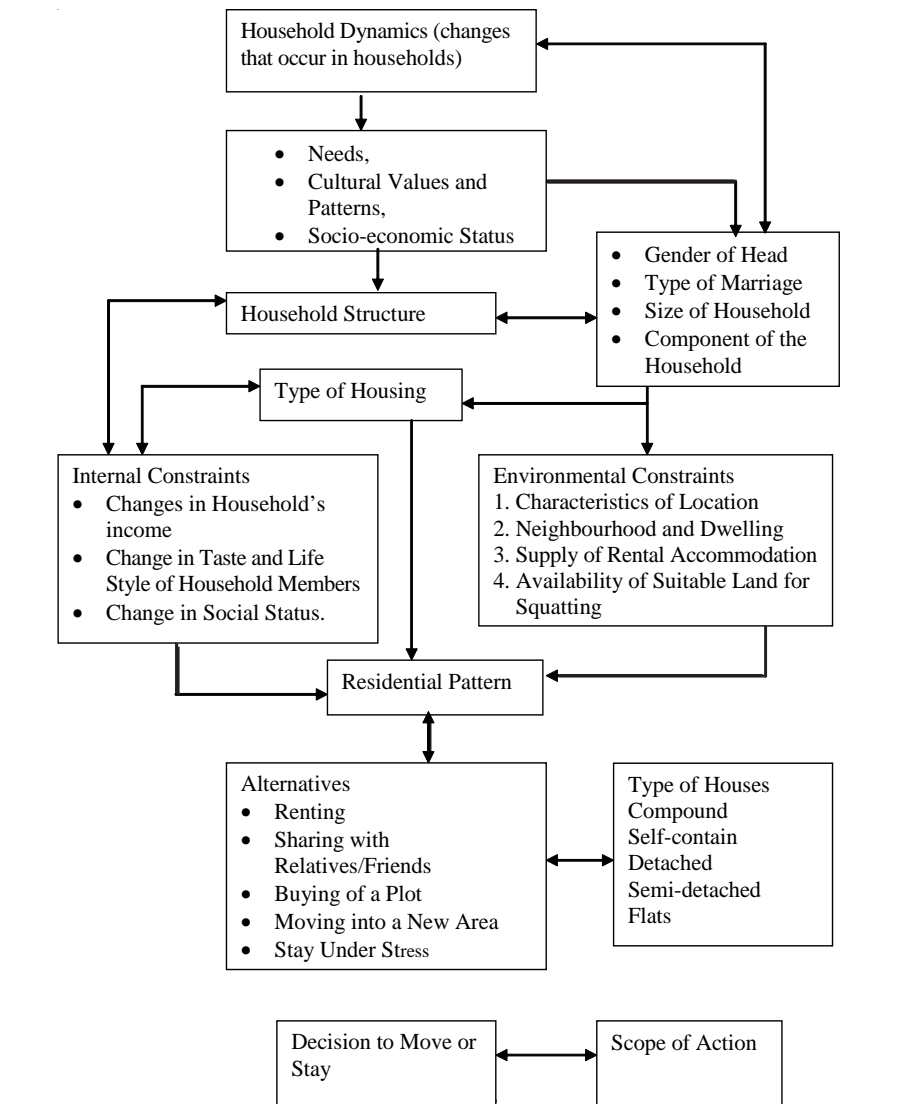
Conceptualizing a Model for Household and Residential Pattern

Moriarty (1970) states that there are two sorts of activity which could control residential patterns. One is directed towards employment and place of work and the other to social and leisure activities. According to Moriarty, the 'economic competition' hypothesis in which the ability to pay is the basic factor, and in consequence journey to work and the site cost are the major influences in the residential decision. In other words, differences in the locational behaviour of residential decision-makers relate to differences in their budget cost and income resources. These differences determine the spatial distribution of socio-economic groups in urban space. However, such a proposition is nowhere supported by empirical evidence on quality of the housing environment. Perhaps the most useful and the one closer to the goals of this chapter is that of Butler and Chapin (1969), who came out with a nationwide survey in the United States, with reports on what metropolitan households preferred in residential location in relation to their household characteristics. Many theories relating to net-migration as a transfer of population from one place to another have been put forward and tested. These theories attempt to explain why people move from one place to another, especially from rural areas to urban centres, but not why households would want to maintain or change residence or move from one place to another in relation to structural changes in households.

The work of Bahr (1990) is more relevant in this respect. According to him, given a variety of housing alternatives, households with different socio-economic characteristics may make different choices, often in terms of the taste and lifestyle of the household members. When these lifestyles change, the household may decide to leave a particular neighbourhood, location and residence for another one that befits its new socio-economic status. The model developed for the study highlights changes in the needs and expectations of the household, and in the characteristics of both dwelling and the environment. What is emphasized in the model in Figure 3.1 is that all households make decisions about where to live within a set of individual and societal constraints, which in turn lead to marked differences in residential patterns, whether squatting or renting. It may also lead to moving to the periphery where the growth of the city is determined only to a slight degree by squatting and the attendant increase of squatter settlements. Sharing with friends and relations will mean moving into an existing household. People may also remain in the parental household even after having started their own household, giving rise to large households existing side by side in the same house.

The gender of the household head, type of marriage, size and composition of the household affect the household structure. The Government Statistical Services report (1989) indicates that females head a significant number of households, and that their proportion has increased and their marital situation has changed as well. Between 1987 and 1998, a larger proportion of females, 59.5 per cent, who headed households, were widowed and divorced. Thus in 1990, about four million Ghanaians were living in households with a divorced or widowed female head (Lloyd and Gage-Brandon 1993).

Fig. 3.1: Model for Household Dynamics and Residential Pattern



Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Residential choice by households is best presented in residential location decision model, which sets out the reasons operative in the selection of a particular location (Fig. 3.1). The individual household can be considered to be under the influence of two sets of forces. One is internal, in that it is generated by the household itself and defined in terms of its own needs, changes, characteristics and expectations at every stage of the household cycle. The other is external and defined by the characteristics

and environment of the locale. These two sets interact in creating 'place utility', which essentially measures an individual's level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a given location. It is only when the place utility is reduced below a certain threshold level, either by internal or external sources of stress or both, that the household decides to move.

The significance of the model lies in its emphasis on the need to consider housing and environmental stress within the context of the needs, expectations and aspirations of households. The household cycle is certainly one of the major precipitators of housing patterns. Marriage, the production of children, rearing and education of children are obvious stressors. Socio-economic status is a complex notion but it certainly subsumes the household's own view of its social standing, which the households might wish its house to display and also the money it can afford to spend on that. This chapter has not dwelled much on the external consideration but on the internal. That is, the changes that households go through that motivate them to change residence or maintain the same house. A change in household is certainly a major factor in the housing of the household.

Geographical Background and Location of the Study Area

The Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), as defined, includes the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA), or the Accra District in addition to the Tema and Ga Districts. These three districts have become physically and functionally one single and urbanized area, as the capital city of Ghana. These three districts form part of the Greater Accra Region (GAR), the smallest of the ten administrative regions in Ghana, located in the south-central part of Ghana (see Table 1.2). GAMA had a combined population of 450,000 in 1960, which almost doubled by 1970 and stood at 1,300,000 in the 1984 census. The population currently stands at 2,903,753 (Table 3.1). It is expected to reach the four million mark by 2010, accounting for about 15 per cent of the estimated national population at that time.

An analysis of urbanization in Ghana between 1940 and 1960 suggests that the natural increase of the 1948 urban population accounted for no more than one-quarter of town growth during the succeeding twelve years. One-fifth was probably explained by foreign immigrants, mostly from Nigeria, Togo and Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso. But over half of the growth must be attributed to Ghanaians who moved from the countryside to the towns (Caldwell 1965).

Table 3.1: Population Trends within GAMA in 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000

District	Population growth				Annual growth		
	1960	1970	1984	2000	1960–70	1970–84	1984–2000
Accra	338,396	624,091	969,195	1,658,937	5.1	3.1	3.2
Tema	27,127	102,431	190,917	506,400	14.2	4.5	4.7
Ga	33,907	66,336	136,358	550,468	6.9	5.3	5.6

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Population Census.

The study area covers a wide geographical area with a heterogeneous population. The condition of households also differs in the various residential areas. Residential area was, therefore, used as sampling areas. Low-class residential and indigenous and migrant areas contain high population densities, which have resulted in some of the most overcrowded areas in GAMA (AMA 1990).

Medium-class residential areas are often planned and consequently tend to contain low densities. The level of overcrowding in such areas is not as severe as in the low-class residential areas. The same applies to the high-class residential areas, which are also planned and carry low density. Socio-economic conditions in medium- and high-class areas are better than those in the low-class residential areas. Conditions in the peri-urban and periphery depend on whether these are planned or unplanned. Whereas the unplanned areas tend to have high densities, often exhibiting stressful conditions, the planned areas carry relatively low densities.

In conducting the survey, the household was used as a sampling frame by adopting the definition of the 2000 Population and Housing Census. Out of the total number of houses in GAMA, 19.5 per cent is of rural stock, leaving 80.5 per cent as urban stock. The three localities from which the residential areas were selected comprised the Accra District, with Nungua as the low-class residential area, Tesano and Kaneshie as middle-class and Airport Residential Area representing the high-class residential area. The second locality is the Ga District, where the low-class residential area is represented by Madina and high-class area by McCarthy Hill. The third locality, the Tema District, has Lashibi as low-class and Community 9 as middle-class (Table 3.2). Out of the 428 valid questionnaires that were analyzed, 77 per cent were from the low-class, 18 per cent from the middle-class and 4.7 per cent from the high-class residential areas. The low-class areas were made up of indigenous as well as migrant areas.

Key variables measured included the current household structure and household characteristics, the changes in household structure, i.e. size and component, using the scale and nominal. Factors that affect residential changes and patterns, such as socio-economic status of the household and age and gender of household head use the scale and ordinal. Housing characteristics from and to where household moves use ordinal and scale. Data values for scale are numeric values on an interval or ratio scale.

Socio-economic Characteristics of Household Heads

The background characteristics of households were considered within the study area with household head as a point of reference. There was a comparative analysis of the variations in the sample of the three selected residential classes. For purposes of the welfare of the household, what does the household head signify? Some of the pertinent issues that need to be raised are the role of the head of the household not only *de jure* but *de facto*. Of particular importance are the issues of decision-making, contribution of resources and the actual presence of the head in the household and how this impacts on spouses and household members. It will be useful if the questions raised about the head could be further investigated, especially in cases where men are absent in female-headed households.

Table 3.2: Classification of Ecological Areas in GAMA

A. Low-class residential areas	Neighbourhoods
A1. Old residential areas	Chorkor James Town South Labadi, Adedenkpo, Old Dansoman, Old Teshie, Teshie, Mamprobi, Labadi, Korle Dudor, Osu Christianburg, Accra Central, KorleGonno, Nungua
A1.2 Old migrant residential areas	Accra New Town, Sabon Zongo, Nima, Maamobi, Tudu Sukura
A2 Other low-class residential areas	Bubiashie, Laterbiokorshie, Alajo, New Mamprobi, Darkuman, Abeka, Achimota, Avenor, Odorkor, North Industrial, South Industrial
A3 Medium-class residential areas	
A4 High-class residential areas	Airport Residential Area, Kpehe, North Labone, Ridge, West Ridge, Cantonments
A5 Fringe developments:	Dzorwulu, East Legon, McCarthy Hill, New Achimota
a: Planned developments	
b: Partly unplanned developments	Madina, Mallam, Gbawe
A6 Rural residential areas	Small settlement nuclei within Ga District in the fringe such as Ofankor, Old Ashaley Botwe, Pantang, Old Dome, Pokuase, Bortianor, Amasaman, Weiija, etc.
Tema District Corporation (TDC)	
B.1.1 Planned residential area	Community 1, Community 2, Community 9
B.1.2 Planned medium-class residential	Community 4, Community 10, Community 12
B.1.3 Planned high-class residential area	
B.2 Residential areas	Community 6
B.2.1 Tema New Town (planned)	
B.2.2 Ashiaman (squatter)	
B.3 Rural residential areas	Tema New Town Ashiaman Rural areas around Tema

Source: Accra Metropolitan Area, 1990.

In all the various residential classes, there were more male-headed households than female-headed ones. The male-headed households represent 70 per cent while the female-headed households were 30 per cent. The latter was made up of 23.6 per cent from the low-class residential areas, 4.7 per cent from the middle-class and 1.6 per cent from the high-class areas. This is not an unexpected finding, given established social customs throughout Africa. In the traditional Ghanaian household the man has always been looked up to as the head of household and the breadwinner charged with the responsibility of the welfare of all household members. The head is expected to have control over the necessary economic and other resources even when he is not the sole breadwinner or provider.

The low-class residential areas, however, indicated quite a significant percentage of female-headed households. In her research, Ardayfio-Schandorf (1994) came up with a finding whereby women whom she personally interviewed named a woman

as head of household with decision-making and maintenance responsibilities in the household when there was no man present. Significant is the observation that almost all the male-headed households had females either as a spouse or relation, whereas the female-headed households had no adult male present. This confirms Bruce and Lloyd's (1992) assertion that a household labelled male-headed almost invariably has one or more females present, whereas a female-headed household is most often a male-absent household.

Undoubtedly, the majority of households in Ghana, irrespective of whether they are in rural or urban areas, have males as heads. Since headship usually goes with authority, men tend to occupy the loftier positions in the domestic hierarchy, hence their being more amenable to certain privileges than women (Addai-Sundiata 1995). This can be attributed to patriarchy whereby African societies construct gender in different ways so that in any locality, gender roles and gender relations give a specific meaning to being female or male. This has resulted in unequal access to areas of politics, education and employment among many others for Ghanaian women. This notwithstanding, women remain the bedrock in almost all households.

Attributes and Characteristics of Households in GAMA

The ages of household heads range from below 20 to above 70. Within the low-class residential areas, a majority of the household heads (33 %) were within the 31–40 age cohort. The middle-class household heads had a majority of 28.6 per cent within the 41–50 year bracket. The high-class heads also had a majority within the just-mentioned age group. This indicates that majority of household heads were quite young, i.e. between 31 and 50 years. Unlike in traditional households, when old persons are designated heads, a majority of the heads in GAMA have come to work, and can be described as economically active. The youngest household head interviewed was 19 years old and the oldest was 77 years old.

The size of a household ranges between 1 and 12, with the largest household being recorded in the low-class residential areas. An average household size in 1960 was 3.2 in the Accra Metropolitan Area; this rose to 4.2 in 1984 and 4.6 in 2000. Some household members were unrelated persons who share a common pot, but there are other households with both relative and non-relative members. The 1-to-2 household sizes had an almost equal number of males to females. However, the households with large numbers are female-headed, indicating that female household heads tended to accommodate more dependants.

A component of social variation in cities, which was isolated by Shevky and Bell (1955) and has been confirmed by many component analyses, is 'ethnicity' or ethnic status. This is concerned with the degree to which cultural and racial groups became separated in the city and hence with urban slums. Most respondents, with a total of 37.8 per cent, made up of respondents from all the various classes, were of Ga-dangbe origin. This is not surprising because GAMA is predominantly Ga, and almost all the indigenous areas are mostly Ga. The 2000 census put the Ga-dangbe population of the country at 7.5 per cent and those in the Greater Accra alone at

4.3 per cent. The Ga, residing outside the indigenous areas, occupy households where spouses, children and dependants live in the houses typical of urban areas in Ghana. The Ashanti with 14 per cent, Fanti 13 per cent and Akwapim 5.6 per cent are also well represented in GAMA, residing in specific neighbourhoods, especially in low-class residential areas.

A majority of household heads from all the various classes claimed to be Christians, with 63 per cent from low-class areas, 15.4 per cent from the middle-class and all interviewed from the high-class residential areas. Islam followed, with 10.3 per cent from the low-class areas, 1.4 per cent from the middle-class, and none from the high-class areas. A few respondents, namely 4 per cent and 1.2 per cent from the low-class and middle-class groups, respectively, were traditionalists. As most people associate Christianity with modernization and westernization, only a few traditionalists in the city were found. The focus group discussions show that religion, for example Christianity and Islam, promoted male household headship.

As much as 60 per cent of respondents from the high-class residential areas had access to university education while 7 per cent from low-class areas had no formal education. A majority of the highly educated respondents were males, comprising over 85 per cent, implying that high education favours males more than females. Even without such high levels of education, most of the female household heads contributed to the household budget.

Most of the heads of households were employed, with 62 per cent employees, 21 per cent self-employed and 11 per cent self-employed with employees. The remaining 6 per cent included the categories of apprentice, unpaid family worker, domestic employee and the unemployed. Some of the unemployed in all the residential areas were pensioners. In addition to their domestic and child-bearing and rearing responsibilities, many women in the study were highly engaged in economic activity. The proportion of Ghanaian women currently working is 92 per cent. However, important gender disparities still exist in employment opportunities.

Resource Mobilization of Households

The household does not necessarily represent a unified economy, but rather a loosely knit set of overlapping economies, some of which are fully contained within the household, but most of which reach into other households. The allocation of resources within such households has been described as a system of cooperative conflict, where individuals within the household are motivated not only by personal welfare but also by their perception of the obligations and legitimate behaviour that should characterize household members. Some scholars maintain that financial responsibility is shared between husband and wife but the former usually takes a greater share of responsibility. Others argue that though there seems to be division of responsibilities in the household, women usually contribute significantly to and spend a large share of their income on the upkeep of the household. What emerges most clearly in each case during the focus group discussions is that domestic work is almost exclusively the responsibility of women, who normally work longer hours

than men when domestic and economic work is put together. Household responsibilities and maintenance are most often divided along gender lines.

The income status of the household heads in all the areas did not necessarily reflect the socio-economic status of the household, as respondents in high-class residential areas declared income as low as 1 million cedis a month. Considering the types of house in which they lived and the residential area, the income was significantly less. It was only 6.3 per cent among the high residential class who reported income above 2 million monthly. Surprisingly, as many as 81.3 per cent within income range and 38.1 per cent within low residential class areas admitted having monthly incomes of 2 million cedis or above. The discrepancy may be due to under-reporting or/and unwillingness on the part of the high-class household heads to disclose their real income, and the fact that some are retired from active service and therefore do not earn a full salary.

Apart from the income of heads of households, some spouses also contributed financially to the household. Income per spouse ranged between 100,000 cedis and more than 2 million cedis per month. However, 31 per cent of spouses from low-class, 4 per cent from middle-class and 1 per cent from high-class areas received no monthly income from their spouses. In all this, it is difficult to generalize about the extent of women's contribution to the household given the great cultural diversity throughout the different areas. The division of labour between the sexes translates into separate though overlapping spheres of economic activities for men and women. In addition to the spouse, other members of the household also contributed towards the household budget. As many as over 6 per cent did contribute in some households, particularly those from low-class and middle-class areas. In most households, the male heads did not accept this fact and claimed that they were solely responsible economically for the household. The percentage income contributed by other members towards the household income ranges from below 20 to 100 per cent. As many as 57.9 per cent, 10 per cent and 3 per cent of respondents from low-, middle- and high-class areas, respectively, contributed 20 per cent of their income towards upkeep of the household. Such household income contributed towards household maintenance and payment of residential accommodation.

Changing Household Structure and Dynamics

The household structure and dynamics within GAMA provides a basis for analysis of socio-economic transformation that took place in Ghana between 1984 and 2003. The Economic Recovery Programme, the Structural Adjustment Programme and the liberalization of the economy affected many households in GAMA in one way or the other. It also manifests the rapid social, economic and political transformations that are taking place in households as well as the way households were perceived by society in the past and contemporary times. The varied households that have been generated in the urban setting demonstrate how traditional institutions accommodate change and adopt themselves to new conditions.

The extent to which the various factors of change have affected the size of households and the authority structure within the household, the relationship between

members of the household and the socio-economic status of the household were clarified. The opening up of new job opportunities for people in the urban areas, such as GAMA, has effects on the households. Young people in the city no longer rely on their fathers or kinsmen for a profession. Through formal education, or learning of vocations, they obtain the chance of entering into jobs that generate steady and regular income and which remove them from their traditional surroundings. Likewise, liberalization of the economy has attracted many people from other regions as well as foreigners to settle in GAMA.

This research revealed that most females between the ages 20 and 30 were heads of households just like their male counterparts. This trend of young heads of households attested to the fact that there is a form of independence being exhibited by the youth. The high rate of female-headed households is supported by Gage-Brandon and Njogu (1994) who found that the average Ghanaian woman spends 50 per cent of her productive life without the benefit of a co-resident partner. The same authors further showed that proportions have risen even more sharply in Ghana, reflecting a number of factors, such as non-co-residence of spouse, pre-marital child-bearing and marriage disruption. After age 31, there were more males as heads than female heads. In most instances, such households can be said to be autocratic, at least in principle, with the husband or patriarch in a firm position of dominance (Oppong 1974). In recent times, the attitude is changing in some urban households as a result of increasing education.

Change in household structure and size from the time households settled in GAMA was caused primarily by altered residence patterns and by natural increase. Most household heads came to GAMA with only their spouses and one or two children. A majority had all their children in GAMA. Other structural changes were related to joint living arrangements common among artisans, apprentices, and single household heads living alone or in a co-residence with siblings, friends or non-relatives.

Movement of Household Members

There is evidence that while some people were added to households, others also left their households within GAMA. Considering the past twenty years, 7.9 per cent from the middle-class and 2.5 per cent from high-class areas, respectively, had additions to the household. In the past five years, 34.8 per cent, 8.2 per cent and 2.1 per cent of heads from low-, middle- and high-class, respectively, reported additions to the household. This cumulatively shows a slight increase in additions to households in the last twenty years.

The size of the household affects relationships among members of the group when they are of diverse family types. This tends to increase the process of differentiation, which ultimately leads to segregation. Under such circumstances, the bonds of kinship, of neighbourliness and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common indigenous tradition are likely to be absent or at best relatively weak. Rather, members have diverse origin and backgrounds, live closely and work together as individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties.

The ages of members who joined the household ranged from one year to above 70 years. Some members who joined the household were siblings of the head, constituting 20 per cent of the members; 24 per cent were children of the head, 7 per cent were house helps, 22 per cent nieces and nephews, 8 per cent in-laws and 3 per cent grandchildren. The balance of 16 per cent were non-relatives and friends who stayed with the household while searching for accommodation. About 25 per cent of these members were employed and 30 per cent were unemployed; the rest were children and students. The composition of additions to the household shows the nature and structure of the changing urban households, which range from siblings of head, nieces and nephews to large numbers of non-relatives, friends and in-laws. The high dependency burden rate is demonstrated in the fact that 48 per cent of those added to the household were unemployed. In addition, it was mostly the low-class households that received most additions, at least more than 32 per cent for each period investigated (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Members Added to the Household in GAMA (percentages)

Last time someone joined the household	Low-class	Middle-class	High-class	Percentage
0–5 years	32.7	7.0	1.6	41.3
6–10 years	34.8	8.2	2.1	45.1
11–16 years	32.9	7.9	2.6	43.4

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

With respect to those who left, 20.8 per cent of household members left the household about 20 years ago, 33.4 per cent left over ten years ago, 33.7 per cent left within ten years and 53.5 per cent left in the last five years (Table 3.4). The ages of those who left ranges between 3 and 70 years. Of the total members who left the various households, 49 per cent were children of the head, 14 per cent in-laws, 13 per cent cousins, 6 per cent parents, 6 per cent spouses and 12 per cent non-relatives. Of those who left, 23 per cent were employed while the 6 per cent who were unemployed were mostly students. These people left the household for various reasons. Close to 16 per cent of those who left were married, 4 per cent were divorced and 41 per cent were single. Others also left to further their education, or for employment reasons. Yet, others moved to occupy their own houses or left Accra on transfer. A few departed through death. It is clear from the patterns of movement of household members that the single are the most mobile members of the household. These are younger members without family and less attachment who therefore found it relatively easier to move.

Members who were likely to leave the household but had not yet done so were likely to leave on the grounds of marriage, employment, education outside GAMA and proximity to work. When the percentage of members added to the household was compared to those who left, it was obvious that more members were being added than were leaving at each respective period.

Household Size at First Settlement and at Present

Contrary to the notion that married males often left their spouse and children behind when migrating and came for them later, this research found a new development whereby a majority of married heads came to GAMA with their spouse at the same time they settled, or within the same year they came to GAMA. Some came with relatives and non-relatives right from the beginning to assist with settling-in activities. The size of the household when they first settled in GAMA was much smaller. Generally it is believed that high-class households are smaller in size, but the findings show that owing to the presence of domestic employees who reside in the house and share meals and sleep in the house, the size of their household in fact tends to be larger.

Table 3.4: Distribution of Members who Left the Household (percentages)

Last time someone left the household	Low-class	Middle-class	High-class	Percentages
0–5 years	30.8	15.2	7.5	53.5
6–10 years	23.6	4.7	5.4	33.7
11–16 years	16.8	9.6	7.0	33.4
Above 17 years	7.5	3.3	10.0	20.8

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Another interesting observation was the fact that the common basic factor that determines the household size was family ties. There was, however, an appreciable number of persons who formed a household who were not related in any way in the findings. This form of household is also becoming prominent where friends or unrelated members share a house, meals and appoint one of them as a leader. There were households where couples on transfer were staying with friends owing to lack of accommodation. They shared common house-keeping arrangements and meals, and contributed substantially towards the household budget.

In GAMA households, a clear distinction can be made between settler or migrant households and indigenous households. It was observed that at Nungua, an indigenous area, there was more than one household in a compound with a mixture of indigenous and migrant households. Most of these households had family ties. Poorer households accommodated kinsmen who had moved to the city or from one part of the city to another, till they found their own accommodation. In certain cases most people who were working and staying with other kinsmen or even friends were not fed. Others took only evening meals with the household, whereas others contributed to the household budget and ate breakfast and supper.

Composition and Relationship of Family Members to Household Head

The relationships that existed in the household were divided into those of relations and non-relations. Relations included spouse, children, niece, nephews, in-laws and siblings. Non-relatives included friends, house helps and other domestic workers. The assertion by Lloyd and Gage-Brandon in 1993, that in Ghana the household

structure is characterized by strong lineage ties and weak conjugal ties, was not confirmed in GAMA. Most heads saw the spouse and children as their immediate household, invariably equating a household to a family.

The shift from the number of own biological children to other relatives and non-relatives stands out clearly in GAMA. Households with other members apart from relatives were very common. Though most household members did leave home to form their own households, households with several generations did still exist. Many grown-up children who should have left home remain because they were not able to find a place of their own. On the other hand, the few vacancies that opened up in the household because children did move out had been filled by persons who did not belong to the immediate household. The most common statement about household dynamics is the move from nuclear to extended units. Though the change is recognized, there are many variations and permutations in it, necessitated by financial constraints and other complexities of modern urban life. The co-existence of matrilineal and patrilineal traditions in Ghana is a matter of special significance. Although households may be geographically dispersed and autonomous, they still value and maintain extra-nuclear kin relationships.

The actual situation as found in most households in GAMA can be summarized by the saying that an urbanized African is outside the ethnic group but is not beyond the influence of the ethnic culture. There are changes in households but most households in GAMA have adapted to new conditions without losing their ethnic identity or abandoning their culture. The problems of co-residence with other relatives were at play. Sharing with friends and relations will mean moving into an existing household (Fig. 3.1). This tended to lead to formation of large households existing side by side with small ones in the same compound house. Single-member households were, however, becoming prevalent in GAMA, reflecting the fact that many workers are unmarried and live on their own. The needs of the household, cultural values and the stage of life cycle and the type of marriage all affect household change.

Causes of Residential Change of Households in GAMA

Many household heads would like to continue to stay in GAMA for a whole range of reasons. Most of them felt GAMA had all the necessary amenities and facilities and was the best place to reside in Ghana. Some of the reasons given were that people had built their homes and businesses in GAMA. Eighteen of the twenty respondents from the high-class residential areas who either had their own houses and business in GAMA felt it was easier for them in GAMA than elsewhere in Ghana. A combined 12 per cent of households from the three residential areas together would like to continue to stay in GAMA because of marriage, friends and family.

Table 3.5: Reasons for Continuous Stay in GAMA by Residential Class (percentages)

Reasons	Low-class	Middle-class	High-class	Percentage
Social amenities	3.5	0.9	0.2	4.6
Marriage/family/ friends	9.3	1.2	0.0	10.5
Peaceful environment	3.5	2.6	1.4	7.5
Own house	7.0	0.5	0.0	7.5
Work opportunities	21.3	1.9	0.5	23.7
Education	3.3	0.0	0.0	3.3
Technological advancement	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.9
Nearness of house to workplace	27.1	5.4	1.6	34.1
Have no choice	0.7	4.9	0.9	6.5

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

About 60 per cent would want to stay because of a combination of work opportunity and nearness of work to their residence. According to 7.5 per cent of households, the environment in their residential area is so peaceful they would not dream of leaving GAMA. However, 7 per cent of households stated that they had no other choice but to be in GAMA and 3.3 per cent said they would stay because of education (Table 3.5). The low-class areas were highly positive that opportunities for work and the nearness of their residence to work were so advantageous that there was no need to move elsewhere. Accordingly, 33.4 per cent had never changed residence since they settled in GAMA. Those from the low-class areas who had never changed residence were mainly indigenous and few came from the migrant areas, where they were still seeking better and affordable rented premises. Those from the high-class areas who have not yet changed residence bought their houses while they were outside the country, and moved in when they returned. Out of all the respondents, 41.6 per cent had never changed residence in GAMA. This contrasts the finding of Obeng-Manu (2001), who found out that almost 95 per cent of his respondents in Accra had changed residence. This may be a function of the fact that he studied migrant households who had more tendencies to move than indigenous households.

Most migrants moved in with relatives, friends and acquaintances, as has already been said, and they remained until such time as they got jobs and started their own households. Most indigenous Ga, however, because of their system of inheritance and rent-free accommodation, prefer to remain in the extended family residence. This is not to say that they are not moving at all, because the research found Gas in all the sample residential areas. There were certain moves that were of forced nature as 7.2 per cent of household heads had to move owing to eviction, 2.6 per cent

as a result of retirement, 3.3 per cent for health reasons, 1.6 per cent divorce and 0.9 per cent because of death of spouse (Table 3.6).

Lack of privacy, poor sanitation, harassment by property owners and eviction were some of the basic determinants of household residential mobility in GAMA. Residential change is becoming very common in Accra, and 54 per cent of household heads in the study expressed dissatisfaction with their current residential areas and wished to move out. The respondents who had changed residence once did so for reasons of divorce or moving from rental premises to their own house, change in household size and employment, dislike for previous neighbourhood, acute water problems or experience of earthquakes.

Table 3.6: Reasons Attributed to Forced Nature of Move in GAMA (percentages)

Reasons	Low-class	Middle-class	High-class	Percentage
Property eviction	5.1	1.6	0.5	7.2
Retirement	1.9	0.7	0.0	2.6
Health	2.8	0.5	0.0	3.3
Divorce	0.7	0.5	0.2	1.4
Death of spouse	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.9
NR	32.2	7.7	2.8	42.7

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Most households had not changed residence, not because they liked their place of residence, but rather because of financial constraints and lack of time to search for suitable and affordable replacements. Many obtained their current places through friends and agents who charged on each trip to inspect vacant houses. This is on top of the charge of 10 per cent on the cost of the residence chosen. Out of the 32.2 per cent who had changed residence more than once since they settled in GAMA, the highest numbers were those who moved from initial residence in order to settle in their own houses. This was followed by households that moved owing to change in the size and composition of the household and marriage. Others changed residence because of unsatisfactory conditions at the previous place and changes in socio-economic circumstances.

Most households did not rent their places of residence. These were made up of 61.9 per cent from the low-class, 15.1 per cent from middle-class, and 3.9 per cent from high-class areas. They comprised households that owned their personal accommodation, built or bought the house and stayed in company accommodation. Others had free accommodation, or stayed with relatives or non-relatives. Some of these were also households living in uncompleted houses as caretakers. A total of 14 per cent of households rented accommodation, most of which were from low-class residential areas. Despite the fact that most households enjoyed free accommodation, only 10 per cent actually owned their residence. Households that have free accommodation far outnumbered those renting, though some of the arrangements may be temporary, especially those of caretakers and those staying with friends and relatives.

In GAMA, residential mobility is explained in terms of tenure status. Property-owners and those who occupied family houses tended to be stable while tenants were mostly found to be mobile within cities. While a considerable number of households in GAMA moved to occupy their own houses, others moved because of change of jobs, transfers, search for jobs and provision of accommodation by employers. Some mobility was also attributed to the need to join relatives and friends, unsanitary conditions, transportation problems and over-saturation of shops, stores and other commercial activities in the Central Business District (CBD) as previous place of residence.

Relationship between Household Change and Residential Pattern

As some scholars have observed, life-cycle change or stages in the life cycle correlate with residential pattern. The composition of the household and its size affect residential location and pattern in GAMA, although 32 per cent of households did not acknowledge any relationship between change in household composition and residential location. Many heads, mainly from the middle- and low-class areas, moved from a single-room apartment to a double room; and some middle-class heads moved to a three-bedroom and even a four-bedroom house. Although it is believed that most households within the low-class find it difficult to adjust living conditions to change in the life cycle of the household, it was evident in the research that 63 per cent within the low-class residential area made some initial move because of the size and composition of their households. When the movement could not be sustained with a further increase in their numbers and the composition, it led to overcrowding, with many members, including adults and children, sharing the same room.

Similarly, there is a relationship between socio-economic status and household change in GAMA. Most households in single-room accommodation, upon change in income and social status, moved to low-rise single-family or self-contained apartments. The moves of low-income households were often within quite a limited area and often within the same or similar neighbourhood. About 75 per cent of high-class households felt their area was one of the best places in GAMA and, therefore, a change in their economic status would not necessarily initiate a move. A number of middle-class household heads explained that, owing to lack of space, they would prefer to move or renovate their residence for a face-lift befitting that of a high-class area to reflect their socio-economic status. Some households were forced to continue to live in single rooms even after they had additional numbers to the household because they could not afford better accommodation.

Types of Residence Ever Occupied by Households

Residential location decisions based on level of income variations are made in relation to an existing stock of houses and a complex market situation (Carter 1981). In any urban system, there will be differential access to the highest-order services, and the sector of the population with least access constitutes a deprivation category. To be able to see the relationship between housing type and decision to move, a chi-square

test was conducted, which demonstrated that there was no relationship between housing type and decision to move among low-class residences but a strong relationship among middle- and high-class residences. The high-class residential areas follow a certain pattern, bringing in values and class-consciousness that at the same time was associated with dispersed community living. Most of the fringes of GAMA are occupied by mobile middle- and high-class households, dominated by urban lifestyles.

In choosing a housing location, the high- and middle-class households tend to evaluate, albeit imperfectly, the range of opportunities available in general and with respect to their own specific situation. Household heads tended to weigh the potential location against resources and potential social services in terms of friends and relatives, and ultimately choose the destination that maximizes both. Information about possible location comes from contact with friends, relatives and until recently 'agents', which exposes the household to a more comprehensive spatial setting. In such situations, the first choice of destination would appear to be the nearest medium-sized residence or areas for which relatives and friends had already paved the way, and the socio-cultural environment closer to the household's previous experience. After acculturation to the urban milieu, the households became equipped to move to more heterogeneous areas of the city. This implies that when households had to move, they became concerned with certain preferences that guided them in choices that would avoid communities and places they disliked.

Mobility of Households within GAMA

Mobility is a fundamental human activity and need. It is a need that sets the tone for the voluntary and involuntary movements of people from one location to another. The friction of distance, cost and other factors restrict mobility. Households are more likely to move only when a place is accessible and there is the means to do so. In GAMA, being single had a large positive effect on women's ability to move for career and other purposes. According to the female household heads, having no partner increased their mobility rate. This was not true of men whose residential mobility is not affected whether they are in relationship or not. While divorce increased men's mobility in most western societies, the opposite was observed in this research. Separation, be it divorce or death, increased women's residential mobility more than men's in GAMA.

Transportation is not easy in GAMA owing to bottlenecks and traffic congestion that affect residential mobility. Almost 50 per cent of respondents mentioned difficulties that arose out of this problem. Respondents from the high-class areas, however, had easy access to both telephones and means of transport, but pointed out that actual movement was quite difficult at certain times of the day because of traffic jams, depending on the housing location.

Housing Conditions of Households

One of the few widely argued shifts in economic viewpoint has recently resulted not from a change in perception of housing, but rather as part of movement away from

a pure economic growth concept to that of basic needs. Urban housing is supposed to be well-planned to conform to regulations that govern the design and housing types that can be built. This is not the case in some parts of GAMA, and was the reason cited by some respondents for disliking certain areas. Private homes are designed to meet the taste, life style and needs of the individuals that formed the household.

However, mass-designed and mass-constructed houses aimed at simply providing sleeping spaces for a lot of people may have supplied minimum facilities in recent years. But demand for housing units in the city has become so great that it has led to uncontrolled and random residential building. Uncontrolled building development and overcrowding had brought about fast development of slums in some parts of GAMA. At the same time, many of the existing houses in the low-class residential areas lacked basic amenities and infrastructure, and were deteriorating rapidly in the absence of a consistent maintenance culture.

The low quality of the housing stock in some deteriorating neighbourhoods engendered high levels of dissatisfaction for over 50 per cent household heads in low-class areas. Almost 90 per cent from the high-class areas were satisfied. The 10 per cent who were not satisfied felt insecure because the area was earthquake-prone. Comparing location with neighbourhood, 57.2 per cent from the low-class residential areas expressed dissatisfaction with the location, while 76.3 per cent were satisfied with the neighbourhood. To them, the neighbourhood is friendly and accommodating, but 10 per cent from the high-class area had a contrary opinion.

A significant correlation of almost 0.394 was achieved between a desire to move and locational stress. The most stress was experienced by those households who felt they could find a better residence elsewhere and who were the least satisfied with their present location and neighbourhood. As to why respondents chose a particular neighbourhood, nearness to workplace, affordability and access to friends were some of the reasons cited. Many heads from the high-class areas cited affordability, comfort, less noise, absence of overcrowding and social status of the residential area as reasons for their choice.

Current Residential Status

Most houses owned by heads in the high- and middle-class residential areas were either built or bought by the household heads themselves. However, a majority from the low-class residential areas who owned houses inherited them as rent-free. In the low-class residential areas in Nungua, for example, 60 per cent of households lived in family houses. Such family houses accommodated different types of households including single-person households, nuclear and extended households where the elderly son's wife catered for the mother-in-laws and father-in-laws who were in their own households. About 30 per cent of sample households in low-class residential areas had done extensions to transform their portion of the compound house to some form of self-contained apartment. The remaining households were sharing housing units with other households. Grown-up children tended to work and, even when

they got married, they still remained in their family house. They only try to make some extension when there is available land. Others stay in their extended household till they build their own house at the periphery and move out.

The availability of rooms in housing units ranged from 1 to 20. Forty per cent of households in low-class areas live in single rooms; out of these 80 per cent are in a chamber and hall and 10 per cent are in a self-contained apartment. As many as 8 people share one room in some low-class households, but the average was 4.5 in a room. Ten per cent of middle-class households live in a single-room apartment, out of which 40 per cent live in a hall and chamber and 50 per cent in either detached or semi-detached houses. All the respondents in the high-class residential areas are living in detached houses with an average of two people in a room. Sixty-five per cent of respondents as against 45 per cent agreed that their residential space is adequate for the household.

With regard to the type of bathroom and toilet facilities being used, 58 per cent of the houses in the low-class areas had shared facilities with property-owners and or co-tenants. As many as 11 per cent within low-class residential areas lived in houses with no toilet and kitchen. In these areas, pan or bucket toilets were still in use.

About 98 per cent of households used electricity as their source of lighting in GAMA and 2 per cent used other sources. In the case of cooking, 75 per cent from the low-class areas used charcoal, 15 per cent gas and the remaining 10 per cent firewood. The source of drinking water was pipe-borne water. All households in high-class and some middle- and low-class areas had this facility but others from the middle- and low-class areas fetched water from outside the household, other houses or from public pipes. This confirms the report of the demographic health survey (1999), which indicates that more than 50 per cent of households in GAMA can draw water within a 15-minute walking distance, and they take less than 10 minutes to reach a source of water supply.

In the middle-class and high-class residential areas, the household lived mostly in detached and semi-detached houses. This was quite significant and showed that most of the houses in these areas housed nuclear units, with some having other relations and non-relatives like house helps, garden boys and watchmen. The type of housing in GAMA can be divided into five groups: the courtyard or compound house, flats, detached houses, semi-detached and traditional storey buildings.

Throughout GAMA, provision of housing for households nowhere kept pace with population growth. The gap is even widening because of the high rate of inflation, which has led to a high cost of building materials, affecting mostly the low-class households. Lack of proper housing facilities has given rise to the emergence of residence associations, with 44 per cent of residential areas having such associations.

Conclusion

The study has demonstrated that the household in GAMA is ever-changing in size, composition and function. Many have the nuclear unit as the basis of the household. One clear finding that emerged is that the general concept of a household has

changed at least for the past ten years in GAMA, according to the study. The typical household is no longer one with parents, children and relatives, but rather one that includes extended family members, friends, co-workers and other non-relatives. These different forms of emergent households have common residential arrangements for meals and accommodation. There was also a significant emergence of single-member households in GAMA because of unmarried workers, who lived on their own. A total of 70 per cent households from all classes were headed by males, with 30 per cent headed by females. Male-headed households had women as co-residents whereas many of the female-headed households had no elderly male present, making them *de jure* female-headed households. An increase in the age of the head of the household, coupled with growth in the household size, brought in more disposable income, as a greater number of household members became employed and contributed to the household budget. Other characteristics of the households are affected by factors such as marital status, education, occupation, income and cultural beliefs of the households, and changes in any of these parameters. Household change is affected by cultural values, stage of the life cycle, type of marriage and the needs of the household.

The findings seem to confirm the proposition that there is a weak correlation between changes that take place in households and their residential patterns, especially among the low-class residential areas. But improvement in socio-economic factors was found to impact positively on the type of residence, location and neighbourhood.

Most household heads were aged between 40 and 60 years. The older household heads tended to have larger households with grown-up household members who contributed towards the upkeep of the household. Comparatively, young household heads had smaller household size, some of them consisting of a single member. Large household size was not associated with low-class residential areas, as most literature contends. This might be related to the fact that the households in GAMA are being compelled by the rising cost in household maintenance to reduce the size of the household. This may also be a consequence of the positive result of the birth control programmes to encourage people to have fewer children. It is also obviously more expensive to bring up children in GAMA than in the rural hinterland. The household size of high-class residential areas was relatively higher, owing to the presence of other relatives and non-relatives and not necessarily the number of own biological children. The determinants of the household size, however, were income, sex, age and educational background of the household head.

Low-class areas have been found to be often associated with larger household size and low income, but this was not clearly the case in GAMA. This might be owing to the fact that areas designated as low-class as a result of their poor planning, bad roads and high density had gone through drastic changes from 1984 to 2002. There are very expensive buildings in such areas, with some of the elite and wealthy in societies remaining there, as found in places like Nungua, Madina and Lashibi.

The high-class areas in certain cases have household heads with relatively high education, but there was no evidence to show that the households were wealthy. The

indigenous extended household units of GAMA have the same characteristics as those in the rural areas because they have no room for further physical expansion and there is also a very high demographic density.

As most indigenous households enjoy free accommodation, only a few of the members leave the social areas in which they were raised. When they move, such moves occur within a neighbourhood of similar characteristics. Those who wish to move and relocate because of housing needs could not do so because of unavailability of affordable suitable housing and high costs. Households' preferences based on their values, income and occupation affected their interpretation of opportunities and their changing character. Because of this, access to housing, both in the public and private sectors, has become a constraint to urban householders in GAMA.

In the area of household structure, it is now evident that new types of households apart from the traditional ones headed by males have emerged. Female-headed households are increasing and there are others headed by siblings and friends of the same or similar age groups. At the same time, the family system and the concept of the nuclear family continue to be still valued in Ghana. As Addai-Sundiata (1995) stated, the household remains a primary focus of cohesion and a source of stability and control, especially in the urban milieu.

Unfortunately, much of GAMA's expansion has taken a heavy toll on the environment. Unenlightened and hasty building of shoddy high-rise apartment buildings has scarred the urban fabric of the city. The spread of housing, offices and store buildings and unfettered expansion in all forms has spawned vast networks of roads, power lines, pipelines and other needed infrastructural facilities. The rapid urban sprawl has engendered many social problems that can be linked to the break-up of neighbourhood and the degradation of the urban environment, with congestion, especially in the low-class areas. GAMA is in dire need of proper planning in line with housing production by large private companies such as the Ghana Real Estate Developers Association (GREDA).

From the analysis, it can be generalized that households in GAMA have gone through transformations in size, composition, structure and function within the period under review. A majority of households were maintained by the economic contribution of other members of the household and not necessarily the head alone, as previously conceived. Household headship, therefore, presents a mixed picture of who is really supporting and bearing responsibility for the household. Further research could investigate the actual contribution of individual adult members within the household, and how this affects the cohesion and mobility of the household.

Recommendations and Policy Implications

As the largest urbanized area in Ghana, GAMA, with its rapid rate of population and physical growth, needs proper planning as the population is projected to reach over four million in the year 2020. This points, in the first place, to the need for improvements in the housing situation in GAMA, as adequate and affordable housing was a major problem for many households. There should be implementation of a

series of measures to improve the quality of existing housing stock. Diverse policies and strategies, aimed at increasing housing production and affordability in GAMA, should be enforced. The government's National Shelter Strategy of 2001 (Ministry of Works and Housing 2002), which seeks to work with private developers to build new housing for rental as well as for private sale to various socio-income group in Accra, should be vigorously planned and pursued to meet corresponding needs and abilities of households. This calls for limitation and control of the present form and extension of housing allocation.

In pursuance of this goal, private developers should be assisted with loans. The Social Security and National Insurance Trust should be empowered to use part of the workers' contribution to develop residential buildings for contributors, to be deducted at source if they so prefer. The state should equally ensure that social and cultural amenities, schools, crèches, youth clubs, playgrounds and markets, among others, are planned for and completed at the same time as the production of houses in all residential areas.

There should be maintenance and modernization of old buildings in good repair. GAMA is in dire need of proper planning, restoration and enhancement in the process of urban renewal. For this purpose, the Town and Country Planning Department should provide for direction in connection with land-use planning and policies for social and economic development. For instance, in their national planning, in order to cope with the increasing urbanization of the Paris region, the French authorities have adopted a scheme to encourage growth in selected peripheral cities, designated as regional metropolises. Great effort is being put into equipping these cities with high-level facilities in higher education, medical care and communications, among others, in an attempt to counterbalance the lure of Paris. Those cities should soon be functioning as full-scale regional metropolises. The same policy can be applied to selected communities to serve as receiving points for households in an effort to decongest GAMA.

Further research could explore the impact of economic and political developments on the urban households. Particularly, there should be a study on the emerging and changing concepts of households. This should include both nuclear and extended households without male members present, but larger in size, to investigate further and determine their impact on residential mobility, resource allocation, cohesion and welfare of the household for development.

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6

Landlordism and Housing Production in Greater Accra Metropolitan Area

Paul W. K. Yankson

Introduction

Housing is known as one of the most important basic needs of mankind. Housing has profound effects on health, social attitudes and the productivity of individuals. The quality of one's housing may be one of the best indicators of one's standard of living and place in society (Seager 1995; Harpham and Turner 1995; Hardoy et al. 1990). Furthermore, expenditure on housing constitutes the largest single investment that most people make in their lifetime. Again, not only do income-generation opportunities emerge through rental income, but also houses are assets that often attract further investment (UNCHS 2001).

Investment in housing, however, is a function of demand. In most cases, where the housing market is poorly developed, demand exceeds supply, at least in the short run. As it has been indicated in Chapter 1, most urban residents in Ghana, especially in Accra, are tenants. Not much is known about both tenants and landlords. Indeed, globally, much of the literature is on low-income housing, particularly on tenancy.

The term landlord refers essentially to an exchange relationship where one household (the tenant) pays rent to another household or institution (the landlord). The term is used to refer only to housing, and not land. In Latin America, landlordism is very much a small-scale business undertaking. In this respect, rental accommodation is provided by owner-occupiers, who let out rooms in their own houses (Gilbert 1983; Edwards 1982). In West Africa, Aina (1990) has recorded similar features in Lagos, Nigeria while Amis (1984, 1988) has done the same in the case of Nairobi, Kenya. The key issues covered in the literature on low-income housing include the following: the role of low-income landlords in urban housing supply; the conditions under which low-income households make the transition from renting to ownership; inputs into and access to the resources for the housing production process, such as access to land, capital, labour and building materials; tenancy issues; as well as the impact of rent control as a source of disincentive or incentive to housing production

and the question of the economics of small-scale landlordism and the impact of rent control (Kumar 1996).

This chapter examines the issue of landlordism and housing production in Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). It is an issue that has received very little attention in housing studies in Ghana, a situation confirmed by the Ministry of Local Government:

One of the fundamental features of housing in Ghana is the dearth of information, and lack of accurate and reliable statistics. This is partly due to the absence of a workable framework for housing development demanding monitoring and evaluation. Data relating to such vital issues as the nature and number of the housing stock, tenurial arrangements, density levels and the quality of housing are either non-existent or their reliability is suspicious. Housing research has been inadequate and has had little impact on the data base (Government of Ghana/Ministry of Local Government/UNDP/UNCHS/TCPD/APDP 1990:18).

Most of the studies on urban housing focus on the two major cities in the country, namely, Accra and Kumasi. Urban housing issues were covered in urban social surveys carried out in the post World War II era. In the case of Accra, Ione Acquah's survey is perhaps the best known (Acquah 1958). In that same year, the Ministry of Housing published, on behalf of the Government of Ghana, a document (Ghana Government 1958) in which projections for housing delivery, within the structure plan of Accra, were given. Others include the Quarcoo, Addo and Peil (1967) survey of Madina; and a survey on housing and household conditions in three suburbs of Accra – Labone, James Town and Nima – by Addo and Kpedekpo (1967). This was followed by Peil's survey of Ashaiman (1972). In the same year, Richard Brand published a research paper on a study he had conducted into the residential circumstances of migrants in the city of Accra (Brand 1972). Two years later, Brand collaborated with Harvey on another paper on residential space allocation among migrants in Accra (Harvey and Brand 1974). A similar study was conducted by Bobo (1974) on urban land use and residential consumption in Accra. Bobo (1977) again examined the functional relationship between needs and housing demand and the effects of this relationship on the pattern and derivation of land values in the city of Accra. The 1986 national report on housing (Government of Ghana 1986) and the Accra housing needs assessment study (Government of Ghana 1990) examined the issue of housing within the context of urban and national development

In addition, several specific issues in housing have been examined. These include the question of land and housing for low-income groups (Asiama 1984, 1985); space requirements for residential development (Edmundson 1986); estimation of housing stock (Boapeah and Tipple 1983); housing stock and general housing conditions (Tipple 1980); the role of the culture and religion of indigenous people on housing delivery (Tipple 1984); the residential upgrading of slum areas of Kumasi, the impact on households and housing of government intervention in private rental market (Tipple and Wallis, 1989); and the role of the private sector on housing

delivery (Tipple and Wallis 1992; Tipple et al. 1999). Recent research in housing has focused on the poverty of the housing environment (Tipple and Korboe 1995; Peil 1994; Konadu-Agyemang 2001) and the issue of housing maintenance (Korboe 1992). It is important to know in detail the sources of housing in GAMA; but before expanding on that, it would be useful to present, in brief, the history of housing production by the state and the large-scale private sector.

Urban Housing Production by the State and Large-scale Private Sector

Before the advent of the colonial administration in the Gold Coast, housing delivery in Ghana was basically on an individual and family basis. Private participation in housing on a commercial basis was non-existent, nor did housing feature prominently in the development plans of the colonial government. The best-known of such plans was Gordon Guggisberg's Ten-Year Plan (1919–29), which focused on the building and construction of infrastructure projects. The government did not include housing programmes in the plan (Boapeah 1990). The importance of a living environment was not at all paramount in the development agenda, and the major effort government made in housing supply was in response to emergency situations such as the outbreak of bubonic plague in Kumasi in 1924 (Konadu-Agyemang 2001) and the earthquake in Accra in 1939. The only housing schemes initiated by government were limited to the provision of barracks for the army, single- and two-room units for the police, junior civil servants and miners, and bungalows for senior civil servants (Boapeah 1990).

The need for a comprehensive shelter strategy for Ghana in which housing development can take place in a coherent and sustainable manner has long been recognized. During the period 1982–86 the government's stated objective on housing indicated broadly the need for the public sector to provide adequate housing during national development plan periods. No need assessments were made, and as a result, there were no indications of projected outputs. From the pre-independence years through to 1986, programmes emanating from such objectives by the various public housing agents were put in place. These bodies included the State Housing Corporation; Tema Development Corporation; Prefab Concrete Products; Department of Rural Housing and Cottage Industries; REDCO; Institutional Housing Corporations, etc. During this period also, other public schemes were introduced for improvement works on old dwellings that were fast deteriorating (Agyapong 1995:1). But these agencies and schemes failed to meet the mounting deficits in housing delivery, estimated to be about 250,000 units in 1985. The housing programmes that were instituted did not incorporate measurable input-output targets that could facilitate effective monitoring of performance.

The State Housing Corporation (SHC) and the Tema Development Corporation (TDC) were established and allocated money to engage in the direct production of houses. Since its formation, according to information available in 2001, the SHC had constructed 23,471 houses throughout the country, with 10,958 in Accra. Of these, only 774 were rented, 8779 purchased and 1359 on hire purchase (Ministry

of Works and Housing 2001:39). The total housing delivery by the SHC, relative to urban housing needs, indicates that over the years the state body made little impact on the housing requirements of urban areas. The Tema Development Corporation by the same date, had built over 16,000 housing units, 6,355 of which are rental units. The TDC has catered mainly for middle- and upper-income groups (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001:40).

In the late 1980s, a Draft National Housing Policy and Action Plan 1987–90 was prepared. The public sector now adopted a facilitating role by providing relief to the private sector delivery constraints. It was during this period that the Ghana Real Estate Developers Association (GREDA), consisting of a number of private real estate companies, was formed. Despite the rapid expansion of housing units in Accra, the National Shelter Strategy indicates that about 85 per cent of the national housing stock is provided by numerous small builders and individual owners. Only 15 per cent is provided by quasi-public corporations, which 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 GREDA. Almost all the houses constructed by members of GREDA is found in the cities, particularly the Accra–Tema area. The housing units produced by private companies are targeted at middle- and upper-income earners while the state corporations focus largely on the middle-income category of consumers. In the past state housing agencies tried to serve low-income households but this attempt has not been very successful. Also much of the housing stocks provided by the state corporations are found in the cities and other large urban centres.

In this respect, the key research questions relating to landlords and housing production include: who is producing housing or who owns houses that poor households especially have or attempt to have access to? That is, who are the landlords and how do they acquire houses for rental purposes? What changes have occurred in the way they produce houses in the era of economic reforms in Ghana, and what are the factors responsible for this? What problems have been encountered by various categories of landlords in housing production, and how have landlords coped or adapted to the changed socio-economic situation in this respect? What is the nature of the relationship between tenants and landlords?

Objectives, Conceptual Framework and Field Methods

The objectives of this chapter are:

- Firstly, to examine the nature of landlordism and the housing production process in GAMA and the changes that have taken place in housing production within the metropolitan area since 1983, the year when the economic reform programmes were introduced;
- Secondly, to investigate the tenant/landlord relationship as it affects demand, and hence, investment in housing by landlords;

- Thirdly, to examine the problems faced by various categories of landlords in the housing production process; and
- Finally, to examine the implications of the above for policy, planning and urban housing development in Accra and in Ghana generally.

Systems theory was utilized as the conceptual framework for analyzing housing production in GAMA. Housing production is a complex process and the housing production system comprises many components. These include access and utilization of: land; finance; cost of labour; construction materials; and housing demand, which stimulates investment in housing by the various categories of landlords. These factors are interconnected and interdependent. Addressing the first objective involved examining housing demand, since the era of economic reforms began in the early 1980s and housing investment profiles, including land acquisition and organization of production by different types of landlords. The land issue involved analyzing land acquisition, the sources of the land, cost of plots for building purposes and changes in cost of plots over time, accessibility and means of acquisition and problems encountered.

The issue of arrangement for production of housing involved describing the type of labour used by landlords; demand was measured using the number of rooms per house, percentage rented out, demand for and enquiries made for rental units on a monthly basis. The type of structures, value of structures provided for different segments of the housing market and the changes made to the physical structure of houses over time were also examined; tenant/landlord relations and how these have impacted on demand and investments in housing by landlords; and the challenges encountered by landlords in rental housing production and coping strategies adopted by landlords were recorded. The implications of results of the analysis for policy, planning and for urban housing development in Accra specifically, and in Ghana generally, were discussed.

In the study, changes that have occurred since 1983 were recorded. The fundamental objectives of economic reforms in sub-Saharan Africa were to implement a package of economic policy, institutional and management changes that would remove the structural constraints that made it impossible for the economy to extricate itself from stagnation and set it on a self-sustaining growth path. The lynchpin of the programme was a set of stabilization measures that would be agreed with the International Monetary Fund. The implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has impacted on housing production and the housing market, particularly in GAMA and other metropolitan areas of Ghana (Grant and Yankson 2003). One of the effects 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 perimeters of the city of Accra, extending them further into Ga and Tema districts over time, particularly along major thoroughfares. The liberalization programme has indirectly contributed to the physical expansion of Accra (Grant and Yankson 2003). 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 negative effects of the SAP, compelled low-income households and even some middle-income households to move out of inner city area 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 among authors who have examined the impact of urbanization on the fringe zones of Accra and Kumasi.

Secondary and primary sources of data were used. Primary data was derived mainly from field surveys of small-, medium- and large-scale landlords, and interviews with officials of the Ministry of Works and Housing, Accra Metropolitan Assembly and members of GREDA. Small-scale landlords were considered to be those who resided in the same facility as their tenants, as indicated in the literature (Kumar 1996; Gilbert 1983, 1987; Edwards 1982). Medium-scale landlords were those who had two or more rental units, and large-scale ones were public housing agencies such as the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), Tema Development Corporation (TDC), State Housing Corporation (SHC) and private enterprises operating under GREDA.

A multi-stage sampling technique was employed to select landlords and their tenants for interview. In GAMA, there are residential communities that are predominantly migrant, others that are indigenous as well as those with a mixture of both migrants and indigenes. Additionally, there are communities that can be characterized as predominantly low-, medium- and high-income. Some communities had experienced rapid growth in population while others were either stagnant or slow-growing between 1984 and 2000. Residential communities were selected for this study on the basis of whether they were predominantly migrant or indigenous. The focus was on migrant communities where most of the residents were predominantly tenants, while most residents in the indigenous areas had rent-free accommodation. Based on these criteria, three communities, namely, Sahara-Dansoman, Mamprobi and Kwashieman, were selected from the Accra Metropolitan Assembly Area (AMA); Gbawe and Taifa from the Ga District and Ashaiman and Adenta East from Tema Municipal Assembly Area (see Fig. 1.2). A little over one per cent (1.2%) of the population in each community was taken to ensure representativeness of each community selected in the sample. Altogether, 425 households were interviewed. In addition, 15 members of GREDA, SSNIT, TDC and SHC, representing large-scale landlords, were selected for interview on their role in the housing production process, the changes they had noted and the reasons for the changes; also 50 and 20 tenants renting from small-/medium- and large-scale landlords, respectively, were interviewed on their relationships with their landlords. Questionnaires were used to collect the information from the sampled landlords and tenants. Large-scale landlords as well as public sector agencies were provided with interview guides.

The focus on landlords and housing production in Ghana's major metropolitan areas were justified on a number of grounds:

- Firstly, urban housing plays a key role in economic and social development, and hence, has implications for the reduction of urban poverty;
- Secondly, government efforts at providing housing have had little effect on the provision of adequate housing for low-income households. This has been worsened by the adoption of a liberalized economic policy and the subsequent withdrawal of the state in direct delivery of housing, which have served to give impetus to the private sector in the production of housing;
- Thirdly, housing production is fraught with challenges and an understanding of these would assist in the adoption of appropriate measures to solve the accommodation problems of many urban households.

Nature of Landlordism in Accra

The results of the study showed that landlordism was essentially a small-scale business venture. In terms of the houses covered in the survey, 60 per cent were compound houses; 14 per cent were the bungalow type and 18 per cent were semi-detached units. About 56 per cent of the houses had between 6 and 10 rooms per house, most of which were compound houses. About 78 per cent of all landlords covered in the survey had only one rental unit each. Almost 97 per cent of the landlords surveyed were males. About 64 and 18 per cent of landlords covered in the survey were operators in the informal (i.e. unregistered and operating largely outside official employment and tax regulations) and formal sectors of the economy of GAMA, respectively. Of the 22 per cent of landlords who had more than one house, about 64 per cent were operators in the informal economy. Some 13 per cent of the landlords covered in the survey were pensioners, for whom renting served as a safety net for their state of unemployment. Many of them had built their rental units when they were in active formal sector employment. A little over 75 per cent of the landlords were non-indigenes of GAMA, especially landlords from the Akan language group. This is not surprising, considering the cosmopolitan nature of GAMA. This is in contrast with the situation recorded in Kumasi, where most of the rental units, covered by various studies, were built by the indigenous Akan people of Kumasi (Tipple 1984). A little over 24 per cent of the landlords had had post-secondary levels of education (post-secondary, polytechnic and university); 30 per cent secondary level; another 30 per cent basic education; while 16 per cent had had no formal education.

Majority of the landlords covered in the survey (65%) earned rental income of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 cedis (between US\$56 and US\$112 at an exchange rate, at the time of the survey, of 9,000 cedis to US\$1) a month; 40 per cent of such landlords had compound houses. Another 19 per cent earned less than this. Almost 12 per cent of them earned between one million and three million cedis a month. Less than 2 per cent earned above three million cedis. These were mainly landlords who owned detached or bungalow-type housing units. It is interesting to note that 51 per cent of landlords who had only one rental unit earned between

500,000 and 1,000,000 cedis. No significant relationship was established by the study between monthly incomes of landlords and the number of rental units owned by them.

Though it was found that landlordism was generally on a small scale, at Ashaiman, a low-income township in Tema Municipal Assembly Area however, a few landlords were recorded to have acquired more than one rental unit, mainly because of the inexpensive building or temporary materials they used in construction.

The chief motivation for producing rental housing was to serve as a safety net (60% of landlords), and also for income generation (23%) and for consumption expenditure (10%). Tipple et al. (1999) have suggested that the chief reason for owning a house in Ghana is for future security. This was found to be the case, not only for the landlords themselves but also for the security of their children. The same authors found that rental income was not a great motivating factor in the decision to move from renting to owning. The results of this survey, however, demonstrated that rental income had become an important motivator in rental housing production (23% of respondents). Rental income supplemented the earnings of these landlords. For the female landlords covered in the study, their rental housing was first and foremost a form of safety net and second to support their consumption expenditure. Male landlords had similar motivations, but predominantly they considered renting as a form of business.

In the study, 67 per cent of the landlords had themselves built the houses they let. In other words, they acquired the materials and hired artisans to build their houses under their own supervision. About 20 per cent of all landlords in Ashaiman and 10 per cent of those covered in the survey in Kwashieman built their own houses. Then, 15 per cent bought their houses outright from medium- and large-scale real estate companies operating under GREDA or from other individuals; 18 per cent inherited the houses they were renting. About 50 per cent of the rental units had been built since the early 1990s, while another 30 per cent were built between 1981 and 1990. This indicates the relatively recent origin of most of the rental housing units in the areas covered in the survey.

The Housing Production Process in GAMA

The production process begins with the assemblage of inputs, the key once again being land and finance. This section describes how the different categories of landlords acquired land and finance to build their rental accommodation.

Land

The rapid increase of population, the changing structure of the economy and the process of urbanization and commercialization, all combine to exert severe pressure on available land resources in urban areas. A wide variety of factors affect the availability and use of land for housing. These factors have significant impact on the volume and location of housing investment and the growth of the housing stock (Agyapong 1995:3).

In Ghana, the problem of land and housing availability, particularly for the poor, is not only a lack of land but also a system of developing land that makes it legally accessible to the poor:

- the cheapest lot on the open market is too expensive for a large proportion of households;
- government is unable to undertake land acquisition and development at a cost affordable to the poor;
- land costs in suitable locations for low-income housing are high; and
- land use controls and regulations constrain large-scale, low-standard development.

The current system of land supply in African cities is characterized by the co-existence of different modes of supply that have originated in different stages of their development (Rakodi 1997). In many African cities, the land market today consists of a combination of two or more systems of land supply (indigenous tenure, illegal modes and capitalist markets) with bureaucratic allocation procedures. In Ghana, there are four main categories of land holdings: first, state lands, which are acquired by government and are held in trust for the people of Ghana; second, vested lands, which are lands vested in the state in trust for the original owners under the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123); third, stool/family lands, which are group-owned lands governed by customary tenure systems and held by stools/family heads in trust for all members of the group; finally, private lands held by individuals in varying degrees of quantum by individuals, corporate bodies, institutions, etc. The land market in Ghana is in effect two markets, traditional and modern, operating side by side. Stools have retained their customary rights to use and administer land and to allocate according to prevailing social customs. With increasing urbanization, customary lands in and around the cities have become the focal point of settlement and housing development. As a result access to land in both the modern and customary sectors has become increasingly difficult (Agyapong 1995). With increasing urbanization, much of the customary lands has passed on to the markets, though informally. Formal documentation is not an essential part at the process (Antwi and Adama 2003). In GAMA, much of this process is affecting physical development of the Ga District (Gough and Yankson 1997, 2000). A thriving land market has developed very rapidly there within a little over a decade (Kasanga et al. 1996). Access to land by the indigenous people in the villages in peri-urban Accra, both for farming and for housing, has been severely restricted owing to shortage of land within reach of the villages. Much of the land has been sold to new land acquirers on leasehold and mainly for residential development.

The major findings regarding land acquisition for housing by the landlords covered in the survey were:

- Most of the landlords interviewed (41%) had acquired plots for their rental units since 1990. Less than 20 per cent of them acquired their plots before 1990. Almost 27 per cent of the landlord had other plots within GAMA.
- Chiefs were the main source of land (32%); 27 per cent originated from individuals; 24 per cent from landowning families and 17 per cent from the

state. Respondents indicated that it was more reliable acquiring plots from chiefs than from the state (reliable in the sense that the land was not likely to be taken away from the buyer).

- Plots had become much more expensive at the time of the survey than was the case two decades ago, largely owing to the speculative investment in land. Access to land by the majority of the landlords (74%) had become problematic through its extremely high cost. In 1996, plot leaseholds were sold for around 2.5–3 million cedis in the peri-urban areas of Accra. This was taken as ‘drink money’. Most land purchasers had to pay a ‘knocking fee’, when they first contacted the chief as well as supply the customary drinks. They subsequently had to pay a demarcation fee to the surveyor who demarcated the plot. In addition, over half of the respondents reported having made other payments in cash or in kind, which were not compulsory but were made to facilitate the process (Gough and Yankson 2000). This situation puts poor households out of contention for plots. It was the upper- and middle-class individuals and households who could afford to acquire plots. Consequently, most real estate developers were building for the upper segment of the rental market. The rate of rental housing production by small-scale landlords had generally reduced.

In this study, it was found out that the cost of building plots varied according to location of the land and the facilities available there. The mean value of plots ranged from one million cedis to 7.2 million cedis. Plots in Gbawe had the least mean value, at a little over one million cedis, while plots in Ashaiman had the highest mean value of 7.2 million cedis. Plot prices have shot up since the 1980s. Before then, the average price for a standard plot (80ft x 100ft) sold leasehold was less than 5 million cedis. One of the respondents noted that prices of plots were being quoted in foreign exchange and also advertised on the Internet. Despite the high demand for land for housing purposes, there was still land available but out of the reach of the poor.

- The major features of the urban land management system that contribute to housing problems include the general lack of security of title and the titling process itself. The lack of adequate information about land, particularly urban land, creates problems, which constrict the urban land market and interfere with the delivery of shelter. Secondly, there are problems with land acquisition and disposal. Land transactions are hampered by unclear laws on ownership, use-rights, transfer formalities and so on. Acquisition of land for development can be very cumbersome and time-consuming, and the process can be an uncertain one, particularly in the traditional or the informal land delivery system. Thirdly, there are problems with land use controls and standards, which restrict the possibility of low-income families from obtaining land. Fourthly, there is lack of adequate information about land. There are problems associated with land supply mechanisms. Finally, there are other legal and institutional problems associated with land delivery.

Finance

Formal sector housing finance is poorly developed in Ghana, particularly for the small-scale private individual who wishes to build for rental purposes. The country is not served with a network of financial institutions that mobilize savings and which are channelled either directly or indirectly into the housing and mortgage markets. This has been due, in part, to the unstable economic environment of recent years, which has witnessed extreme instability in incomes and price levels (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001:65). It has been widely accepted in Ghana that lack of housing finance reduces the available supply of housing. Full and accurate information on the total flow of resources into housing is not readily available, particularly from the private sector.

The major thrust of government housing finance currently is the Home Finance Company (HFC). The lending portfolios of commercial banks and other public housing finance institutions (Bank for Housing and Construction and the First Building Society) are essentially negligible (Tipple et al. 1999). Through the HFC, government supported registered real estate developers in producing housing. Budgetary provision was made under various schemes at concessionary real interest rates. However, the registered private developers, in search of economic viability found it necessary to build for the upper sector of the market. Thus, their houses were only affordable to public corporations and individuals with very high incomes. The subsidized interest rates paid by public purse resulted in redistribution of income from the poor majority to the fortunate few (Tipple et al. 1999:263).

In our study, 75 per cent of small-scale landlords covered used their own savings and loans from friends and relatives (8.5%) as the main sources of finance for producing rental housing units. Only about 7 per cent used loans from banks, a result of the high interest charges on bank loans (48%), lack of acceptable collateral security (19%) and undue bureaucracy in accessing loans (21%). Nearly half (47%) indicated that advance rental payments were a major source of funds for further investment in rental housing. This finding is supported by similar evidence from Tipple et al. (1999). Most landlords charged rental advances of between one and three years. Co-financing of rental housing with tenants was another feature. It was noted that 20 per cent of landlords covered in the survey co-financed projects with their tenants. All the large-scale real estate agents borrowed from banks to finance their housing projects. In addition, customers paid about 10 per cent of the total cost of buildings upfront before their houses were built.

Housing Demand in GAMA

It has been noted that the demand for housing is far in excess of supply. Housing production is a function of housing demand. The kind of houses produced by landlords and the quality of services available within the house and its surroundings impinge on demand for housing. In the study, the number of rooms available in a house, number of rooms available for renting and enquiries made about rental accommodation and the frequencies of the enquiries were used as proxy indicators

for housing demand. The results of the survey showed that the predominant house types covered were: 58.5 per cent compound, 14 per cent bungalow-type; 18 per cent semi-detached, etc. Between one and five rooms were rented in about 57 per cent of all houses covered in the survey, while between six and ten rooms were rented in 34 per cent of the houses. About 42 per cent of the landlords said that enquiries were made about rental accommodation very often, on a daily basis. Landlords at Ashaiman, especially, experienced this situation. Enquiries made a couple of times a week (46%) or occasionally (9%) were also recorded throughout all the study sites.

Only 21 per cent of the landlords used agents to advertise vacancies in their houses. This was perhaps a consequence of the high commission taken by agents from both the landlords and prospective tenants. Tenants most often did the search themselves (41% of landlords) or used other means such as through tenants' friends/relatives (33%), or tenants found landlords through housing agents (23%). The housing agent phenomenon has emerged since the mid-1980s. Housing agents operate at all levels but more among the lower- and middle-income groups. A prospective tenant would register with an agent and pay a registration fee. The agent then sets out to look for the type of house within the rent level prescribed by the prospective tenant. Once the agent succeeds in the search, the tenant and the landlord each pay a fee to the value of 10 per cent of the rental advance. The use of information technology has also assisted both tenants and housing agents to reach landlords.

Tenants with up to secondary education were more likely to reach landlords through their own efforts or through friends and relatives, while those with post-secondary education were more likely to use housing agents.

House-building Process and Housing Conditions in GAMA

A significant difference exists between the process of house-building between the formal large- and medium-scale real estate housing developers and that of the small-scale producers. The large-scale producers engage the services of highly qualified professionals who build fine-grade housing units. Their houses are usually not for rental purposes although some individuals who buy them later let them out on rental basis.

A large proportion (40%) of small-scale landlords used mainly artisans to build their rental units; 19 per cent used professional contractors while another 25 per cent bought their units from the State Housing Company (SHC) and companies under GREDA. It has been noted above that compound houses are the dominant house type in the study sites. This is a multiple-family housing with shared facilities. There was, however, a tendency for landlords to construct bungalows and flats. Over the years, some of the landlords had made several modifications to their houses. Some had added living rooms (7%), particularly in compound houses. Also, some landlords had added garages to their bungalow-type houses, water closets and some had converted the frontage of their houses to shops. This was in response to the changing market conditions in such communities that landlords took advantage of. Most of the landlords interviewed (58%) targeted low-income tenants while 35

per cent indicated that they targeted middle-income households and 7 per cent the high-income groups.

But house-building is fraught with difficulties. Land disputes (other claimants, boundary disputes and encroachments) were the most pressing issue militating against smooth delivery of land for housing. There were thousands of land cases in the courts in the country. The second issue was the high cost of land referred to above. This was partly due to land speculation and delays in securing documents on land and building permits. Consequently, some landlords went ahead and built without first securing the necessary permits. The high costs of building materials and labour in constructing and in maintaining the structures were equally constraining in the house production sector of the urban economy. The landlords also complained about high property rates and low rentals, which adversely affected the extension to and renovation of their houses.

State housing policy has virtually ignored the individuals producing rental housing in the country. Most government housing initiatives directed a more than proportionate amount of the national housing budget to the SHC and other public housing agencies such as the Low-Cost Housing Committee and the TMC. No serious efforts were made to resource individuals to erect rental units and maintain them adequately. Policies have rather been pursued that encouraged individual ownership.

The conditions of the houses covered in the survey varied from one study site to another. In terms of materials used, the walls of about 83 per cent of the houses in the survey were built with sandcrete blocks, about 6 per cent wood and 9 per cent bricks for the walls. Wood was used mainly for walls in Ashaiman. About 69 and 11 per cent of the surveyed houses were roofed with aluminium roofing sheets and tiles, respectively. Cement was used by 62 per cent of the landlords while about 15 per cent used terrazzo, 10 per cent tiles and the rest wood and other materials. Almost all the landlords (94.8%) had provided electricity in their houses but only about 14 per cent had connected their houses to mains water. Purchasing water from water vendors was the norm in almost all the study sites. Apart from only about 10 per cent of the landlords who provided toilet facilities in their houses, all other landlords and their tenants depended on public toilets and defecating in the open.

The Landlord–Tenant Relationship

The relationship between the landlord and his tenant may facilitate or frustrate the production of rental housing or cause the withdrawal of rental housing units from the rental market. The key findings from the study on this issue were as follows: about 92 per cent of the landlords interviewed claimed that their relationship with their tenants was cordial. This finding is similar to those of studies elsewhere (Kumar 1996; Gilbert and Varley 1991). On the other hand, tenants indicated that this description might not be entirely realistic. The tenants asserted that once the period for down payments or advance payment was approaching, landlords tried as much as possible to pick a fight or quarrel with tenants to make it impossible for them to

continue to stay in their houses. When a tenant left a house, it was given to another tenant with a new rent advance payment. Landlords also used all manner of excuses to evict tenants.

It was found that some landlords (50%) let accommodation to prospective tenants on the basis of the tenants' occupational status, as this was seen to give an indication of the tenants' ability to pay rent. Next to occupational status was marital status (26%). A majority (90%) of such landlords stated that cleaning in and around the house was the reason for their preference of married couples. It was also to guard against letting accommodation to prostitutes. A very small proportion of landlords (5%) considered ethnicity as a criterion for accepting tenants. Some landlords preferred tenants who were from the same ethnic background as themselves. Some claimed that certain tribes were identified with particular attitudes and behaviour, so they were less inclined to offer accommodation to people from such tribes. The same was true for religion. Landlords also related to their tenants in legal terms. About 84 per cent of landlords said they had written agreements with their tenants; 65 per cent claimed their agreements with their tenants had a legal basis in the documents signed with them. Only 16 per cent had verbal agreements based on the trust reposed in their relationship.

Payment of utility bills was another area that caused strained relationships between landlords and tenants. About 62 per cent of the landlords maintained that utility bills were shared with their tenants at a rate agreeable to both parties. About 16 per cent of the landlords used separate meters to avert any misunderstanding. Some landlords (20%) shared the bill with the tenants while just 2 per cent of the landlords paid the utility bills and factored them into the rent the tenant household paid to them.

Landlordism, Housing Production and Urban Development

Increasing population growth in GAMA will continue to put pressure on the available housing stock. Adding to the housing stock through delivery of new housing units as well as rehabilitation of old stock is the way forward to efficient and effective urban development. It has been shown that the bulk of rental housing in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area was produced by small- and medium-scale landlords. This category caters for the urban poor. Unfortunately, this segment of the producers of rental housing has not been supported by public policy while the large and medium real estate companies, which cater for the upper section of the rental market, have had some support from the government by way of financial subsidy from the public sector. Land is critical in the housing production process but small-scale landlords are being edged out of the land market as a result of the increasing cost of plots and increasing inaccessibility to the land market. Finance is another major challenge to housing production by the small- and medium-scale landlords. In terms of house type, the study has confirmed the pre-eminence of compound houses. The trend towards the production of single-family detached and semi-detached housing units as well as multi-family housing units in terms of flats is also noted, but these generally tend to be out of reach of the poor.

Addressing these challenges confronting the production of housing will benefit the poor. Asked what policies ought to be pursued to aid production of rental housing, the landlords' responses seemed to place the government in the forefront of the solution to the problem. At least 10 per cent of the respondents pointed to the need to confront the challenges posed by the land question. They suggested that government should land-bank so as to facilitate the delivery of land for residential purposes. This, they claimed, would regulate the land market and reduce land disputes. Currently, there is an enormous backlog of such cases pending in the courts, which have virtually locked up vast stretches of land. The security of land titles in the traditional sector is very poor, owing to the large number of owners operating in the market. The delivery of land in the open market is one of the factors contributing to land speculation and hoarding, which has in turn increased the price of land, making it less affordable to the low-income households. In the past, government acquired so much land, ostensibly for the public good. One-third of the land in metropolitan Accra is held by the state and about half of all Ga lands have been compulsorily acquired (Kasanga et al. 1996). The government has failed, though, to pay out much of the requisitory compensation, hence many stools have disputes with the government over non-payment of compensation for land acquired (Gough and Yankson 1997:20). The state now lacks the human and logistic resources to undertake further land acquisition to sustain the land-banking concept within GAMA.

The question is how far individual small-scale producers of rental housing have access to land from the public sector, considering the bureaucratic culture of the public sector in Ghana. One of the major problems of land management in the country stems from the poor coordination between government agencies directly concerned with land management. In addition, there is lack of coordination between the development agencies such as the Lands Commission Secretariat, City Engineer's and Planning Departments, Electricity and Water Companies, etc. There is also little coordination between local government agencies. The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies have been the focal point of a decentralized administration and planning approach to development in Ghana since 1988. But the Assemblies, especially the Ga District Assembly, are not sufficiently well resourced to be able to provide effective land management and land-use planning services in their areas of jurisdiction. In view of the weaknesses of the land management system, the government has taken some initiatives aimed at addressing the land constraint and integrating land issues into the broader development agenda by adopting a Land Policy Document (Ministry of Lands and Forestry 1999) and implementing a Land Administration Project (LAP) as the main tool for implementing the National Land Policy. LAP is a medium- to long-term (5–15 years) project supported by the World Bank and other donors. It aims to reduce poverty and enhance social growth through improving security of tenure, accelerating access to land by the populace and fostering efficient land management by developing systems of land titling and administration based on clear, coherent and consistent policies and laws supported by appropriate institutional structures (Kasanga 2002). The project has just commenced and its impact is yet to be felt.

The government has outlined its strategy for easing the land issue in the National Shelter Strategy (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001:9–23). This is, essentially, to improve the supply of serviced land available for housing, particularly for the target groups. The major strategies supporting this policy initiative are to:

- encourage greater access to and more efficient use of land;
- improve the title process and security of tenure;
- institute legislative and institutional reforms aimed at revising the legal framework to make it more flexible and improving the system for land administration and management;
- create a dynamic land market through (computerized) information technology, to promote positive land management in urban and rural areas; and
- reduce land litigation.

These are some of the major issues that LAP is supposed to address. It remains to be seen what the impact will be on the small- and medium-scale producers of housing.

Housing finance is another crucial issue. About 12 per cent of the landlords suggested that government should provide low-interest loans. Looking to governments, at all levels, to provide or guarantee low-interest loans is not a viable approach to provision of finance for investment in housing. Unfortunately, financial intermediaries with the ability to channel funds to the households most in need of assistance are absent. There has also been very little development of loan and service schemes adapted to the needs and financial capabilities of moderate- to low-income groups. Moreover, rent control has acted as a disincentive to the expansion of rental housing in the major urban centres of Accra and Kumasi (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001:78–9). The strategy that has been proposed by the government and as contained in the National Shelter Strategy document (Ministry of Works and Housing 2001) is to provide greater access to credit, particularly for the target groups. The main strategies supporting this policy initiative are:

- developing a viable and accessible institutional system for the provision of housing finance;
- promoting savings and investment in housing by developing suitable saving instruments and providing appropriate fiscal incentives;
- targeting more funds to low- and moderate-income households;
- supporting programmes and initiatives that expand the availability of home improvement financing for target group households.

The question is to what extent these strategies might help provide the necessary financial resources to support the house-building activities of small-scale landlords. It is not an easy issue to resolve.

About 3 per cent of the respondents mentioned reduction in the cost of building materials as a step that may greatly relieve the burden of increased costs on would-be small- and medium-scale landlords. To address the issue of cost of building materials and the technology of construction, the government is, as a matter of

policy, to develop and promote the availability of building materials of acceptable quality at affordable prices to respond effectively to the shelter construction needs of the majority of the country's population. The main strategies to achieve this policy initiative are:

- promotion of local production of building materials;
- promotion of small-scale building material industries and indigenous technologies;
- decentralization of production; and
- rationalization of the importation and use of building materials.

It would help small- and medium-scale landlords if these policies and strategies were operationalized and an effective education campaign waged to educate current and would-be landlords as to how they can take advantage of them. Achieving one hundred per cent home ownership even for poor households is not achievable, not even in economically advanced nations. Tenancy will continue to be a dominant feature of housing in GAMA and in urban Ghana generally. Those who deliver rental housing should therefore be supported in the context of the shelter strategy for Ghana.

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7

Rental Housing and Tenancy Dynamics with Particular Focus on Low-income Households in Greater Accra Metropolitan Area

Paul W. K. Yankson

Introduction

The literature on housing production and consumption in cities in developing countries in the last four decades has focused primarily on home-ownership, including both those forms promoted by public policies, especially via site-and-service schemes, and through self-help housing. In recent years, however, greater attention has been paid to rental housing (Rakodi 1995), and the importance of rental housing in providing shelter to low-income households in cities of developing countries has been underlined (World Bank 1984). Apart from studies of the housing expenses of renters, four strands in the existing literature have been identified (Hoffman et al. 1991): analysis of the importance of rental housing in urban areas and the causes of change over time; discussion of the renter population, particularly in relation to the likelihood of becoming homeowners; the effects of rent controls on housing stock, and the size and distribution of benefits from such regimes and the detailed workings of rental markets – who develops such housing, the nature of tenant–landlord relations, the economics of renting housing generally; and public policy on rental housing. Much of the literature on rental housing is focused on Latin America and to some extent on some Asian countries (e.g. Hoffman et al. 1991; Angel and Amtapunth 1989). African cities have been virtually neglected in this respect.

The key research questions relating to tenancy and tenancy dynamics examined in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) were: how do low-income households, in particular, acquire housing and what benefits do they derive from housing? What changes have occurred in rental housing in an era of economic reform and what are the driving forces for the changes, if any? How do the low-income households cope with these changes?

Objectives, Theoretical Framework and Field Methods

The main objectives that guided the study on this issue were to:

- investigate the characteristics of tenant households, housing acquisition and housing conditions of low-income households;
- examine the changes in tenancy since the adoption of liberalized economic policy in the early 1980s and the socio-economic impacts on low-income households;
- examine the changing landlord-tenant relationship and its effects on availability of and access to housing by low-income households;
- discuss the coping mechanisms adopted by landlords in providing and maintaining their houses and low-income households in accessing rental accommodation in GAMA;
- discuss the implications and make recommendations for improving availability and access to rental housing by low-income households in GAMA.

The study was guided by one key proposition, namely, that tenancy dynamics in GAMA were conditioned by both the changing socio-economic circumstances of the country and those of individual households. A number of processes or forces provide the rationale for examining the issue of tenancy within Ghana's main metropolitan area. First, after two decades of the adoption of a liberalized economic policy, it was about time to assess the seriousness of problems in the rental housing sector and the tenancy problems that had emerged from the liberalized housing market. Second, the increasing deterioration of the housing stock and the housing environment, the huge rental advances demanded by landlords, the frequent and illegal evictions and their socio-economic effects are issues that should be addressed and the policy implications outlined for the improvement of housing and urban development in Ghana.

The study involved analysis and discussion of the impact of the economic reform policy initiated in the early 1980s on the availability of and accessibility to rental housing to low-income households, their ability to invest in housing and the dynamics of tenancy. The study adopted a theoretical framework proposed by Bahr (1990) in his studies on the effects of changes in economic policies and political regimes on housing in Latin American cities.

Tenancy relations are established between landlords and tenants whose internal socio-economic circumstances and characteristics influence and determine the tenancy relationships between them. However, both parties operate within a wider national economic and political environment, which largely influences their individual socio-economic circumstances and in turn influences the operations of the relationship that exists between them.

A fundamental argument of the concept is that the private rental housing sector is embedded in factors exogenous to it, such as the local economy, politics, land issues, finance systems and varied social networks as well as factors that are endogenous

to both landlords and tenants and their households in general. Again, it emphasizes that rental housing acts as a hub for a number of cross-cutting social themes, including migration, changes in individual and household life courses, changes in employment patterns and opportunities and gender issues, among others (Ozo 1990).

Under the liberalized economic environment, landlords determine rents, and thus, tenancy relations under economic and political influences, which affect the level of housing investment; hence both landlords and tenants react to the prevailing conditions. But according to the framework, low-income tenants have little or no control in inducing serious changes in their tenancy relationships. This is because they are often restricted by their incomes, shortages of affordable housing and to a large extent by the reactions of landlords to the liberalized housing market.

From the framework, therefore, landlords acting under political and economic influences are the main cause of major changes in the low-income rental housing market and most changes in low-income tenancy relations. However, both landlords and tenants adopt various mechanisms to cope with the changing situations. Landlords often resort to:

- leasing of their properties on new conditions;
- conversion of the use of their properties; and
- entering into lease agreements with new tenants.

Tenants, on the other hand, usually adopt measures such as:

- moving into existing occupied rooms as sharers or 'perchers' in family houses or in rented rooms;
- moving into sub-standard or overcrowded houses with few or no facilities; and
- moving away from the city centre to the outskirts to occupy uncompleted buildings as caretakers or temporary occupants.

The approach adopted seeks to argue that theories on housing decision-making such as Turner's (1968) model, do not adequately explain intra-urban migration and the spatial growth of residential areas of lower-income groups. Turner's model of intra-urban migration assumes that residential needs can change over the course of time, resulting in migration. It emphasizes that once a fairly steady job with regular wages, low as they may be, has been found, the desire to have a dwelling of one's own, often coupled with marriage and the birth of children, can trigger a decision to move towards the outskirts of the city. Turner's hypothesis on decision-making primarily stresses changing preferences with increasing period of residence in the city and position in the life cycle, and assumes, at least implicitly, that people have a certain degree of freedom of choice when selecting a place to live.

Bahr's model, however, argues that such models pay little attention to the question 'to what extent do alternatives actually exist and what external forces restrict the individual's scope of action?' The focus of the model is on an analysis of the particular time and place in which the individual is acting, hence on the internal and external constraints. It therefore emphasizes that it is not individual preference that

determines the dynamics in low-income households' tenancy relations and the associated intra-urban migration, but rather external forces, thus housing supply.

This theoretical framework was therefore derived and adopted to form the basis within which the problem was conceptualized for the study to analyze the effects of the liberalized economic policy in relation to availability and accessibility or affordability of rental housing to low-income households in Accra and the urbanized portions of the Ga District.

GAMA covers a wide geographical area, and has a mixed population and complex socio-economic characteristics and issues. Furthermore, housing conditions and tenancy issues differ from the indigenous residential areas to the migrant-dominated areas as well as between low-income residential areas and those of middle- and high-income residential areas. Therefore residential areas were used as the basic unit for sampling in the study.

An existing report on the Demographic Studies and Projections for the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and the Town and Country Planning Department (1990) contains data on the socio-economic characteristics of the different residential areas in GAMA. The report categorized all the residential areas in GAMA into five ecological zones, namely, low-class, medium-class, high-class, fringe development and rural residential areas (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Classification of Ecological Urban/Residential Areas in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area and the Ga District

A. Low-class residential areas	Neighbourhoods
A1. Core Ga residential areas	Chorkor, James Town, South Labadi, Adedenkpo, Old Dansoman, Old Teshie, Teshie, Mamprobi, Labadi, Korle Dudor, Osu Christianburg, Accra Central, Korle Gonno, Nungua
A1.2. Old migrant residential areas	Accra New Town, Sabon Zongo, Nima, Maamobi, Tudu, Sukura
A2. Other low-class residential areas	Bubiashie, Laterbiokorshie, Alajo, New Mamprobi, Darkuman, Abeka, Achimota, Avenor, Odorkor, North Industrial, South Industrial
B. Medium-class residential areas	Kaneshie, South Odorkor, New Dansoman, Teshie-Nungua Estates, Tesano, Ringway Estate, Burma Camp, Teshie Camp, Legon, Adabraka, Asylum Down, North Kaneshie
C. High-class residential areas	Airport Residential Area, Kpehe, North Labone, Ridge, West Ridge, Cantonments
D. Fringe developments:	
a: Planned developments	Dzorwulu, East Legon, McCarthy Hill, New Achimota
b: Partly unplanned developments	Madina, Mallam, Gbawe
E. Rural residential areas	Small settlement nuclei within Ga District in the fringes, such as Ofankor, Old Ashaley Botwe, Pantang, Old Dome, Pokuase, Bortianor, Amasaman, Weija, etc.

Source: Demographic Studies and Projections of Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, 1990.

This classification scheme was considered in the selection of residential areas. However, for the purpose of the study, the residential areas were categorized into three ecological zones, namely: low-class residential areas, which were subdivided into indigenous and migrant-dominated residential areas; middle-class; and high-class residential areas, as shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Modified Classification of Residential Areas in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area and Ga District

A. Low-class residential areas	Neighbourhoods
A1. Indigenous-dominated residential areas	Chorkor, James Town, South Labadi, Adedenkpo, Old Teshie, Sukura, Teshie, Mamprobi, Labadi, Korle Dudor, Osu Christianburg, Accra Central, Korle Gonno, Nungua, Mamponse
A2. Migrant-dominated residential areas	Bubiashie, Laterbiokorshie, Alajo, New Mamprobi, Darkuman, Abeka, Achimota, Avenor, North Odorkor, North Industrial, South Industrial, Sabon Zongo, Accra New Town, Nima, Maamobi, Dome, Awoshie, Madina, Santa Maria, Kwashieman, Kwashiebu, Tabora, Anyaa, Ofankor, Kotobabi, Taifa, Kokomlemle, Amanfrom, Gbawe, Tabora, Anyaa, Nii Boye Town
B. Middle-class residential areas	Kaneshie, South Odorkor, Teshie-Nungua Estates, Asylum Down, Adabraka, North Kaneshie, Ringway Estate, Dansoman Estates, Tantra Hill
C. High-class residential areas	Airport Residential Area, Kpehe, North Labone, Ridge/ West Ridge, Cantonments, Dzorwulu, East Legon, McCarthy Hill, Atomic Energy

Source: Derived from the Demographic Studies and Projection of Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, 1990 and 2000 Population and Housing Census Report.

It is from the classification in Table 7.2 that 20 per cent of the residential areas were selected for the study. For a scientific and unbiased sampling of residential areas, the population figures from the 1984 and 2000 census reports were used to determine the percentage change in population in each residential area between the two census years. This formed the basis for the selection of residential areas for field data collection. The assumption here was that population growth has direct bearings on supply and demand for housing as well as on housing cost and tenure types.

One residential area was selected from each of the indigenous, middle- and high-class residential areas. In view of the focus of the study, four residential areas were selected from the low-income migrant-dominated residential areas. This discrimination was based on the assumptions that most households in the indigenous residential areas were likely to enjoy rent-free accommodation and that most households from the middle- and high-class areas were likely to be owner-occupiers.

The main criteria for the final selection were: percentage population change in residential areas between and 1984 and 2000; and spatial or geographical representation. Residential areas that recorded the highest, average or lowest changes

in population were variously selected for a deeper insight into the changes that had occurred. Using the above criteria, therefore, the following residential areas were selected for the study: Teshie for indigenous residential areas; Abeka, Accra New Town, Awoshie and Dome for migrant-dominated residential areas; and Adabraka and McCarthy Hill for middle- and high-class residential areas, respectively, as indicated in Table 7.3 (see also Fig. 1.2 in Chapter 1).

Table 7.3: Selected Residential Areas for Field Survey

Residential category	Areas selected for study
Indigenous low-class residential areas	Teshie
Migrant low-class residential areas	Abeka, Accra New Town, Awoshie, Dome
Middle-class residential areas	Adabraka
High-class residential areas	McCarthy Hill

Source: Field Survey, January 2003.

In addition, 25 households occupying uncompleted buildings at New Weija, in the Ga District were randomly selected for interview. This was meant to find out why people preferred to live in uncompleted structures, which had no facilities and in many instances were not connected to electricity. Again, the process was meant to ascertain the tenancy status of the occupants and to discover whether they were new city entrants. Also, several interactions and discussions were made with officials of the Rent Control Department, who gave some insights into the major complaints often lodged by landlords as well as tenants. Below is a brief description of the sampled residential areas.

Teshie: This is an indigenous low-income residential area. It is an unplanned area and most residents had rent-free accommodation. It had a population of 10,169 in 1984 but this increased to 56,949 by 2000, being the highest increase in residential density among the indigenous Ga residential areas. These made it unique for study among the core Ga residential areas.

Abeka: An old migrant-dominated residential area in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly area with a population of 24,903 in 1984 but which increased to 52,302 in 2000. Comparatively, Abeka is centrally located and characterized by intense commercial activities.

Accra New Town: This is one of the oldest low-income migrant residential areas in the Accra Metropolitan Assembly area. It was formerly known as Lagos Town. Most of the compounds here were unplanned compound houses set closely together. Its population of 40,935 in 1984 had increased to 45,130 by 2000; this was the least in terms of population change among the old migrant-dominated residential areas, making it an interesting comparison.

Awoshie: This is a newly developing low-income residential area in the Ga District. Most houses here are of the compound type. In 1984, it had a population of only a little over 1,000 but recorded 19,890 residents in 2000. With the biggest increase in population among the newly developing low-income residential areas, Awoshie was a striking example for study in this category.

Dome: A newly developing low-income migrant-dominated residential area in the Ga District, located about 18 km from the centre of Accra. Its population in 1984 was 1954 but this increased to 29,618 in 2000. This area recorded the second highest change in population among the newly developing low-income residential areas. Most houses here are unplanned compound types set closely together with many uncompleted buildings. It is very remote from the centre of Accra. It also portrayed a blend of both rural and urban lifestyle and activities.

Adabraka: This is a medium-class residential area very close to the city centre with a population of 28,108 in 2000 from 25,425 in 1984. It experienced the lowest population change among the middle-class residential areas in the metropolitan area. It is a planned area with well-developed streets and drains, and the location for many offices, restaurants, print shops and automobiles. Houses here are mainly single-family detached and multifamily-storeyed type with the ground floors mostly serving commercial purposes. Residents here are typically well-educated, middle-class public servants and business executives.

McCarthy Hill: This is a high-class residential area located in the Ga District. All houses here are of a self-contained, single-family detached type. It was a well-planned area with a good layout of streets and drains. It had a population of 630 in 1984, which increased to 1,049 in 2000. It experienced the highest level of population change among the high-class residential areas. It also represented residential areas on the western corridor. Most residents here are typically well-educated, high-class public servants and top business executives.

Structured and unstructured questionnaires constituted the main tools for data collection. In addition, key in-depth interviews were conducted for case histories of selected tenants and landlords for detailed information on housing supply and acquisition processes, the dynamics of tenancy, socio-economic mobility, mobility patterns, coping mechanisms adopted by housing producers and consumers, the effectiveness of these mechanisms, and the policy environment and its impacts on low-income households. Also, several informal discussions were held with a sample of tenants and landlords who appeared at the Rent Control Department for arbitration, and a number of members of staff of the Rent Control Department, State Housing Company and the Ministry of Works and Housing. The household survey covered 467 households, representing one per cent of the 46,568 households in the seven residential areas covered in the study.

A systematic sampling method was used in selecting houses from the planned middle- and high-income residential areas, using households as the unit of sampling for interview. In the unplanned low-income residential areas, however, a cluster sampling technique was used. With streets as the basis, each residential area was clustered into blocks for sampling. In each selected house, one household was interviewed. However, in the low-income residential areas where several compounds contained many households, two households were interviewed per compound in such cases. The head of each selected household constituted the unit of data collection.

In the absence of the head, however, the most senior member, usually the spouse, was interviewed. Such cases occurred in all the residential areas.

The next section examines the main findings of the study.

Tenancy Characteristics, Housing Acquisition and Housing Conditions

Over 50 per cent of all respondents from each of the different areas (low-, middle- and high-income areas) were 50 and over years of age. At least a third of household heads interviewed from the low-income areas had had no formal education. Comparatively, household heads from the outlying or newly developing residential areas had better levels of education than those from the old migrant and the core Ga areas. Almost 89 per cent of respondents covered in the low-income areas were either petty traders (61%) or artisans (28%), whereas 70 and 80 per cent of respondents in middle- and upper-income areas, respectively, were in managerial positions or were consultants. These were well-paid jobs, compared with respondents from the low-income areas, who were engaged in a highly differentiated range of small-scale and micro-enterprises in the informal economy.

About 50 per cent of respondents with low levels or no formal education and no permanent jobs earned below half a million cedis (about \$US 59) a month. On the other hand, 60 per cent each of the respondents from the middle- and high-income areas and who had better levels of educational attainment and well-paid jobs earned two million cedis and above each month. Households in low-income areas, on average, had larger household sizes (60% had 6 persons and above), than households in the middle-income (85% of those covered in the survey had 1 to 5 persons per household). All households covered in the high-income areas contained a maximum of five persons each.

Majority of respondents (over 70%) were married. However, 13 per cent of respondents from the low-income areas were single. But there were also widows and divorcees (18%) in the old migrant areas. About 79 per cent of the respondents in low-income areas were in compound houses. Another 3 per cent lived in kitchens and bathrooms in compound houses, which had been converted into sleeping rooms. Some 5 per cent of respondents in low-income areas lived in 'outhouses'. These houses were physically detached from the main houses of which they formed a part but shared common facilities with occupants in the main house. The occupants of these rooms were mainly tenants who partly or fully financed the construction of the units they occupied. On the other hand, at least 85 per cent of respondents covered in the middle- and high-income areas were in single-family detached and semi-detached houses; 15 per cent of respondents in middle-income areas were in flats.

Low-income households occupied fewer rooms relative to their sizes than those from middle- and higher-income areas as shown in Tables 7.4 and 7.5. At least 22 per cent of tenant households from the low-income areas occupied single rooms, as shown in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Number of Rooms Occupied by Respondents in GAMA (percentages)

Rooms/Area	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Single room	22.3	0.0	0.0
Chamber and hall	75.4	0.0	0.0
3 or 4 rooms	2.3	12.5	0.0
5 or more rooms	0.0	87.5	100.0
Sample size	350	40	10

Source: Field Survey, January 2003.

Only about 2 per cent of low-income tenant households occupied three or four rooms, while the majority, about 75 per cent, lived in chamber and hall rooms, an indication of high room occupancy rates in these areas. On the contrary, all the households interviewed from the high-income areas occupied five or more rooms.

Table 7.5: Number of Rooms Occupied by Respondents in Low-income Areas (percentages)

Number/Area	Core Ga	Old migrant	Outlying
Single room	22.0	22.2	22.5
Chamber and hall	74.0	74.5	75.8
3 or 4 rooms	4.0	1.7	1.7
Sample size	50	180	120

Source: Field Survey, January 2003.

Generally, chamber and hall as well as single-room occupation was common in all the low-income areas, giving rise to high room occupancy rates as indicated in Table 7.5. However, comparatively more households from the core Ga areas occupied three or four rooms than those from the migrant areas. These were respondents who were owner-occupiers or had rent-free accommodation. Generally, room occupancy rates in all low-income areas were higher than the national average of 2.5 persons per room (GSS 1995). However, the situation was more severe in the core Ga and old migrant areas where the ratios were seven and six persons per room, respectively.

Housing acquisition in Accra still remained a herculean task for most low-income households. Konadu-Agyemang (2001) postulated that prospective tenants or new city entrants spent not less than six months in acquiring accommodation in the city. He attributed this to lack of access to information on vacant rooms and people's inability to raise the needed funds to pay the huge rental advances demanded by landlords.

However, the emergence of private estate housing agents on the housing market had made information on vacancies relatively easy to access. The major problem, however, remained the inability of prospective tenants to raise enough funds to pay rental advances. In the old migrant areas, the situation had condemned many

households to occupying fewer, congested and sub-standard housing. However, the informal or traditional method of housing acquisition through self-search or using relatives and friends was still widely used among low-income households.

The use of estate agents in securing accommodation was more prevalent among respondents from the outlying areas than those from the old migrant and the core Ga areas. This may be attributed to the fact that only a few vacancies existed in these areas. Also tenants did not often change residence or accommodation, and many tenants here had started renting before the institution of economic reforms.

In the low-income areas, there was multiplicity of uses of housing, mainly in the form of sleeping accommodation and house-based economic activities from which the residents derived their livelihoods. These house-based activities included petty trading, repair works, services or manufacturing of wooden or metal products by both sexes. House-based petty trading involved items such as foodstuffs, provisions, charcoal, cooked food, iced water, fish, stationery, etc. House-based petty trading and manufacturing activities such as carpentry, block making and metal working were popular in all low-income areas but more pronounced in the outlying areas, perhaps owing to their remote location from the city centre. Repair work included radios, watches, shoes and clothes, which were more dominant in the old migrant areas. House-based services included hairdressing, sewing, communication and barbering, which were also dominant in the old migrant areas. These house-based activities had virtually become the major activities or occupations of many residents without which life would be more difficult for low-income households. It can thus be said that it is not only cost, but also the opportunity that existed for residents to be engaged in these house-based activities, that attracted many people to the low-income areas. These opportunities enabled households with minimum income to adapt to the dictates of the urban economy. It can be concluded that housing, its acquisition processes and uses, has crucial impacts on the lives of low-income households in myriad ways far beyond mere shelter. However, the lack of space as well as poor and dirty environments, blocked gutters and bad odours in low-income areas could be attributed to most of these house-based economic activities. Though people made economic gains from house-based activities, the high and unhealthy competition created often resulted in rivalry, jealousy, quarrels and other social vices among the people. House-based activities were virtually non-existent in the middle- and high-income residential areas in particular.

The conditions of the house, whether owned, rented or shared and its environment, are vital and important for the health and well-being of the occupants. Socially, the house symbolizes the social and economic status of the occupants in society. About 92 per cent of compounds in which interviews were held in the old migrant and core Ga areas contained over ten households per compound. This situation may partly explain the cultural and moral decadence, indiscipline and a host of social aberrations that were reported in the old migrant areas during the survey. The situation created conditions for noise-making, quarrels, coupled with frequent fights,

insults and gossiping as well as ethnic, political and religious intolerance. In terms of housing facilities such as kitchen, toilet, bathroom and water were in adequate supply. More households from the core Ga (78%) and old migrant areas (85%) had access to pipe-borne water than those from the outlying areas (68%). Most of the outlying areas relied on boreholes and hand-dug wells, which were common in many homes here.

More households in the core Ga areas had access to a kitchen than their counterparts from the migrant areas. This is attributable to the fact that most respondents here had rent-free accommodation or were owner-occupiers. In the old migrant and the outlying areas, only 15 and 45 per cent of respondents, respectively, had access to a kitchen. Even these were tenants who had converted their porches for use as kitchens. The majority did their cooking in front of their rooms or in the open space. Where there were kitchens, they were exclusively used by the landlords.

More households from the outlying areas (67%) had access to toilet facilities in their homes than those from the old migrant (44%) and the core Ga areas (56%). However, the survey revealed that most of these toilet facilities were exclusively used by the landlords. Consequently, the majority of respondents patronized public toilets. About 43 per cent of low-income households did not have access to toilet facilities in their homes. Also, in about 33 per cent of households from the old migrant and core Ga areas, the existing pan latrine toilets had been abandoned owing to difficulties encountered in emptying them. Only 3 per cent of households at Awoshie used water closet toilets.

An overwhelming proportion of the compound houses in all low-income areas (old migrant 87%, core Ga 74% and outlying areas 61%) had only one bath. The corresponding pressure on facilities had compelled most residents, especially the youth in Accra New Town, to use public baths. Dumping of refuse seems to be the main method of garbage disposal in all the low-income areas, though 30 per cent each of the households covered in the old migrant areas as well as in the core Ga areas said that their garbage was collected. Around 80 per cent of the households in the fringe or in the outlying areas dumped their garbage in the open or on undeveloped plots.

Tenancy Characteristics and Tenancy Dynamics

Six main types of tenancies emerged from the study, namely, owner-occupiers, landlords, tenants, sharers, perchers and rent-free occupiers. The last three were mostly relatives, friends, employees, apprentices or house helps of the main tenants, landlords or owners. Rent-free occupiers were mainly found in the core Ga areas; they occupied separate rooms but did not pay rent for them. While all these types of tenancies occurred in the low-income areas, only the first three and first two occurred in the middle- and high-income residential areas, respectively, as depicted in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: Tenancy Types Among Respondents in Accra (percentages)

Tenancy/Area	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Owners	7.0	40.0	60.0
Tenants	71.6	55.0	40.0
Sharers	11.4	5.0	0.0
Rent-free	10.0	0.0	0.0
Sample size	350	40	10

Source: Field Survey, January 2003.

At least 11 per cent and 10 per cent of respondents from the low-income areas shared or had rent-free accommodation, respectively. Only 5 per cent of the respondents from the middle-income areas were sharers. In all low-income areas, however, all the types of tenancies mentioned above were present, as illustrated in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7: Tenancy Types in Low-income Areas (Percentages)

Tenancy/Area	Core Ga	Old migrant	Outlying
Owners	19.1	10.0	9.1
Tenants	21.0	65.0	65.2
Rent-free	51.8	15.0	9.8
Sharers/perchers	8.1	10.0	15.9
Sample size	55	200	132

Source: Field Survey, January 2003.

In the core Ga areas, about 52 per cent of respondents had rent-free accommodation. It therefore remains true that in the core Ga areas only few residents, usually the non-Gas, rented accommodation. Accommodation sharers or perchers were common in all the low-income areas but were dominant in the outlying areas, where nearly 16 per cent of respondents were perchers or sharers.

The results of the study have shown that the key factors underlying housing choice for both a residential area and the number of rooms occupied by low-income households in GAMA, before the introduction of economic reform in Ghana, largely depended on accessibility to areas of economic activity and potential employment, proximity to workplaces, availability of housing facilities and the presence of relatives. Before the economic reforms, the availability of housing facilities and the presence of one's relatives constituted the main factors that prospective tenants considered in making housing or residential choices in low-income households. Rent levels were not a major determinant in the choice of residential areas or the number of rooms occupied by low-income households. This was the case with respect to responses by low-income households in all the areas covered in the study. A number of factors accounted for this situation.

Firstly, the population of Accra at that time was relatively low, and there was not much pressure on housing. This view was shared by the few educated people among the respondents and about 56 per cent of respondents from the old migrant residential

areas. Secondly, the few civil servants, in particular, and the majority of those who rented rooms before the economic reforms and who formed about 45 per cent of respondents, maintained that the government at that time provided low-cost housing for its employees, hence there was virtually no pressure on housing. Thirdly, nearly 86 per cent of respondents from the old migrant residential areas claimed that because rent was controlled and paid monthly, it was very affordable to all who needed accommodation. Fourthly, nearly 96 per cent of respondents who earned above one million cedis a month claimed that the cost of living at that time was comparatively low, so they could afford to pay for their housing. About 70 per cent of respondents from the old migrant areas added that because the housing market was not completely monetized, as it were, landlords were not so demanding on tenants for rents.

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, tenants had encountered difficulties in securing housing accommodation, following the relaxation of rent control measures. Rental units have, therefore, become costly and generally in short supply. The respondents attributed this to the withdrawal of government from the production of low-cost housing for its workers, which meant that government workers must seek and compete for accommodation on the open market with those in the informal sector. This was the view of the few civil servants and those with secondary education among the respondents as well as about 76 per cent of respondents from the old migrant areas.

Then, those who rented rooms before the economic reforms, who formed about 45 per cent of the respondents and particularly those with modest incomes, indicated that increased migration to Accra had put pressure on facilities, including housing. Further, educational reforms, which coincided with the economic reforms, had also contributed to the housing problem. The respondents claimed that the reforms in education did not favour the rural areas. Consequently, parents who used to educate their wards in the rural areas had reverted to educating them in the city. Parents, therefore, needed to rent more rooms or share the limited space with their children, leading to increased room occupancy rates. Fourthly, respondents with secondary education, and especially the youth who constituted about 68 per cent of respondents from the outlying areas, attributed the situation to the high and increasing rate of urbanization, resulting in a relative shortage of affordable housing in the city. Finally, about 65 per cent of respondents also attributed the situation to the sharp increase and proliferation of private informal activities, such as petty trading and especially the popularity that apprenticeship in dress-making and hairdressing had gained in the city from the late 1980s. They claimed that this situation brought many young people from the hinterlands to the city.

After the introduction of economic reforms, rent levels, which were the least significant factor in making residential or housing choices before 1983, had become the most significant factor among low-income tenants. Availability of housing facilities and neighbourhood conditions were no longer major factors in residential choices as they had been before the introduction of the economic reform programme in 1983. In the outlying and core Ga areas, however, the presence of relatives as a factor in choosing a residential area still ranked high. From a gender perspective, both male

and female heads of households identified rent levels as the most important factor in housing or residential choices. However, while females ranked the availability of housing facilities second, their male counterparts ranked living close to their job places second. Again, the nature and conditions of the neighbourhood as a factor in choosing residential areas was no longer popular among low-income households.

Respondents from the core Ga areas and the fringe or outlying areas had to contend with payment of rent in advance while respondents in the old migrant areas were always confronted with annual rent increases and frequent evictions or threats from their landlords. The result was that most households that could not bear these had to seek alternative accommodation in uncompleted houses as caretakers in the newly developing areas.

Before economic reform and during the period of rent control, households could manage with the payment of rent, as rental levels were low. A single room and a chamber and a hall attracted two and three cedis (1.5 cedis to \$US 1 at that time), respectively, in the core Ga and old migrant areas. Respondents also said that, at that time, rent levels matched the quality of the dwelling in terms of room size, available facilities as well as the type of building materials used under the rent control regime. There was virtually no renting in the newly developing or outlying areas around the city of Accra during this period.

Following the relaxation of rent control measures, rents increased sharply in the core Ga and old migrant areas. Consequently, by the early 1990s, renting had become popular in the outlying areas, with an average monthly rent of 750 cedis for a single room and 1200 cedis for chamber and hall rooms following shortages and continuous deterioration of accommodation in the old migrant and core Ga areas. As housing conditions and dwelling structures became better in the outlying areas, they became more attractive to prospective tenants, and consequently, the wide gaps in rent levels between the latter and the old migrant areas narrowed. Since about 2000, rental levels in many residential areas in the outlying areas have exceeded rents in most parts of the old migrant and core Ga areas. This period had witnessed an overwhelming rise in rent in the low-income areas. A comparison of Tables 7.8 and 7.9 brings this out clearly.

Table 7.8: Rent Levels in Low-income Areas in the Early 1990s (‘000 cedis)

Room type/Areas	Core Ga	Old migrant	Outlying
Single room	20–25	25–30	20–25
Chamber and hall	30–40	40–50	25–35

Source: Field Survey, January 2003.

Table 7.9: Rent Levels in Low-income Areas in the 2000s (‘000 cedis)

Room type/Areas	Core Ga	Old migrant	Outlying
Single room	40–50	40–60	40–70
Chamber and hall	70–90	80–100	80–120

Source: Field Survey: January 2003.

Tables 7.8 and 7.9 depict the variations in rent levels among low-income residential areas and increases in rent in the 1990s, with emphasis on how rent differentials among the various residential areas had narrowed. In virtually all the low-income areas, especially in the outlying areas, rent levels had almost doubled in recent times. This was attributed to the annual and frequent increases in prices of petroleum products as announced in January 2003 by the government, which landlords claimed affected all sectors of the economy; hence the adjustment of rents to keep pace with the national economic situation. The specific reasons assigned to the virtual elimination of rent differentials among the various low-income residential areas included the fact that most dwellings in the old migrant areas appeared more unsound and dilapidated than those in the outlying areas, most of which had been recently built and were therefore preferred. Again, the high residential densities in the old migrant areas, coupled with congestion and deteriorating environments, pushed the youth away from these areas and into the relatively better conditions in the outlying areas. Also, compounds in the outlying areas had more and better housing facilities than those in the core Ga and old migrant areas.

Within residential areas, rental levels varied with the quality of dwelling in terms of construction materials used, availability of housing facilities, neighbourhood environment as well as distance from roads, streets or commercial activities. Consequently, areas with commercial activities attracted higher rents than those remote from the streets. However, new dwellings with good and adequate facilities and good neighbourhood conditions also attracted high rents regardless of their location.

Before the economic reforms, renting of single rooms was mainly associated with the youth, singles and couples with no children. Therefore, people graduated from single rooms to occupying chamber and hall rooms as their social and economic status progressed. However, after the reforms and from the late 1990s, renting of single rooms had become more popular among low-income households, including couples with children. A respondent remarked, 'it is only when we get two or more vacant rooms at the same cost that we consider other factors. So irrespective of our family sizes, the neighbourhood conditions and whether or not there are facilities, we take what we can afford or pay for; my brother, it is not easy. We are suffering.' However, there were thousands of adults, sometimes with their spouses or partners, who were either unable to afford any of these forms of accommodation owing to financial difficulties or because they did not have relatives in the city with whom they could share accommodation. Such people often occupied and spent the night in wooden structures at their work or trading places, at lorry stations or in kiosks.

Another notable change in the acquisition of rental units by low-income households was the use of private estate housing agents. Before the emergence of these agents, searching for accommodation was mainly done through the traditional method of self-search or through acquaintances, which involved no cost. The estate housing agents' activities evolved from these voluntary services that individuals provided to prospective tenants in search for accommodation and who were only

given voluntary stipends or the proverbial 'thank you' for their services. Increased urbanization, however, made this traditional method untenable and inappropriate. Estate agents conducted all the preliminary investigation on vacant rooms or plots to let or for sale from the property owners. They advertised or communicated the information to the general public, and prospective tenants in particular, of where vacant rooms existed on noticeboards placed at vantage points and they escorted or directed interested individuals to their preferred choice for inspection and for possible renting. Thus, they linked tenants to the landlords and assisted both landlords and tenants to prepare and sign contract agreements and usually served as witnesses or as arbiters in lease contracts. Some landlords were reluctant to let rooms to people they did not know even though they had vacancies. This situation had created an artificial housing shortage in the city, which frustrated many prospective tenants. Consequently, people who were in dire need of accommodation were compelled to work through others who were familiar with the landlord before they could secure a room.

Currently, estate housing agents have spread their activities into almost all low-income areas, especially in the outlying areas. Both landlords and tenants admitted the usefulness of the agents. They claimed that the agents made information on vacant rooms available, thereby reducing the length of time and the stress that prospective tenants had experienced in the past. Again, they provided useful services to new city entrants and a big relief to the business community and those in full-time employment who might not have time to search for accommodation by themselves. Furthermore, landlords no longer wandered about looking for renters, as the agents provided them with ready markets. However, the huge commission charged by these agents (usually 10% of the rental advance paid to the landlord), had compelled over 60 per cent of tenants in the low-income areas to resort to traditional methods in their search for accommodation. Only 39 per cent of respondents from the outlying areas had used agents in securing their present accommodation. Almost 90 per cent of respondents from the core Ga and the old migrant areas had secured their current accommodation through the traditional method of self-search or through acquaintances.

The survey revealed that the inclusion of agents in the rental housing market had in turn introduced written contract agreements into the landlord-tenant relationship, especially in the outlying areas. In the 1980s, over 75 per cent of tenants in the low-income areas had had verbal agreements with their landlords. But this situation changed in the 1990s, when about 58 per cent and 75 per cent of respondents in the old migrant and outlying areas, respectively, had written contract agreements with their landlords. Only 44 per cent of tenants in the core Ga area had this arrangement. Both landlords and tenants who had written contract agreements claimed that it had brought some regularity and security into the landlord-tenant relationship. Respondents who still had verbal agreements were those who had been in residence for over fifteen years and had had long interactions with their landlords, particularly in the old migrant and core Ga areas. Asked why they still accepted verbal agreements, the general response was 'we trust one another, the landlord is

good, we are all Ghanaians or we are all one'. The contract documents were prepared by the landlord and signed by the landlord and the tenant, with two witnesses and sometimes the agent involved. The document usually covered information on rental levels, contract duration, amount paid, terms and conditions on maintenance, among other heads.

Landlord-tenant Relationships

The landlord-tenant relationship is a highly important issue with regard to the security and stability within the rental housing market. Some earlier writers on this issue appeared to have taken polarized views or stands. For instance, Konadu-Agyemang (2001) sought to argue in his housing studies in Accra that landlords exploited the relationship at the expense of tenants, while Tipple and Willis (1990) postulated that rents in Kumasi were low, relative to construction costs, indicating that renters had gained at the expense of landlords. Analysis of the data and other information gathered from the present survey rather indicated that the picture was more complex than either of these views suggested. The discussions here, therefore, have sought to broadly address the financial, legal and the social dimensions of the landlord-tenant relationship in the metropolitan area and identify the changes that had occurred since 1983.

Key issues that emerged under the financial dimension of the relationships included: firstly, a change in the mode of rental payment from monthly to advance payments; secondly, rents not being negotiated but mainly fixed by landlords, with arbitrary and frequent rent increases; and thirdly, the bitter, painful and harassing experiences and conditions meted out to tenants who were unable to pay rentals or advance rentals promptly.

It needs to be stressed, however, that advance rentals were paid only at the first contract; and in subsequent contracts, rents were paid monthly. Only 29 per cent of tenant households, mainly from the old migrant areas, said they still paid advance rentals after each contract. Asked what happened to a tenant who was unable to pay rents promptly, only 18 per cent of the landlords said the tenant must be evicted. However, 60 per cent of landlords from the outlying areas said they would allow a grace period of three to six months, provided there were genuine reasons, after which the tenant would be evicted.

The second dimension was the legal dimension. Respondents mentioned the introduction of written contract agreements as a major positive step, which, they claimed, had brought some regularity and security into the relationship. However, if the huge daily attendance at the proceedings of the Rent Control Department is used as a yardstick, then one could suggest that both parties, especially the landlords, did not adequately recognize the written documents as they tried to induce tenants to quit their rooms through harassment, after extracting huge sums of money from them.

The third dimension was the social dimension. In the past, prospective tenants rented accommodation only from people with whom they had prior relations, while landlords also let rooms along similar lines. This situation had, however, given way to

one where people rented rooms only in areas they could afford. Only 7 per cent of tenants said they still considered social or prior relations before renting accommodation. Accordingly, they did so to avoid certain ethnic and religious groups they considered being troublesome, quarrelsome and noisy. About 15 per cent of landlords indicated that they had ever rejected prospective tenants of certain ethnic or religious origin which they considered to be noise-making and quarrelsome. Similarly, they did so to avoid members of certain ethnic groups which they claimed would bring many family members to the house, and thereby put pressure on its facilities.

While landlords complained of truant tenants, the latter spoke of landlords who tried to induce tenants to quit their rooms through harassment, demanding huge advance rentals and arbitrary rent increases. Such relationships had been confrontational, while other tenants enjoyed good relations with their landlords. Despite the fact that most tenants expressed gross dissatisfaction with their accommodation, the majority indicated their readiness to renew their contracts. Generally, tenants (59%) from the old migrant areas described the landlord-tenant relationship as exploitative, stressing that landlords extracted huge sums of money at the expense of tenants. Many tenants from the outlying areas, however, described it as cordial (51%). The landlord-tenant relationships for low-income households in Accra could neither be described as wholly exploitative nor as wholly cordial. It varied from one relationship to another and from one residential area to another, depending largely on the conduct of tenants and their households as well as the level of interaction with the landlord and the socio-economic circumstances of the latter. The relationship was, however, more cordial in situations where tenants partly or fully financed the construction or completion of the units they occupied or provided facilities for.

Coping Mechanisms of Landlords and Tenants in the Rental Market

One of the effects of the liberalized market policy that the country adopted in the 1980s was that individuals and households had to devise coping mechanisms for their changed economic circumstances. In the case of the housing market, landlords have resorted to strategies to extract maximum benefits from tenants, while tenant households in low-income areas have faced a disadvantageous position in the landlord-tenant relationship.

What, then, are these coping strategies and how effective are they in relation to housing supply and accessibility to rental housing? The results of our survey showed that landlords in the low-income areas adopted four strategies in order to increase the size of their rental units and hence maximize their earnings. These included charging the economic value of their rental properties through frequent and/or annual rent increases – usually as soon as the national budget was read in parliament or the government announced any increases in the prices of petroleum products or whenever the city authority (AMA) increased property rates. This approach was more popular among landlords from the old migrant and the core Ga areas where most landlords took monthly rents. Also, landlords took rental advances. This was more popular among landlords in the outlying areas, with the minimum period being two years.

The second major strategy involved business-minded landlords with properties located along roads and streets converting sleeping rooms to long leases for commercial purposes. This strategy was more frequently practised by landlords from the old migrant and the core Ga areas where over 70 per cent had at one time or another converted at least one property to serve a commercial purpose. Although this approach did not increase stock or supply, it enabled landlords to accumulate enough funds through 'goodwill' monies paid to them by tenants who secured such accommodation this way. Also, the lease covered longer periods, and under such leases, tenants were responsible for all major maintenance work to the properties they rented.

The third method was pre-financing or co-financing of the building of houses by prospective tenants. Cash-strapped landlords, mainly from the outlying areas, increased their housing stock by permitting prospective tenants to pre-finance the construction or completion of the units or to extend essential services to the houses. In this arrangement, the landlord might initiate the building project but complete it with support from the prospective tenant, or the tenant might finance the entire construction of the units or the provision of basic facilities in the house. The arrangement was that the total amount spent by the tenant would be spread over a period of time within which the tenant paid no rent to the landlord until the amount spent was exhausted. Rent levels in such arrangements were usually lower than the prevailing market rates.

The fourth strategy involved the reduction in the number of rooms occupied by the landlords' households in order to increase the number of rooms they could rent. Financially handicapped landlords, especially those from the old migrant and core Ga areas, had cut down the number of rooms they occupied. Consequently, room occupancy rates were higher among landlords than most tenant households interviewed in these areas.

Low-income tenant households had adopted various measures to cope with the emerging dynamics in the rental housing market, largely in attempts to minimize costs, reduce insecurity and avoid the tyranny of advance rentals. One measure was the long and continuous occupation of the same rental accommodation. Tenants who managed to secure accommodation ensured that they remained in that accommodation until landlords evicted them. Generally, tenants from the old migrant and core Ga areas tended to stay in the same houses for longer periods than those from the outlying areas. However, in all the areas covered in the study over 75 per cent of the tenant households had lived in their accommodation for over ten years. At least 50 per cent of respondents from the core Ga and old migrant areas had been in their current residence for over twenty years. In the old migrant areas, about 22 per cent of respondents had been in residence for more than thirty years. Thus, low-income tenants chose to live in inadequate or substandard accommodation for long periods, not because they were satisfied with their accommodation, but to reduce or avoid the tyranny of exorbitant rents or paying advance rentals elsewhere. It was only in the outlying areas that a quarter of tenants expressed satisfaction with their accommodation. These tended to have smaller households, and were mainly tenants who partly or fully financed the construction of the units they occupied. In spite of

this, over 80 per cent of respondents from the low-income areas expressed a desire to renew their contracts. This was clear evidence and a manifestation of the difficulties low-income households had to face in addressing their housing needs in Accra.

Only insignificant proportions – 12, 18 and 16 per cent of respondents from the core Ga, old migrant and outlying areas, respectively – indicated that they would not renew their contracts as a result of problems they had had with their landlords. Those who desired to renew their contracts gave three main reasons. Firstly, nearly 70 per cent of respondents from the old migrant areas said they could not afford to raise enough funds to pay new advance rentals. Secondly, about 60 per cent, mainly from the outlying areas, said they would not move because of their children's education; and finally, about 45 per cent said they had established good relationships in their areas, which provided them some insurance and security and therefore they could not afford to break these ties. It can thus be said that tenant households tended to remain in their accommodation for longer periods in the old migrant and core Ga areas to avoid paying new rental advances elsewhere.

Another strategy adopted by low-income households was that of shared accommodation. This provided tenants a means to put their limited resources together and, thus, access accommodation in GAMA. In a sense, therefore, many households opted to congregate in this way so as to cut down expenses not only on accommodation but also on food and other household spending. This strategy was common in all low-income areas, but was more dominant in the outlying areas where a sizable proportion of household heads were single and young.

The third method was pre-financing or co-financing of projects. This strategy was more practised by tenants in the outlying areas, where nearly 65 per cent of tenants fully or partly financed the construction of the units they occupied and in many cases financed the provision of facilities in their houses. Here, prospective tenants either provided funds for the completion or for the entire construction of their units or tenants teamed up with landlords to provide housing facilities. Housing facilities were, therefore, more accessible to tenants in compounds where tenants fully or partly financed the provision of facilities.

Occupation of uncompleted houses in outlying areas as a strategy was becoming more popular among low-income tenants. This involved a movement away from the built areas to occupying uncompleted structures at outskirts of the city. Though such occupants claimed to be temporary occupiers or caretakers, in many instances they remained in such dwellings for several years, until they were evicted by their landlords. Caretakers and their families were usually not given the entire house to live in. Very often they had a room or two or an outhouse to live in while the construction of the main house was in progress. Some low-income households must have moved from one uncompleted house to another, given their inability to access accommodation in completed houses.

It is interesting to note that in paying monthly rents or paying rental advances, households made all kinds of sacrifices in order to raise the needed money. Such strategies included contributions from each spouse, borrowing, sale of household

properties and suspension of expenditure on other household needs or on children's education among others. This was particularly the case with respondents in the study sites in the outlying areas. This might be because most tenants in these areas paid rents in advance or pre-financed the construction of their units or housing facilities, which put more financial burden on them than tenants in the core Ga and old migrant areas. Two case histories will illustrate the ordeal low-income households go through with respect to accessing accommodation in Accra.

Case Study 1: Mr Billy's Experience

I came to Accra as an apprentice in 1973 and lodged at the workshop. After a successful apprenticeship, I married in 1978 and rented a chamber and hall room at Dansoman (New Russia) where I was paying a monthly rent of two cedis (¢2.00) and, by 1990, I was paying five thousand cedis per month. My household remained in the room until 1992 when the landlord compelled me to move out for his occupation. Because I could not raise adequate money to pay the required advance rent, I agreed to complete a chamber and hall structure at Odorkor (Tipper) while occupying it with my household of seven. To do this, however, I sent two of my children who were in primary school to the village for three years while my wife paid the school fees of the other children who were in lower primary and in kindergarten. Later, I teamed up with my co-tenants and provided bathroom and toilet facilities in the house while each tenant used the porch as kitchen. I remained in this house until 1999 when the landlady forcibly evicted me. Again I managed to rent a chamber and hall room at a nearby place at forty thousand cedis (¢40,000.00) per month and paid two years' advance rent. Again to do this I cancelled my daughter's admission to a senior secondary school and transferred two of my children from a nearby private school to a public school. In addition, I took a loan from my casual employer to supplement what I had mobilized with my wife. When my contract ended in December 2002, my landlord decided to double the rent in view of the increase in fuel prices and requested for two years' advance rent of ¢80,000.00 per month. It was really a tough time for me as I had earlier abandoned the casual job (storekeeper) I was doing. I finally pleaded with the landlord after several weeks of hide and seek from him. I was however, fortunate that the landlord finally agreed to collect ¢60,000.00 per month to be paid monthly.

Case Study 2: Mr Sasu's Ordeal

I was repatriated from Nigeria in 1983 and rented a single room at Osu after also securing a job at the Tema Food Complex Corporation (TFCC) as a security officer. However, in 1996, my landlord took over the room, at which time I lost my job when the company was divested. I therefore moved from Osu and rented an uncompleted two-bed room at Darkuman (Nyamekye), which I occupied while construction was going on. Consequently, I withdrew three of my children from a private school to a nearby public school where I could afford to pay the school fees. All my three children, however, ended their education after the junior secondary school because I could not pay the school fees at the secondary level.

Just last year, the landlady used all means to move me from the house, claiming that her daughter was returning from abroad and she needed to renovate the rooms for her occupation. I pleaded with her for some respite to enable me mobilize some money to search for a new accommodation but to no avail. To my utter surprise, the landlady brought in a painter one morning to paint the room. I therefore had no other option but to pack bag and baggage with my entire household of seven to perch with my brother in his uncompleted house here at New Weija, a newly developing residential area. The house is yet to be connected to electricity and both doors and windows are yet to be fixed. You can see it yourself. We are only using a temporary bathroom and there is no toilet facility in the house. My brother, I tell you the housing situation is making some of us very uncomfortable in Accra. The landlords always use any means to extract money from us or they move you and take new advances from other people. They will say, 'my daughter or son is coming from abroad to occupy it'. They lie; they only take money from other people. In fact, the government must do something about the housing situation.

While the coping mechanisms adopted by landlords had generally enabled them to survive economically, the situation of tenants was generally the opposite. Paying rent in advance, instead of payment on a monthly basis, has put severe a economic strain on tenants. The periods for which rental advance was demanded by landlords ranged from three to six years in many parts of Accra. Given the harsh economic conditions and the high level of unemployment in urban areas, poor households are really hard pressed in meeting their rent payments. The major constraint remained the inability of tenants to accumulate adequate funds to pay the huge amounts demanded by landlords. On the other hand, about 40 per cent of the tenants interviewed were of the view that paying rents in advance gave them some security and stability in their rental accommodation. Frequent increases in rent levels were a source of confrontation between landlords and tenants, as the rise in rents often did not reflect the quality of dwellings and consequently this has remained one of the major challenges of rental housing market in low-income areas.

Although the conversion of sleeping rooms to long leases for commercial purposes provided some comfort and sometimes huge sums in the form of 'goodwill' monies to landlords, it was a major disincentive to rental housing supply in the old migrant areas. Affected tenants often became frustrated and, in most cases, were compelled to occupy rooms of lower quality or in some cases relocated themselves to great distances from the built areas. Under the circumstances, such tenants lost all social relations they might have established where they used to live. These often served as safety nets, in terms of financial and social security for many low-income residents in the city. By relocating, especially far away from their former residences, tenants often lost customers and went out of businesses or lost their jobs. This was particularly the case for those who worked or were engaged in petty trading in the city. Again, children involved in such movements often had the continuity of their education

badly affected since parents could not afford the transport costs involved in commuting daily to school from their new places of abode. It can thus be concluded that increased invasion of commercial activities into low-income residential areas was putting more pressure on the supply of low-cost rental housing and on the socio-economic circumstances of low-income households in Accra.

While pre-financing of projects by tenants had enabled some landlords to own rental properties in the city, they did encounter a number of limitations or restrictions through the loss of opportunity to charge actual or prevailing market rents. Tenants also gained in the form of residential stability. Both landlord and tenant suffered the disadvantage of having to tolerate the behaviour and conduct of the other during the contract period. The strategy provided some leeway and a safety net for landlords to own rental properties in the long run and provided accommodation for tenants in the short and medium terms. For many low-income households, however, inability to afford paying rents or advance rentals had led to suspending payment of children's school fees, another critical loss of opportunity in the urban economy. This state of affairs had condemned most children in low-income tenant homes to low levels of education or no formal education. Consequently, they were unable to secure jobs in the competitive job market and continued to be dependants on their parents even when they had become adults. This had led to a perpetuation of poverty as well as social and moral decadence among low-income households. It can thus be said that the high incidence of immoral and anti-social behaviour among low-income residents in Accra has largely emanated from their housing problems.

Conclusion

It may be concluded that the housing conditions and socio-economic circumstances of both landlords and tenant households observed in the study areas support the view that tenancy dynamics in Accra are conditioned by changing socio-economic circumstances of the country and that of the individual household. For they demonstrate the wide-ranging consequences that a fundamental change in the economic sector could have on the housing conditions and on intra-urban migration of low-income households in the city. It may, therefore, be concluded that economic liberalization is not the solution to the housing needs of low-income households in Accra. The results so far achieved and the highly privatized housing market were not encouraging, not least for low-income households. There is evidence to conclude that households in the city with inadequate incomes were unable to adequately translate their real housing needs into effective market demand.

The implication here is that if access and tenure to adequate housing continue to be restricted only to people with the ability to pay, then the housing needs of people with incomes too meagre to generate savings will often go unmet. Any attempt, therefore, to fight poverty and modernize the city must necessarily begin with addressing the housing problems of the low-income majority who are unable to translate their housing needs into effective demands.

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8

Citadins en mouvements

Monique Bertrand
avec la collaboration de
Daniel Delaunay

Introduction

Malgré près de trois millions d'habitants et la polarisation économique de l'un des grands ports du Golfe de Guinée, le Grand Accra reste mal connu dans ses dynamiques démographiques. Peu de mesures continues permettent d'en distinguer le mouvement naturel des apports migratoires et de décrire la redistribution interne des populations urbaines. Le cas ghanéen renvoie d'ailleurs à un constat plus général en Afrique où les enjeux de la mobilité sont démographiques, politiques, mais aussi méthodologiques.

Le mouvement urbain est en effet encore rapporté à une thèse d'origine coloniale, réactivée par les difficultés économiques et politiques qui jalonnent l'histoire du Ghana depuis son indépendance en 1957 : les migrants du pays resteraient structurellement « étrangers » à la capitale où ils ne s'établiraient que le temps d'une vie d'actif ; leurs investissements matériels et sociaux continueraient de s'orienter vers les *hometowns* ou communautés d'origine (Middleton 1979). En conséquence, l'étude des turbulences propres aux grandes villes a été délaissée par une recherche qui s'est surtout préoccupée des échanges externes que celles-ci entretiennent avec un arrière-pays plus ou moins structuré. Dans le contexte d'Accra, l'hypothèse des flux intra-métropolitains s'impose d'autant plus que les approches géographiques et démographiques ont en effet privilégié la perspective migratoire nationale et internationale (Caldwell 1969 ; Ghana Statistical Service 1995). On ne sait pratiquement rien de la mobilité interne au premier bassin d'emploi et au marché immobilier du pays.

Accra-North et New Gbawe



Les enjeux urbanistiques et politiques des flux résidentiels découlent pourtant d'une surenchère générale depuis la fin des années 1980 : bailleurs de fonds internationaux du développement, réformes de décentralisation, thèmes plus récemment porteurs de la « lutte contre la pauvreté » et de la « bonne gouvernance », concourent à promouvoir les « forces vives du local ». La société civile, les organisations à base territoriale et les communautés de quartier sont vivement conviées à participer à la gestion de leur environnement de proximité, et à s'investir dans les opérations ciblées ou les projets pilotes de réhabilitation des quartiers déshérités (Republic of Ghana 1996). Particulièrement redondants, ces termes de référence sont déclinés sous l'angle de la volonté et de la capacité des citoyens à mieux payer leurs services de proximité. Les nouveaux cadres gestionnaires de l'urbanisme valorisent donc, souvent à l'identique d'une ville à l'autre du continent, l'ancrage résidentiel des citoyens comme le meilleur gage d'une telle mobilisation. Les propriétaires individualisés sont désignés comme les contribuables les mieux fixés et les plus solvables ; l'oubli des locataires est patent dans les projets urbains qui tentent d'identifier des voies de réduction de la pauvreté à travers la participation locale. Les tensions dont l'accès au sol et au logement est le théâtre, notamment la crispation croissante des rapports entre bailleurs et locataires sur le marché locatif, sont occultées. Les dépendances foncières liées au brassage migratoire sont de même évacuées au profit d'une perception compartimentée de la ville selon les générations d'accédants au sol. Ancrages et investissements urbains peuvent-ils pourtant se concevoir sans une analyse des mobilités spatiales des citoyens ?

Les ressorts sociaux et l'amplitude spatiale de la mobilité constituent en effet d'importants défis posés à la recherche urbaine. On déplore cependant que les études menées dans les villes du Sud apparaissent en retrait des perspectives méthodologiques et théoriques établies dans les villes du Nord (Dureau *et al.* 2000 ; Li et Wu 2004). S'appuyant sur des recensements espacés et frustrés, l'étude que les géographes de l'université du Ghana ont consacrée à Accra ne cerne ainsi guère les orientations spatiales du mouvement des ménages (Benneh *et al.* 1990).

Where urban/rural differences are recognized in demographic research, they still tend to be described in terms of simple urban/rural dichotomies. But urban growth is often accompanied by economic development, the restructuring and relocation of production, social and economic fragmentation, and spatial reorganization – and urban/rural dichotomies are increasingly inadequate even to describe these changes. In countries where the level of urbanization is already high, further measurement of change in the urban percentage adds little by way of insight. What is needed is a new emphasis on the inter-and intraurban differentials, and these are topics to which demographers have paid remarkably little attention. The neglect of intraurban research on developing countries is all the more surprising in view of the close attention given to neighborhood effects and other intraurban issues in research on cities in the United States (Montgomery *et al.* 2003:2-3).

Démision ghanéenne face aux difficultés de la mesure des mobilités intra-urbaines ? Les données de recensement sont trop mal désagrégées et trop peu accessibles

pour suivre les flux d'ensemble et la complexité individuelle des pratiques migratoires. Les enquêtes nationales, pourtant non négligeables dans le pays, n'offrent guère de perspective longitudinale. Les enquêtes biographiques apparaissent, quant à elles, souvent difficiles à mener et restent peu orientées vers la précision spatiale nécessaire à l'appréciation des différences intra-urbaines du peuplement et des mobilités (GRAB 1999).

Les choix retenus ici pour l'étude contextuelle de la mobilité dans la Région du Grand Accra valorisent donc deux propositions méthodologiques. La première est le croisement de mesures transversales et de mesures longitudinales définissant l'articulation des mouvements internes et des migrations vers ou depuis la région urbaine considérée ; la seconde complète cette balance globale des flux en s'appuyant sur des durées de séjour à partir desquelles est calculé un risque de déménagement. Les deux orientations empiriques conduisent alors à un diagnostic nuancé des mobilités citadines qui donne la primauté à l'effet de lieu dans l'espace métropolitain. Certains contextes locaux astreignent en effet les habitants à résidence, tandis que d'autres témoignent d'une propension accrue de leurs résidents à la mobilité, voire y contribuent. La mobilité apparaît alors comme une ressource locale inégalement partagée entre les citadins. Le fait que les discriminations individuelles de la mobilité ne s'exercent pas selon les mêmes modalités ni avec la même intensité d'un quartier à l'autre éclaire notre analyse de la fabrique sociale « du local » dans l'espace urbain, et ce mieux que nombre d'attendus ou de pré-requis du discours participatif.

Après avoir présenté les enjeux théoriques puis les principales options du traitement statistique, nous discuterons du modèle général qui orientera notre analyse de la mobilité résidentielle et notre compréhension de sa différenciation géographique.

Mobilité *versus* migration : enjeux du mouvement résidentiel interne aux métropoles

L'intra-urbain à promouvoir dans le champ des études consacrées au continent africain

L'association de mesures variées des pratiques résidentielles répond à un enjeu théorique important du fait de la continuité, sur plus de cinquante ans d'études urbaines africaines, de la thèse du migrant « étranger à la ville » (Plotnikov 1967 ; Mayer 1971 ; Gugler 1971). Il convient donc de mettre d'abord en perspective la migration, externe à la ville, et la mobilité résidentielle, intra-métropolitaine. Car les mutations de la démographie urbaine (poids des jeunes dans la population, de la population née en ville) et le processus de métropolisation des capitales (étalement et densification, ségrégations socio-économiques croissantes, diversification des filières d'accès au sol, segmentation des marchés immobiliers) n'ont pas empêché que la mobilité urbaine reste une question négligée au profit de la problématique migratoire.

Rappelons les origines coloniales de la thèse selon laquelle l'Afrique, anglophone notamment, ne présenterait d'urbanité qu'inachevée, marquée du seau de l'importation, et guère investie par les « indigènes ». Le développement de migrations inter-régionales du travail, la rétention plus ou moins bien gérée de la main-d'œuvre

salariée dans les zones d'emploi modernes, ont très tôt attiré l'attention des administrateurs coloniaux sur l'attachement des migrants d'origine rurale à leurs communautés d'origine, surtout lorsque ces relations au *hometown* préservaient des droits fonciers et une conception politique de l'autochtonie. À l'encontre des analyses modernistes de la détribalisation et de la prolétarianisation dans la transition capitaliste (Brokensha 1966 ; Amselle *et al.* 1976),¹ le faible investissement que les migrants-locataires faisaient de la ville marquait durablement l'approche de l'urbanisation (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1993). La thèse des populations flottantes et mal fixées, peu réceptives à la modernité, voire réfractaires à une certaine individualisation, s'illustre dans différents contextes malgré l'appropriation que font les élites post-coloniales de la cité. Au critère de stratification citadine fondée sur la classe sociale, s'oppose un critère traditionaliste de différenciation en termes d'appartenances ethniques et d'origines géographiques.

Les réminiscences de la thèse du « migrant étranger à la ville » sont importantes dans les études consacrées au Ghana. Bien des habitants des villes restent perçus comme étant tournés vers l'extérieur. Le débat consacré à l'absence de quartiers spontanés à Kumasi montre, on l'a vu plus haut (chapitre 5), les locataires incarnant un statut de citadin de second rang à l'égard des autochtones. Puisque de puissants verrous fonciers ne les incitent guère à s'engager dans l'amélioration de leurs positions résidentielles, le prix de véritables stratégies de mobilité urbaine ne retient pas l'attention des chercheurs. Les changements durables sur le marché du logement sont vus comme le fait des natifs de la cité, dont les ancrages résidentiels sont présentés en termes communautaires. Quant à l'*exit option* des migrants, elle prend la forme d'une circulation en aller-retour entre la communauté d'origine, terre des véritables réinvestissements (à l'occasion de flux de navettes, de visites, de réalisations à distance, de replis en cas de mauvaises conjonctures économiques ou de retraite) et les lieux d'emploi durant la vie active.

La perspective d'une reproduction élargie des familles rurales, par le travail temporaire en ville, occulte alors les pratiques d'insertion sur plusieurs générations, les opportunités de travail et les choix de logement *in situ* qui transforment les migrants en « citadins durables ». Comparée à de plus anciennes tendances observées en Amérique latine (Gilbert et Crankshaw 1999), l'étude des mutations urbaines de l'Afrique du Sud post-apartheid montre pourtant bien la rupture à l'œuvre à l'égard d'un schéma migratoire circulaire (contrôle des flux du travail, résidence de courte durée en ville, fidélité aux *homelands*) et le lien théorique qui s'engage entre la nature du peuplement urbain et le marché du logement. Mais c'est pour mieux maintenir le confinement du reste du continent africain dans la seule problématique migratoire.

This change towards a more permanent pattern of migration in South Africa is important insofar as length of residence has important implications for housing behaviour. Short-term residence, for example, is likely to encourage renting over ownership. Even migrants obtain a plot of land, any strong desire to return 'home' is likely to slow the process of self-help housing consolidation. Why improve an urban home if the worker plans to return to the rural home in the not-so-distant future? (Gilbert et Crankshaw 1999:2388-2389).

Si l'impact nouveau de la mobilité intra-urbaine est bien mis en évidence, seule la ville sud-africaine en témoignerait à l'échelle continentale.

Migration in South Africa was much more comparable with than in other parts of tropical Africa, most migrants being temporary sojourners in the city. This pattern of African migration was largely the result of colonial policy. From colonial times, circulatory migration was almost ordained by the nature of labour policy. Mines and formal-sector enterprises recruited migrants on short-term contracts. Migrants were encouraged to return home when the contract expired. Even after independence, circular migration tended to be the norm with migrant arriving with every intention of returning home when they had made some money. Even if they stayed for several years, their aim was to spend their retirement at 'home' ; at the very least, they planned to be buried there. Economic insecurity in the city combined with loyalty to their home in the countryside encouraged many to maintain a 'dual system' (*Ibid.* 2380).

Les processus à l'œuvre dans le Grand Accra démentent pourtant que les évolutions métropolitaines observées par les auteurs soient l'apanage du seul cas sud-africain.

Stocks et flux : propositions méthodologiques

Dans les deux enquêtes malienne et ghanéenne, la notion de flux est rapportée à trois référents géographiques. Le cadre métropolitain est le plus large ; il met en jeu globalement la distinction entre migration extra-régionale et mobilité interne aux subdivisions que constituent les districts administratifs, les localités urbaines et les quartiers dans lesquels les zones d'étude prennent place. Le niveau des maisonnées constitue ensuite, comme on l'a vu, le cadre d'observation des déménagements de ménages « tout en entier mobiles ». Enfin, les ménages stables constituent aussi, d'une certaine manière, les « stocks » de référence dans lesquels s'inscrit le flux des individus entrants ou sortants dans l'échéance d'une année d'observation. Les remaniements de la composition des ménages (chapitre 4) et les changements de profil de cohabitation dans les maisons (chapitre 5) ont déjà introduit ces deux derniers effets contextuels.

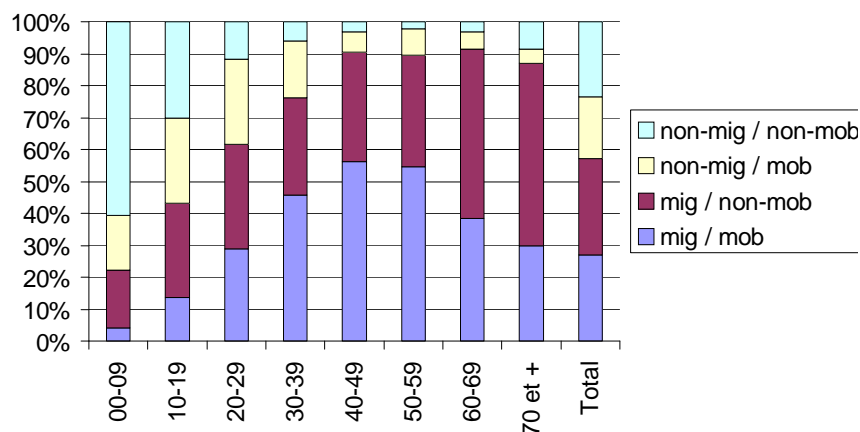
L'enquête réalisée à Accra aborde toutefois les itinéraires migratoires et résidentiels des citadins avec plus de précision que l'étude bamakoise, en s'appuyant sur trois modes de suivi des individus dans le temps. Les deux premiers sont rétrospectifs ; le troisième s'inscrit au contraire dans une observation progressive qui est directement inspirée du protocole malien.

1. Une première option a consisté à relever les principaux jalons de l'insertion urbaine de tous les membres des ménages enquêtés : la date et le lieu de naissance, puis l'étape ayant précédé l'entrée (ou le retour) dans la Région du Grand Accra, puis celles ayant précédé l'entrée dans le quartier d'enquête et l'entrée dans la maison enquêtée. La biographie individuelle est ainsi balisée selon quatre moments clefs de la trajectoire urbaine que l'on peut croiser avec les caractéristiques démographiques et socio-économiques des individus. La mesure de l'insertion *en ville*, que les études démographiques résument souvent à une première entrée, est ainsi complétée par

des orientations plus précises *dans la ville*. Il est donc possible non seulement de lier mouvements externes et mobilités internes à l'espace métropolitain, individu par individu, mais encore de détecter les décalages, à l'un ou l'autre de ces niveaux d'insertion, entre individus relevant d'une même famille et d'une résidence commune au moment de l'enquête.

Cette focalisation conduit de la migration vers la ville à des déménagements de très courte portée dans l'espace résidentiel (avec même de possibles déménagements d'une *room* à l'autre au sein d'une même cour), en passant par l'insertion dans le quartier et dans la maisonnée d'enquête. Elle nous conduit à constituer en variable d'analyse individuelle la typologie des déplacements urbains selon que les citadins ont fait ou non l'expérience au moins une fois d'un changement de logement dans le cadre spatial de référence. Ainsi, l'appréciation de la mobilité est-elle ordonnée du niveau le plus large (la région métropolitaine) au niveau d'observation le plus élémentaire de l'espace urbain (le logement défini au sein de la maisonnée d'enquête). En se concentrant sur les deux premiers types de déplacement, on dresse en effet la classification des itinéraires selon qu'ils manifestent ou non : 1. une migration inter-régionale ou internationale avant l'arrivée ou le retour dans la capitale ("mig" *versus* "non-mig"), 2. une mobilité depuis une autre communauté que celle enquêtée dans le Grand Accra ("mob" *versus* "non-mob").

Figure 8.1 : Profil d'insertion et classes d'âge



Source : HPRM, 2000-2001.

Cette première technique a le mérite de prendre en compte l'impact des jeunes dans la population citadine² et l'apprentissage qu'ils mènent d'une vie urbaine en mouvement, alors que d'autres études réduisent souvent la question de la mobilité, par individualisme méthodologique, aux caractéristiques des seuls chefs de ménage. La mesure introduit ainsi un biais certain du fait de l'adéquation des itinéraires de nombre de ces jeunes avec ceux de leurs tuteurs, une fois ceux-ci entrés en ville. En faisant la part belle

aux cadets sociaux, qui sont plus souvent nés dans le Grand Accra que leurs aînés, elle en appelle à de plus fines discriminations du rapport entre migration et mobilité.

2. Une deuxième voie d'investigation a donc consisté à ne retenir qu'un sous-échantillon d'adultes, à raison d'une ou deux personnes dans chacun des ménages enquêtés.³ L'itinéraire de ces 1 396 individus est alors reconstitué de manière exhaustive : toutes les étapes résidentielles parcourues de la naissance au logement enquêté sont informées par un jeu de questions portant sur les lieux de résidence, le rang de l'étape dans l'itinéraire, le moment du déménagement, le statut d'occupation dans le nouveau logement et le motif de la mobilité. Qu'ils soient la conséquence de migrations ou de déménagements internes à la région métropolitaine, ces séjours successifs ont été définis sur la base des logements occupés pendant au moins six mois.

3. Enfin, le second passage d'enquête, en 2001, a permis de saisir l'orientation géographique d'un flux de « mobiles à court terme ». Celui-ci prenait acte de l'entrée de nouveaux individus ou ménages dans l'échantillon de maisons visitées une première fois, en 2000, et de la sortie d'une partie de la charge démographique observée un an auparavant.

Mesures comparées

Sur les deux années d'étude, globalement, 34 pour cent des ménages enquêtés et 39 pour cent des individus apparaissaient en sortie ou en entrée dans l'échantillon des 157 cours visitées à Bamako. Selon la même échéance, près d'un ménage sur cinq n'a été enquêté qu'une seule fois dans le Grand Accra ; plus de 27 pour cent des individus ont quitté ou rejoint les 232 maisons étudiées. L'essentiel de ces remaniements démographiques relève bien d'un flux géographique puisque les naissances représentent 10 pour cent des entrées à Bamako entre 1993 et 1994 et 18 pour cent des entrées à Accra entre 2000 et 2001. Les décès ne comptent que pour 2 pour cent des sorties à Bamako et moins de 4 pour cent des sorties à Accra dans les mêmes périodes. Le rapport des mobiles aux stables peut enfin être mesuré au regard d'un seul des deux passages d'enquête.

Table 8.1 : Part des mobiles dans la population comptée à chaque passage d'enquête

Sortants ou entrants :	Bamako		Accra	
% des enquêtés	1993	1994	2000	2001
Ménages	20,2	20,7	9,2	12,8
Individus	24,3	24,3	14,5	16,9

Source : Enquêtes : Cohabitations et mobilités résidentielles à Bamako, 1993-1994; HPRM, 2000-2001.

Les déplacements en jeu sont impressionnants et dénotent un important renouvellement annuel de la population résidente telle qu'elle est observée localement. De plus, le flux global se décompose dans des proportions similaires dans les deux métropoles en ménages ayant déménagé dans leur totalité (la moitié des mobiles identifiés à Bamako, 56 % à Accra), d'une part, et individus mobiles vers ou depuis

des ménages stables (l'autre moitié des mobiles à Bamako, 44 % à Accra), d'autre part. Ces deux mouvements renvoient cependant à des logiques sociales différentes : accès au sol et pérégrinations locatives dans le cas des ménages, circulation de cadets sociaux dans l'autre, bien que ni les premiers ni les seconds ne figurent les « électrons libres de la ville » (Bertrand 1999).

Sur le fond, la dynamique métropolitaine se comprend d'abord dans le rapport des mouvements internes et externes au Grand Accra. Le principe de l'enquête à passages répétés permet ainsi d'identifier 66 ménages sortants et 169 individus sortants de ménages stables. Parmi les premiers (229 individus concernés), la destination du chef de ménage indique, à huit exceptions près (dont trois du fait du décès de cette personne de référence), celle des autres membres du ménage. Près des quatre cinquièmes de ces destinations de ménages concernent la Région du Grand Accra, ne laissant que 22 pour cent des sorties au flux extra-métropolitain. Parmi les mobiles à titre individuel (164 individus), trois individus sur cinq restent dans les limites de la région urbaine où ils ont été localisés en 2000 ; 40 pour cent des sorties sont donc externes à la capitale ghanéenne. Dans les deux cas, le mouvement géographique dirigé vers les autres régions du Ghana est deux fois mieux représenté que le flux d'expatriation vers l'étranger.

Ce suivi à court terme des populations atteste donc d'une réelle prévalence de la mobilité urbaine sur les migrations.⁴ Il en va de même lorsque l'on s'appuie sur un passé plus long, et sur les principaux jalons de l'insertion urbaine reconstitués pour tous les membres des ménages. Les effectifs en jeu sont alors plus importants, mais la biographie des séjours antérieurs est incomplète. Individu par individu, l'articulation de flux internes et externes ne s'appuie que sur l'expérience d'au moins un déplacement géographique.

Table 8.2 : Filières d'insertion dans l'espace résidentiel

Migration*	Mobilité**	Mouvement***	Individus	Dont changement de logement****
OUI	NON	NON	786	11
OUI	OUI	NON	780	40
NON	NON	NON	629	12
NON	OUI	NON	595	42
OUI	NON	OUI	203	4
NON	NON	OUI	144	0
OUI	OUI	OUI	104	0
NON	OUI	OUI	44	0
Total suivi			3 285	

Source : HPRM, 2000-2001.

* Vers la Région du Grand Accra, en première entrée ou en flux de retour après une migration nationale ou internationale.

** Vers la zone d'enquête, depuis un autre quartier dans GAR.

*** Vers la maison d'enquête, depuis une autre maison dans le même quartier d'enquête.

**** Déménagement interne à la maison d'enquête, depuis un autre logement enquêté.

L'expérience de la mobilité interne à la région capitale a concerné une part majoritaire des citadins : 53 pour cent des itinéraires de migrants et 55 pour cent des itinéraires de non-migrants. Dans le détail, le niveau scolaire et le statut professionnel des individus – respectivement de plus de 6 et 12 ans – introduisent le plus de variations sur ces moyennes aux côtés des nuances également apportées par les quartiers d'enquête. À la sur-représentation manifeste du profil « migrant non mobile » parmi les non-scolarisés, s'oppose par exemple la sur-représentation du profil « migrant mobile » parmi les citadins redevables des cursus scolaires les plus avancés. L'immobilité résidentielle (profil « non migrant, non mobile ») distingue les chômeurs et les apprentis, alors qu'une insertion urbaine plus heurtée valorise au contraire le salariat privé ou public (profil « migrant mobile »).

Certes, il convient de déceler l'incidence de l'âge dans ces discriminations des profils d'insertion urbaine. Comme on l'a vu plus haut, le poids des jeunes introduit deux biais dans l'échantillon : ils sont nés dans la région urbaine en proportion plus forte que leurs parents, d'une part, ce qui réduit la probabilité de migration ; leurs itinéraires renvoient souvent à une mobilité de suivi d'un ménage sans détermination autonome, d'autre part, ce qui n'exclut d'ailleurs pas que les jeunes en cause présentent de fréquents déphasages urbains à l'égard de frères et de sœurs qui relèvent alors des itinéraires d'autres tuteurs familiaux. Il n'en reste pas moins que les variables individuelles les plus structurantes pour la mobilité urbaine, l'âge et le niveau socio-économique, croisent leurs effets avec d'autres variables, contextuelles, et notamment l'impact du lieu de résidence identifié au moment de l'enquête. C'est précisément dans ce sens que l'on conclura ce chapitre à l'appui de mesures longitudinales plus complètes et plus rigoureusement discriminées.

Les seuls adultes interrogés sur la totalité de leurs lieux de vie successifs confirment en effet l'importance des étapes internes au Grand Accra. La moitié des 5 144 séjours reconstitués depuis l'étape de naissance des individus y prennent place avant le déménagement vers la zone d'enquête, contre 46 pour cent des résidences localisées dans les autres régions ghanéennes et 4 pour cent à l'étranger.

Centres et périphéries urbaines : inégaux effets de proximité dans un espace métropolitain compartimenté

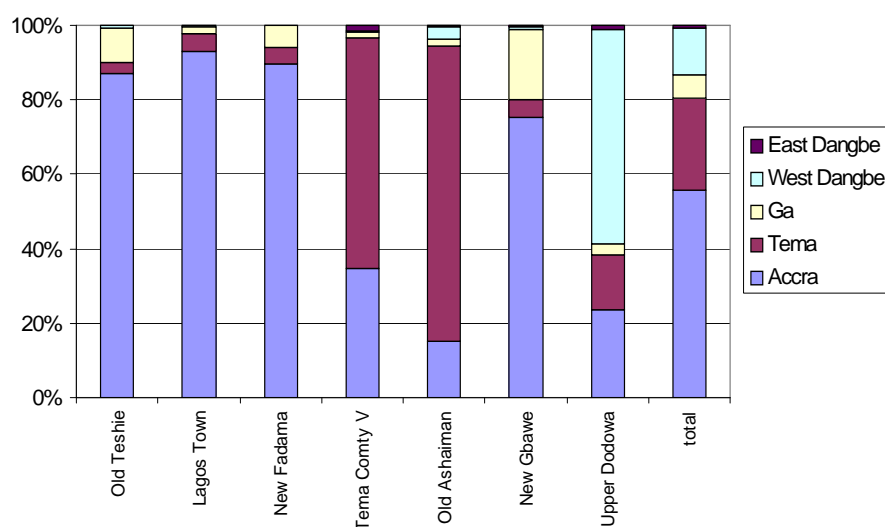
Biographies résidentielles

Le suivi longitudinal de ces adultes rend lisible l'orientation géographique précise de la mobilité urbaine. Les lieux des séjours antérieurs à l'enquête sont ainsi croisés avec les zones d'enquête elles-mêmes, c'est-à-dire le terme « tronqué » des biographies résidentielles. On recherche alors les logiques spatiales mettant les contextes locaux plus particulièrement étudiés dans la métropole avec d'autres zones de départ ou d'étape.

Saisis d'abord dans un *hinterland* migratoire large, les déplacements nationaux et internationaux des individus ne particularisent guère les zones d'enquête entre elles. Les deux secteurs étudiés dans le District de Tema sur-présentent certes légèrement les séjours localisés dans l'intérieur du Ghana au détriment de la région capitale, mais

la nuance est peu sensible. C'est davantage le recul biographique donné par les seules 2 586 étapes intra-métropolitaines qui dévoile des cheminements réellement orientés.

Figure 8.2 : District des étapes résidentielles dans le Grand Accra et zones d'étude



Source : HPRM, 2000-2001.

Le croisement des lieux d'enquête avec ces lieux de séjours antérieurs se révèle ainsi riche d'enseignement dans l'espace métropolitain. Le rôle redistributeur de la ville-centre de l'agglomération est d'abord confirmé non seulement vers ses propres quartiers (les trois premières zones d'étude), mais aussi plus loin dans l'agglomération et vers les marges rurales de la région. La centralité majeure du District d'Accra est ainsi mise en évidence. Elle fonde un mouvement centrifuge d'ensemble à l'échelle de la métropole. Elle est en outre décisive pour le croît démographique particulier de New Gbawe, la banlieue la plus proche dans le District Ga voisin.

Le District de Tema ressort également du tableau des mobilités comme un centre émetteur secondaire : non seulement pour les quartiers de la ville nouvelle mais aussi pour d'autres communautés plus septentrionales. Ces étapes jouent particulièrement vers Ashaiman, mais aussi de manière non négligeable vers Dodowa au nord du Grand Accra. Depuis la côte, la polarisation économique et la redistribution résidentielle ici en jeu apparaissent plus circonscrites à l'échelle des districts orientaux de la région capitale. Au total, l'effet de centralité se manifeste à « géométrie variable » sur le peuplement des périphéries urbaines, selon que l'on considère le foyer principal de la ville ou des pivots secondaires dans l'agglomération.

Le lien entre le district des zones d'enquête et le district des logements antérieurement occupés est enfin manifeste dans chacune des sept zones d'enquête. Il ne caractérise donc pas particulièrement les marges de l'agglomération mais apparaît très bien illustré dans la zone de Dodowa. Même celle de New Gbawe, qui comme plus généralement l'ouest du District Ga accueille le front d'étalement urbain le plus dynamique au contact immédiat d'Accra, fait apparaître une mobilité résidentielle interne au district. Celui-ci totalise près d'une étape sur cinq des itinéraires convergeant vers la zone d'étude.

L'hypothèse d'un effet de proximité géographique orientant le mouvement urbain va toutefois au-delà de la simple « homologie » de district. Elle se précise en effet au niveau plus fin d'analyse des quelque 260 quartiers et localités inventoriés comme étapes dans la région métropolitaine. En ne sélectionnant que les lieux les plus fréquemment cités, nous élargissons le croisement des zones d'étude avec ces étapes et leur environnement proche : on retient par exemple le quartier d'Accra New Town plutôt que le seul secteur de Lagos Town qui en est l'un des constituants, la ville d'Ashaiman plutôt que ses seuls quartiers méridionaux, le tandem Gbawe/New Gbawe plutôt que les seuls morcellements récents du domaine coutumier, etc. « L'enveloppe urbaine » ainsi considérée prend en compte des agrégats de banlieue déjà composites.

Table 8.3 : Étapes résidentielles les plus fréquemment citées dans le Grand Accra et zones d'étude

Étapes résidentielles*	Old Teshie	Lagos Town	New Fadama	Tema/ComtyV	Old Ashaiman	New Gbawe	Upper Dodowa	Total
Teshie	272	1	11	13	0	4	6	307
Accra New Town	0	216	3	6	1	8	1	235
New Fadama	0	0	222	0	0	0	0	222
Tema	1	3	8	376	20	13	41	462
Ashaiman	0	4	1	7	226	1	15	254
Gbawe/New Gbawe	0	0	0	0	0	243	0	243
Dodowa	0	0	0	2	1	2	376	381
Total	273	224	245	404	248	271	439	2104

Source : HPRM, 2000-2001.

* Hors lieux d'enquête : seuls les séjours précédents sont pris en considération dans l'analyse spatiale des itinéraires.

À cette échelle d'observation désormais interne aux districts, l'environnement proche se révèle décisif pour la familiarisation que les individus entretiennent avec l'espace métropolitain. Aucune des zones d'enquête ne déroge à la diagonale du tableau croisé, c'est-à-dire à l'orientation des déménagements par un effet de proximité. Tout se passe donc comme si la mobilité métropolitaine procédait par bonds en séries mais chacun de courte portée géographique, en déplaçant les citoyens préférentiellement au sein d'un même district, d'une même localité, d'un même domaine foncier voire d'un même quartier. Lorsqu'un déménagement se profile, le

recours au voisinage ou au réseau social constitué à la faveur d'un séjour plus long ou plus riche d'opportunités urbaines s'impose en effet pour décider de l'étape suivante, du prochain bailleur locatif ou de l'expérience immobilière à venir. À cet égard, la ville nouvelle de Tema semble le mieux redistribuer les citadins qui y ont transité vers plusieurs « compartiments » périurbains de la métropole.

Déménagements à court terme

Les sorties des ménages et des individus de l'échantillon confirment cette organisation en « sauts de puce » de la mobilité résidentielle. Le suivi des maisons visitées et de leurs habitants à un an d'intervalle lève d'ailleurs le doute sur les défaillances de la mémoire que pourraient rencontrer les individus à l'égard de phases trop anciennes de résidence. Certes, les destinations en 2001 ne sont pas connues directement auprès des personnes concernées par la mobilité sortante ; la géographie des déménagements découle plutôt des informations données par des tiers : les membres des ménages restés sur place après 2000, des voisins, d'autres ménages cohabitant dans les maisonnées d'enquête, etc. ; mais seulement 13 pour cent des sorties n'ont pu être informées quant au lieu de destination.

Table 8.4 : Mobilité des sortants : 2000-2001

Destination des sortants	Ménages	Individus
District d'Accra	8	41
Dont résidents District d'Accra (Teshie, Lagos Town, New Fadama) en 2000	7	27
Lien Teshie vers Teshie		13 sur 14
Lien Lagos Town vers Lagos Town/Nima		5 sur 8
Lien New Fadama vers Accra-North		3 sur 5
District de Tema	14	24
Dont résidents District de Tema (Tema ville, Ashaiman) en 2000	14	24
Lien Tema ville vers Tema ville	3 sur 3	9 sur 13
Lien Ashaiman vers Ashaiman	9 sur 11	11 sur 11
District Ga	13	22
Dont résidents District Ga (New Gbawe) en 2000	8	19
Lien New Gbawe vers New Gbawe/Gbawe/Malam	6 sur 8	11 sur 11
Districts Dangbe Ouest (et Est)	7	12
Dont résidents District Dangbe Ouest (Dodowa) en 2000	6	9
Lien Dodowa vers Dodowa		6 sur 9
Total Région du Grand Accra	42	99
Autres Régions Ghana	8	43
Lien New Gbawe vers Central Region (région frontalière)	2 sur 2	
Lien Dodowa vers Eastern Region (région frontalière)	4 sur 4	
Étranger	4	22
(Lien Lagos Town) vers Afrique de l'Ouest musulmane	2 sur 2	2
Lien classes moyennes (Tema, New Gbawe) vers pays du Nord	2 sur 2	15 sur 19
Total hors Région du Grand Accra	12	65
Total sortants localisés	54	164

Source : HPRM, 2000-2001.

C'est bien la région capitale qui reçoit le plus gros du flux que les maisons d'enquête ont émis hors d'elles-mêmes. Par la part relativement modeste du District métropolitain au profit des districts de banlieue et de marge rurale, le mouvement apparaît de nouveau globalement centrifuge. La population déjà citadine continue de se redistribuer des zones les plus denses vers les secteurs plus récemment urbanisés. Mais au sein du flux d'ensemble, les zones de résidence assurent le plus gros des mouvements orientés vers... elles-mêmes ou vers leur environnement immédiat.

De nouveau, se dessinent des déplacements de courte portée géographique. Comme si encore la recomposition élargie du Grand Accra vers ses périphéries ne procédait que par à-coups en séries mais de faibles amplitudes spatiales. Le lien tissé globalement entre les centres métropolitains (les bassins d'emplois d'Accra et de Tema) et leurs périphéries n'exclut pas des logiques contextuelles plus fines, une articulation plus circonscrite entre lieux de « départ » et points d'« arrivée » des flux annuels.

Ces effets de proximité manifestent surtout la familiarité fragmentée que les habitants engagent avec une métropole compartimentée non seulement dans les trois « cercles » qui la composent (noyau urbain, banlieues, périphéries encore rurales), mais aussi de manière interne aux districts. En cela, le bourgeonnement résidentiel à l'œuvre à New Gbawe et Dodowa (y compris vers les régions voisines de l'Ouest – Central Region – et du Nord – Eastern Region –), ne fait que prolonger une tendance déjà manifeste, depuis les années 1960, depuis les « centres émetteurs » que constituent les villes d'Accra et de Tema. De même que s'allonge le rayon des navettes domicile-travail, l'aire d'influence de la métropole vers une interface rural/urbain toujours plus lointaine s'élargit. Mais les circonstances de détail et les orientations précises de ces flux restent largement le produit d'une donne locale. Ce sont ces effets particuliers, et leurs interférences sur un jeu de variables individuelles, que l'on tente à présent de mesurer de manière systématique.⁵

Variations individuelles de la mobilité résidentielle

Traitement statistique des biographies résidentielles

Comme on l'a vu, le mode de sélection non aléatoire des adultes enquêtés pour leurs trajectoires résidentielles ne permet pas de prétendre à une généralisation des résultats à l'ensemble de la métropole. Plusieurs précautions ont néanmoins été prises pour traiter ces données en grappes. En effet, le choix de ménages voisins au sein d'un même quartier suscite une ressemblance qui casse l'hypothèse d'indépendance des observations. L'homogénéité des séjours résidentiels d'un même individu a de même été prise en compte par des estimateurs robustes de la variance donnant les intervalles de confiance corrects. Ces deux particularités nous conduisent à introduire une composante aléatoire dans les modèles de durée utilisés pour l'analyse de la mobilité individuelle, connue sous le terme anglais de *frailty* (Shih et Louis 1995). En d'autres termes, l'analyse de cas particuliers du peuplement urbain impliquait de recourir à des méthodes multiniveaux de modélisation des séjours reconstitués pour le sous-échantillon d'adultes (Hougaard 2000).

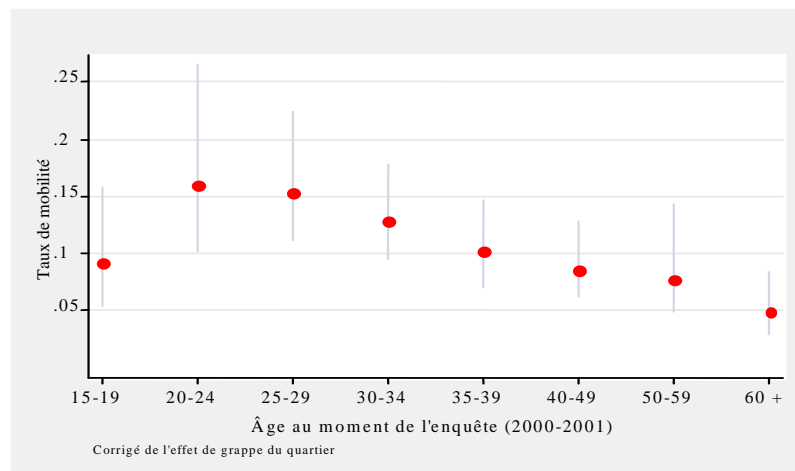
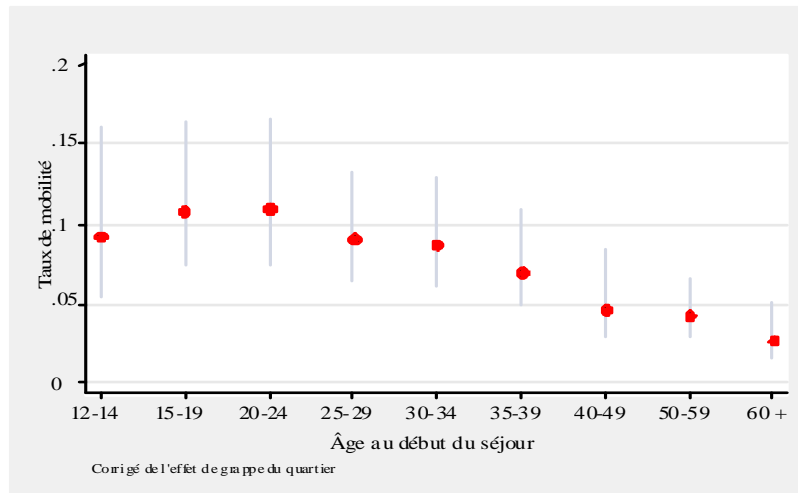
Les variations de durée des étapes résidentielles sont rapportées aux caractéristiques des individus enquêtés, à celles de leur ménage et de l'habitat occupé en 2000-2001. Mais parce qu'elle remonte à la naissance, la trajectoire débute par un ou plusieurs séjours chez des parents. La durée de ces étapes initiales est anormalement longue ; elle reflète moins les décisions de l'individu que celles du ménage qui l'accueille. La mobilité des enfants est notamment atypique et ne se conforme pas à l'hypothèse statistique des risques proportionnels que requiert l'application des modèles de Cox. L'analyse n'a donc retenu que les déplacements commencés à l'âge d'une possible activité économique, soit à partir de 12 ans. Pour des raisons similaires, les déplacements effectués hors de la région capitale ont été écartés parce qu'ils renvoyaient souvent aux étapes de jeunesse des migrants avant leur arrivée dans la Région du Grand Accra. Les mesures du risque de mobilité ne s'appliquent donc qu'aux déménagements internes à l'espace métropolitain, soit environ la moitié des 6 477 séjours informés.

La prise en compte des lieux d'enquête nous interroge pour sa part sur la cohérence locale des pratiques résidentielles. L'intérêt de l'analyse statistique réside ici dans la comparaison des sept environnements urbains retenus comme étant significatifs de la composition métropolitaine. L'association des deux approches statistiques – la définition d'un modèle général et son application à des cas localisés – permet surtout de séparer les effets de contexte et l'impact de variables génériques qui opèrent dans tous les lieux selon les mêmes logiques. On peut ainsi faire l'hypothèse, vérifiée dans de nombreuses études, que la mobilité varie selon le cycle de vie des individus et selon leur sexe. Mais son ampleur risque d'être modulée selon l'histoire du quartier et son peuplement. Le type d'habitat risque également d'apparaître spécifique au lieu habité ; son incidence sur la mobilité serait donc abusivement généralisée par un modèle statistique que l'on négligerait de contextualiser. On dégagera donc d'abord de l'analyse biographique les variations de la mobilité résidentielle dans le Grand Accra. Celles-ci serviront de référence pour l'analyse contextuelle qui sera menée dans la partie finale.

Portrait-type des séjours les plus courts et des risques les plus élevés de déménagement

Le déroulement chronologique de la mobilité s'inscrit dans une double temporalité, individuelle et historique, que l'enquête tente de mesurer par une batterie de variables : l'âge au déménagement, l'âge au moment de l'enquête, la date d'arrivée dans la région métropolitaine et celle du déplacement, que l'on complète avec le motif du changement résidentiel. L'effet du cycle de vie est le mieux dessiné. Il s'observe dans tous les quartiers selon un profil que l'on pourrait qualifier d'universel : les déménagements augmentent jusqu'à 25 ans environ, ce qui coïncide avec la recherche d'un emploi et d'un logement, l'établissement d'un ménage indépendant. Par la suite, leur fréquence décroît régulièrement.

Figures 8.3 et 8.4 : Mobilité selon l'âge au début du séjour et au moment de l'enquête



Les trajectoires établissent en outre clairement l'effet de génération : entre un taux maximum de mobilité de 17 pour cent pour les individus qui ont 20-24 ans en 2000 et le minimum de 5 pour cent pour les plus de 60 ans, la baisse est régulière. Certes, toute la vie des générations anciennes est résumée dans cette valeur qui tient notamment compte de leur stabilisation progressive, due à l'âge, en fin de cycle de vie. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'à âge égal les nouvelles générations sont plus mobiles que les anciennes, ce qui traduit une croissance historique de la mobilité résidentielle.

L'augmentation est peut-être aussi due à l'oubli des premiers séjours des générations anciennes. À ce doute s'ajoute un artéfact de l'observation : l'enquête interrompt les derniers séjours informés, que l'on qualifie de « tronqués ». De ce fait, il est impossible de trouver chez les jeunes générations des résidences stabilisées de plusieurs décennies, ce qui contribue à augmenter artificiellement notre perception de leur mobilité.

Table 8.5 : Variations de la mobilité résidentielle

Variables et modalités	Taux de mobilité*	Variables et modalités	Taux de mobilité*
<i>Raison du déménagement</i>		<i>Niveau d'étude</i>	
retour en famille, au village	5,3	école arabe, coranique	4,0
suivi du mari	5,9	non scolarisé	4,1
Logement	6,6	école primaire	8,3
suivi d'un tuteur, parent	12,8	secondaire junior	9,1
travail, emploi	14,0	enseignement technique	11,0
solarisation	20,7	enseignement professionnel	12,0
<i>District du lieu de séjour</i>		secondaire senior	12,7
Accra Metropolis	8,5	post-secondaire	13,0
Tema	8,6	université	14,9
Dangbe Ouest/Est	10,7	<i>Statut professionnel</i>	
Ga	10,8	retraité	5,8
<i>Type d'habitation</i>		chômeur	7,7
cour	7,6	étudiant	7,7
maison individuelle	11,6	indépendant avec employé	8,0
appartement	12,0	indépendant sans employé	8,7
<i>Statut d'occupation du logement</i>		apprenti	9,6
usufruitier ou hébergé	6,2	salarié secteur privé	10,3
propriétaire individualisé	8,1	travailleur familial	10,3
locataire	10,0	salarié secteur public	11,8
<i>Statut matrimonial</i>		<i>Groupe ethnique</i>	
veuf	4,6	autres origines ouest-africaines	4,9
séparé	6,9	ressortissants du Nord-Ghana	7,1
marié	9,1	Ga-Adangbe (région capitale)	7,8
divorcé	10,7	Ewe	9,3
célibataire	12,6	Akan	10,8
<i>Groupe religieux</i>		<i>Zone d'enquête</i>	
divers traditionnels	2,9	Old Teshie	2,9
musulmans	5,5	Lagos Town	4,4
catholiques	7,9	Old Ashaiman	5,9
protestants orthodoxes	9,1	New Fadama	9,1
pentecôtistes et charismatiques	10,8	Tema Community V	12,0
sans église	11,5	New Gbawe	13,2
<i>Sexe</i>		Upper Dodowa	13,4
femmes	8,3	Total	
hommes	9,5	8,9	

Source : HPRM, 2000-2001

* Pourcentage annuel de déménagements dans le corpus des biographies résidentielles.

Cette tendance à la hausse est néanmoins confirmée par deux autres mesures de l'enquête qui s'adossent au déroulement du temps historique. La mobilité résidentielle s'intensifie en effet pour ceux qui sont le plus récemment arrivés dans la région capitale : le taux annuel de déménagements est de 5 pour cent pour les personnes présentes avant 1960 ; il atteint 15 pour cent pour celles qui s'installent dans les années 1990. En s'étendant et en saturant ses espaces les plus anciennement urbanisés, la ville rend plus difficile l'ancrage territorial des derniers arrivés.

Parmi l'ensemble des variables examinées, les conditions de séjour dans la Région du Grand Accra déterminent une deuxième série de discriminants de la mobilité. Les lieux d'étape résidentielle, regroupés par district, infléchissent très clairement les temps de séjour et le risque de déménagement : les districts d'Accra et de Tema, les premiers urbanisés, tendent à mieux fixer les résidents qui y transitent ; le District Ga, plus récemment urbanisé vers l'ouest de la région, et la périphérie Dangbe, encore rurale au Nord et à l'Est, accueillent des individus moins sédentaires. L'effet de marge régionale est patent dans cette agitation plus grande. Il découle de la structuration semi-concentrique de l'agglomération depuis la côte qui rend la périphérie plus turbulente que le vieux centre urbain. On l'a vu toutefois ; l'échelle du district se révèle encore trop grossière à l'égard de nuances plus fines à l'échelle des quartiers habités successivement.

Le type d'habitation ajoute sa part d'influence mais en rapport avec la sociologie de ses habitants.⁶ La variable est de plus mesurée au seul moment de l'enquête, non à chaque séjour. La mobilité se situe à un niveau identique de 12 pour cent de déménagements annuels dans les parcs les plus récents, tandis qu'elle ne dépasse pas 8 pour cent dans les cours. Cette relative fixation résidentielle caractérise en fait la masse des résidents qui n'ont pas été scolarisés ou qui n'ont fréquenté que l'école coranique, relevant dans ces conditions de processus de capture sociale et territoriale. En revanche, le fait de vivre en cour ne réduit pas la mobilité des scolarisés dont le capital professionnel motive sans doute une part des déménagements et peut leur permettre, à terme, de s'affranchir d'un bâti peu valorisant. Également saisi en 2000-2001, le statut d'occupation du logement confirme partiellement cet effet stabilisant des cours : les propriétaires et les locataires ont connu des séjours sensiblement moins durables que les usufruitiers qui apparaissent immobilisés par le bénéfice d'héritages immobiliers. La mobilité de ces ayants droit est plus souvent motivée par le retour vers la famille ou dans les communautés d'origine dans lesquelles ils font généralement prévaloir des droits sur la terre. De tels patrimoines familiaux jouent ainsi le rôle de refuge résidentiel pour les plus démunis ou les victimes de mauvaises passes professionnelles ou conjugales.

D'autres variables ont des effets plus nuancés ou entrecroisés sur la mobilité. Les hommes déménagent significativement plus que les femmes, selon un risque annuel accru de 12 pour cent. Cette différence sort renforcée du contrôle de l'âge ou de la génération ; mais elle disparaît à éducation égale ou si elle est conditionnée au statut professionnel. La sur-mobilité masculine ne se vérifie d'ailleurs pas dans la zone d'étude de Dodowa.

Également saisi au moment de l'enquête, le statut matrimonial dépend de la position des individus dans le cycle de vie, ce qui explique les séjours résidentiels plus courts des célibataires ; mais, à âge égal, les différences s'atténuent, voire s'inversent. Par exemple, le veuvage prolongé implique souvent un retour en famille et une nouvelle étape résidentielle. Plus inattendue est la différence entre « divorcés » et « séparés », ces derniers étant moins mobiles. Les deux ruptures d'union conjugale se différencient par le fait que les divorcés avaient enregistré leur mariage à l'état civil, tandis que les séparés sont « dé-mariés » comme ils ont été mariés : par le seul accord coutumier des conseils de leurs familles respectives. Or, la différence de procédure renvoie à des différences socio-économiques : la séparation concerne les citadins de niveaux modestes ; elle est typique des populations autochtones de Teshie et de Dodowa.

Avec le niveau d'étude, qui signale les appartenances économiques, on retrouve une discrimination forte et peu ambiguë du point de vue statistique : la mobilité progresse de concert avec la durée de la scolarisation et le niveau de la formation. Entre le taux le plus bas, lié à la fréquentation de l'école coranique qui se place au même niveau que l'absence d'études, et la mobilité marquée des individus ayant fréquenté l'université, s'échelonnent les valeurs croissantes de l'école primaire, du cycle secondaire junior, puis des formations techniques, professionnelles et secondaires avancées. La régularité et l'ampleur de la graduation sont plus convaincantes que les intervalles de confiance permis par l'échantillon. Certes, les générations et les professions ne sont pas égales face à la scolarisation ; mais le fait d'introduire ces caractéristiques dans le modèle ne change pas la discrimination due à la formation qui reste un bon marqueur économique des individus et de leurs pratiques résidentielles.

Le statut professionnel interfère davantage avec des spécificités démographiques ou sociales (la jeunesse des apprentis, l'âge avancé des retraités, etc.) ; son effet sur la mobilité n'est pas aussi précis que celui des études. Notons pourtant que les salariés du secteur public sont les plus mobiles, mais de peu par rapport aux salariés du secteur privé. Sans doute plus instables dans leurs activités et ressources, les actifs indépendants et les chômeurs composent un second groupe de valeurs en retrait.

Enfin, deux variables socioculturelles ont été introduites dans l'appréciation de la mobilité au regard des enjeux politiques et cognitifs qu'implique la recomposition des identités citadines africaines.⁷ Le classement des cinq groupes d'appartenance ethnique manifeste certes des contrastes, mais les intervalles de confiance se chevauchent ; les différences s'atténuent si l'on tient compte de la relative spécialisation ethnique des quartiers d'enquête. Ce classement agrège par ailleurs les autochtones ga et shaï (qui relèvent du même groupe linguistique ga-adangbe), et par conséquent ne distingue pas les mobilités respectives des ressortissants du sud et du nord de la région capitale. L'installation des migrants, notamment depuis la moitié méridionale du pays (Akan et Ewe), se heurte, quant à elle, à des exigences locatives renforcées et aux difficultés de l'accès au sol.

L'analyse de la religion ne va pas non plus de soi. Regroupements et comparaisons sont incertains du fait du grand nombre d'églises, qu'il est difficile de classer dans l'ensemble des obédiences orthodoxes et dans la nébuleuse pentecôtiste, que comptent

le Ghana et sa capitale. Les positions ethniques et éducatives interfèrent en outre avec certaines confessions : l'islam a la préférence des ressortissants du Nord-Ghana, les protestants disposent souvent d'un meilleur niveau d'étude. Les adeptes du vaste mouvement charismatique s'avèrent certes les plus mobiles, mais une fois encore ces contrastes s'atténuent quand, à l'aide du modèle de Cox, se contrôle l'inégale scolarisation des groupes religieux et leur relative concentration dans certains voisinages étudiés.

Vers un modèle de synthèse

L'analyse préliminaire des variables identifie les discriminations de la mobilité, mais reconnaît en même temps les limites de l'échantillonnage des trajectoires résidentielles. Un modèle général de la variation des durées de séjour dans la métropole conviendrait donc mal du fait de l'homogénéité de petits îlots urbains enquêtés de manière exhaustive. En dépit de ces restrictions, un schéma de synthèse sert à dresser le profil des personnes les plus mobiles et devient notre référence pour l'analyse de chaque quartier. On retient donc de l'analyse précédente les effets les moins ambigus et les moins spécifiques à telle ou telle partie de la ville. De possibles co-variations des facteurs sont décelées par leur introduction progressive selon un ordre raisonné. Le calcul des intervalles de confiance tient compte de l'homogénéité des observations localisées. Les facteurs les plus universels sont analysés en premier : l'âge en début de séjour, qui réfère au cycle de vie ; puis l'ancienneté des générations, qui introduit le temps historique et le caractère tronqué des itinéraires. Le facteur du sexe est écarté car la discrimination qui lui est associée traduit surtout des inégalités socio-économiques entre les hommes et les femmes, inégalités qui sont mieux associées au niveau scolaire des individus. Le type d'habitat et le statut d'occupation du logement sont enfin les deux critères décisifs de la mobilité résidentielle ; ils sont évalués une fois les facteurs précédents introduits.

Table 8.6 : Modèle synthétique de la variation de la mobilité résidentielle

Effets	Modèle 1	Modèle 2	Modèle 3	Modèle 4	Modèle 5
Cycle de vie	0.88*	0.91*	0.90*	0.90*	0.90*
Génération		0.89*	0.91*	0.92*	0.92*
Cycle primaire/ secondaire junior <i>versus</i> non scolarisé			1.41*	1.42*	1.40*
Cycle secondaire/ supérieur <i>versus</i> non scolarisé			1.74*	1.76*	1.71*
Habitat de cour <i>versus</i> appartement/ maison individualisée				1.07	1.08
Usufruit <i>versus</i> propriétaire/locataire					0.72*

Source : HPRM, 2000-2001

* Significatifs à 1 pour cent.

Le cycle de vie et l'effet du temps historique sont tous deux observés par groupe de cinq années. Le risque d'un déménagement est réduit de 10 pour cent à chaque tranche d'âge, au fur et à mesure du vieillissement ; la comparaison des générations est faite à âge égal.

Deux variables de contrôle se rapportent ensuite au capital scolaire et en simplifient l'effet selon trois modalités. La modalité de référence du niveau d'étude est l'absence de scolarisation ; des études limitées au cycle primaire ou au cycle secondaire junior haussent la mobilité de 40 pour cent ; une formation secondaire avancée ou universitaire l'augmente de 70 pour cent. À la suite d'un investissement d'origine coloniale non démenti dans l'histoire ghanéenne, l'école reste révélatrice d'une ascension sociale vers les classes moyennes, avec les caractéristiques professionnelles, religieuses, voire ethniques, qui lui sont associées. Ces dernières tendent effectivement à s'effacer quand le modèle contrôle l'éducation.

L'habitat de cour est ensuite comparé aux appartements ou aux maisons indépendantes. On pensait qu'il influençait la mobilité résidentielle. C'était avant d'introduire le terme aléatoire mesurant pour cette caractéristique la ressemblance des individus au sein d'un même quartier. De fait, l'habitat de cour est exclusif dans certaines zones d'étude et absent à Tema Community V. Considérant cette spécialisation, le fait d'habiter dans une cour n'exerce pas d'influence probante sur la mobilité, toutes choses égales (âge, génération, éducation) par ailleurs.

Enfin, l'influence stabilisante du statut d'usufruitier (une mobilité réduite de près de 30 %) est confirmée par rapport aux deux autres modes d'occupation des logements que sont la propriété individualisée et la location.

Notre modèle est donc délibérément parcimonieux et s'en tient à des résultats garantis facteur par facteur. Les variables retenues conservent le sens et l'ampleur de leur influence au fur à mesure que de nouvelles caractéristiques sont introduites. Cela traduit leur indépendance les unes par rapport aux autres, et par conséquent leur valeur explicative propre. Mais il manque à ce modèle la dimension territoriale. De fait, le lieu d'enquête rend compte des variations les plus grandes de la mobilité et la localisation des individus dans la ville se révèle fort discriminante. La caractérisation géographique des citadins fera ainsi l'objet de la partie suivante : l'apport d'investigations empiriques fines, menées au niveau des secteurs de voisinage, se manifeste non seulement dans les niveaux de la mobilité, mais encore dans les variations de son modèle.

Sept quartiers, un gradient de la mobilité métropolitaine

En se déplaçant d'un quartier à l'autre, l'analyse biographique tient compte du caractère fragmenté du Grand Accra. Ce changement d'échelle, depuis l'ensemble métropolitain jusqu'aux zones d'observation des grappes résidentielles, a pour but d'isoler l'effet contextuel du lieu. Celui-ci se traduit d'une part dans l'intensité de la mobilité, d'autre part dans ses déterminants.

Pour ce faire, chacune des sept zones d'enquête est décrite à la fois selon un mode monographique et selon les termes statistiques du schéma de synthèse discuté

précédemment. Celui-ci est appliqué en deux étapes : une procédure automatique de recherche du meilleur modèle identifie d'abord les facteurs qui contribuent le plus à la variation des temps de séjour parmi la population localisée ; ce premier traitement utilise une formulation semi-paramétrique des modèles de durée et calcule des estimateurs robustes tenant compte de la multiplicité des séjours par individu. Puis, on procède à la révision empirique des principaux facteurs de variation de la mobilité pour chaque quartier, démarche qui associe des formulations non paramétriques. Procéder de la sorte permet de comparer des quartiers qui présentent des niveaux très contrastés de mobilité résidentielle : certaines variables discriminantes n'agissent pas partout ; certains lieux échappent à la discrimination attendue et la mobilité résidentielle y reste amplement indéterminée. Dans d'autres cas enfin, toujours pour des raisons locales, elle n'apparaît pas suffisante pour se prêter à une rationalité mesurable.

Les sept zones d'enquête seront examinées selon l'ordre de mobilité croissante qu'elles présentent dans le tableau des mesures:⁸ de moins de 3 pour cent à Old Teshie à près de 14 pour cent à Dodowa. La comparaison des quartiers vise d'abord à comprendre une telle diversité. Ce gradient suggérerait une interprétation en termes de distance et d'accessibilité par rapport au cœur historique de la ville si Ashaiman, banlieue populaire liée au brassage migratoire du District de Tema, n'apparaissait pas comme une zone peu concernée par la mobilité. Le lien entre éloignement et ancienneté de l'urbanisation est d'ailleurs souvent nuancé dans l'espace régional. Les occupants de New Gbawe, nouveau front de croissance périphérique depuis la fin des années 1980, accusent une agitation résidentielle plus marquée que ceux de Tema Community V, laquelle est pourtant plus éloignée de la ville d'Accra et liée au bassin d'emploi industrialo-portuaire relativement indépendant de Tema. « Communauté indigène » par excellence, l'ancien village de pêcheurs d'Old Teshie n'est pas rigoureusement assimilable à un « centre », qui serait historiquement et économiquement mieux incarné par d'autres quartiers de peuplement ga d'Accra Central ; son foyer de peuplement côtier n'a guère été remanié par l'influence coloniale et ne s'ouvre que depuis vingt ans aux pressions immobilières de l'agglomération.

L'opposition des pauvres et des classes moyennes convient-elle mieux à la description du gradient de mobilité ? Qu'ils soient de peuplement autochtone (Old Teshie) ou voués à l'accueil des différentes strates de migrants (Lagos Town depuis l'entre-deux-guerres, Ashaiman une génération plus tard), qu'ils soient liés aux zones d'emploi salarié (Lagos Town au péricentre d'Accra, Ashaiman en arrière du port de Tema) ou qu'ils accueillent des populations « conjoncturées » par le chômage, repliées depuis les années 1980 sur les activités informelles qui accompagnent les fortes densités locales, les trois secteurs d'étude les moins propices à la mobilité résidentielle sont assurément des quartiers déshérités. Les gestionnaires et les représentants politiques de leurs districts respectifs les classent d'ailleurs comme tels, usant de « labels de pauvreté » pour s'engager dans la course aux subsides internationaux du développement urbain (Bertrand 2002). Les espaces de voisinage étudiés sont particulièrement sous-équipés. Les surcharges résidentielles sont liées au maintien

des usufruitiers les plus pauvres dans les maisons familiales héritées. Les rapports locatifs se dégradent entre une main-d'œuvre peu qualifiée et des bailleurs guère mieux dotés en capital scolaire.

Un seuil de mobilité est franchi avec New Fadama, une zone d'étude située à bien des égards dans la moyenne de l'enquête. La présence de quelques maisons indépendantes aux côtés des cours, un bâti né d'une urbanisation plus récente dans la foulée de l'indépendance ghanéenne, un accès mieux assuré à l'eau, aux sanitaires et aux autres équipements de proximité, offrent des repères visuels à ce caractère « moyen » au nord d'Accra-ville. Il se manifeste aussi dans les trajectoires résidentielles des populations antérieurement à leur arrivée dans le quartier, depuis les îlots plus denses du centre ou depuis l'intérieur du pays. Mais ce sont surtout les parcs immobiliers plus modernes et les logements mieux individualisés de Tema Community V et de New Gbawe qui signalent la présence des classes moyennes de la métropole et en indiquent l'habitat de prédilection, au moins pour un moment.

À cette opposition socio-économique majeure, il faut apporter une nuance : les mobilités remarquables de Dodowa, en marge de la région capitale, affectent une population plutôt pauvre dans l'ensemble. Celle-ci recherche la sécurité des patrimoines en usufruit, la proximité des zones de culture ou les bas loyers d'un parc de cours modeste mais affichant de réelles disponibilités. Du fait de sa position, la zone d'enquête réintroduit le critère de la distance au centre, désormais à l'échelle régionale, avec la particularité que cette « communauté indigène », de peuplement shaï, se situe à l'extrême inverse d'une autre, Teshie en milieu côtier ga, dans le gradient des mobilités.

Une sédentarité de précarité

Les habitants de Old Teshie sont les plus « sédentaires » : la moitié des gens n'aura pas déménagé après vingt-cinq ans passés dans la même résidence. Le déroulement des risques de déménagement est étonnamment régulier dans le temps biographique quand partout ailleurs il augmente fortement les premières années de la vie pour diminuer ensuite progressivement. Les générations ne se différencient pas non plus de manière nette contrairement à la plupart des autres quartiers. Une seule exception forte existe pour la génération des 20-24 ans au moment de l'enquête, ce qui pourrait traduire une rupture récente de l'inertie résidentielle. Les itinéraires se réalisent principalement dans le cadre d'un habitat de cour et sont en majorité le fait d'usufruitiers. De fait, les rares locataires du quartier manifestent une mobilité proche de la moyenne métropolitaine.

Trait marquant des habitants de ce vieux site de pêche, la discrimination socio-économique de leur mobilité est faible si l'on en croit l'absence d'incidence de l'école et du statut professionnel. La raison en est probablement la rareté de cette « ressource » qu'est la mobilité : la population de Old Teshie est figée dans des conditions résidentielles dégradées, une éducation rudimentaire et une activité halieutique peu lucrative : capture du poisson pour les hommes, fumage des prises, préparation alimentaire et commercialisation pour les femmes. Déjà très densément occupé et

tributaire d'un niveau sanitaire déplorable, le quartier n'accueille pas volontiers les gens de l'extérieur qui auraient pu contribuer à un certain brassage résidentiel. Au contraire, cette situation économique peu diversifiée a chassé les personnes capables de rompre avec la précarité, et notamment les mieux scolarisées. Pour qu'une différenciation socio-économique se construise, encore faut-il que la mobilité existe au-delà de ce niveau minimal et quasi accidentel.

Le taux observé à Lagos Town est à peine supérieur : au bout de quatorze ans, la moitié de la population a changé au moins une fois de résidence. Le calendrier du cycle de vie devient perceptible mais avec un maximum également réparti sur les groupes avant 25 ans, ce qui n'est pas habituel. Ici encore, les 20-24 ans présentent aujourd'hui une mobilité environ deux fois supérieure à celle de toutes les autres générations au même âge. Est-ce le fruit d'un oubli de la part des générations anciennes, particulièrement peu scolarisées en milieu musulman, ou de l'augmentation des déplacements chez les plus jeunes ? Il est difficile de le dire, mais un tel écart ne se vérifie pas partout ; il pourrait être l'expression d'une mobilité désormais normale pour une population autrefois immobilisée. Cette interprétation en faveur d'un changement historique est corroborée par le fait que les générations anciennes déclarent, ici plus qu'ailleurs, une mobilité réduite. L'attachement des habitants à ce quartier d'immigration ancienne, situé à proximité directe du centre-ville d'Accra, n'est pas incompatible avec la fluidité résidentielle des nouvelles générations. L'ouverture massive des cours à la location manifeste aujourd'hui une réelle transformation des rapports locatifs : aux vieux locataires, captifs de leurs familiarités avec les propriétaires, s'ajoutent de plus jeunes ménages souvent composés de célibataires. Le *turn over* résidentiel de ces derniers s'établit au gré des avances sur loyers qui sont désormais versées pour trois ou quatre ans. Tous les séjours des personnes enquêtées prennent place, en effet, dans un habitat de cour précarisé. Mais contrairement à Old Teshie, les usufruitiers sont ici rendus minoritaires par la diffusion des pratiques locatives dès avant la fin de la colonisation britannique. La mobilité résidentielle des héritiers paupérisés, qui n'ont guère les moyens de s'affranchir d'un cadre de vie dense, est donc proche de celle de nombreux locataires, surtout les plus anciens.

Les musulmans sont très nombreux dans ce quartier du fait d'une immigration ancienne depuis le nord du Ghana et les régions sahéliennes ouest-africaines (Niger et ex-Soudan colonial, Nord-Togo et Nigeria encore aujourd'hui). Comme le quartier voisin de Nima-Mamobi, auquel il est souvent comparé, Lagos Town est donc perçu comme un *zongo* ou « quartier des étrangers » dans les villes ouest-africaines à forte présence haoussa. Cette population cohabite en réalité avec de nombreux Ewe, originaires de la frontière avec le Togo, qui relèvent d'autres obédiences religieuses. Mais les musulmans figurent parmi les habitants les moins disposés à changer de résidence. Ici comme ailleurs, les appartenances religieuses reflètent des écarts de niveau d'études, et leur effet sur la mobilité est atténué quand on contrôle la variable scolaire. Celle-ci reste déterminante dans le modèle statistique le plus parcimonieux, mais elle joue surtout pour le cycle primaire qui prévaut parmi cette population pauvre. Le statut professionnel ne fait enfin guère varier la mobilité.

Le surcroît d'agitation résidentielle observé depuis Lagos Town par rapport à Old Teshie est donc probablement à mettre au crédit de locataires qui deviennent majoritaires, bien que l'histoire des courées locales n'ait pas fait disparaître le modèle paternaliste de stabilisation des « étrangers » chez leurs « tuteurs » urbains. L'accueil locatif de nouvelles générations citadines est certainement dû à la localisation stratégique du quartier dans l'organisation des transports urbains, même si l'ilot enquêté n'est lui-même pas accessible autrement qu'à pied. Le supplément de mobilité introduit alors un peu de différenciation socio-économique, visible au travers de l'éducation ; elle reste, cependant, minime dans un milieu globalement peu favorisé.

Old Ashaiman confirme la vocation locative du peuplement métropolitain populaire. Mais la présence des propriétaires aux côtés des locataires est ici, dans le District de Tema, beaucoup moins assurée qu'à Lagos Town et dans le District d'Accra. Le taux de mobilité voisine les 6 pour cent mais reste en dessous de la moyenne générale : il s'agit d'une population très dense, en grande partie assignée à résidence par la pauvreté. La médiane des séjours résidentiels est de dix ans. Le cycle de vie et la génération ont tous deux un effet bien dessiné : la mobilité des jeunes adultes de 20 à 24 ans est déjà trois fois supérieure à celle de l'ensemble des habitants du quartier ; elle double aussi la mobilité mesurée au même âge pour d'autres générations. Comme à Lagos Town, cette apparente recrudescence signale des locataires encore célibataires constituant des ménages d'une ou de deux personnes. Plus libres de leurs mouvements, ils sont aussi davantage soumis aux expulsions de leurs bailleurs en cas de non-renouvellement des avances locatives. Leur mobilité ressemble à une agitation urbaine plus qu'au véritable apprentissage de la sécurité résidentielle. Il n'y a rien que l'illusion de l'autonomie dans ces déménagements de courte portée cantonnés dans le même quartier, d'une chambre à l'autre ou d'une cour à l'autre, au gré des connaissances.

Or, la dégradation des rapports locatifs dont les jeunes générations d'Ashaiman font l'expérience coïncide avec l'informalisation du marché du travail local depuis les années 1980. La densification de la ville, aujourd'hui classée au cinquième rang des localités ghanéennes, fait suite à de massives débauches dans le bassin d'emploi du port de Tema. Y contribue également la dynamique d'extension de cette banlieue populaire vers de nouveaux quartiers septentrionaux qui ont porté la population d'Ashaiman à un total supérieur à celui de Tema-ville. C'est l'occasion pour les plus débrouillards des générations anciennes, une fois parvenus à l'âge de la retraite, d'acquérir des terrains et de reproduire le modèle d'entassement locatif dont ils ont d'abord fait l'expérience, plus au sud de la ville, comme locataires. Il faut voir en cela un réflexe rentier des citadins en situation de précarité pour s'assurer des compléments de revenus. Ashaiman et ses réserves foncières sont bien devenus le *hometown* de toute une génération de migrants, une véritable communauté d'appartenance dans laquelle le marché immobilier et la mobilité résidentielle s'activent, parfois en circuit fermé.

Old Ashaiman se compare à Lagos Town quant au type d'habitat – de cour exclusivement – et au statut d'occupation des logements composés d'une pièce en

moyenne : les trois-quarts des séjours informés sont le fait de locataires au moment de l'enquête ; les différences de mobilité restent d'ailleurs modérées entre ceux-ci et les rares bailleurs résidant sur place. Mais la différenciation socio-économique se confirme, la mobilité progressant de concert avec la scolarisation des individus ; les salariés du secteur privé, principalement usinier, et les actifs indépendants sans employés, qui relèvent surtout du secteur informel, sont les plus mobiles des groupes suffisamment représentés ; les moins mobiles sont les travailleurs indépendants avec employés. La religion apparaît quant à elle peu discriminante.

La mobilité résidentielle des habitants d'Ashaiman acquiert donc une connotation nouvelle par rapport aux quartiers précédents. Il convient d'y voir l'effet de l'environnement économique agité de la ville de Tema et des activités portuaires. Comparé à d'autres secteurs de la métropole, on pourrait même s'étonner que la mobilité n'y soit pas plus intense. L'attachement à cette banlieue signale son ancienneté et l'héritage d'un binôme urbain qui a toujours fait d'Ashaiman un réservoir de main-d'œuvre et de logements à bon marché pour Tema. Des indices de changement se dessinent pourtant en faveur d'une mobilité locative croissante, mais de courte portée géographique, car Ashaiman devient elle-même pourvoyeuse d'emplois et d'opportunités informelles pour ses résidents.

La ressource de la mobilité pour les classes moyennes

Avec un taux de 9 pour cent, New Fadama se place dans la moyenne de l'enquête. La durée médiane des séjours de ses habitants (sept années) résume cette fluidité résidentielle accrue. La place intermédiaire du quartier dans la gradation générale est nuancée par deux particularités : une légère différenciation entre les femmes et les hommes, d'une part ; la conformité des jeunes adultes par rapport à leurs aînés au même âge, d'autre part. Mais la mobilité varie au cours du cycle de vie, ici comme souvent, et le groupe des 20-24 ans occupe bien le maximum de la cloche.

New Fadama présente une petite classe moyenne qui demeure modeste et logée principalement dans des cours, un type d'habitat contribuant à espacer les déménagements. Le statut d'usufruitier constitue le facteur le plus radical de fixation – la fréquence des déménagements est réduite des deux tiers – mais il ne concerne qu'un cinquième des séjours analysés. Également peu nombreux, les propriétaires sont plus mobiles. Quant à la location, majoritaire aux deux tiers des séjours comme dans la plupart des quartiers, elle implique des changements plus fréquents (un taux de mobilité de 12 %). Concentrant déjà un quart des séjours, les salariés du secteur privé manifestent une mobilité également supérieure (12 %) à celles des autres catégories ; les salariés du secteur public et les travailleurs indépendants avoisinent la moyenne générale sans se départager. Plus révélateur de ce niveau socio-économique moyen est l'effet de la variable scolaire qui gradue régulièrement la mobilité. Une fois contrôlé statistiquement, le niveau d'étude atténue les écarts de mobilité associés aux différentes religions : le groupe des pentecôtistes, souvent lié aux locataires, est moins sédentaire que la population musulmane, elle-même souvent propriétaire.⁹

Rares sont les constructions nouvelles dans ce quartier urbanisé depuis une quarantaine d'années : une durée intermédiaire entre les vieux quartiers de migrants, tel Lagos Town, et les nouvelles banlieues du type de New Gbawe. La mobilité résidentielle des jeunes générations se conforme à celle des anciennes, suivant avant tout le cycle de la composition des familles. Mais le fait notable est qu'ici la différenciation économique, marquée par l'effet de la scolarité et du salariat sur la mobilité, gagne en intensité.

À Tema Community V, le taux de mobilité franchit un écart de trois points et s'approche du maximum des quartiers. Par son homogénéité, la population est surtout singulière du point de vue de l'éducation, de la religion et de l'âge. Faute de diversité, le modèle statistique de synthèse est ici inopérant. La courbe du risque de déménagement est elle-même atypique en ce sens qu'elle estime mal les séjours courts, probablement du fait de l'âge avancé d'individus exposés à l'oubli d'épisodes anciens de leurs trajectoires. Les immeubles enquêtés sont pourtant assez neufs : à l'exception de l'un d'entre eux, construit une dizaine d'années avant les cinq autres, c'est surtout depuis le début des années 1990 que la zone d'étude s'est peuplée de « cols bleus » ou de « cols blancs ». Seules des générations aux carrières professionnelles avancées pouvaient accéder à la propriété ou à la location de logements bien individualisés dans les *flats*, pourvus en sanitaires, en eau courante et en électricité.

Le groupe des quinquagénaires est en effet majoritaire à Tema Community V, ce qui éclaire l'incidence du cycle de vie. En contrepartie, l'absence de jeunes adultes empêche de tester l'effet historique du renouvellement des générations. Au contraire, c'est l'accession tardive à des logements modernes qui a entraîné une mobilité de fin de cycle de vie. De plus, Tema Community V ne rassemble que des appartements en habitat collectif, ce qui exclut pratiquement l'occupation en usufruit. La proportion des propriétaires atteint le tiers des séjours analysés, un statut plus favorable à la mobilité¹⁰ que la location qui concerne les deux tiers restants des séjours. Un tel écart, de cinq points, ne pose aucun doute statistique, mais apparaît contraire à ce que l'on observe habituellement. Il découle en réalité de l'histoire très circonstanciée du plus ancien des six immeubles : « abandonné » par le bailleur – une entreprise industrielle en faillite depuis plus d'une décennie – à ses locataires dans des conditions de logement dégradées, ce *flat* offre aujourd'hui une quasi-gratuité d'usage à ses occupants qui se trouvent en surcharge résidentielle (partage des appartements entre deux ménages) mais dans une stabilité exceptionnelle.

Tema Community V se particularise enfin par le fait que les variables socio-économiques ne discriminent guère la mobilité des habitants. Tous ont été scolarisés, et seule une différence entre l'école primaire et le cycle secondaire senior est perceptible. Très largement majoritaires, les salariés des secteurs public et privé et les travailleurs indépendants avec employés se placent dans la moyenne des mobilités. Seuls les indépendants sans employés, assimilés au secteur informel, se distinguent par un taux de cinq points plus élevé de déménagements annuels (17 %).

L'environnement immobilier a donc suscité un effet de ségrégation en sélectionnant « à l'entrée » les résidents qu'il accueille aujourd'hui. L'accès à un logement

décent, en fin de carrière, n'a été possible que pour une population scolarisée et bien insérée sur le marché du travail, ce qui a façonné l'homogénéité du secteur. On retrouvera ce processus, avec un type d'habitat différent et une population plus contrastée en âges, dans les nouvelles maisons indépendantes de New Gbawe. Il rappelle une tendance au tri géographique déjà observée en négatif à l'autre extrémité du spectre de la mobilité métropolitaine : la différenciation socio-économique n'opérait pas non plus à Old Teshie où la concentration de populations démunies décourageait l'installation d'éventuels candidats au déménagement depuis l'extérieur du quartier.

Avec un taux annuel de 13 pour cent, New Gbawe est le deuxième des trois quartiers à forte turbulence résidentielle. Un cinquième de la population de la génération des 20-24 ans déménage dans l'année. La relative jeunesse de la population contribue au raccourcissement de la durée médiane (cinq ans) dans le contexte déjà favorable du District Ga, en périphérie de l'agglomération. Les deux effets d'âge et de génération sont clairement établis. Contrairement au cas précédent de Tema Community V, cette population jeune reflète le caractère récent du peuplement urbain sur le domaine coutumier du village voisin de Gbawe, dans les années 1990. Mais les occupants actuels ne sont pas toujours les investisseurs immobiliers des maisons individuelles qui composent le quartier. Car l'accès au sol puis la construction restent tardifs, comme généralement dans un marché foncier contraint. Certes, les investissements de nombreux Ghanéens émigrés internationaux ont pu introduire des propriétaires plus jeunes dans le secteur ; mais ce sont surtout des pratiques d'hébergement provisoire et la diffusion rapide de la location qui contribuent à la jeunesse des résidents de ce parc encore en chantier.

New Gbawe offre en effet l'occasion d'observer une population brassée, ce que manifeste d'abord la répartition des modes d'occupation des logements : deux séjours sur dix sont le fait d'hébergés au moment de l'enquête. Il s'agit ici de parents éloignés ou de maçons logés à titre gratuit, employés au gardiennage des maisons. Bien que toutes les maisons ne soient pas encore occupées par leur promoteur, les propriétaires d'aujourd'hui rassemblent un tiers des séjours antérieurs : une importance exceptionnelle. Les séjours sont enfin pour moitié le fait des locataires qui se substituent progressivement aux gardiens de chantier depuis la seconde moitié des années 1990, manifestant par conséquent des mobilités plus fortes (taux de 18 %) que les propriétaires résidents. Le fait que ceux-ci appartiennent aux générations plus anciennes contribue à leur sédentarisation (10 %).

L'incidence de la scolarisation sur la mobilité est plus incertaine ; les taux annuels de déménagement s'échelonnent néanmoins régulièrement des non-scolarisés (9 %) aux titulaires d'un diplôme universitaire (15 %). L'âge contribue à cette conclusion car les jeunes adultes sont à la fois plus mobiles et mieux scolarisés. Et de fait, le niveau d'étude infléchit moins nettement la mobilité quand on introduit l'effet de génération. L'impact de la religion, du moins pour les groupes qui comptent suffisamment de fidèles, n'est pas totalement conforme à ce qui est observé ailleurs : les musulmans et les pentecôtistes atteignent les mêmes taux (14-15 %), tandis que les

catholiques se comparent aux orthodoxes (11-12 %). La faible démarcation entre les statuts professionnels est plus étonnante encore en situation de forte mobilité : deux points seulement séparent les travailleurs indépendants avec employés et les salariés du secteur privé.

La mobilité des gens de New Gbawe est donc à la fois intense et indéterminée, si ce n'est par le cycle de vie. Ce résultat questionne une fois encore l'impact du contexte local sur la mesure de la mobilité. Si celle-ci est élevée, c'est parce que la population est jeune et le quartier récemment peuplé. Ses habitants saisissent l'opportunité offerte par la reconversion des droits coutumiers du sol en baux emphytéotiques, chèrement monnayés par les autochtones ga auprès des migrants. Les caractéristiques de ces « étrangers » sont déjà le résultat du filtrage des transactions foncières et des investissements immobiliers ; ils se trouvent à New Gbawe en partie faute d'être ancrés ailleurs et parce qu'ils ont les moyens de leur installation. La nouveauté du quartier joue également sur le caractère indéterminé de la mobilité. Encore mal équipée, cette banlieue n'a pas eu le temps de se construire socialement. Elle rassemble provisoirement des parcours migratoires hétérogènes : fins de carrière professionnelle ou faveurs financières d'un exode international, gens du terroir issus du village voisin ou gens des régions décidés à ancrer leur descendance dans la capitale, mais aussi jeunes désœuvrés attirés par les chantiers de construction. Cette jeunesse est probablement à l'origine du manque de netteté des variations de la mobilité, pour la simple raison que les débuts du cycle de vie laissent moins de place aux discriminations sociales et économiques. Celles-ci devraient néanmoins s'affirmer avec le vieillissement du quartier et la progression de la population dans ses trajectoires professionnelles. Pour immature qu'elle soit, cette mobilité élevée n'en annonce pas moins de nouvelles pratiques résidentielles dans une agglomération en expansion territoriale.

En marge de l'espace métropolitain

La singularité de Dodowa tient à sa situation géographique. Tout en présentant le taux le plus élevé de mobilité, comparable à ceux de New Gbawe et de Tema Community V, sa population n'appartient pas aux classes moyennes. Mais la plupart des caractéristiques individuelles diversifient de manière significative les durées de séjour. La moitié des personnes ont déménagé au bout de quatre années, selon des motifs qui désignent souvent une mobilité de passage. La structure par âge présente étonnamment deux maxima : le plus important est situé autour de 30 ans, soit l'époque de bien des déboires conjugaux pour les femmes qui se retrouvent en nombre chefs de ménage, et de difficultés professionnelles qui motivent d'autres replis vers la communauté d'origine ; le second pic s'observe aux alentours de 60 ans, le temps de fréquents retours vers la terre familiale. Les séjours sont localisés pour un tiers dans le District métropolitain d'Accra. La proportion est moindre qu'à New Gbawe mais considérable si l'on considère l'éloignement géographique de la petite ville. La prise en compte d'autres étapes résidentielles situées au Ghana montrerait cependant une agitation également forte entre Dodowa, ancienne place de négoce agricole, et les

zones de plantation, cacaoyère notamment, de la Région Orientale voisine avec laquelle les populations shai entretiennent des relations migratoires et foncières étroites depuis le début du *xxe* siècle.

L'habitat de Dodowa est exclusivement de cour et les usagers sont majoritaires aux deux tiers des séjours. Le tiers restant est le fait de locataires au moment de l'enquête. Entre les deux groupes, l'écart des mobilités est exceptionnel : 11 pour cent de déménagements par an pour les premiers, 24 pour cent pour les seconds qui sont ici en quête de loyers parmi les plus bas de la zone d'influence d'Accra, tout en échappant à l'encombrement des quartiers plus proches des zones d'emploi. Un effet de génération est également sensible tant ce dernier groupe se concentre en milieu de cycle de vie, puis disparaît aux âges élevés pour laisser la place aux seuls usagers ressortissants de la localité. Le niveau d'études apparaît de même très discriminant : les bénéficiaires d'une scolarité primaire et du cycle secondaire junior font preuve d'une mobilité annuelle trois fois plus importante en moyenne que celle des non-scolarisés ; la formation secondaire avancée, technique ou supérieure implique une mobilité quatre fois et demie plus forte. Une telle différenciation peut surprendre dans un environnement rural, mais le chef-lieu de district bénéficie de l'investissement scolaire ancien des missions religieuses. Y contribue également la présence de migrants d'origine citadine, locataires employés sur le marché du travail d'Accra. Parmi les groupes professionnels les plus représentés, en effet, les fonctionnaires se démarquent par le fait qu'un quart d'entre eux déménage en moyenne annuelle ; ils sont suivis des salariés du secteur privé (18 %). Au-delà de déterminants économiques, les caractéristiques ethniques et religieuses de la population ont également une incidence sur sa mobilité : Akan et Ewe, souvent locataires, se démarquent des autochtones adangbe par des déplacements plus fréquents. Les fidèles du mouvement charismatique sont de même plus enclins à déménager que les protestants orthodoxes, mais il est moins aisé de donner un sens à cette différence.

Classée par le dernier recensement au 230^e rang des localités ghanéennes, Dodowa accueille une population urbaine quatre fois plus mobile que celle de quartiers plus centraux du Grand Accra. La mobilité n'y est pas seulement intense, elle est également moderne car adossée aux parcours scolaires et professionnels des adultes et vigoureusement stimulée par la location. La position géographique et les fonctions de ce chef-lieu (des chefferies régionales, de district, et dans l'avenir de capitale régionale) contribuent à diversifier la population citadine et ses pratiques de mobilité.

Conclusion

L'hypothèse de la mobilité métropolitaine s'est donc trouvée confirmée à plusieurs titres par l'enquête "Housing Practices and Residential Mobility in Greater Accra Region, 2000-2001" : non seulement dans son importance mais également dans sa prévalence par rapport à la migration. La force de la démonstration est d'avoir mobilisé des mesures variées et complémentaires. Car l'enquête ghanéenne a privilégié l'association du temps biographique et du court terme. Après Bamako, elle apporte des matériaux localisés pour montrer l'articulation de flux externes et internes. Sur le

fond, elle apporte surtout des éléments de relativisation, voire de franche réfutation, d'une urbanité encore souvent pensée, en Afrique, dans le registre de l'imperfection et de l'inaccomplissement.

Le module biographique de l'enquête vient en particulier combler le déficit de connaissances sur les dynamiques résidentielles de la capitale ghanéenne, en même temps qu'il rappelle le besoin d'étendre ces recherches à d'autres agglomérations africaines. Dans ces villes aussi, les mobilités intra-urbaines acquièrent une part croissante de la dynamique du peuplement, recomposent les territoires locaux et introduisent des logiques ségrégatives. L'étude de la mobilité doit d'autant plus éclairer la gestion de la métropole que celle-ci est de plus en plus confiée aux bailleurs de fonds internationaux et à des termes de référence standardisés.

En examinant les facteurs individuels et contextuels de la mobilité, mais aussi les raisons de son déficit chez les résidents captifs de la précarité, l'étude devrait en effet informer les politiques de lutte contre la pauvreté, de mobilisation locale et de participation communautaire. Ainsi, l'effet du lieu prend-il un poids particulier dans la ville des pauvres qui pâtit d'un déficit de mouvement résidentiel. Dans un environnement de cours densément occupées, les habitants sont « sécurisés » en même temps que contraints par le statut d'usufruitier. Une pareille assurance de stabilité se paye d'une cohabitation à l'étroit dans les maisons familiales héritées, de déficiences sanitaires graves et de services de proximité nettement insuffisants. L'orientation locative des cours introduit certes une agitation résidentielle croissante, que l'on retrouve dans la ville moins pauvre du fait de la jeunesse des locataires, de parcours scolaires et professionnels plus ouverts, mais au prix d'un durcissement des rapports avec les bailleurs que le système des avances sur loyers a récemment généralisé. Cette mobilité locative relève en outre de mouvements de courte portée géographique qui n'introduisent guère de promotion résidentielle tant les structures territoriales et sociales de la ville (marché foncier, limites de la capitalisation immobilière) bloquent encore le passage d'un statut d'occupation à l'autre.

D'autres contextes locaux, comme celui étudié à Dodowa, nuancent cependant l'équation pauvreté/cantonement relatif en montrant que l'appartenance à une communauté d'origine peut très bien aller de pair avec une forte mobilité. La localisation régionale explique alors ce niveau atteint au « carrefour » du rural et de l'urbain, entre la métropole et la région voisine, la zone d'enquête faisant figure de porte ouverte sur l'espace national. Une fois que les conditions locales libèrent une certaine fluidité résidentielle, les différences individuelles s'accroissent plus généralement. La mobilité apparaît comme la ressource d'une meilleure scolarisation. Elle va de pair avec la location du logement, l'installation dans les maisons indépendantes ou dans les *flats*. Cette capacité caractérise alors une sociologie particulière, celle des classes moyennes qui se distribuent en poches ou en territoires limités dans la métropole. De fait, la mobilité agit comme un filtre de la composition urbaine : elle décante la pauvreté dans certaines zones dissuasives (Old Teshie par exemple) et accentue la ségrégation résidentielle en sélectionnant les candidats à la propriété ou en restreignant les droits au sol.

Dans le cas du Grand Accra, les contextes résidentiels locaux ressortent finalement complexes de l'analyse multiniveau, du fait d'histoires communautaires et de multiples critères d'appréciation du rôle et de la position des quartiers dans le développement de la métropole. C'est donc l'approche monographique de terrain qui prend le relais du décryptage statistique de la mobilité individuelle. On admet alors que les facteurs de sa variation varient eux-mêmes d'un site à l'autre, et que le nombre raisonnable de zones d'enquête autorise leur analyse au cas par cas. Au total, ce sont sept formulations du modèle de synthèse qui sont examinées, dont l'expression elle-même apparaît fortement soumise à l'effet de lieu. Chacun de ces faciès de la mobilité devient en retour un élément de la compréhension des quartiers. Par l'étude de cas, l'impact des contextes intra-urbains trouve une véritable portée explicative.

Notes

1. Par transposition d'une conception « déracinante » de l'exode rural, aujourd'hui critiquée en Europe (Pinol 1991 ; Rosental 1999).
2. Les moins de 20 ans représentaient 43 pour cent des résidents rencontrés en 2000 puis en 2001.
3. Dans tous les cas le chef de ménage et un autre adulte pour les ménages composés d'au moins deux personnes et de plus d'un adulte : si possible la conjointe ou une autre personne du sexe opposé.
4. Tous individus confondus, 62 pour cent des sortants de l'échantillon de Bamako restaient de même dans le district de la capitale malienne entre 1993 et 1994 ; 29 pour cent s'orientaient vers les autres régions du Mali et 9 pour cent s'expatriaient à l'étranger.
5. Les deux dernières parties de ce chapitre empruntent pour beaucoup à l'analyse commune de Monique Bertrand et de Daniel Delaunay (2003).
6. Rappelons que l'habitat de cour – majoritaire – rassemble le plus souvent des familles de revenus modestes, défavorisées, voire paupérisées, tandis que les classes moyennes d'Accra se réservent les parcs des *flats* et des maisons indépendantes.
7. Peu habituelles dans les études sur la mobilité, les références ethniques sont pourtant pertinentes dans des contextes communautaires qui distinguent clairement migrants et autochtones. Elles animent le débat gestionnaire local du fait d'une inégale propension des habitants des métropoles à répondre aux slogans de participation locale (Bertrand 2002).
8. Rappelons que la mobilité est mesurée par le pourcentage de déménagements annuels pour la population de plus de 12 ans.
9. Une majorité d'entre eux se sont installés à l'occasion d'un déplacement autoritaire, au moment de l'indépendance, depuis le vieux quartier central de Fadama.
10. Ces derniers ont accédé à la propriété de leurs appartements après une période de location. Le changement de mode d'occupation a été considéré comme une nouvelle étape résidentielle, accroissant presque artificiellement la mobilité des propriétaires.

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9

Conclusion



Métropolisation et fragmentation du Grand Accra

Monique Bertrand

La recherche franco-ghanéenne que nous avons menée en réponse à l'appel à contribution sur « l'évolution de la vie politique, de l'économie, de la société et de la ville en Afrique » du FAC Sciences sociales avait pour objectif de jeter les bases d'une réelle prise en compte de l'impact de la mobilité résidentielle dans le processus d'urbanisation et de métropolisation ouest-africain. À cet égard, la capitale ghanéenne a confirmé les trois hypothèses d'un questionnement articulant les dimensions patrimoniale et marchande des pratiques du logement. La première hypothèse portait ainsi sur les déterminants familiaux des citoyens faisant l'expérience de migrations vers une grande agglomération du Golfe de Guinée et/ou de redistributions résidentielles intra-métropolitaines. Les premières et les secondes sont apparues souvent articulées les unes aux autres, en tout cas non réductibles à une étape d'entrée ou de transit en ville. Loin de valider l'idée d'« électrons libres dans la masse urbaine », les individus, les ménages et les segments familiaux saisis dans les enquêtes sont apparus enchâssés dans de puissantes déterminations économiques, sociales et territoriales. Une fois pris en compte les déménagements internes à l'agglomération et une familiarisation progressive avec ses différentes composantes, les flux et leurs acteurs peuvent être valablement classés dans un gradient courant de l'insertion à la marginalisation selon des trajectoires ascendantes, susceptibles de porter une véritable promotion sociale ou selon, au contraire, des parcours disqualifiants du fait d'une mobilité bloquée voire récessive.

Ainsi structuré par des logiques croisées, l'éventail des possibilités permet de qualifier de « choix » résidentiel et de choix de localisation dans la ville les réponses que les citoyens apportent aux contraintes et opportunités du cycle de vie, de la rente foncière, et de la solvabilité que requièrent les marchés urbains. Plus tactiques que délibérément stratégiques, ces marges de manœuvre rendent compte d'une structuration d'ensemble de l'espace urbain, marquée par la pauvreté, mais aussi de la production et de l'animation sociale d'espaces locaux beaucoup plus variés qu'il n'y paraît dans les interprétations les plus courantes du fait urbain.

Dodowa, New Fadama, Old Teshie



À ce titre, la mobilité n'apparaît pas seulement liée à une rationalité économique – l'optimisation de la localisation et des coûts du logement à l'égard de l'accès aux marchés du travail, des services et des consommations associés aux grandes agglomérations –, ainsi qu'à ses limites pour les plus pauvres des citoyens. On ne comprend à ce seul argument, en effet, pourquoi le District métropolitain d'Accra conserve un rythme de croissance démographique encore fort dans la période récente. Le blocage d'un grand nombre d'usagers dans un parc vieilli de *compounds* et de maisons familiales héritées, le caractère plus ou moins acceptable des embouteillages urbains, apportent des arguments de différentes natures touchant aux usages culturels, aux représentations collectives de la ville et aux rythmes de vie des ménages. La mobilité semble alors relever de facteurs sociaux, notamment familiaux, dont les contributions d'Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf et de Monique Bertrand ont montré l'importance dans le présent et dans le passé des citoyens.

La deuxième hypothèse concernait la dimension politique de l'habiter en ville. Elle interrogeait en particulier l'oubli des populations instables dans les termes de

référence des projets urbains, et corrélativement le crédit communautaire – mobilisations financières, électorales, associatives – que l'on peut attribuer à des populations localement ancrées au terme de leurs trajectoires résidentielles pour qu'elles s'investissent dans un « développement urbain durable » aux côtés des pouvoirs publics et des acteurs privés du Marché. Les contraintes résidentielles vécues au jour le jour dans l'intimité des quartiers ont confirmé ces enjeux politiques du logement dans le Grand Accra: assurer la paix sociale et un minimum d'intégration citoyenne,¹ tamiser les inégalités les plus criantes et les frustrations les plus manifestes. En est également ressorti un vocabulaire populaire fourni et politiquement chargé : « nantis » *versus* « exclus », « gros bonnets » ou « *big men* » *versus* « sans abris », « *veranda boys* » et autres déclassés de la ville par les difficultés d'y trouver un toit durable.

Selon des pas de temps divers, la mobilité ou la sédentarisation jouent en effet un rôle régulateur face à l'appauvrissement d'une fraction importante des habitants d'Accra. L'évolution des contrats locatifs en donne une illustration majeure (chapters 6 et 7), comme d'autres tendances également observées dans des agglomérations voisines en Afrique de l'Ouest : ré-offensives coutumières en matière de morcellement foncier, chaînes de vacance résidentielle et d'accueil migratoire suscitées par l'apparition de nouveaux parcs de maisons indépendantes – *self-contained houses* – dans les banlieues les mieux loties, sécurisation des usufruitiers les plus démunis, notamment des épouses délaissées dans leurs *indigenous communities*, escapisme des cadets sociaux fuyant les conflits familiaux, etc. L'*exit option* et son corollaire, le repli sécuritaire sur les valeurs de l'autochtonie, ont certes déjà retenu l'attention des chercheurs en anthropologie rurale, mais ils ne marquent pas moins les milieux urbains, et avec autant d'implications politiques. Sans eux, le processus d'individualisation qui affecte les pratiques résidentielles en ville, sans valider pour autant la thèse d'une nucléarisation familiale à l'occidentale, ne peut être pleinement compris. Des contraintes matérielles structurelles et une quête plus fragmentaire de soupapes de sûreté à l'égard des stress psychosociaux de la vie citadine croisent donc leurs effets dans notre analyse de la métropole ghanéenne.

La troisième hypothèse, elle aussi argumentée au gré d'investigations locales, a porté sur les effets territoriaux croisés de la mobilité et de la stabilité, les deux engageant des relations dialectiques dans la fabrique métropolitaine. Les Ghanéens expatriés dans la migration internationale, nombre de jeunes en quête de formation professionnelle, de familles ga ou shai déployées en systèmes résidentiels pluri-localisés, ont offert autant de pistes d'investigation qu'il en fallait pour amorcer de fécondes comparaisons entre le Grand Accra et ses homologues de la sous-région. La capitale du Mali a notamment joué ce rôle analytique de faire valoir de la banalité et des singularités ghanéennes en Afrique de l'Ouest (chapters 4, 5 et 8). Cette contextualisation raisonnée de groupes sociaux et de figures-types de la ville, selon les lieux de référence où ils pouvaient être enquêtés et les segments de mobilité qu'ils illustraient, contribue à renouveler l'interprétation de la modernité citadine. Des faits de crise, de transition, de métissage et de pluralité l'ont fait apparaître réellement polysémique.

Donner un crédit scientifique durable à la mobilité résidentielle urbaine

Incontestablement, les dynamiques urbaines se trouvent, en Afrique comme sur d'autres continents, à l'épreuve de mobilités résidentielles accrues, complexifiées dans leurs orientations, leurs déterminants et leurs variations (Dureau *et al.* 2000). De ce point de vue, le Grand Accra participe pleinement d'un processus de recomposition métropolitaine que nourrit le mouvement des populations plus encore que celui des capitaux dans l'espace sous-régional. En établir les ordres de grandeur, notamment à l'égard du flux migratoire externe, et en reconnaître la somme d'enjeux ont constitué un apport essentiel de cette recherche.

- Enjeux méthodologiques : l'analyse n'accorde en effet de crédit aux flux démographiques que rapportés aux « stocks » de référence de la ville dont les échelles de mesure ont été rigoureusement identifiées. Elle ajoute de plus une dimension longitudinale nouvelle aux approches transversales des recensements, lesquelles manquent de performance en ce qui concerne la migration et la mobilité. On s'est ainsi donné les moyens de suivre des citadins, et pas seulement les lieux d'étude et les changements de composition qu'ils orchestraient globalement, selon les influences croisées de la mobilité spatiale et de leur avancée dans le cycle de vie.
- Enjeux politiques : comme le rappelle l'introduction de l'ouvrage, les termes de référence du développement urbain fourmillent de présupposés fixistes dans les capitales africaines, par exemple à l'égard des propriétaires dont la participation, qu'elle soit contractuelle ou institutionnalisée par une politique fiscale, est attendue. Les cibles opérationnelles des projets urbains font jusqu'à présent l'impasse sur les locataires qui comptent parmi les plus mobiles des citadins, mais aussi parmi les plus sédentarisés.
- Enjeux historiques : l'oubli involontaire et l'occultation implicite de la mobilité intra-urbaine ne peuvent se comprendre sans la focalisation que manifeste *a contrario* le champ épistémologique africain sur la question des migrations interrégionales et internationales, ce qui revient à sur-désigner l'urbanisation au détriment de la ville (chapitre 8). Les besoins et contraintes en main-d'œuvre de la colonisation ont durablement pesé sur la formulation contemporaine du *"one foot here, one foot there"*. On peut encore noter de multiples réminiscences contemporaines, adaptées à la crise d'ajustement structurel des années 1980, de la thèse du migrant africain « étranger à la ville ». Les sinistrés des sécheresses sahéliennes ou les non-natifs des communautés littorales du Ghana resteraient sur le fond indifférents aux logiques d'investissement, mais aussi de maintenance et de préservation de l'environnement dans les villes. Ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler aujourd'hui « développement durable » met pourtant en jeu une conscience et une volonté collectives qui ne se dessinent pas seulement par une projection dans le futur. L'épaisseur historique du « vivre ensemble » que construit en particulier l'Afrique subsaharienne urbaine requiert des hypothèses – la modernité associée à l'idée d'urbanité en particulier – qui vont au-delà de la temporalité biographique et des horloges que l'individualisme méthodologique est en mesure de remonter.

Établir l'ampleur et les profils de la mobilité résidentielle imposait donc à l'équipe de faire la part des choses entre l'inscription du lien familial dans un espace non réduit à une seule localité, ce dont bien des citoyens attestent par des pratiques pluri-locales, et l'hypothèse bien moins fondée du « refus de la ville » comme un espace de vie au long court pour les migrants et leurs descendances. L'assignation des citoyens à un lieu univoque ou à un logement de référence unique ne pouvait convenir à notre analyse immobilière et résidentielle. Mais l'idée inverse d'une quasi-ubiquité des habitants des villes,² si on l'avait reprise de quelque mouvance post-moderne, n'aurait pas non plus échappé aux reproches faits à toute négligence historique.

À tous ces titres et dans la continuité d'échanges scientifiques récents, la mobilité constitue pour nous un analyseur pertinent sinon stratégique de ce vivre ensemble que ne peuvent plus négliger les débats sur le devenir de la ville africaine. Point nodal des processus d'insertion et de marginalisation, des mesures de la densité et de la ségrégation urbaines, la mobilité informe chercheurs, politiques et développeurs sur la donne sensible des modes d'habiter au plus fin des trames bâties. Elle renouvelle également les travaux plus anciennement consacrés aux politiques publiques du logement qui ont marqué les indépendances africaines, puis à leur relatif désengagement. Elle éclaire aujourd'hui l'analyse de la pauvreté et des inégalités, des carences en matière d'accès aux services urbains, ainsi que les réponses citoyennes à ces manques. Mais au-delà d'une simple quantification des flux, le mouvement et ses orientations géographiques renvoient à des déterminants plus larges : marchés fonciers et locatifs, soit la question de la rente urbaine, marchés du travail et déplacements générés par la distance au domicile, reproduction des familles et dynamique des réseaux sociaux, les uns comme les autres soumis aux macro et micro-ajustements que suscite ce que la conjoncture néolibérale a banalisé comme une « crise » économique. Enfin, les mobilités interrogent le processus de métropolisation du continent africain au regard d'autres trajectoires historiques : celles de l'Amérique latine, dont les balances citoyens/ruraux sont favorables aux premiers depuis plus d'une génération ou celles du monde asiatique, marqué par de fortes densités générales et urbaines.

Les investigations de terrain ont donc pleinement joué leur rôle dans notre étude, en informant d'abord les rythmes des citoyens et l'évolution de leurs positions résidentielles selon des reculs pluriels : suivi de la composition des ménages et de son renouvellement sur deux années ; effet du cycle de vie des familles, de leur formation à leur maturation et à la transmission de leurs patrimoines ; changements historiques à l'œuvre dans la production de l'habitat urbain et de son parc locatif. Un vocabulaire fourni de transitions longues et de variations conjoncturelles a donc mis en scène le caractère composite des transformations métropolitaines selon diverses temporalités.

À cet égard, les savoir-faire des non-africanistes de l'équipe française se sont révélés cruciaux pour conduire l'analyse biographique des pratiques citoyennes et tirer parti, par un traitement multiniveau, d'une information organisée selon des niveaux d'investigation variés : quartiers – *urban communities* –, maisons – *units of co-dwelling* –, familles, personnes de référence et autres membres des ménages – *family and household*

members. Ils nous ont permis de traiter les séquences successives que constituaient des séjours ou des étapes résidentielles dans leur déroulement chronologique propre et dans leur soumission aux effets de contexte. Lorsqu'il s'agissait notamment d'expliquer les changements de domicile, les réponses liées à l'allocation du travail et aux contraintes générales des marchés immobiliers ne l'emportaient pas toujours ; elles laissaient place au contraire à une profusion de justifications plus aléatoires et véritablement fragmentaires, du type « j'ai dû suivre untel », « j'ai été chassé ou adopté par untel ».

Notre travail peut donc se prévaloir d'une certaine inventivité dans la collecte de terrain, dans les précautions requises pour le traitement des données et dans l'application de mesures inédites. Cependant, certaines conditions techniques continuent de faire réellement défaut pour une modélisation plus complète des résultats d'enquête, les manques les plus importants concernant l'harmonisation des nomenclatures et une cartographie disponible à chaque niveau d'analyse. On a donc comparé nombre de zones d'étude en vertu d'une approche géographique intra-urbaine. Cette perspective d'une citadinité en mouvement conduit à placer populations et quartiers entre les deux extrêmes d'une inégale propension à la mobilité résidentielle, entre la polarité de la stabilité et celle de la mobilité. Le Grand Accra dessine ainsi un « quadrilatère » de modes d'inscription dans l'espace métropolitain :

- Le profil des sédentaires « ancrés » est celui que les politiques visent précisément dans leurs incitations à la participation ;
- Celui des stables « captifs » est le fait de résidents piégés dans les segments immobiliers les plus précaires ou les plus denses ;
- Pour les mobiles « expérimentaux », les aventures résidentielles ou les replis migratoires peuvent autant mal tourner que se révéler payants, l'accès au sol se révélant une entreprise à haut risque pas seulement pour les migrants du Grand Accra ;
- Les mobiles « ballottés », flottants ou itinérants, apparaissent enfin dépourvus de marges d'anticipation et soumis à un risque élevé d'« éjection » résidentielle.

À l'échelle sous-régionale, la comparaison du Grand Accra avec une autre capitale en a fait ressortir les particularités du premier. Des profils de mobilité ou d'immobilisation apparaissent typiquement ghanéens, du moins liés à la moitié méridionale du pays. Autant certains déterminants du risque de déménagement et de remaniement des ménages se sont révélés communs à de nombreuses agglomérations, autant leur effet sur les autres variables individuelles apparaissait plus précisément localisés. Le Grand Accra tout entier manifeste ainsi l'impact des *free holders* dans l'occupation des maisons ; certaines zones d'étude en propre font apparaître tantôt la concentration spatiale des logements de type *flats*, tantôt la séparation résidentielle des époux en milieu côtier ga, tantôt encore des effets de marge régionale... Des facteurs généraux et des circonstances particulières ont ainsi croisé leurs effets dans la plupart de nos commentaires.

La démarche comparative a donc montré toute son utilité dans les contributions des trois auteurs : non seulement finement dans la mise en perspective des lieux enquêtés au sein de la capitale ghanéenne (E. Ardayfio-Schandorf, M. Bertrand, P.W.K. Yankson), mais aussi plus globalement à l'égard d'une Afrique inévitablement plurielle, ce que rappellent deux capitales étudiées selon des protocoles identiques. Malgré des différences écologiques sensibles, de taille et d'héritages institutionnels, Bamako et Accra s'organisent toutes deux dans un cadre administratif régional. L'urbanisme et le développement y dépendent fortement des bailleurs de fonds internationaux, Banque mondiale en tête, et de leurs agences de développement. Mais parmi les différences pesant sur la redistribution de populations vers, dans et depuis ces grandes agglomérations, Monique Bertrand insiste sur leur inégale inscription dans les réseaux historiques de transit marchand, l'inégale régulation des marchés fonciers par l'État, l'inégale place des femmes dans la transmission des patrimoines résidentiels.

- Héritage du centralisme français, le contrôle domaniale de l'État s'exerce à Bamako sur la production déjà séculaire de trames foncières loties. Il justifie également l'alternance de politiques de refoulement et de choix de régularisation à l'égard de la ville officielle née des formes irrégulières d'accès au sol. L'architecture des cours et ses usages locatifs dépassent pourtant ce dualisme foncier. Au sein de familles encore souvent étendues, les filles sont appelées à cohabiter comme futures épouses plus que comme héritières. Les effets de génération citadine l'emportent sur les processus de division socio-économique dans la compréhension du mode de composition urbaine et de ses remaniements par la mobilité.
- Ces caractéristiques font bien ressortir celles d'Accra. La capitale ghanéenne s'inscrit en effet dans un cadre portuaire qui justifie l'attractivité de Tema-Ashaiman, double économique de la ville-centre, et les redistributions démographiques qu'il commande vers les marges régionales. De plus, la chefferie coutumière et ses dérivés néocoutumiers organisent un marché foncier fragmenté dans cet ensemble, dans lequel la notion d'habitat « spontané » n'a pas de sens, mais sur lequel la planification publique a aujourd'hui peu de prise. La ségrégation socio-économique y est plus lisible qu'à Bamako, y compris à une échelle urbaine fine, et l'offre de logements y est moins exclusivement centrée sur le modèle de la cour. La taille moyenne des ménages citadins est sensiblement inférieure à celle de pays voisins, ce qui n'est pas lié exclusivement à la maîtrise de la fécondité en ville. Il convient ainsi de s'interroger sur l'impact du marché locatif qui génère de fort petits logements, sur la place des femmes dans les sphères domestiques et sur le marché du travail, pour comprendre ces moyennes basses. Du fait de captures résidentielles liées à la pauvreté, le contrôle des *family houses* évolue vers l'exercice de droits atomisés sur une collection de chambres ; il maintient des densités impressionnantes et un défaut de maintenance dans les vieux quartiers.

Les trajectoires politiques, marchandes et culturelles du Ghana et du Mali se répètent donc différemment sur leurs capitales. Elles nous conduisent pourtant à invalider le lien automatique qui est souvent fait entre les pauvres, et notamment « les plus pauvres des pauvres » (comme par exemple les femmes chefs de ménage) et, selon, un ancrage durable dans les quartiers ou au contraire des turbulences résidentielles non maîtrisées. Le gradient des plus mobiles aux plus stables se fonde en effet à Bamako sur l'opposition des locataires et des propriétaires. Celle-ci renvoie à une hiérarchie des durées de résidence, des tailles des ménages, des capacités d'accueil de nouveaux migrants et hébergés et, *in fine*, des capacités d'épargne financière. Les plus ancrés ne sont pas ici les moins dépourvus de la surface sociale nécessaire pour défendre ou faire prévaloir des intérêts privés.

Accra pourrait au contraire valider la thèse d'une relative assignation à résidence des citadins les plus pauvres dans l'espace métropolitain. Mais le rapport que nous avons consacré à la mobilité résidentielle oppose en la matière les occupants des cours de trois quartiers déshérités et les citadins les plus mobiles dans leurs cursus biographiques (Bertrand et Delaunay 2005). Les premiers manifestent les plus faibles taux de mobilité intra-urbaine au cours de leur vie. Les seconds occupent aujourd'hui les unités d'habitation les plus valorisantes : maisons individuelles, appartements désormais placés en location-vente. Le statut professionnel et le capital scolaire sont les principaux facteurs de leur réussite économique, qui passe par une re-territorialisation dans la ville.

Sécurisation ou précarisation des positions résidentielles ?

Le programme interrogeait les pratiques résidentielles en termes de cohabitations *in situ* et de déplacements dans la métropole. Pour ce faire, on a privilégié l'analyse des compositions citadines en détaillant d'une part le nombre et la qualité des individus au sein des ménages et des familles (chapitres 2, 3 et 4), d'autre part le nombre et la qualité des ménages dans les maisonnées et îlots bâtis (chapitres 5 et 7).

Sur le premier axe d'investigation – la composition des unités domestiques – les enquêtes supervisées par Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf et Monique Bertrand montrent l'importance des remaniements induits par les déménagements des familles et par le mouvement résidentiel, intra ou extra-urbain des membres des ménages. Les échéances définies pour la mesure de ces flux d'entrées ou de sorties sont variées : observations dans la dernière décennie, mouvements enregistrés par tranche de cinq ans sur les vingt dernières années, recul biographique donné par un sous-échantillon de près de 1 400 adultes ou encore délai d'une année pour suivre des résidents en continu entre deux passages d'enquête. Toutes ces échéances concourent à mettre en lumière, au-delà d'une opposition politique des communautés migrantes et autochtones, la démarcation entre des populations pauvres et de groupes de revenus plus élevés. Celle-ci prend des formes nuancées de la ville-centre de l'agglomération aux districts de banlieue et périurbains. Le cas particulier des femmes chefs de ménage ressort également d'une proportion remarquablement forte – plus du quart des ménages – dans la capitale ghanéenne. Promotions ou déclassements, adaptations

et résistances à la crise des conditions de logement : l'interprétation sociale donnée par ces contributions dépend donc non seulement du type de population enquêtée, mais aussi des lieux étudiés dans la ville et de contextes géographiques sensiblement variés.

Affiner la compréhension de la ville par des investigations localisées n'exclut pourtant pas, loin s'en faut, de mettre en jeu des réseaux plus larges d'investissement des individus et de territorialisation des familles. Ce n'est pas le moindre des mérites de nos conclusions, sur les relations de genre dans le contrôle domestique ou sur la transmission des patrimoines urbains, que d'avoir mené ce balancement entre la promotion d'analyses infra-urbaines et l'écho que celles-ci suscitaient en dehors même des limites de la métropole : mobilité vers ou depuis le *hometown*, accueil de nouveaux membres migrants dans les ménages déjà urbains, acquisition de biens fonciers mobilisant une épargne lointaine, etc.

Le second axe d'investigation – la constitution et la composition des maisonnées – s'est d'abord attaché à la signification sociale particulière de positions résidentielles apparemment équivalentes sous des terminologies communes en Afrique. Recensements et enquêtes nationales classent en effet les ménages en « propriétaires », « locataires » et « logés à titre gratuit ». Assurément le terme de l'usage partagé n'a pas la même portée dans les *family houses* ghanéennes, occupées et transmises en usufruit, et dans les « concessions » du milieu urbain francophone dont les ayants droit se montrent plus fortement hiérarchisés tout en se distinguant des « étrangers » qu'ils hébergent parfois sur le long terme. Dans ce cas, la tenure est assimilée à la propriété, mais sous le contrôle étroit du chef de famille qui tend à écarter les filles de sa transmission patrimoniale. Dans le cas précédent au contraire, la gestion des consommables – factures d'eau et d'électricité, taxes de ramassage des ordures – et des chambres disponibles apparaît plus fragmentée. Bien des *free holders* d'Accra louent ainsi leur « part » du bien hérité en relative autonomie de décision. Cela conduit à des profils de ménages et de cohabitations résidentielles très variables dans l'espace urbain, ainsi qu'à une dissociation fréquente des *sleeping* et des *cooking arrangements* qui pose bien des défis à la mesure.

Le chapitre 5 établit pourtant la possibilité de comparer non seulement les zones d'étude entre elles dans l'agglomération ghanéenne mais aussi plusieurs métropoles de la sous-région, sur la base de mesures harmonisées de la pression résidentielle. À ce titre, plusieurs rapports numériques s'imposent dans la description des maisonnées : entre les ménages relevant d'une propriété individualisée et les ménages propriétaires en nom commun, entre les propriétaires et les locataires, entre les propriétaires occupant et les non-résidents, entre les bailleurs et les non-bailleurs, etc. La composition des cours fait ainsi échos à celle des ménages pour qualifier les conditions de logement des citadins.

La « condition » de locataire apparaît en outre plus variée en milieu urbain ghanéen que ne le suggère la littérature existante, et aussi plus variée que dans la capitale malienne : véritable handicap social à Bamako, la location s'avère parfois recherchée à Accra. Elle s'inscrit alors dans l'ambition du « *to be on my own* » ; elle offre une voie de sortie de l'univers congestionné des *compounds* à certains ménages des classes

moyennes, voire aux moins pauvres des pauvres. Mais cette option locative relativement choisie, plutôt qu'imposée, butte sur une offre de logements insuffisante en nombre et en qualité. Le marché est en effet contraint, par une spéculation foncière orchestrée parfois à grande échelle et souvent de manière conflictuelle, par les représentants des *Stool* et des *family lands* sous l'égide d'intérêts coutumiers ou privés. La banalisation des avances locatives sur plusieurs années conduit les propriétaires à des investissements immobiliers financés de fait par les locataires. Ces puissants déterminants marchands sont décryptés dans la double contribution de Paul Yankson, du point de vue des bailleurs et des locataires. On insiste alors sur les écarts économiques qui affectent la mobilité citadine sur les différences de niveau de vie entre bailleurs « cumulards » et simples usagers, sur la diversification des parcs immobiliers selon leur architecture et la surface financière de leurs promoteurs. À cela il faut ajouter la réorientation de la gestion des *flats*, de la location à la vente, et la montée en force d'une promotion immobilière privée.

L'ampleur, l'orientation et la variabilité des mobilités métropolitaines font enfin l'objet du dernier chapitre. Une échelle fine d'investigation reste ici justifiée : d'une part parce que bien des citadins procèdent par « sauts de puce », déménagements de proximité et familiarisation progressive avec le Grand Accra qui fait constamment reculer ses limites, d'autre part parce que la mobilité se révèle orientée par des particularités fortes au sein du Grand Accra. Elle rend ainsi compte de filtrages tant à l'entrée qu'à la sortie des maisonnées dans l'intimité des quartiers : tris à l'installation de populations venues d'horizons urbains différents, rétention d'autres ménages dans les quartiers de faible intensité des flux. Elle exerce donc, en retour, des effets structurants sur ces contextes locaux. À la segmentation économique du marché immobilier, décrite dans les chapitres 5, 6 et 7, répond la fragmentation territoriale que la mobilité met en jeu (chapitre 8).

Processus et modalités de la fabrique citadine

Les relations dialectiques nouées entre la composition socio-économique de la ville et ses remaniements par la mobilité résidentielle mettent d'abord en évidence le caractère sélectif de la fabrique urbaine pour toute une série d'exclus de l'analyse classique des ménages et des logements. Les citadins logés dans les kiosques, les garages, les *boys quarters* ou les maisons inachevées renouent avec une formulation ancienne de la population « flottante » ; les hébergés itinérants, les jeunes dormant à l'abord de maisons surpeuplées ou à l'abord des marchés de nuit : tous figurent les cadets pauvres de la cité politique, sortes de « hors-domiciles » n'ayant pas totalement rompu avec leurs attaches familiales ni avec quelque dépendance sociale dans les quartiers. Les « éjectés à répétition » définissent enfin le profil nouveau de locataires mauvais-payeurs, durablement non solvables, à l'égard desquels des « propriétaires n'ont plus de pitié ». L'inventaire comporte presque autant de types sociologiques que de cas particuliers, urbains par leur importance numérique et par la pérennisation de situations de précarité que chacun révèle, mais mal saisis dans les recensements africains.

Quant aux ménages déjà constitués et bien identifiables dans les catégories de l'analyse urbaine, ils sont également victimes de sélections économiques. Mais ils renvoient à un débat plus général entre deux modèles d'adhésion à la ville : celui de l'ancrage géographique, d'une cohésion communautaire qui vaut mieux que toute régulation républicaine, est abondamment valorisé dans le discours identitaire ghanéen, les revendications foncières associées à l'autochtonie, d'anciennes références ou de nouvelles normes politique ; celui de la mobilité se présente de plus en plus comme une « valeur » de la flexibilité en réseau, comme une « ressource » associée à la vie moderne, voire un « capital » lié à l'internationalisation des échanges et des références de la gestion urbaine.

Certaines de nos observations vont dans le sens de la première interprétation. L'analyse des cohésions et des solidarités de groupes – de classes socio-économiques, de générations migrantes, d'usage des services urbains – valorise ainsi l'impact de la proximité spatiale et des effets de voisinage. Les références communautaires ne manquent pas dans le contexte d'Accra : recomposition des familles étendues des migrants septentrionaux dans les *zongos* ou quartiers musulmans, rôle joué par certaines églises dans les campagnes de préservation de la salubrité locale, récupération électoraliste du *communal labour*, rétention de main-d'œuvre dans l'arrière-pays de Tema malgré les redéploiements salariaux de grandes entreprises portuaires. À cela s'oppose la manière dont les sociabilités de quartier ont d'abord pâti, dans bien des capitales francophones de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, du centralisme politique qui avait cassé à l'indépendance les premières associations de « ressortissants » des régions d'émigration. Les ambitions décentralisatrices de la dernière décennie butent ainsi, à Bamako, sur la concurrence que se portent aujourd'hui les municipalités et leurs élus de quartier dans le jeu clientéliste local.

Mais la perspective de la « ville en mouvement » ne manque pas non plus d'argument en mettant l'accent sur une relation instable, non exclusive au territoire urbain et à son espace politique, dans laquelle les intérêts sociaux apparaissent plus tendus. Une pratique citadine se dessine sur fond de réelles enjambées d'un relais résidentiel provisoire à un nœud de stabilisation peut-être moins temporaire. Les mobilités offrent donc l'occasion d'observer la manière dont l'espace urbain s'inscrit de fait en réseaux. Parfois qualifiée de « circulatoire » (Tarrus 1993), cette relation plus fluide n'exclut pas en effet les investissements locaux, mais ils sont souvent commandés à distance.

Accra nous paraît donc « sous tension » entre turbulences et recompositions, entre une certaine agitation territoriale – remaniements des frontières internes et externes de la ville, redistribution résidentielle de ses habitants – et des effets d'inertie, d'héritage, pour le moins de structure : prégnance des gradients et des contrastes de peuplement, légitimation des maîtres du sol, sélections marchandes durables, etc. La fragmentation des profils d'insertion résidentielle donne des clefs de compréhension de ce paradoxe apparent qu'illustre manifestement la capitale ouest-africaine la moins connue des recherches francophones.

L'analyse du mouvement citoyen atteste pourtant d'abord de variables banales de différenciation métropolitaine. Que ces variables soient définies en préalable à la sélection des zones d'étude et des populations enquêtées (E. Ardayfio-Schandorf, P.W.K. Yankson) ou qu'elles ressortent du traitement *a posteriori* des discriminations statistiques (M. Bertrand), elles nourrissent bien des conclusions communes au Grand Accra et à tant d'autres grandes villes en développement : l'incidence du cycle de vie sur les trajectoires individuelles, un effet historique de brassage migratoire, l'impact du niveau d'étude et de la qualification professionnelle. Cette première grille de lecture complète d'autres schémas reconnus de différenciation urbaine : ce qui est dû aux interventions publiques *versus* aux dynamiques du marché ; ce qui se déroule dans les congestions centrales *versus* dans l'étalement des banlieues et des périphéries régionales ; ce qui est associé aux communautés de natifs *versus* aux quartiers d'immigrés ; ce qui met en cause les patrimoines hérités en nom commun *versus* les parcs immobiliers neufs et les logements bien individualisés ; ce qui caractérise les bas revenus *versus* les mieux nantis ; les propriétaires sécurisés *versus* les locataires dépendants, etc.

Mais la composition résidentielle du Grand Accra se trouve affectée par d'autres logiques que celles qui charpentent à grands traits son étendue métropolitaine. La ville se donne alors à lire selon des combinaisons étroites, les variables mentionnées précédemment jouant éventuellement en sens contraire d'un quartier à l'autre. Dans l'intimité d'une grande agglomération, l'intensité de la mobilité relève alors de contextes de faible amplitude territoriale. Le niveau « du local » participe pleinement, mais à géométrie variable, aux effets de sélection évoqués plus haut : non pas comme la version miniature de processus qu'une observation globale suffirait à démontrer, mais selon des termes réellement spécifiques. C'est là le gain cognitif dont peuvent se prévaloir une approche géographique, coutumière de changement d'échelle d'analyse, et quelques observatoires de terrain.

La perspective de la fragmentation a donc orienté les conclusions finales de l'équipe lorsque celle-ci a rassemblé ses travaux particuliers dans le séminaire de restitution des résultats organisé à l'université de Caen, en France, du 18 au 22 octobre 2004. Non seulement les morceaux de ville pris en considération ont révélé des dynamiques assez générales, mais ils nous sont apparus incubateurs de configurations difficilement généralisables à l'ensemble de l'agglomération. L'extrapolation statistique se montre ainsi délicate à manier dans le cas du Grand Accra. Le défaut d'échantillon démographique de référence, suffisamment bien établi pour fonder un rigoureux plan de sondage des populations à suivre dans l'avenir, ne suffit pas à expliquer ce problème. Il vient également de la somme des communautés auto-légitimées, des repères limités et des histoires particulières qui constitue aussi, au-delà de grandes lignes directrices, la fabrique urbaine ghanéenne.

Les modalités de l'accès au sol et un marché foncier hautement frictionnel jouent sans doute pour beaucoup dans cette donne territoriale qui justifie une approche intra-urbaine fine des populations et de leur gestion. Mais la mobilité résidentielle va également dans le sens d'un émiettement des profils et des cadres explicatifs de

l'insertion citadine. On distinguera pour finir quatre modes de cette insertion au long cours, plaçant individus et familles dans un rapport inégalement investi à leur environnement urbain.

- Le premier est l'animation par la mobilité de lieux de vie pluriels et distants les uns des autres, au sein d'un espace discontinu. La plupart des zones d'étude sont loin de confiner les citadins et leurs liens familiaux actifs. Le mouvement géographique engage donc cette mise en réseau de localités et de maisons de référence, soit par une circulation opportune des cadets sociaux, soit par des liens durables maintenus avec la communauté d'origine, par-delà un investissement mené en ville au profit de générations à venir.
- À l'opposé de cette insertion pluri-locale, les turbulences géographiques que vivent bien des migrants malchanceux ou des locataires itinérants participent d'une insertion à la marge : marge sociale de ceux qui sont trop loin de leurs terroirs d'origine pour se prévaloir de quelques droits et solidarités ; mais aussi marge territoriale qu'a illustrée la mobilité record enregistrée dans la petite ville de Dodowa au contact des influences métropolitaines et de l'arrière-pays national. À cet égard, il convient de recommander que de nouvelles recherches s'attachent à cette double interface – rural/urbain et région métropolitaine/autres régions ghanéennes – qu'offrent les districts encore ruraux de Dangbe Ouest et Dangbe Est dans la Région du Grand Accra, ainsi que les territoires administratifs nés de la récente subdivision du District Ga.
- Des effets de capture locale et de quasi-assignation à résidence ont également été montrés. Souvent liés à la pauvreté de natifs de la ville et à une sécurisation précaire dans les droits d'usufruit, ils qualifient également le vieillissement de certaines communautés de migrants déjà anciennes et fort densifiées dans la proximité des centres d'activité.
- Enfin, la mobilité résidentielle n'apparaît véritablement promotionnelle socialement que lorsqu'elle est assortie d'un accès durable au sol comme on a pu le voir à l'ouest de l'agglomération sur le vaste domaine foncier de Gbawe. De telles quêtes sont périlleuses à l'égard des propriétaires coutumiers avec lesquels il s'agit de négocier comme à l'égard de nouveaux risques environnementaux sur les fronts urbains les moins aménagés. Elles sont également laborieuses à l'égard des acteurs institutionnels auprès desquels les transactions doivent être enregistrées pour assurer la reconnaissance de futures *community-based organisations* et de nouvelles associations d'usagers en attente d'équipements et de services urbains. À cette ville d'impulsion privée, encore en chantier, font échos la banlieue des *flats* (Tema, Adenta) et la promotion immobilière à l'œuvre à l'est de l'agglomération entre Accra et Tema (East Legon, Spintex Road). L'accès à une certaine modernité « clefs en main » donne ici quelques garanties à un parcours social ascendant, provisoirement pour certains ménages des classes moyennes, plus durablement pour les investisseurs les mieux rodés. L'optimisation de la distance domicile/lieu de

travail dénote la rationalité économique de bien des pratiques résidentielles observées dans cette ville d'impulsion publique. Mais quels qu'en soient les stimulants, ce dernier profil ne qualifie qu'une faible minorité des familles citadines et correspond à une marge statistique.

Locataires « conjoncturés », cadets ballottés, pauvres assignés, investisseurs distancés, bailleurs absentéistes, illustrent les expériences sensibles et multiples de cette citoyenneté en mouvement dans une composition « de vitesses et de lenteurs », de rythmes d'accélération et de ralentissements. Ainsi figuré en termes de mobilités et d'ancrages relatifs, l'espace social métropolitain est aussi expressif que le serait le marais sociologique auquel renvoient le niveau d'étude à Bamako, celui du statut professionnel à Accra, et tant d'autres indicateurs grossiers de la pauvreté. La diversité de ces profils d'insertion dans la capitale ghanéenne est telle que celle-ci ne peut décidément plus être rattachée, en dépit de réminiscences bibliographiques ou politiques, à la thèse du « biais urbain », ni à la dichotomie réductrice rural/urbain, ni à la seule perspective migratoire de ceux qui ne seraient que navetteurs entre *hometowns* et lieux d'emploi durant leurs vies d'actifs. C'est bien dans l'articulation d'échanges externes et de mouvements internes que le Grand Accra produit un territoire à la fois banalement métropolitain et singulièrement fragmenté.

Bien des zones d'ombre de l'analyse résidentielle restent pourtant à signaler. Notre travail ne saurait s'achever sans l'évocation de quelques-uns des angles négligés, des objets sous-évalués et de la recherche de terrain qui reste à stimuler ou à approfondir. Au titre de ces perspectives, retenons d'abord une cartographie fine des compositions et des évolutions à l'œuvre. Un effort du bureau du recensement ghanéen pour mettre diligemment et gratuitement les données locales dont il dispose à la portée des chercheurs, ainsi qu'une veille scientifique établie sur une coupe-test des dynamiques urbaines, du centre à la périphérie, pourraient suffire à l'entreprise pour autant qu'elle s'appuierait sur une information bien contextualisée. Elle suppose sur le fond une volonté publique et une meilleure lisibilité des savoir-faire scientifiques nationaux.

L'ajout de sites urbains isolés dans les marges rurales de la région capitale, à l'inventaire des zones d'étude plus classiquement constituées dans les districts déjà urbanisés du Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, devrait ensuite permettre de franchir un nouveau pas : de l'agglomération aux dynamiques territoriales proprement métropolitaines d'une région urbaine. Outre que c'est dans ces périphéries lointaines que se situe le chef-lieu souhaité de la région capitale, pour son futur, les réserves foncières, les équipements scolaires et l'économie vivrière que recèle la grande périphérie ne sont pas à négliger pour le devenir de populations aujourd'hui situées dans un centre élargi. La recherche a déjà bien saisi l'opportunité de dépasser les limites de la ville-centre pour s'interroger sur ces banlieues du futur que préparent les fronts de périurbanisation les plus lointains (Gough et Yankson 1997). Il convient désormais de s'y attacher systématiquement.

 Ashaiman, Downtown, Tema, New Fadama



Suggérons en outre que soit menés le suivi en continu de cohortes particulières, comme les derniers accédants à la propriété par exemple, ou des enquêtes à passages répétés susceptibles de déboucher sur des observatoires locaux du changement urbain. Tant au titre de la prospective qu'à celui de l'évaluation, des protocoles spécialisés sont à promouvoir pour coller de manière plus précise aux cibles des décideurs financiers et politiques de l'urbanisme opérationnel, par exemple dans les programmes de réhabilitation urbaine ou de fluidification du trafic routier. Mais il s'agit surtout d'attirer l'attention des acteurs institutionnels et financiers sur les points faibles de leurs investissements, comme la location ou encore le cas d'usufruitiers abandonnés à leur sort par des parents mieux lotis et qui auraient préféré l'*exit option* hors des communautés d'origine.

Enfin, préciser les parcours migratoires en amont des flux intra-urbains n'est pas le moindre des défis que pose la promotion épistémologique de la mobilité. Mieux articuler les enveloppes externes et la donne interne du mouvement urbain, s'attacher à la ré-allocation des populations aux échelles internationale, nationale, métropolitaine et locale devraient occuper encore bien des générations de chercheurs.

Notes

1. Ce que les citadins expriment souvent dans les termes du "*to think about my future*".
2. Le fait d'être « ici et ailleurs » à la fois, qui serait le cas, d'une génération à l'autre, d'éternels « nomades » en dehors de leur *bometown* et de « fidèles » non moins constants à l'égard de leurs terres ancestrales.

Greater Accra as a Fragmented Metropolis

Monique Bertrand

The joint French/Ghanaian research undertaken in response to the call for contribution on FAC Sciences Sociales' "Evolution de la vie politique, de l'économie, de la société et de la ville en Afrique" was meant to ensure that real account is taken of residential mobility in the process of town-planning and metropolis constructions in West Africa. In this regard, three assumptions have been confirmed by the Ghanaian capital when it comes to questioning the patrimonial and economical dimensions of housing practices. This first assumption is on how to identify the family determinants of urban population migrating to a large city of the Gulf of Guinea and/or experiencing intra-metropolitan residential redistributions. Both phenomena seem to be often linked but cannot, at any rate, be simply construed as a stage of entering into the city or transiting in it. The idea that individuals, households and family segments are free electrons in the metropolitan area could not be confirmed. Instead, surveys show these to be inter-related through strong economic, social and territorial determinations. Once intra-urban relocations and gradual familiarisation with different components of the big city have been allowed for, it becomes possible to validly assess the flows and actors involved using a current marginalisation/integration gradient of trajectories, that might either most likely lead to real social promotion or otherwise to disqualifying routes where mobility is blocked or even recessive.

Structured in this way by crossed logic, one in the range of possibilities is to describe city dwellers responses to the constraints and opportunities of life cycle, land rent and solvency required by urban markets, and to analyse these responses as residential "choices" or choices of location within the city. These leeways, which are more tactical than deliberately strategic, reflect an overall structuring of an urban space marked by poverty, but also of the production and the social development of many more diversified local spaces than are captured in the most common interpretations of the urban phenomenon. Thus, mobility appears to be not only linked to economic rationality – optimising location and housing costs in relation to labour market access, services and the consumption patterns associated with large population aggregates – but also to its limitations for the poorest city dwellers.

Dodowa, New Fadama, Old Teshie



It is difficult to understand with this single argument, indeed, why of late the population growth rate of the Accra Metropolitan District still runs high. The fact that many fee holders got blocked in an aging estate of *compounds* and inherited family houses, the more or less acceptable state of urban traffic jams constitute different kinds of arguments dealing with cultural habits and collective representations of the city and household life patterns. Mobility then seems to be linked to social and notably family factors, the importance of which has been highlighted in the city dwellers present and past by the work of Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf and Monique Bertrand.

The second assumption has to do with the political dimension of residing in the city. It questioned in particular the fact that unstable populations have been overlooked in the terms of reference of urban projects. Correlatively has been questioned the community credit – financial, electoral and associative mobilisations – which can be conferred to populations so locally rooted at the end of their residential trajectories that they become uppermost interested in investing in a “sustainable urban

development” side by side with the public authorities and the market actors. The residential constraints endured daily in the districts have confirmed these political housing stakes in Greater Accra: keeping social peace and ensuring a minimum integration of the citizens,¹ reducing the most blatant inequalities and the most visible frustrations. Another result was the emergence of an extensive and politically charged popular terminology: “the well-off” vs. “the excluded”, “big men” vs. “the homeless”, “veranda boys” and others who have turned into city dropouts because of the difficulties to find sustainable housing.

There have been several time steps when population mobility or settlement acted indeed as a regulator faced with the impoverishment of a large fraction of Accra residents. The developments of the rental market (Chapters 6 and 7) is one major indication among many other trends that have been observed in the neighbouring West African capitals: new onslaught on customary land division, chains of residential vacancy, and migrant guest houses prompted by the emergence of new *self-contained housing* in upscale suburbs, security of tenure for the poorest free holders, particularly the wives who have been dropped in their indigenous communities, escapism from social youth fleeing family conflicts, etc. The *exit option* and its corollary which is to return to indigenous values and land rights, have certainly already drawn the attention of rural anthropology researchers. Though urban areas continue to be marked by both, with no less political implications. Without them, one cannot fully understand the individualisation process affecting residential practices in town even if, on the other hand, one does not endorse the Western-theory of transition to a nuclear family. At play in our analysis of the Ghanaian metropolis are the combined effects of structural material constraints and a more fragmented search for security firewalls against the psychosocial pressures of city life.

The third assumption, whose arguments have also been developed based on local inquiries, has focused on the combined territorial effects of mobility and stability both involving a dialectical relationship in the making of a metropolis. Ghanaian expatriates through international migration, many young people looking for vocational training, many Ga or Shaï families deployed into residential systems in several locations, have provided all the leads needed to make fruitful comparisons between Greater Accra and its sister cities of the sub-region. The capital of Mali played for instance this analytic role as a foil of the Ghanaian ordinariness and peculiarities in West Africa (Chapters 4, 5 and 8). This reasoned contextualisation of social groups and standard city figures, according to reference locations where they could be surveyed and the mobility segments they have illustrated, contribute to renewing the interpretation of city modernity. The situations of crises, transition, cultural mix and plurality have made it appears really polysemous.

Giving Sustainable Scientific Credibility to Urban Residential Mobility

Unquestionably, urban dynamics in Africa are tested like on other continents by growing residential mobility made more complex by their orientations, determinants and variations (Dureau and *al.* 2000). From this perspective, Greater Accra is a

perfect illustration of a metropolis reconstruction process which is more driven by population movements rather than the movement of capital in the sub-regional space. The critical contribution made by this study is to have determined their scope, especially in relation to external migration and to have acknowledged all the stakes involved.

- **Methodological stakes:** This analysis indeed gives credibility to the population movements only when weighted against the city reference “stocks”, with rigorously identified measuring scales. It also adds a new longitudinal dimension to the transversal approaches to census taking which have not been so much efficient in capturing migration and mobility. We, therefore, gathered the resources it took to monitor city dwellers, not only the survey areas and the changes in compositions they have generally orchestrated, according to the combined influences of their spatial mobility and progress in life cycle.
- **Political stakes:** As indicated in the introduction, the terms of reference of urban development projects contain countless fixity presuppositions in the African capitals, for instance towards landlords whose participation, whether in a contractual or institutionalised form through a tax policy, is expected. The operational targets of urban projects have so far been silent on the tenants who form both the most mobile and the most non-migrant part of city folks.
- **Historical stakes:** One can understand the unintentional omission and implicit masking of intra-urban migration only by the degree of epistemological focus which Africans put a contrario on intra-regional and international migrations which has resulted in over-emphasising urbanization at the expense of the city (Chapter 8). Colonial labour needs and constraints weighed a lot on the contemporary formulation of “One foot here, one foot there”. There are still many contemporary reminders, though adapted to the structural adjustment crisis of the 1980s, of the African migrant “foreign to the city” theory. The victims of drought in the Sahel or non-natives of the littoral communities of Ghana finally appear to remain indifferent not only in terms of personal investment in the city, but also in terms of the conservation and the preservation of their environment. However, at play in what is usually described today as “sustainable development” is a collective awareness and will not simply outlined in future projections. The historical substance of the “co-dwelling” project being implemented, in particular by urban sub-Saharan Africa, requires hypotheses - modernity paired with the idea of urbanity in particular – going beyond both biographical temporality and the passage of time which methodological individualism can reverse.

Determining the scope and profile of residential mobility required, therefore, that the team make a clear distinction between registering the family link in a space not limited to a single place, as evidenced by the city dwellers’ multi-location practices, and the much less founded assumption of “city rejection”, as a lasting living space for migrants and their descent. Assigning city dwellers to a univocal location or to a

single reference house could not fit into our real estate and residential analysis. But even if the reverse idea of near-ubiquity of city folks² had been borrowed from some postmodernist movement, it would have also been criticised for historical negligence all the same.

For all these reasons and in line with recent scientific exchanges, we see mobility as a relevant and even strategic analyser of this co-dwelling project which the debates on the future of Africa can no longer overlook. Being the nodal point of integration and marginalisation processes, and urban density and segregation assessments, mobility documents researchers, politics and experts on the sensitive aspects of the modes of living in the finest of neighbourhoods. It also renews the work devoted in the more remote past to the public housing policies that marked African countries', at the time of their independence, and later their relative disengagement. It sheds light today on the analysis of poverty and inequalities, failures in access to urban services as well as urban responses to these failures. But beyond just quantifying the flows, the movement and its spatial orientations refer to broader determinants: land and rental markets, i.e. the urban rent issue, labour markets and relocations due to the remote location of homes, family reproduction and social network dynamics, all of which have to submit to the macro and micro-adjustments prompted by what the neoliberal situation trivialised as economic "crisis". Lastly, mobility probes the process of urbanization in Africa, through its new metropolized form, in comparison to other historical trajectories: those of Latin America whose city folks/rural folks balance has been favourable to the former for more than a generation, or those of the Asian world which has been marked by high general and urban densities.

Field inquiries have thus fully played their role in our study by first documenting city inhabitants' paces and developments in their residential positions from multiple hindsight: monitoring household membership and renewal over two years; effect of family life cycle, from formation to maturation and to the transmission of family properties; historical changes at play in the production of urban housing and leasing park. The compounded nature of metropolitan transformations, according to diverse temporalities, thus plays out through an extensive terminology of long transitions and circumstantial variations.

In this regard, the know-how of the non-Africanist members of the French team turned out to be crucial in leading the biographical analysis of city practices and making the best of them through a multi-level processing of information organised according to various inquiry levels: *urban communities, units of co-dwelling, families, reference persons and other family and household members*. They have helped us to process the successive sequences of stays or residential stages in their own chronological unfolding and in their submission to contextual effects. When it came to explaining the reasons for relocating, the answers did not always relate to job allocation and the general constraints of real estate markets. Instead, there were numerous justifications of a more random and truly fragmentary nature like "I had to follow someone", "I was sacked or adopted by someone".

Our work can, therefore, be said to have shown inventiveness in collecting field data, applying required precautions for data processing and assessing unprecedented measures. However, some technical conditions are still terribly lacking for us to be able to produce a comprehensive modelling of the survey results, the main failures having to do with nomenclature harmonisation and availability of mapping at each level of the analysis. We have, therefore, had to compare a number of survey areas by applying a geographical intra-urban approach. This prospect of a city folk on the move has led us to place the populations and urban communities between the two extremes of an unequal penchant for residential mobility, between stability polarity and mobility polarity. Greater Accra thus outlines a “quadrilateral” of the modes of insertion in the metropolitan space:

- The profile of rooted, non-migrant populations is the one precisely targeted by politicians in their incentive participatory policy;
- That of stable “captives” is made of residents trapped in the most precarious or most dense segments of the real estate market;
- For the “experimental” mobile dwellers, residential adventures or migratory retreats may be either ill-fated or pay off, land access being a high-risk undertaking not only for Greater Accra migrants;
- The “swinging”, floating or itinerant dwellers are finally left with little possibility to anticipate and are therefore exposed to a high risk of residential ejection.

At the sub-regional level, comparing Greater Accra to another capital uncovers some peculiarities. Mobile or non-mobile profiles appear to be typically Ghanaian at least in so far as the southern half of the country is concerned. While some determinants of relocation and household rearrangement likelihood have turned out to be similar in many big cities, their effects on the other individual variables appear to be more accurately localized. The whole of Greater Accra thus reflects the impact of *free holders* in housing occupancy; some specific survey areas show spatial concentration of flat type housing; others rather underline the residential separation of spouses on the Ga coastal region, while others show some regional marginal effects... Consequently, these combined effects of general factors and special circumstances have been echoed in most of our comments.

The comparative approach has, therefore, proved all its usefulness in the three authors’ contributions: not only because it finely puts into perspective the places surveyed in the Ghanaian capital (E. Ardayfio-Schandorf, M. Bertrand, P.W.K. Yankson) but also more generally relative to an inevitably plural Africa, as shown by two capitals surveyed with identical protocols. Despite their sensitive ecological and significant differences and institutional legacies, Bamako and Accra are both being organised within a regional administrative framework. Town-planning and development heavily relies on international donors, with the World Bank as the lead, and their development agencies. But among the differences affecting population redistribution to, within and from these large cities, Monique Bertrand emphasises their unbalanced registration in the historical merchant transit networks, non-standardised State regulation of real

estate markets, unequal positioning of women in the transmission of residential properties.

- A legacy of French centralism, State control of real estate is exerted in Bamako over the already secular production of land plots. It also explains why city entry denial policies alternate with informal city regularisation resulting from irregular forms of land acquisitions. The compound architecture and its uses, however, transcend this real estate dualism. In still often large families, girls are expected to live together as future wives rather than heirs. The effects of city generation prevail over the process of socioeconomic division in the understanding of urban composition mode and its rearrangements through mobility.
- These characteristics bring Accra clearly to the foreground. In fact, the Ghanaian capital rests in a port framework which explains the attractiveness of Tema-Ashaiman, an economic duplicate of a central city and its implied demographic redistributions to regional peripheries. Besides, the customary chieftaincy and its neo-customary derivatives organise a fragmented real estate market in this setting in which “spontaneous” housing concept makes no sense but over which public planning today has little control. Socioeconomic segregation is more visible there than in Bamako even on a finer urban scale, and housing supply is less exclusively centred on the compound model. The average size of city households is significantly smaller than that of the neighbouring countries, which is not exclusively linked to fecundity control in the city. It is thus relevant in order to understand these low averages to investigate the impact of the rental market which generates quite small housing. Due to poverty-related residential captives, the control of *family houses* grows into the exercise of atomised rights over a set of rooms; it maintains impressive densities while maintenance is lacking in the old districts.

Ghana and Mali’s political, economical and cultural trajectories thus impact differently their respective capitals. Based on this fact, we could not endorse the idea of an automatic link often established between the poor and especially the “poorest of the poor” (like for instance female family heads) depending on how long you have taken roots in the districts, or on the contrary, on residential turbulences beyond control. The gradient showing from the most mobile to the most stable is indeed founded in Bamako on tenants/landlords opposition. This refers to a hierarchy in terms of duration of living in town, household size and household capacity of accommodating the new migrants, and finally on financial savings capacity. The long rooted inhabitants are not the least favoured by the social space needed to defend private interests or allow them to prevail.

On the contrary, Accra might confirm the theory that the poorest city dwellers are on a relative house arrest in the metropolitan space. But our reporting on residential mobility opposed on the matter the compound occupants of the three poorest districts and the most mobile city dwellers in their biographical course (Bertrand et

Delaunay 2005). The former exhibit the lowest intra-urban mobility rates in the course of their lives. The latter today occupy the most image-enhancing housing units: individual houses and flats now available on a hire-purchase scheme. Professional status and education capital are the main factors behind their economic success which requires a re-territorialisation in the city.

Securing or Making Residential Positions Precarious?

The programme of research investigated residential practices in terms of cohabitations *in situ* and intra-metropolis relocation. To achieve this, we opted for the analysis of city compositions detailing, on the one hand, the number and quality of individuals in households and families (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) and the number and quality of households in families and blocks of buildings (Chapters 5 and 7).

In the first part of our inquiry – membership of domestic units – the surveys supervised by Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf and Monique Bertrand underscored the significance of the rearrangements induced by family relocations and the intra or extra-urban residential movement of household members. Variable time frames have been set for measuring these inflows and outflows: observations during the last decade, recorded movements within every period of five years over the last twenty years, biographical hindsight provided by a sub-sample of about 1,400 adults or a year period to monitor residents on a continuous basis between two passages of the survey team. All these time frames contribute to bringing under focus, beyond the political opposition of migrant and indigenous communities, the divide between poor populations and higher income groups. The forms of the divide are nuanced from the core of the city to the suburban and peri-urban areas of the metropolis. The special case of female household heads also constitutes a remarkably significant proportion – more than one-quarter of households – in the Ghanaian capital. Promotions or loss of social position, adaptations and resistance to crisis in housing conditions: the social interpretation conveyed by these contributions therefore depends not only on the type of population surveyed but also on the places surveyed in the city and on quite diversified local contexts.

Nonetheless, refining city understanding through localised inquiries does not at all mean that broader networks of individual investments and family territorialisation should not be brought into play. One of the major merits of our conclusions on gender relations in domestic control or on the transmission of urban properties is to have realised this shift between promoting intra-urban analyses and the echo induced by the latter even beyond metropolis limits: mobility to or from the *hometown*, receiving new migrating members in already urban families, land acquisition by mobilising far away savings, etc.

The second part of our inquiry – the making and membership of households – primarily focused on the particular social significance of seemingly equivalent residential positions for which common terminologies are used in Africa. Census and national surveys indeed classify households as “landlords”, “tenants” and “charge-free occupants”. Assuredly, duration of collective use does not cover the same

meaning in Ghanaian *family houses* occupied by “free holders”, according to their usufruct rights, as in the “concessions” in the Francophone urban area whose occupants appear to obey a stronger family hierarchy, while being clearly distinct from their “strangers” who can at times be lodged for a long period of time. In this case, tenure is construed as ownership, though under the tight control of the family head who tends to marginalize girls from his list of property transmission. By contrast, in the former case, management of consumables – electricity and water bills - household refuse disposal tax – and vacant rooms appears to be more fragmented. Many *free holders* in Accra also rent out their “part” of the inherited property with relative autonomy in decision-making. This results in very variable profiles of households and residential cohabitation in the urban space and a distinction being often made between *sleeping arrangements* and *cooking arrangements* which poses quite a lot challenges to the measure.

In Chapter 5, however, it was possible to compare not only the places surveyed in the Ghanaian population aggregate but also many metropolises of the sub-region based on harmonised measures of residential pressure. In this connection, there have been many authoritative numerical reporting on the description of households: between individualised property households and joint ownership households, between landlords and tenants, between occupying owners and non-residents owners, between leasers and non-leasers, etc. Compound composition thus reflects that of households in the description of city dwellers’ housing conditions.

The tenant “status” also appears to be more diversified in the Ghanaian urban area than has been suggested by existing literature, and also more varied than in the Malian capital: being a real social handicap in Bamako, house renting turns out to be sometimes sought in Accra. Then, it becomes part of an ambition “*to be on my own*”; it provides an exit alternative from the congested environment of *compounds* to some middle class households and even to the least poor of the poor. But this relatively chosen, rather than imposed renting alternative, is weakened by insufficient housing supply both in numbers and quality. The market is, indeed, constrained by the speculation on real estate orchestrated at times on a broad scale and often in conflicting ways by the representatives of *Stool* and *family lands* under the aegis of customary or private interests. Making advance payments in rents covering several years has become such a common practice that landlords have been encouraged to make real estate investments which are actually financed by the tenants. These powerful determinants have been decoded in the dual contribution made by Paul Yankson from the leasers (landlords) and tenants’ perspective. The focus here is on the economic gaps affecting city mobility, on differences in the living standards of “cumulative” owners and simple users, on the diversification of real estate parks based on their architecture and the financing capacity of their developers. Adding to this is the reorientation of *flats* management from renting to selling, and the sudden surge of private real estate promotion.

Lastly, the scope, orientation and variability of metropolitan mobility are analysed in the last chapter. A refined inquiry scale remains justified here: first because many

city dwellers proceed by “flea jumps”, relocation in the neighbourhood and gradual adaptation to Greater Accra which is constantly expanding, secondly because mobility has proved to be oriented by marked specificities within Greater Accra. Mobility thus reflects some sorting both on entry into and exit from houses in community privacy: sorting takes place when the populations coming from different urban backgrounds are settling, while other households remain in districts with less intensive flows. In return, mobility, therefore, exerts some structuring effects on these local contexts. The economic segmentation of real estate market described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, is only matched by the territorial fragmentation that mobility brings into play (Chapter 8).

Process and Modalities of City Making

The dialectic links established between city socioeconomic composition and its rearrangements through residential mobility primarily underscore the selective nature of the urban fabric for a full set of people excluded from the traditional analysis of households and housing. The city dwellers who are housed in kiosks, garages, *boys' quarters* or unfinished houses have been recaptured under an old formulation as “floating” population; lodged itinerants, youth sleeping around overcrowded houses or night markets: all of them representing the younger poor of the political city, a kind of “homeless” who have not completely severed ties to their families and to some social dependence in their communities. The “multi-evicted” is the definition of a new profile of defaulting payers with durable insolvency record and for whom the “landlords have no longer any mercy”. The list contains almost as many urban sociological types as there are particular cases in terms of their numbers and the perpetuation of precarious situations uncovered by each of them but wrongly captured in African census taking.

As for the households already formed and clearly identifiable among the categories of urban analysis, they have also been victims of economic selections. They call though for a more general debate between two models of city membership: that of a geographic rooting with community cohesion which is far better than any republican regulation, is extensively valued in the Ghanaian identity discourse, indigenous land claims, previous references or new political standards; that of mobility is increasingly presented as a “value” of network flexibility, a “resource” associated with modern lifestyle or even a “capital” linked to the globalisation and to the urban management references.

Some of our observations tend to confirm the first interpretation. The analysis of group cohesion and solidarity – socioeconomic classes, generations of migrants, urban service uses – thus values the impact of spatial proximity and neighbourhood effects. Community references are many in the Accra context: re-composition of the extended families of northern migrants in the *zongos* or Muslim places, role played by some Churches in local sanitation preservation campaign, political exploitation of *communal labour* in voting campaigns, retention of labour force in Tema countryside despite salary redeployments by major port companies. To this

can be opposed the ways in which community sociability first suffered, in many Francophone capitals of West Africa, from the political centralism which had broken, on Africa's accession to independence, the first associations of "natives" from different regions of emigration. The decentralisation ambitions of the last decade are thus hindered in Bamako by the competition going on in the local electioneering game between municipalities and their locally elected members.

The prospect of a "city on the move" can also be amply argued by laying emphasis on an unstable relationship which is not limited to the urban territory and its political space, and in which social interests appear to be tenuous. This is an outline of city practice characterised by real strides from a temporary residential relay station to a stabilisation hub perhaps not so much temporary. Mobility thus affords the opportunity to observe how urban space effectively builds itself into a network. While it is sometimes described as "circulatory" (Tarrus 1993), this is a more fluid relationship which indeed does not exclude local investments though often ordered from afar.

Accra appears, therefore, to be "under pressure" between turbulences and re-composition, between some sort of territorial instability – modification of internal and external city limits, residential redistribution of its inhabitants – and inertia effects, inheritance of structure at the least: preponderance of population settlement gradients and contrasts, legitimisation of landlords, durable market selections etc. The fragmentation of residential integration profiles provide keys to understanding this apparent paradox which is clearly illustrated by one of the least known West African capital in Francophone research.

Yet, the analysis of city movement primarily confirms the trivial nature of metropolitan differentiation variables. Whether these variables are defined prior to the selection of survey areas and populations (E. Ardayfio-Schandorf, P.W.K. Yankson) or are the result of *a posteriori* processing of statistical discriminations (M. Bertrand), they clearly document the common conclusions on Greater Accra and so many other large developing cities: impact of life cycle on individual trajectories, historical effect of migratory melting pot, impact of education level and vocational qualification. This primary interpretative framework complements other well-known patterns of urban differentiation: result of public interventions *vs.* result of market dynamics; what unfolds in central congestions *vs.* what unfolds in expanding suburbs and regional peripheries; what is associated with native communities *vs.* what is associated with migrants places; what questions jointly inherited properties *vs.* new real estate parks and clearly self-contained houses; what characterises low income *vs.* the well-off; secured landlords *vs.* dependent tenants, etc.

But the residential composition of Greater Accra happens to be affected by other logics than those clearly underlying its metropolitan expansion. The city can then be read through some tight combinations, with the previously mentioned variables possibly playing against each other from one district to another. Deep inside a large metropolitan area, mobility intensity then depends on contexts of small territorial amplitude. The level of "the local" fully participates though at variable geometry in the selection effects alluded to earlier on: not as the micro version of a process

which an overall observation would suffice to demonstrate, but rather according to really specific terms. This is the cognitive gain that a geographic approach, which is used to changing the scale of analysis, and a few field observations, can boast.

The prospect of fragmentation, therefore, guided the team's final conclusions when it assembled its special work at the result debriefing seminar organised at the University of Caen, France, from October 18 to 22, 2004. Not only have the city parts considered revealed fairly general dynamics, but they have also appeared to be configuration incubators that are hardly applicable to the whole metropolitan area. It is thus risky to attempt any statistical extrapolation in the case of Greater Accra. The absence of a reference population sample well established to serve as a foundation for a rigorous plan for polling the population to be monitored in future, alone, cannot explain this problem. It is also due to the sum of self-legitimated communities, limited reference marks and specific stories which are also part, beyond the major guidelines, of the Ghanaian urban construction.

The terms and conditions for access to land and to a highly frictional real estate market certainly play a significant role in these territorial circumstances, which justifies a fine intra-urban approach to the populations and their management. But residential mobility also contributes to a dispersion of profiles and explanatory frameworks for city integration. Finally there are four modes of this integration in the long run whereby individuals and families are placed in an unequal investment rapport to their urban environment.

- The first one is the development through mobility of plural and far apart dwelling places within a discontinued space. Most of the survey areas are not found in the vicinity of city folks and their active family ties. The geographical movement therefore involves this networking of localities and reference houses either through an opportune circulation of the youth or through the lasting ties maintained with the original community, beyond an investment realised in the city in favour of future generations.
- On the opposite side of this local plural integration, the geographic turbulences which many unfortunate migrants or itinerant tenants experience are indicative of marginal integration: social marginalisation of those who are too far from their original community or hometown to claim any land rights or solidarity; but territorial marginalisation as well, as illustrated by the mobility record high in the small city of Dodowa which is in contact with metropolitan influences and national hinterland. Subsequently, it is highly recommendable that new research addresses this dual interface – rural/urban and metropolitan region/other Ghanaian regions – shown by still rural districts like Dangbe West and Dangbe East in the Greater Accra Region as well as the administrative territories resulting from the recent subdivision of the Ga District.
- The local capture and almost house arrest effects have also been demonstrated. They are often linked to the poverty of city natives and to precarious protection in terms of right of usufruct, while also being indicative of the aging of some already old and overcrowded migrant communities around activity centres.

- Lastly, residential mobility appears to really promote social development only when it is paired with lasting access to land as can be seen on the vast western community of Gbawe. Such quests are perilous for customary landlords with whom one has to negotiate like with new environmental risks on the newly and least developed urban fronts. They are also delicate vis-à-vis institutional actors with whom transactions have to be registered in order to ensure recognition of future *community-based organizations* and new resident associations awaiting facilities and urban services. This privately-driven part of the metropolitan area still under construction is echoes the *flats* suburbs (Tema, Adenta) and the real estate development observed between Accra and Tema (East Legon, Spintex Road). Access to a form of “turnkey” modernity guarantees here an ascending social trajectory though provisional for some middle-class households and more durably for the most experienced investors. Optimising home/workplace distance denotes the economic rationality of quite many residential practices that have been observed in this publicly-driven city. But regardless of the stimulants, this last profile qualifies only a minority of city families and is negligible statistically.

“Economically-affected” tenants, youth torn apart, poor under house arrest, outpaced investors, absentee landlords, provide examples of sensitive and multiple experiences of this city in the making with a combination of “accelerations and slowness”, paces of accelerations and decelerations. Reflected as such in terms of relative mobility and root taking, the social metropolitan space is as expressive as would be a sociological swamp invoked by the level of education in Bamako, that of professional status in Accra and so many other gross poverty indicators. The diversity of these profiles of integration into the Ghanaian capital is such that the latter can definitely no longer be associated, despite bibliographical or political reminiscences, with the “city bias” theory nor with the simplistic rural/urban dichotomy or the sole migratory prospect of those who would be simply shuttling between *hometowns* and workplace during their active lives. It is clear that it is in the synchronisation of external exchanges and internal movements that Greater Accra produces a territory both so trivially metropolitan and particularly fragmented.

Yet, quite many aspects of residential analysis still remain unclear. We cannot finish our work without mentioning a few of neglected angles, undervalued objects and field research that still remains to be stimulated or deepened. In this perspective, first should be mentioned a fine mapping of the compositions and progress of work. An effort by the Ghanaian census bureau to timely and freely put the local data it has at the researchers’ reach and a scientific watchdog established on the basis of a test cross-section of urban dynamics, from the centre to the periphery, might suffice for the undertaking provided that it relies on a well contextualised information. It finally implies a public will and a better readability of national scientific expertises.

Adding urban sites isolated in the rural margins of the capital region to the list of survey areas more traditionally constituted in already urbanised districts of Greater

Accra Metropolitan Area, is another step forward: from the urban core to the more strictly metropolitan territorial dynamics of an urban region. Besides the fact that it is in these remote peripheries that you find the desired chief-town of the capital region, for its future land market and, real estate reserves, school facilities and the abundant subsistence crop found in the greater periphery should not be neglected for the future of the populations today located at an extended centre. Research has already taken the opportunity to go beyond the limits of the central town and wonders about these future suburbs being prepared by the most remote peri-urbanization fronts (Gough and Yankson 1997). It is now necessary to focus on that systematically.

Ashaiman, Downtown, Tema, New Fadama



We would also like to suggest that special cohorts like the last people to have access to land ownership for instance should be followed on a continuous basis, or that multi-passage surveys that are likely to result in local observatories of urban change be conducted. Both for prospective and assessment purposes, specialised protocols should be promoted in order to stick more precisely to the targets of those who take the financial and political decisions on operational town-planning for instance in urban rehabilitation or road traffic fluidity programmes. But the primary objective is

to draw the attention of institutional and financial actors to the weak aspects of their investments like renting or even the case of free holders abandoned to their fate by well-off parents and who would have preferred the *exit option* away from their original communities.

Last but not least, indicating the migratory trajectories upstream of intra-urban flows is not the least of the challenges posed by the epistemological promotion of mobility. Better articulating external envelops with internal urban movement factor, addressing population relocation at the international, national, metropolitan and local levels should still be the subject of research for many generations of researchers.

Notes

1. What city dwellers often express through the sentence “*to think about my future*”.
2. The fact of being “here and elsewhere” at the same time, which seems to be the case, from one generation to another, of eternal “nomads” out of their *hometown* and of the “faithful ones” who remain just as constantly attached to their ancestors’ lands.

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