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MIGRANT SETTLEMENT IN WEST AFRICA

The case of Ayija, Kumasi

Ph D thesis submitted June 1980 to the School of Architecture/
Department of Social and Economic Research, Glasgow University
(Faculty of Arts) by Jane Marilyn Stanley, B.A., M.Sc.

The field work for this thesis was originally documented as a Ph D thesis, submitted to the Department of Planning, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana in June 1975. Because of difficulties encountered in completing the work in Ghana, study was resumed in October 1977 at Glasgow University. While this current documentation draws on the original field work to a large extent, its structure and contents are substantially different from the original submission, and in addition, some new data have been used.



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SUMMARY

This study examines the welfare of migrants from rural areas who have settled in Ayija, an unauthorized peripheral settlement in Kumasi. Welfare is defined not only according to objective standards of living, but also according to subjective perceived needs of the individuals themselves. Chapter One explores the concept of welfare, and the use made of it in planning/decision-making theory. Several different theoretical approaches are identified, and a particular ideology is proposed as appropriate to the study of Ayija which follows.

Chapter Two is concerned with the methodology of the study. A variety of complementary methodologies was used, as necessitated by the lack of reliable data that could form a reference point for the research in Ayija. Chapter Three is an assessment of some of the literature on migrant settlements throughout the third world. A typology of settlements is proposed, and it is clear that there are variations between different parts of the world in the types of migrant settlements forming. Chapter Four applies the typology previously developed to the West African region, to set the study area in its regional as well as global context. A description of migration processes affecting the region, and Ayija in particular, is given. Common features are evident throughout the region, with migration processes generally involving a movement of savannah peoples to the culturally dissimilar coastal forest zone.

Chapter Five summarizes the interrelationships between Ayija and Kumasi, to set the migrant settlement in its city context. It emerges that the migrant settlement operates as a distinctly separate entity, with minimum dependence on the city. Kumasi benefits considerably from the migrant settlement, but gives little in return. Chapter Six describes the cultural characteristics of the migrants in Ayija. Motives for migration are assessed, and the population is examined for its composition, and the processes of in-migration. The wide range of cultures represented in the migrant settlement is thought to lead to a relatively open value system, giving freedom of opportunity to some individuals, but producing feelings of insecurity in others.

Chapters Seven to Eleven examine welfare within the settlement according to several chosen categories : the housing environment, environmental health, work activities, other (non-work) activities, and security of tenure. Migrants in Ayija are found to make considerable use of any opportunities available in maximizing their welfare. However, some internal and external factors act to limit welfare in several respects. Chapter Twelve assesses the factors involved in determining welfare, and finds that the attitudes of the local authority are responsible for much of the hardship evident in the migrant settlement. Much could be done to improve welfare without any net cost to the administration, and without further worsening welfare in the rural areas.

explanation of terms

Some explanation is needed for an evaluation of price data included in the documentation. The units of currency have been left in terms of the Ghanaian New Cedi (¢), which is divided into 100 pesewas. It would be difficult to translate monetary values into other currencies since, as in many developing countries, there is some doubt as to the real value of the currency. In 1974 the 'official' exchange rate was ¢2.75 to £1, while the black market rate was ¢5 to £1. The black market rate steadily rose to about ¢16 to £1 in 1978, following a slight 'official' devaluation in 1977.

Other units used in this thesis are generally metric, unless the data as collected cannot easily or rationally be converted. In Ghana itself, some units are not readily convertible, particularly units for measuring volumes of goods, while imperial units are generally used.

Where Ghanaian terms are used which may be unfamiliar to the reader, these are generally explained when they are first used. It may be useful in some cases to refer to the appendix (B) where some of the terms relating to indigenous goods may become clearer. It may also be useful to refer to figures 6.10 and 6.11 for reference in connection with tribal names, and figures 5.1, 5.7 and 6.4 for locational terms.

CHAPTER ONE

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

study area and context

Ayija is a settlement of about 8,000 population situated at the periphery of Kumasi, Ghana's second city. The majority of Ayija's population is of migrant origin, with most adults having been born in rural villages, either in Ghana or in neighbouring countries. It is immediately apparent to the observer that most of the inhabitants have poor living conditions (relative to most definitions of acceptable standards), though a considerable variation in wealth is well evident within the settlement. It is also apparent that the settlement has its own distinct economy and society, operating to some extent apart from that of the city generally.

The case study of Ayija represents an appraisal of living conditions in a low-income migrant settlement in a developing country. The study must be placed in the context of the worldwide phenomenon of rural-urban migration which is producing a huge growth of cities in developing countries, and is leading to the development of distinctive settlements of low-income migrants. The growth of such settlements presents problems within the urban areas, due to the scale, rapidity and nature of the settlement development. The phenomenon is a result, however, of problems largely originating in the rural areas, and any analysis of the process of urban growth and the problems created by it must recognize this fact (World Bank, 1972).

The existence of these pockets of migrant settlement should be set not only in the context of rural population loss, but also related to the urban growth to which they contribute. To some extent, migrant settlements seem to remain apart from the rest of the city, socially and economically, and this has led to the concept of a 'marginal sector' as an unintegrated biproduct of capitalistic urban society (Lomnitz, 1977). Augel terms this the 'subsistence sector', as it is largely left out of the urban production process and infrastructure, keeping costs minimal to the urban system

(Augel, 1978). Survival in this sector depends to a large extent on the migrant's own initiative and resources, though the wastes produced by the urban system may also be utilized. The urban infrastructure makes little if any concession to the needs of the migrant settlement, though it may make use of the labour and other resources which the migrants can provide. Some integration of the migrant settlement may be apparent, however, in terms of political involvement, and consumption patterns (Perlman, 1976; Roberts, 1978).

Although generalizations such as these may be made concerning the settlements formed through rural-urban migration, there is a widespread recognition that the characteristics of individual settlements vary considerably, and that more detailed information on particular settlements is needed to build up a coherent picture of what is happening on a worldwide or regional level. There is a particular call for more detailed studies at micro- and macro-level in Africa, as there is an apparent dearth of neighbourhood studies. Many of the case studies which have been made in African urban areas have concentrated on one specialized aspect of the urban society, which makes comparative analysis difficult or impossible. Thus there is a need for more multi-disciplinary studies of African towns and cities (Gutkind, 1974).

Regardless of the disciplinary approach to urban studies so far carried out, the main focus of concern has been the poor living conditions of people in these migrant settlements. While standards may be low according to any objective or subjective measurement it is important to clarify how such assessments are reached. This is necessary if conclusions are to be drawn as to how living conditions may be improved, and also to facilitate comparisons between the living conditions found in different settlements.

concepts of welfare

Given the different value systems operating within society, it is important to recognize a subjective component of welfare, allowing for an assessment of how the individual perceives his own living conditions. While this is difficult methodologically, it is also essential if welfare is to relate to individual need-satisfaction, since it is apparent that different individuals have different needs. In particular, the value systems of the researcher and those being studied may be vastly different, and Brett points out the necessity to define the settlement process from the point of view of the

'actor' rather than the observer (Brett, 1974). This perspective is necessary, for example, to explain such settlement processes as those produced by rural-urban migration, where the comparative advantages of rural and urban life may be quite differently assessed by the researcher and the migrant himself. But even within a given society or group, the subjective needs of one individual may vary from those of the next, affecting his tolerance of living conditions, his aspirations, and his activities in pursuit of his goals. For example, this may be one of the factors explaining why some villagers migrate and others do not, even where their circumstances appear to be broadly similar.

A central dilemma in assessing the welfare of individuals within a society or group is that what constitutes a benefit for one person may adversely affect welfare for another, even if resources are evenly distributed. Furthermore, the welfare of some individuals can only be achieved at the expense of others, due to conflicting needs, and due to the finite nature of some welfare resources. Such conflicting needs are a particular feature of pluralist African urban societies (Koll, 1972). It may be necessary to take account of this by seeking group representation through various mediating structures (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977), and some of the failings of democratic local government in Africa may be due to this requirement of a pluralist society having been ignored (Hanna and Hanna, 1967).

Any accurate assessment of the value systems operating is itself difficult, even at the level of the individual, as values are rarely made explicit, and they may change with time and circumstances. Thus a study of welfare relying on subjective assessments of this sort may be impractical, however desirable.

Even if it were a possibility, there would be other difficulties. The value systems of the poor in part reflect their adaptation to the state of poverty, and to plan only for their present values may help to maintain this state (Harvey, 1972). It is important to recognize the ways in which lack of choice constrains the development of aspirations (Amin, 1974). Any proposals to alleviate poverty according to objective measures may depend on the removal of constraints, and presentation of new options in lifestyle. Values may change in response to new stimuli, and an increasingly flexible situation may be created for individual optimization. Increasing the degree of choice is sound for economic reasons too : it allows for a greater

degree of economic optimization in the use of scarce resources. This is optimization of 'real income' as defined by micro-economics, which allows for a subjective description of 'income' (Lancaster, 1969), and an assessment of values for 'utility', subjective or otherwise (Siddall, 1972).

More objective assessments of welfare have used indicators as a quantitative measure, and this may be useful as well as methodologically practicable (United Nations, 1968; 1973(i)). It assumes a particular value system as being desirable, and the measure facilitates comparisons in how different circumstances provide for the assumed needs. Such assessments may be termed the 'standard of living', a composite indicator of the 'quality of life', relating to the quantifiable characteristics of housing, health, education, recreational amenities and work provision (Drewnowski, 1970). It is important to clarify the assumptions made in any assessment of this sort, and the conflicts with subjective assessments of need that are likely to occur. For instance, if leisure is valued highly, then an indicator showing a high level of employment may not reflect individual welfare.

An alternative to both these approaches, i.e. the purely subjective or purely objective assessment of welfare, is to focus on the constraints on individual choice, so that the possibilities for change may be readily perceived. Lloyd's definitions of wealth and power are relevant here - wealth is seen as the access to material or non-material rewards, as subjectively valued, which is similar to a definition of subjective welfare. Power is defined as control over rewards (Lloyd, 1974). It is this aspect of control, determined by the degree of choice open to the individual, which may be easiest to assess accurately, and most crucial in determining welfare according to both objective and subjective measurements.

Erikson elaborates on this idea. He takes a definition by Johansson which relates to control of resources and choice, but recognizes that constraints on choice in any situation must be identified. 'Welfare' is defined as "the individual's command over, under given determinants, mobilizable resources with whose help he/she can control and consciously direct his/her living conditions". The relationship between welfare according to this definition and the subjective value or aspiration system is termed 'wellbeing' (Erikson, 1974 p. 274).

This concept is taken further, and welfare is divided into various components : individual-bound resources (such as health, education and skills, wealth, political resources), social determinants (employment, services, fellowship, autonomy) and physical determinants (housing environment, workplace environment, natural environments, communications networks). The various components of welfare become available as a result of physical accessibility and also attainability. The resources and determinants affecting the individual present both opportunities and limitations, affecting the choices made and the resultant 'wellbeing'.

formulation of goals

Erikson's approach to welfare provides a useful framework for the formulation of goals, where it is relevant to propose change. A broad aim of increasing welfare according to his definition may be set, and this may be achieved through the maximization of opportunities and the minimization of constraints, thus giving the individual greater choice and control over welfare resources. Erikson does, however, qualify this by recognizing that certain macro-goals may have to be safeguarded, so that his welfare model does not provide a totally comprehensive framework for intervention.

In studying a situation to evaluate alternatives for future action, there are several concepts which might be applied in the setting of goals. Berry (1973) suggests that there are broadly four alternative concepts in planning for the future ('planning' as defined elsewhere by Fagin, 1959; Seeley, 1962). These concepts may be summarized as :

- (i) planning as problem solving
- (ii) planning as a projection of present trends
- (iii) planning as striving for ultimate goals
- (iv) planning as continual goal fulfillment.

The identification and correction of 'problems' is a common approach. It presumes an ideological framework within which 'right' and 'wrong' situations may be identified. Some policy makers assume that proposals for change should cause a minimum amount of disruption to the present order of things, and merely act in a corrective capacity when things go glaringly wrong. Needham (1971) supports this view, and claims that any attempt to 'form' society is wrong.

Webber (1965 p.293), in an early paper, sees that "analysis and policy-making are remedial; they move away from ills rather than toward known objectives". A major objection to this approach is that there is no basis for the assumption that the status quo is intrinsically desirable. However, the concept may be useful if a sufficiently broad value perspective is taken for the interpretation of 'problems' as 'constraints' on individual need-satisfaction.

Criticism has been made of even such an open-ended interpretation of the problem solving approach, with the appraisal of a situation for those qualities perceived as desirable, and those which appear undesirable. Webber and Rittel (1973) use mathematical analogies to point out how planning problems are of an entirely different order from those encountered at less complex levels of life, and that the problems that planners have to deal with cannot be properly identified until they have been solved. Identification of the problem is the solution to it. Moreover, the identification of one particular problem and its specific solution overlooks the fact that attempts to change one aspect of the situation will have inestimable consequences on other facets of life.

An obvious criticism of a simplistic approach to problem solving is that it tends to concentrate on the negative aspects of a situation, with the correction of problems leading to over-regulation and institutionalization, which may be destructive of human potential (Illich, 1973). Corrective 'welfare' institutions are no substitute for a programme of achieving optimal welfare and human happiness, and merely tend to remove the initiative for the individual to help himself. However broad one's interpretation of a 'problem', the search for problems is bound to ignore possible courses of bold action towards positive goals. For example, Gregory (1974) points out how the perception of rapid urbanization or rural out-migration as problems to be solved ignores the cause of the situation, i.e. economic inequality between rural and urban areas. Once the cause is identified, this may suggest potentialities as well as areas for corrective action. Erikson suggests some goals should be set as directions for change, because they are intrinsically desirable, and he includes social goals such as democracy, equality, solidarity, security, self realization and personal development (Erikson, 1974). Chadwick relates the need for the setting of positive goals to the ecological state of the world, where the survival of the entire species is at stake, and where bold action is called for (Chadwick, 1971).

A method of approach which avoids the setting of goals is that of providing for current trends, by statistically projecting into the future. The assumption is that either the present trends are desirable, or that they are beyond control. Apps is critical of this approach, as it tends to take certain questionable situations such as the distribution of incomes and amenities as given (Apps, 1973). Even where observed trends are difficult to control, such as population increase, planning for them may reinforce them through the allocation of resources, and this is not always desirable. A more sensitive approach is suggested by Taber in relation to Uganda, where rather than planning on a time scale, one might allocate resources according to target population figures, whenever these might be reached (Taber, 1969).

Where broad goals are set, there are other disadvantages. Comprehensive goals are often difficult to grasp and assess, whereas specific issues may be easier to deal with. If there is to be any democratic involvement in choice of policy, the relevance of decisions to specific issues must be readily perceived (Altshuler, 1965). Aiming for ideal situations may be undesirable if it is apparent that the ideal is vastly different from the current situation. A situation that is part way towards the ideal may be less desirable than the present situation, and the ultimate goal may be unattainable. There is a need to evaluate all the intermediate situations, and possible compromises. Dwyer relates this to urban housing plans in developing countries, claiming that "most fail to give due weight to the growing significance of spontaneous settlement within the urban form or, when they do, tend to look forward to a millenium when all squatter huts will be eliminated and replaced by regularly laid out minimum standard housing in the image of the Western city, without specifying the immediate rungs on this particular ladder to urban heaven" (Dwyer, 1974 p.209).

Rather than setting distant goals, it may be possible to evaluate alternative directions of change (Davidoff and Reiner, 1965). Moreover, it may be possible to make changes in the chosen direction slowly, in small increments, to facilitate constant evaluation of achievements and unforeseen consequences (Dahl and Lindblom, 1953). Thus a modification in the direction of change is feasible, where it becomes appropriate, with minimal disruption or waste of resources. Because the immediate changes are not far-

reaching, policy may be related to specific issues, enabling the public to participate in policy formulation at all levels (Arnstein, 1969; Dalton, 1969). Such participation is essential to provide the necessary feedback on the effects of incremental changes. Advocacy planning may help to ensure that the interests of minority groups are taken account of (Peattie(i),1968; Davidoff, 1965). Counter-plans may be useful to evaluate alternatives using different value assumptions (Goodman, 1972). Giving residents some control over the environment that they use is an important safeguard, to ensure that the effects of directional change are quickly assessed, and modified as appropriate (Ward, 1975).

Incremental changes to promote welfare according to Erikson's model would consist of the gradual removal of constraints and the increasing provision of opportunities, with feedback to warn of conflicts of interest between different groups and individuals. Certain broad guidelines or safeguards are recognized as necessary to supplement this approach. Stren proposes an approach which relates this to the urban planning needs of Kenya. He distinguishes between regulatory housing policy (involving constraints) and developmental policy (presenting opportunities), and he considers that the impact of policies determined as a result of goal formulation should be evaluated against certain macro-goals. These are:

- (i) that existing economic and cultural disparities between regional and ethnic groups should not be exacerbated;
- (ii) economic advantage should accrue disproportionately to low-income groups; and
- (iii) the economic efficiency of the groups affected should be enhanced (Stren, 1978).

Safeguards such as these may be appropriate in other areas, and the need to protect the interests of the lowest income group is commonly recognized as a priority.

protecting the poor

The tendency of various political systems to produce an increasingly unequal distribution of power and wealth, in money terms, has been widely observed. Once an unequal distribution of resources exists, there is a tendency (at least in the short term) for the poor to become poorer and the rich to become richer, since the poor will settle for a small amount of compensation for further deprivation, while the rich will accept deprivation only for a large amount of

compensation, if at all (Dahl and Lindblom, 1953). Ultimately this tendency may be limited by political demands, though this may depend on the type of political system operating.

The widening gap between rich and poor is evident in developing countries, and this tendency often thwarts efforts to subsidize the poor. The inflationary economies of many developing countries may particularly increase income differentials, as the poor are least able to protect themselves through the accumulation of goods in advance of consumption (United Nations, 1971). Scarce or expensive educational opportunities may be monopolized by the wealthy, and this together with the increasing demands for academic qualifications as prerequisites for employment (even where these qualifications appear irrelevant for the job) may lead to an increasing closure of social opportunity (Roberts, 1978).

The relative advantages of the rich may also be seen in relation to housing patterns. Thus, in Kenya, several studies have pointed to the fact that when shanty dwellers are rehoused in subsidized housing, they frequently sell out to higher income individuals, and move back to the shanty (Harris, 1970; Stren, 1978). In Mexico, when shanty towns become authorized, with a view to giving the low-income shanty dweller security of tenure as an incentive for improvement, it has been found that market forces result in the middle income group being attracted into the authorized shanty, and the previous inhabitants often move on to another unauthorized area (Ward, 1978). Competition for land in an area where the poor consistently lose in a market economy. Centrally located residence may be of the utmost importance to job seekers, and to low-income workers who cannot afford transportation costs. But the many advantages of a central location, combined with a common tendency for capitalist economies to subsidize business interests in the central area, force land prices up and push the poor out to the periphery. Such movements are sometimes attributed to choice, whereas there is little apparent choice in reality (Brett, 1974).

It does not follow that offering prime sites to the lowest income groups is necessarily optimal in the context of greatest welfare for the greatest number. By devoting land to uses which will yield the best return it may be possible to generate resources of general benefit. The difficulties that arise in ensuring that the benefits are fairly distributed, and that the poor are compensated

for any displacement, are considerable however. For instance, compensation is often directed towards the owners of shanty property rather than to the poorer tenants, even in those situations where compensation is paid at all (Harris, 1970).

To yield the best return, it is often suggested that resources be directed towards the most profitable concerns, at the expense of equalizing distribution, at least in the short term. Many strategies for development involve trade-offs between growth and redistribution, and it may not always be possible to achieve both in a developing economy (Ahluwalia, 1974). Where there is no firm policy to counter the tendency for wealth to concentrate in the hands of the wealthy, many factors contribute to increasingly unequal distribution. Banks lend to the most creditworthy customers, and investors buy shares in the most profitable companies. Regional inequalities tend to worsen because of 'backwash effects' of geographical biases in investment towards richer areas (Mlia, 1974), and rural-urban inequalities are increased by a bias towards urban investment.

In developing countries it is common for the poor to be put at a particular disadvantage by the political system operating. There is often little opportunity for democratic protest, as the poor have ineffective political organization, and as attempts to protest may be violently repressed. Power is often concentrated in the hands of a small self-interested group. This may make efforts to distribute resources more equally fail, even where policies may be explicitly socialist, as in Ghana. The poor are particularly vulnerable to exploitation of all kinds.)

power and interest groups

In developing countries, decision-making at a political level has tended to concentrate in the hands of a relatively small group of the 'elite', regardless of the democratic element in the government structure. This has partly been due to a lack of educated personnel in the past, but is now more usually attributable to self-interest on the part of those who have managed to obtain positions of power. It is seen at the levels of both politician and bureaucrat.

The instability of government structures makes the politician particularly susceptible to demands from the elite group, and this worsens the situation for the poor. In a position of insecurity,

politicians (whether elected or not) depend heavily on the support of influential groups and individuals. In a well developed democracy, this support would be the constituency, in which a cross section of society was represented. In developing countries, however, the vast majority of the population is unable to make its influence felt politically. Where the interests of the elite conflict with those of the rest of the population, the politician will often act against the interests of the majority, whatever his own preferences might be (Bell, 1974).

As well as this of course, there may be real class prejudice, which affects the behaviour of both politicians and bureaucrats. In developing countries such class prejudice may be reinforced by historical attitudes to caste, tribe, etc. Thus when explicit policy does not adequately define a required course of action, political decisions may be made with reference to an implicit set of value judgements, reflecting this prejudice. Tiger describes how the Ghanaian bureaucracy is composed of individuals who perceive themselves as a powerful elite group, with the same aloof nature as the previous colonial administration. Such a feeling of separation from and superiority to the rest of the population further reinforces the power of this elite, rather than protecting the interests of the poor (Tiger, 1967).

Political influence may be ascribed rather than achieved, or it may sometimes be bought. Corruption is a practice which affects many aspects of life in Ghana as elsewhere, and it gives further advantage to the rich at the expense of the poor. The wealthy may be able to 'buy' themselves exemption from certain regulations, and may obtain access to limited supplies of goods, or to other opportunities. Idealistic policies aimed at a better distribution of resources to all sections of the population may be frustrated in practice through corruption. In Ghana, the forms that corruption take may vary from the acceptance of large payments to small token 'dashes' (to establish a personal bond) or simply favouritism (to satisfy family or other group pressures), but all forms distort policies at the stage of implementation (Price, 1975).

Peil explains this phenomenon by relating it to the rural-urban ('folk-urban') dichotomy. Urban society in developing countries has not fully progressed from a situation where the relationships between individuals remain highly personal to one where they are

dependent on role definition. Thus "the bureaucrat is expected to apply the rule impersonally, but people want to be treated as individuals In dealing with civil servants, politicians, and others in authority, people try to establish a personal relationship, through gifts if necessary, partly because they do not understand the rules (or even know about them) and partly because they are unused to interacting on an impersonal basis and assume (often correctly) that their chance of assistance will be improved if they are known as an individual rather than a 'case'" (Peil, 1977, p.39). The social pressures to give favouritism or patronage may sometimes be self-defeating for those in a position to buy favour, as they may devalue the rights (access to goods, exemption from regulations, etc.) that they have bought (Leys, 1972). But it is clear that the possibility for influence to be bought gives great advantage to the more wealthy sections of the population, at the expense of poorer sections.

In terms of the welfare determinants defined previously, one often finds a situation in developing countries where regulatory policy arises from the need to protect the interests of specific elite groups (Grimes, 1976), and developmental policy presents opportunities which can best be used by the elite (for instance land speculation, described in Indonesia by Evers, 1975). There is little doubt that policies are aimed at promoting welfare for a section of society, but one must examine carefully just who benefits, and at whose cost (Lichfield, 1966; Gilbert, 1976).

aspects of welfare

Even though the present study concentrates on the welfare needs of a low-income population, the conflicts between the needs of various individuals and groups are well illustrated. In a mixed population of poor people struggling for survival, life is often highly competitive. Individuals make a living through exploiting commodity shortages, for example. There are certain situations where the needs of the majority group must take priority over the needs of minorities to achieve optimal welfare for the population as a whole. Immediate gains must also be viewed against long term benefits - as observed by Nett in her study of the perpetuation of the servant class in Ecuador, for example (Nett, 1966). One must also evaluate the steps taken to achieve long term goals, however.

In the present study, the conflicting demands of individuals and groups have been rationalized as follows :

- (i) in matters where survival is threatened, long term welfare of humanity is given priority;
- (ii) in other matters, welfare for diverse groups and individuals should be provided by the removal of constraints on need-satisfaction, according to subjective value systems;
- (iii) where there is a conflict in provision for such diverse needs, welfare of the group at the expense of the individual is given priority when this raises per capita welfare, or equalizes its distribution.

In proposing change in a developing country, one is aware of two major alternatives : incremental change or revolutionary change. The dangers of revolution are those attached to the setting of broad goals without evaluating intermediate situations, especially if the goals themselves are too idealistic to be reached. In some situations, there may be so little alternative that revolution still appears as the best option. Such a decision should only be taken by those who will suffer the consequences, however, and it would be irresponsible for an outsider to advocate revolutionary change. Thus the proposals arising from the present study are aimed at an incrementalist approach.

It has been appropriate, however, to view obstacles to desirable change as 'problems'. Even if the very definition of a problem is its solution, it does not necessarily follow that it will be solved - one is led to devising incentives for the solution of problems.

The present study proceeds to investigate welfare and the possibilities for increasing it by examining the various fields of social structure, use of space, health, housing, work, some non-work activities, and security of tenure. It does so by asking the following questions :

- (i) How does the present situation act to prevent individuals from satisfying their own needs according to their own preferences, and present opportunities for need satisfaction? Which of these constraints and opportunities are related to the capacity of the individual, to the administrative policy operating, or to the physical environment?
- (ii) How have these constraints and opportunities arisen?

- (iii) What changes are possible to remove those constraints perceived as detrimental, and to increase opportunity? What conflicts of need arise, and what are the appropriate courses of action?
- (iv) How can such change be encouraged i.e. what are the incentives for bringing about such changes, either by the residents themselves or by the government and its bureaucracy?

The various aspects of welfare which are examined here may be defined to clarify the relevance of these questions:

(a) The housing environment: The examination of the housing environment includes the use of all space throughout the settlement, i.e. street space, markets, farmland and bush, as well as houses and other buildings. This is the physical setting, which defines certain limits on need-satisfaction. In particular, the environment sets certain limits on the availability of resources such as space, land and natural materials, and an increase in welfare by increasing access to these resources may only be possible by changing the residential location altogether. Some of the constraints on the use of space arise from administrative or social controls, however.

(b) Health, nutrition and waste disposal : Many of the characteristics of the housing environment are controlling factors on health, though the link is often unapparent to the residents. When it is the value system of the residents themselves which adversely affects health, some reference to survival considerations might be appropriate when changes are proposed. Nutrition and waste disposal practices are examined as well as the prevalence of disease, and the availability of facilities for the treatment of illhealth.

(c) Work activities : In obtaining the means for survival, individuals in the migrant settlement are either directly involved in work activities for some sort of income (in goods or money), or they are dependent on others who work. Many of the limitations on welfare could be overcome through greater access to resources, through work activity. Taxation acts in various ways to reduce the incomes gained through work, and there is some evaluation of the effects of taxation in its various forms. The social and physical environment is assessed for its capacity to generate work opportunity and so increase welfare.

(d) Non-work activities : Other activities are valued by the residents, and provide for wellbeing in various ways. Education is often pursued with a view to increasing future work opportunities. Religious

practice is pursued for largely non-materialistic motives. Leisure may be valued for itself, and certain activities may help to make leisure time more enjoyable. In proposing changes, it may be appropriate to safeguard such pleasures.

(e) Security of tenure : The security that the individual has over the land that he uses (individually or collectively) and the house that he lives in may add to his welfare by providing the opportunity for stability. This enables the individual to plan out his future. It acts as an incentive for profitable investment in the housing environment, which has favourable effects on other aspects of welfare. The alternative of unstable residence is wasteful of an individual's resources, not only as obligatory removal is expensive, but also because of the lack of investment opportunity. Lack of security sets limits on individual opportunity, whatever the values held by the individual.

In drawing together conclusions from the study, an attempt has also been made to compare the evaluation of the needs and preferences of Ayija residents with those of other sections of the population. In particular, conflicts between the needs of rural and urban areas must be identified. Finally some findings of relevance to other societies are sought.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Having established that the aim of the study is to assess the welfare of residents in a low-income settlement it is now appropriate to examine the various methodologies chosen for the study. Important considerations have been the particular difficulties of working in an area where there is little reliable data, the methodological constraints of choosing to work within a specific geographically limited area, and the comparative advantages and disadvantages of collecting small amounts of in-depth qualitative material or larger amounts of less detailed quantitative information.

use of existing data

The general problem of working in an alien culture is that lack of knowledge about the cultural background of the population being studied may lead to major errors in any research. The advantage of studying a culture which one recognizes as alien, however, is that behaviour and value differences are expected to some extent, whereas the researcher studying a population within his own cultural group may omit to look for such differences between himself and the subjects of his research, despite the fact that they may be of major significance. Where an established body of knowledge exists in documented form, it may be possible to make certain reliable assumptions in any data collection. Where such documentation is sparse or non-existent, however, no assumptions can reliably be made.

In Ghana, a considerable amount of anthropological work has been conducted in selected rural areas (as documented by Rattray, Fortes and Goody, for example). Not all areas have received study however, and studies which do exist show the great cultural diversity of the country, with much cultural variation being found even within comparatively small geographic areas. Relatively few anthropological studies have been made of urban areas. There are some generalized descriptions of cities which include sociological comment (Busia, 1951; Acquah, 1966) and some more recent surveys of particular aspects of urban society (Hart, Hill and Peil on work activities. Weinberg

on criminology, Schildkrout on ethnicity, Price on corruption, Jeffries on trade unionism) as well as other settlement studies relating more to considerations of the physical environment than to urban society (by Houlberg, Foley, Marfo, Kumah and Djangmah, for example). All of these have proved useful for reference, but there are many contradictions in the findings of the various studies, and none have provided data which could be used to determine in advance a methodology for the present study. No assumptions could safely be made about the characteristics of the population of Ayija, and information thus had to be sought in an open-ended way, without presumptions as to the outcome. Hypothesis-testing is inappropriate in this situation, as there is no basis on which to frame hypotheses.

If this approach seems impossibly unstructured, there are well respected precedents. Hill (1970(ii) p. xiv) explains her own philosophy : "But if one cannot plan one's work in advance, how should it be directed? For myself I depend very much on my naive feelings of surprise - holding that the most surprising 'events' are the most worth pursuit. To do research is to search anew for ideas one missed last time when formulating the packet of conscious, pre-conscious and unconscious assumptions one carried to the field." Hill herself comments on the unreliability of such data sources as census material, and points out that the way in which statistics are presented may be misleading to researchers unfamiliar with the indigenous culture.

In giving direction to the research activity, some theoretical compartmentalization of the data to be sought has been necessary, and this is described in more detail below. However, an effort has been made to avoid preconceptions where possible, and to devise methodologies which allow the 'surprise' element to manifest itself.

limitations imposed by locality choice

A major constraint on data collection is immediately imposed by the choice of a physically limited area as the focus for study. It is important to assess what the implications are of the selection of the area and its boundary.

Some general observations are of relevance here. Alexander (1967) has explained how, although simple hierarchical divisions of space may be convenient for thought processes, they rarely exist in real life. In practice, there is a complex overlapping system of different

societal functions performed according to different locational units. Alexander's assertion that "a city is not a tree" (in mathematical terms) is taken further by Harary and Rockey (1976) who claim that "a city is not a semi-lattice either". The social interrelationships of spatial areas within an urban centre defy categorization.

Even where a settlement appears physically well defined and socially cohesive, it may be inappropriate to assume that the physical boundary of the area has specific social meaning to the inhabitants. Keller (1968) has been critical of oversimplification of the concept of 'neighbourhood' and 'community' for the convenience of methodology. Cross-cultural studies such as Bracey's (1964) point to major cultural differences in attitude to and functions of a locational unit, and these differences may exist between individuals' perceptions within the same culture. Peattie (1968a) comments that even residents of a well defined area may rarely identify with one another as a 'community', the exception being when a specific issue is seen to threaten the residents as a group. Hart (1975) notes the physical overlaps of functional areas relating to the Ghanaian population of his own study.

Nevertheless, there is considerable justification for choosing a particular residential area as the focus for a study of the urban poor. Lloyd (1978) points out how the activities pursued and relationships formed in the residential area affect the individual's activities in his other spheres of life. In many third world settlements, however, these spheres may overlap in the residential area, with the residential location providing the physical and social resources for virtually all activities, including work and ethnic relationships. The residential area may be particularly important for the welfare of the poorest individuals, as their mobility may be the most restricted. Rapoport (1979) explains that the housing environment (in its broadest sense) is an important starting point for the understanding of culture and subjective welfare.

Lloyd also considers that the study of the residential 'community' is a priority, as it provides an important basis for introducing or demanding change. Employment groups, such as trade unions, or ethnic pressure groups, may not be strong enough to become politically effective in developing countries. It may also be significant that many of the changes sought by the urban poor relate to their residential environment; thus it may be most relevant to their welfare to study social groupings in the context of their residential areas.

The boundaries of the Ayija study area as drawn give an area with some similarity of density and house type, especially when compared with the adjacent areas. Residents of Ayija appear to perceive these boundaries quite clearly, and to identify either with Ayija as a whole, or with one of the two subdivisions (Ayija village and Ayija zongo). In methodological terms, then, the main drawback of the choice of boundaries is the imposing of a cut-off point for the collection of data, which may be arbitrary in some contexts. This is similar to the need for arbitrary cut-off points in relation to other aspects of data collection, such as the description of interpersonal networks, and time in relation to micro-history (Cohen, 1969). Although these limitations were imposed on the extent to which information collection was actively pursued, an attempt was made to overcome categorization in the recording of responses about the location of various activities. No aggregation of responses into inside or outside the boundary, zones of Kumasi or regions of Ghana has been made until the final analysis. Responders were encouraged to be as specific as possible in referring to locations, and the analysis has been made on the basis of these specific responses wherever possible.

Given that the choice of a specific residential area for study purposes is desirable, a decision has to be made whether to confine the research to one area, or whether to attempt a comparative study of two or more areas. The advantage of comparative work is that there is a gauge for the assessment of characteristics, and this may be particularly useful where there is little comparable work already documented. However, it is necessary to weight this advantage against the loss of resources for in-depth study, given limits on time in the field. A further consideration is that comparative work is especially appropriate where two areas each contain relatively homogeneous populations. It was apparent at an early stage in the present study that Ayija's population displayed a wide variety of characteristics, which would facilitate measures of comparison within the area itself. Ultimately it was found desirable to carry out two limited studies of other areas : one of a rural village of migrant origin (to assess living conditions before and after migration) and the other of a high income suburb (to compare differences in attitude towards the settlements on the part of the urban authorities). It is thought that this has been useful in explaining some of the observations arising from the main study.

qualitative or quantitative material

A crucial determinant of the various methodologies used has been the limitations of different sorts of sampling. Rusque-Alcaino and Bromley (1979) point out how all forms of sampling have their own disadvantages; and how the use of several complementary methodologies may be appropriate in many situations. They also make the case for detailed autobiographical work to have its place. Jellinek (1977) has demonstrated the potential value of detailed personal histories in giving insight into the living conditions of the poor, particularly through her recording of change through specific time lapses. Kemper (1977) also sees great value in longitudinal studies applied to groups rather than individuals.

In a culturally homogeneous society, the detailed study of one or more lifestyles may prove useful in making comment on society as a whole. In a heterogeneous society such as is found in Ayija, it may be more difficult to interpret the findings of such detailed studies and project from them, however.

One alternative, useful to discover a limited amount of information about a larger population, and to identify variations within the population, is to use some form of questionnaire for a sample or the whole of the population. Hill (1970(II)pl2) is sceptical : "Questionnaires must be discarded by the investigator, for the simple reason that it is impossible to draw up a satisfactory form until after the research has been completed Not only are the wielders of questionnaires often indulging in a kind of anti-intellectual activity (setting out on a voyage of discovery enclosed in blinkers), but there is also the fact that field assistants have a remarkable capacity to classify recalcitrant material so that it appears to fit neatly into appropriate boxes, which results in the hardening of prejudices that rather require demolition". Yet she herself must have at least used some form of information checklist, administered by herself, to collect substantial quantities of data. Peil (1972) seems to have used questionnaires extensively with some success, despite being aware of the disadvantages identified above.

Both case study and questionnaire approaches, then, can be useful in obtaining information about individuals directly from the people being studied. Observation can play a useful part in yielding further

information, particularly as a preliminary to any interviewing of people about their activities, and this is especially relevant to a study of the way in which the environment is used by a population. Compiling object and space inventories can be extremely useful (Rapoport, 1979), and certain deductions can be made directly from inventories, to describe likely behaviour patterns (Brolin and Zeisel, 1968). While the observer may be unable to completely shed his own cultural bias in selecting what to observe, and interpreting its meaning, this method is more open-ended than most. As with detailed case study material, this approach has its quantitative counterpart, which may be useful when the area being studied becomes too large for detailed observation and inventory-taking. Here the presence of certain features is recorded without reference to the environmental context, as it has been assumed that the presence of the chosen features is significant within the environmental system.

It is only appropriate to embark on a quantitative approach to data collection when sufficient information already exists at micro-level for certain hypotheses to be formulated. In the absence of such case study material, if a quantitative approach is still necessary to cope with the scale of the physical and social environment under study, such micro-studies will have to form a part of the research, complementing the more quantitative approach. The project in Ayija has used a wide variety of interrelated and complementary methodologies, in an attempt to minimize the disadvantages of any one particular system, and to facilitate interpretation as well as cross-checking of findings. The use of such a wide net in information collection also encourages the revelation of 'surprise' material, worthy of further research.

selection of relevant material

As explained, some compartmentalization is necessary at the outset, to give direction to the study, and to suggest appropriate techniques for starting the research. Care has been taken to define the various 'compartments' as broadly as possible. Thus, for instance, 'work' is defined as any activity which produces a living, in whatever form. The 'housing environment' avoids preconceptions about what constitutes a dwelling, but catalogues the available space in terms of rooms, the arrangement of buildings, street space and open space, all of which may be used to fulfill certain dwelling functions.

In evolving a methodology, the categories were first defined as original lifestyle and present lifestyle of the residents (i.e. value orientations resulting in social constraints as well as cultural preferences and needs), the economy (defined as the extent of need satisfaction in economic terms), the environment (setting certain physical constraints on welfare), the external influence of the urban area (through value differences of the indigenous urban culture, and also through the imposition of administrative constraints on welfare). Under each of these headings, specific questions were listed, and the most appropriate means of obtaining the answers were charted out. Charts were also used to indicate the interdependence between the different categories; for instance, the lifestyle pursued within the migrant settlement might influence the attitude of the urban administration towards it, while the potential for social organization within the settlement might indicate a possibility for voicing demands to bring about a change in the attitude of the urban administration.

In the course of the investigation, it became evident that some questions would be better answered than others. Some questions emerged as more pertinent; some answers were more readily available. The present analysis has focused on those aspects of the study where questions appear to have been answered, and the categories of information presented have been reorganized to reflect this. The structuring of the analysis in relation to the available data may be summarized as follows :

Information Obtained	Main Source of Data
<u>Migrant Society</u>	
(i) origins of residents	100% resident survey for full range
(ii) traditional values and behavioural patterns	case studies of individuals from sample area of migrant origin
(iii) motives for migration: expectations and rewards sought	
(iv) continuing rural-urban relationships	
(v) skills and work aspirations of incoming migrants	
(vi) geographical patterns of migration	100% resident survey for indicators
(vii) power and status within the community	100% resident survey for groups, interviews of key personalities
(viii) communal activity and social relationships	
(ix) attitude to permanence of residence	case studies of individuals from sample area of migrant origin

<u>The Housing Environment</u>	
(i) provision for security, privacy and self-expression	space inventories of sample dwellings and street space, activity surveys
(ii) materials, construction and maintenance of buildings, dwelling forms	100% buildings survey
(iii) condition of roads and open spaces, and land use for various purposes	street and open space inventory
(iv) occupancy patterns of dwellings and use of space	activity surveys of sample dwellings and street spaces, + 100% resident survey for occupancy
(v) evidence of growth and change over time	historical records, aerial photographs, interviews with key personalities
(vi) position and size of the settlement in relation to other uses of land	preparation of land use maps, reference to other studies and maps
<u>Environmental Health</u>	
(i) the level of municipal services provided	street inventory, 100% house survey
(ii) other services used	
(iii) quantity of wastes produced and capacity for removing them	surveys of sample dwellings
(iv) quality of nutrition obtained from what sources	surveys of sample dwellings (menus)
(v) health problems arising	interviews with medical staff, observations of formal systems, case studies of informal practitioners
(vi) systems for obtaining medical treatment	
<u>Work Activities</u>	
(i) range of work activities pursued	100% resident survey
(ii) sizes of enterprises and types of premises	
(iii) costs of work activities	
(iv) productivity	
(v) skills used and how they are acquired	case studies of work types within the settlement
(vi) source of materials and tools, and destination of end products	
(vii) level of profits/incomes, and uses to which they are put	
<u>Non-Work Activities</u>	
(i) dependency relationships operating between workers and non-workers	surveys of sample dwellings (budgets)
(ii) provision for education, the nature and extent of education sought and given	100% resident survey interviews of personnel in educational establishments
(iii) religious practice and the effect of religion on resident values and activities	interviews with personnel in religious establishments
(iv) leisure activities - priorities in the allocation of time, costs and benefits derived	surveys of sample dwellings (diaries) case studies of work types providing leisure facilities

<u>Security of Tenure</u> (i) the administrative control system operating, and standards advocated (ii) implementation of regulations (iii) conformance of the settlement with the standards set	analysis of administrative records: case files, minutes of meetings, memoranda, registers case files relating to field work comparison with adjacent settlement via case files and other records
(iv) rights of the settlement acknowledged through planning provision	planning documentation
(v) relationship between what the residents want for the settlement and what the authorities want	interviews with key personalities

The principle of using complementary methodologies at micro- and macro-scale was put into effect by first collecting certain data on every individual in the population, to establish the range of types and sizes of groups. This done, more detailed information was collected on the type or the group by means of case studies. This approach was also applied to the study of the physical environment. Basic data was assembled through collecting plans of every house (at the same time as data on every resident were collected), inventories of every street, and mapping out all surrounding land uses in detail (including farm plots, positions and types of trees, piles of waste, etc.). Within the settlement, certain types of space were studied in more detail to discover the range of activities taking place, and how the use of space changed with time (i.e. throughout the day).

To give more interpretation to the data on Ayija, two peripheral studies have been carried out involving other locations. The first of these took migrants from a particular village as a sample cultural group, and traced their migration history back, as well as relating their case histories to other individuals who had stayed in the village, and to observed conditions found in the village at present. The second peripheral study was necessary to evaluate how the imposing of various regulations on the settlement of Ayija compared with the administrative effects on other areas. For this, the adjacent high-income suburb of West Ayija was chosen, and the comparison was pursued through records and registers, relating administrative decisions to evidence on the ground.

data collection

The various methodologies used may be summarized as follows:

1. 100% resident survey :

Since there are considerable difficulties in defining a 'household' in Ghana, with different groupings of people eating from the same pot, budgeting from the same purse, or sleeping behind the same locked door (Vercruijsse et al, 1972) this concept was avoided. Every house was visited, and a plan was drawn up to show which rooms were used for sleeping purposes, and what the remaining rooms were used for. One person from each sleeping room was then interviewed to obtain information about all the individuals who had slept in the same room on the previous night. The relationships between the interviewee and his cohabitants were noted. Other relationships were sought, but this was difficult to systematise: for instance, a man's wives might live in the same room, other rooms of the same house, or in another house.

The information sought from these interviews was restricted to that easily obtained, avoiding the inclusion of information that was likely to be sensitive or controversial, such as income for example. An effort was also made to avoid political connotations in the method of approach (Gutkind, 1974).

Checklists of information were used, including the house number, name and address of the house owner, room number, interviewee's name, ages, sexes and ethnic groups of each inhabitant, their relationship to the interviewee and to each other, their economic and/or study activities and the location of these activities. In addition, the interviewee was asked about the time that had passed since he left his place of origin or birthplace, the length of time that he had lived in his present accommodation, the location of his birthplace, and the location of his immediately previous residence. It was assumed that this data would usually be common to all room occupants, though this was not always the case.

Several problems arose in the collection of these fairly basic data. It was apparent that many individuals were unsure of their own ages, and those of the people they lived with. Their responses were recorded, but in analysing the population structure it has been necessary in this study as elsewhere (Houlberg, 1973) to aggregate into seven year groupings. Perceptions of time gaps were sometimes

obviously inaccurate, particularly when long time spans were described, as was to be expected. Ethnic groupings proved to be somewhat subjective classifications, which changed depending on the context (as noted by Schildkrout, 1978), though it was ultimately possible to unravel this by reference to birthplace, making certain assumptions. 'Place of origin' was sometimes perceived as being different from 'birthplace', though this was not consistent. Any reference to a particular place was checked, as a tendency was discovered for the interviewee to describe the nearest large town rather than a specific village. There was some difficulty in recording personal relationships, as the words 'sister' and 'brother', for example, can be used in various circumstances to describe members of the same clan, or co-villagers, as well as blood relations (as noted by Hart, 1969). The recording of work types suffered the disadvantages of encouraging a simplified response, disguising the situation where an individual pursued more than one occupation, for instance. All of these difficulties were discovered fairly early in the survey work, and attempts were made to overcome them where possible, involving the repeat of some of the earliest survey work, and a considerable amount of cross-checking. The data were eventually recorded on house cards, and these were filed as a reference point for the other studies carried out.

2. The physical environment survey :

A survey of buildings to record materials used and construction techniques was carried out with the assistance of a planning student (Attipoe, 1975). Apart from this, data on buildings and the spaces within and around them were recorded by use of the inventory method. All streets and surrounding land was explored in this way, with records being maintained in plan/map form. Case studies of particular categories of space were then made by the same technique, using a larger scale for recording. All house plans had been recorded as part of the residents' survey, above.

3. Activities survey :

Using the inventory study plans, the various case studies were pursued by observing the use of space through time. At hourly intervals throughout the day, the positions of people in the space were marked on plan, and notes were made on who they were and what they were doing. In the quieter spaces (side street, courtyard) a large amount of detail was noted about each individual, including the livestock that entered and left the space, and events occurring between hourly

recording points. In the busier market spaces, this was simplified by distinguishing between buyers and sellers, and restricting note taking to that necessary to interpret the hourly records.

In all the spaces, the detail of the plan was such that it was easy to locate individuals by reference to landmarks, and in the market survey this was done by reference to the sellers' stalls. Complex notation such as has been used elsewhere to denote activity types (Perin, 1970) was not used here, partly because it was not possible to obtain an aerial view, which necessitated rapid recording by walking through and around the space, and partly because the activities themselves would have been difficult to categorize beforehand. An example of an activity survey is included as Appendix A, to show the amount of detail obtained by plotting the positions of individuals through time.

The market surveys were supplemented by notes on the type and quantity of goods on sale at various times of day, and by interviews with the traders to discover changing prices, origins of goods and volume of trade. This supplemented the case study data on trading.

4. Case studies of work types and workplaces :

For each category of work identified that took place within the settlement, detailed case studies were carried out, to discover the nature of the enterprise, and the environment in which it operated. A checklist of information was not appropriate here, as the relevant information depended on the type of enterprise. The questions sought to establish how the enterprise operated, what it needed for its operations, the nature of the end products or services, the profits and how they were spent. Detailed plans of workspaces were drawn up, and notes taken on how the space was used for the various activities taking place.

Case studies of formal work activities were not carried out, as they did not directly interact with the settlement. However, information on skills and methods of acquiring jobs was obtained from the sample village survey. This was supplemented by additional interviewing where necessary, including some non-residents (teachers, doctors, priests).

5. Sample house survey :

Four houses within the settlement were chosen for detailed study over time, involving about 90 people. The houses included

one where most of the occupants were related, and also houses with tenants from a variety of ethnic groups. A sample weekday was chosen in September 1974, and as many as possible of the individuals (including children old enough to be questioned) were interviewed concerning their activities during the day, the food that they had eaten, and their income and expenditure during the day. This was repeated in February 1975 and May 1975 with the same individuals, and it was hoped that seasonal changes in food intake could be identified, together with changing patterns of work and other activity. To give some clarification of the data on income and expenditure, adults were also questioned about this for the month previous to the time of the first survey. A simple questionnaire was used for this part of the study.

6. Survey of Zebila, as a case study of a village of migrant origin :

This study was carried out by several methods :

- (i) All migrants from Zebila living in Ayija were identified from the residents' survey, and were interviewed in depth, using checklists of the information required. Information was sought on the motives for migration, perception of advantages and disadvantages of Ayija and Kumasi, work activities and incomes in the two settlements, and an inventory of possessions on arrival and current possessions. Any continuing ties with the village were investigated. The migrants were also asked to draw a picture of the houses they had lived in before migration, their present dwellings, and the houses they would like to live in ideally - this technique had been used before (Stanley, 1972) and had proved useful as an indicator of spatial perception as well as residential satisfaction.
- (ii) For each migrant in Ayija (ten in all), there was an attempt to identify a migrant counterpart still in Zebila, as close to the migrant as possible in terms of age, sex, and blood relationship. This has been attempted elsewhere with a larger sample (Butterworth, 1970). In all, eight migrant counterparts were traced and then interviewed, with information being sought to compare with the interviews of the migrants - on perception of the village and the city, reasons for not migrating, work activities, skills and education, and incomes. Information was collected on any direct experience of urban life (e.g. through visits) and any contact with urban residents. House drawings were also obtained from the migrant counterparts.
- (iii) a sample of households in Zebila was chosen (20 in all), and the compound heads were interviewed to find out the numbers of

original residents who had migrated away from Zebila, and to identify any former migrants who had returned to the village.

(iv) Altogether, 19 former migrants were found and interviewed, to discover why they had originally migrated, what their experiences had been since leaving, and why they had eventually returned to the village.

(v) Two additional visits of about a week each were made to collect general information on the village environment. One visit was in the wet season, and one in the dry season, so that some seasonal comparisons were possible. Interviews with key personalities in the village were carried out during these visits, to shed more light on the data already collected.

7. Comparison of 'legality' of Ayija and West Ayija :

To facilitate this comparison, it was first necessary to carry out a physical survey of West Ayija, plotting out completed buildings, structures at various stages of completion, and demarcated plots. These data had already been obtained for Ayija itself.

The Development Plan for Ayija was studied, and the proposed plot layout was superimposed on the existing settlement pattern. Individual cases were then traced by examining all records of authorization by the Planning Department - minutes of Planning Committee meetings and other records.

Various documents relating to the Building Regulations were examined, and the records of the local building inspector were scrutinized to identify which buildings had been reported as unauthorized. The Lands Register was also consulted to find out which plots had titles registered for them, and the plot demarcation was again compared with the situation on the ground.

In the course of this investigation, many other documents were found which helped to throw light on the situation, and officials in all the relevant administrative departments, as well as the local (traditional) administrators in Ayija, were interviewed at length.

presentation of findings

For the study as a whole, the order of data collection was as follows. As much work as could be carried out from existing documentation was commenced in October 1973, continuing through to the final submission. Organized field work started at the beginning of 1974, with data being collected from Kumasi City Council records,

concurrent with street inventories being made of Ayija. Research assistants were also selected at this time, through personal contacts already established in the settlement. The bulk of the field work was carried out between February 1974 and February 1975. The analysis and documentation started early in 1975, and was resumed in October 1977. Since then, an attempt has been made to update the original material where possible, to give an assessment of the situation in September 1979, and changes that have taken place in the five year period. This relates particularly to settlement growth, prices, events, and the fate of individual enterprises. In the documentation, the present tense has been used to refer to the situation as found in 1974, and where the information is more recent than this, it is made clear in the text.

The analysis is organized in the following way :

Chapter Three describes the characteristics of migrant settlements in different parts of the world, as revealed by existing literature. The main factors explaining variation between settlements are assessed, so that Ayija may be set in context.

Chapter Four assesses these same factors in relation to West Africa as a cultural region. Some of the regional characteristics are relevant in explaining the growth of Ayija itself, while intra-regional differences may also be identified.

Chapter Five describes the growth of Kumasi and Ayija from a historical point of view. There is also some discussion of the functional relationships between the migrant settlement and the rest of the city. Chapter Six provides a description of the specific cultural context of the settlement under study. Population characteristics are analysed, and there is also some comment on the reasons for immigration, as suggested by the case study of Zebila.

Chapters Seven to Eleven examine welfare in Ayija according to the criteria listed in the previous chapter, i.e. the housing environment, environmental health, work activities, non-work activities, and security of tenure.

Chapter Twelve draws together some conclusions about welfare in Ayija in the context of rural-urban migration, and extends some of the findings of this study to the region as a whole.

CHAPTER THREE

MIGRANT HOUSING IN THE THIRD WORLD

world urbanization

Urbanization involving massive population shifts became apparent in the nineteenth century in Europe and North America. The Industrial Revolution created work possibilities in the cities, and these together with agricultural changes encouraged people to leave the rural areas to seek urban jobs. It seems that this process had certain common characteristics wherever it occurred : problems of overcrowding, illhealth, crime and insecurity in the poorer parts of the city, balanced by the advantages of increased specialization and economies of scale for the city as a whole, which led ultimately to greater prosperity. In the twentieth century, urbanization in these 'developed' areas has slowed down, though cities continue to increase their populations by natural growth, and also expand outwards by gradually decreasing in population density. However, other areas of the world have more recently been affected by the urbanization process, and the movement of population from rural areas to the cities is now virtually a worldwide phenomenon. In developing countries this has occurred latest, most notably since the 1940s, and it has produced the most rapid population movements (fig.3.1).

The concept of urbanization as having common characteristics no matter where it occurs is increasingly being questioned (Berry, 1973). In particular, the differences between the characteristic pattern of urbanization in nineteenth century Europe and North America, and the present patterns seen in developing countries, are worthy of note. The population movements are more rapid, and the provision of work opportunities lags behind the rate of population growth in developing countries. Much of the work opportunity that does exist is in the public sector - education, administration, etc. - rather than representing industrial growth. There is an apparent lack of labour specialization and of entrepreneurism, and a comparatively weak manufacturing sector of the economy. Spengler (1967) has

Urban Population 1950-2000, in Seven Major Areas (May, 1977)

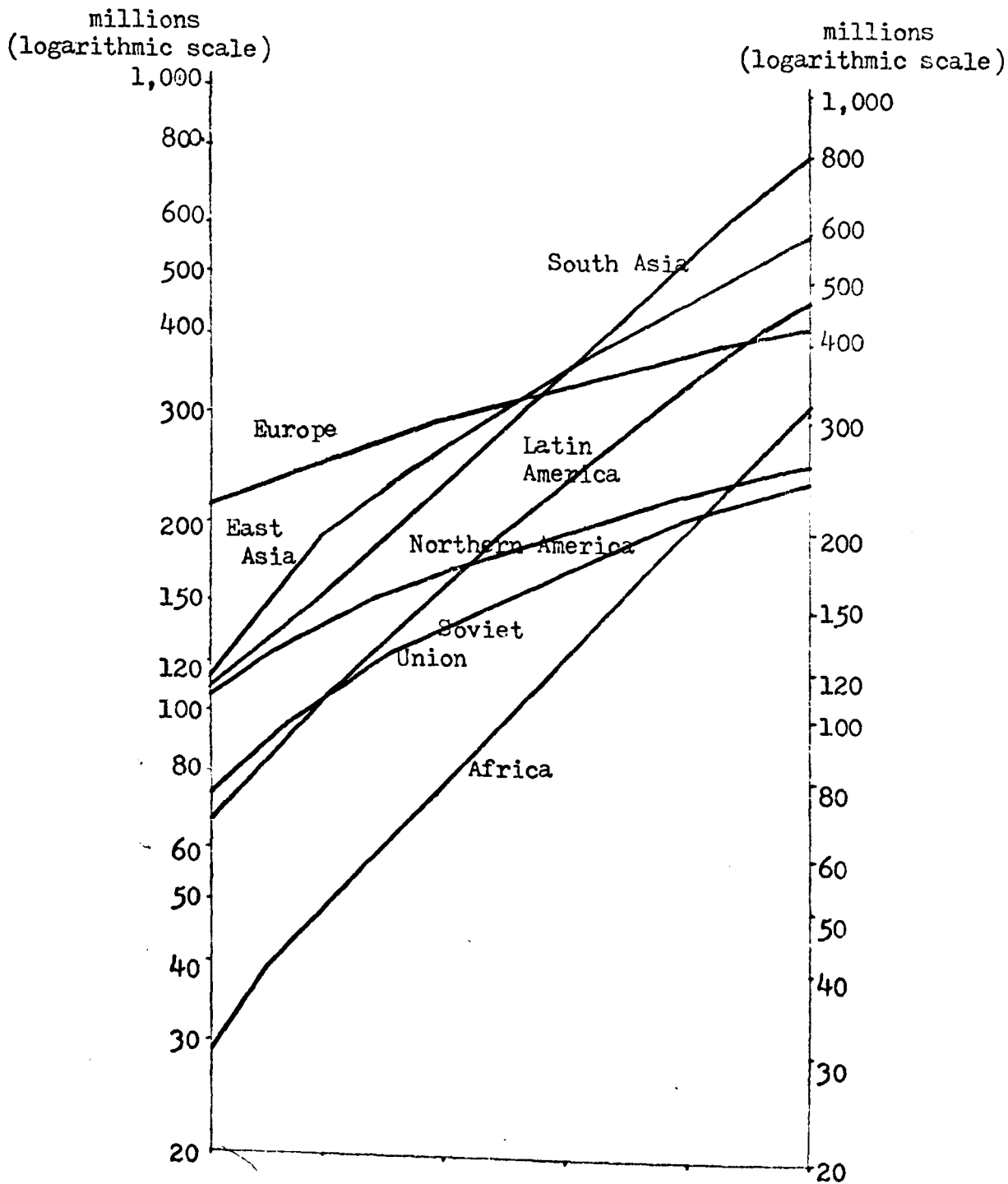


Figure 3.1

described urbanization in Africa as 'parasitic' rather than 'generative', and his comments might be applied to other parts of the third world. Mabogunje (1974) considers that the urbanization process represents 'consumer innovation' rather than economic growth. There is also some opinion that the recent migration is motivated more by 'push' factors from the rural areas than by 'pull' factors to the cities (McGee, 1976), though some studies still point to the positive attractions of the cities for incoming migrants (Ulak, 1976; Pandey, 1976).

Because the incoming workforce is not being adequately absorbed, and given the weak economic bases of the cities in developing countries and consequent low incomes, there is little wealth for circulation and redistribution. Thus the incoming migrants have to live largely from their own resources, which are very sparse indeed. Areas of the city where incoming migrants settle become pockets of extreme poverty. The scale of the problem is enormous, with the urban centres of developing countries increasing in population at the rate of about 250 millions every decade (Dwyer, 1974).

The urban settlements formed by incoming migrants have poverty as a common characteristic. This is universally perceived as a 'problem', although the rationale behind this perception varies from place to place, and various means of alleviating the problem are sought. A number of studies carried out in different parts of the world have attempted to describe the characteristics of migrant settlements and their inhabitants, and it is evident that there is much variation in the processes leading to the formation of the settlements, as well as in the conditions found there. This chapter comments on some of the findings, particularly as they relate to the present study of welfare in Ayija.

In describing migrant settlements in different parts of the world, certain variables have been chosen as a basis for comparison. Firstly, it is necessary to consider the geographical context of the various settlements, and to realize that each one has a unique setting. This is considered under the headings :

1. The geographical context
 - (a) the natural environment
 - (b) cultural values.

Certain other factors help to determine the characteristics of migrant settlements, and it is possible to identify similarities,

and to categorize a range of characteristics. These variables have been listed as :

2. Determinants of settlement type

- (a) urban location
- (b) permanence of migration
- (c) migrant adaptation
- (d) reactions of the host culture
- (e) relationships between migrant groups
- (f) population balance.

Finally, it is possible to consider the various aspects of welfare which result from the particular geographical context of the settlement, and the factors identified above. These are categorized in a similar way to the study of Ayija which follows :

3. Welfare in migrant settlements

- (a) housing and street space
- (b) environmental health
- (c) work activities
- (d) other activities
- (e) security of tenure.

1. The Geographical Context

(a) the natural environment :

One way in which migrant settlements differ widely is in their response to the natural environment, which is particular to each locality. Although developing countries tend to be located within the tropical or subtropical zones, there are great variations of temperature, rainfall, vegetation, topography and natural resources. These are inevitably reflected in the type of settlement, where resources are scarce, and where shelter needs are met only in relation to the most urgent priorities. The amount of variation found between settlements defies categorization, as the environment of each location is unique. Some illustrations of how the environment may interact with the settlement form may be useful, however.

Turner (1970) describes how a migrant house-builder's priorities are affected by climatic constraints in Lima (Peru). In this area of very low rainfall, the need for a roof over one's head is secondary to other needs. The most urgent priority, because of social rather than climatic factors, is to establish a boundary wall, within which the household may have some privacy, and a roofed area may be

constructed in the courtyard much later. This contrasts with such areas as Bangladesh (Hasnath, 1977) where the most urgent need is to create a roof as shelter from the torrential monsoon rains, and the fact of having a roof may be much more important than the social demands for living space. Thus some of the urban poor have structures of less than standing height, to act as shelter in the meanest sense, rather than houses.

Rainfall is a resource as well as a threat. In Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea) the natural rainfall is sufficient for roof catchment to supply all of a household's needs (Papua New Guinea Housing Commission, 1977). In most areas, however, while roof catchment may be used seasonally to supplement household supplies, together with other accessible natural resources such as lakes and rivers, migrants are to a large extent dependent on municipal services for their water supplies.

The topography of migrant settlements poses constructional problems in some areas. Generally migrants are unable to gain access to the most desirable areas of building land, and in some cities they are confined to areas of very undesirable land. Rio de Janeiro's favelas are built on steep unstable hillslopes where landslips are common (Brazil - Bonilla, 1970), and La Paz (Bolivia) and Nairobi (Kenya) have similar settlements on steep slopes (Kessler, 1977), as well as Caracas (Venezuela - Abrams, 1977). Some settlements are built over swampland or the sea, such as Tondo in Manila (Philippines - Hollsteiner, 1975), similar settlements in Georgetown and Port Moresby (Malaysia, Papua New Guinea - author's own records), the Cienaga de la Virgen area of Cartagena, the Parana River squatter area of Asuncion (Colombia, Paraguay - Kessler, 1977) and Alagados (Brazil - Math  y, 1978).

The natural resources of an area may affect the availability of cheap or free building materials. Mud is most commonly available, though supplies of dung or straw may be necessary to stabilize it, and upgrading to provide more permanence is only possible by the addition of cement, which is usually expensive and in short supply. Bamboo is available in many humid areas, and it may be important for roof or frame construction, with woven canes or raffia providing material for wall partitions. Structures such as these may be more cheaply upgraded by treatment with preservatives (United Nations, 1972). Wood is often found in the environs of migrant settlements,



water as a natural resource-
as drinking (etc.) supply
(Aurangabad, India, during
drought), and as a means of
transport (Bangkok, Thailand)

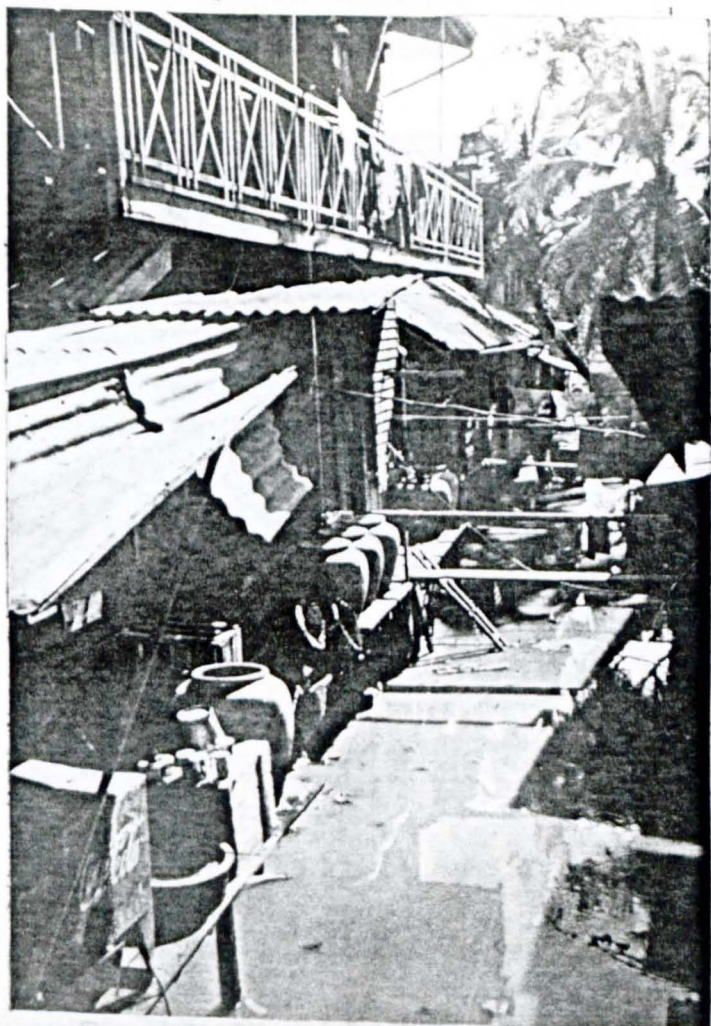


Figure 3.2



the use of natural materials
in urban settlements :
some examples from Nepal -
raffia matting in a Tibetan
refugee camp, stone and
thatch, mud and cow dung

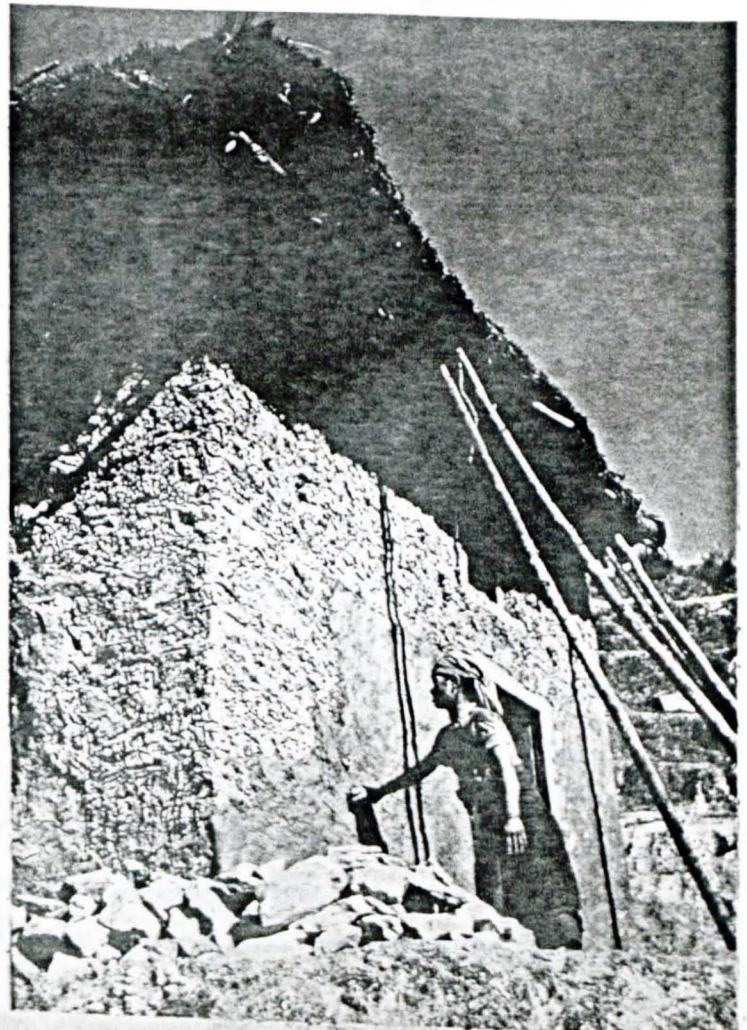


Figure 3.3

but cutting and drying it may require equipment and storage facilities, and it has a comparatively high market value. This limits its use in most migrant settlements except for certain elements such as windows and doors. The pricing system often results in a situation where recycled manufactured goods, such as metal sheets and cardboard, are cheaper to use than natural resources such as timber.

(b) cultural values:

Like the natural environment, the cultural context of the migrant settlement is unique to each location. Moreover, there may be several different value systems operating in any one settlement : ultimately each migrant may have his own unique set of values. Thus any assessment of the value systems operating represents a generalization from a composite set of priorities and aspirations.

Some illustrations of the ways in which values affect the characteristics of the migrant settlement may be given. Turner (1970) lists what he sees to be a common order of priorities in Peru as (i) a large plot, (ii) a strong perimeter fence, (iii) schools and police, (iv) services, (v) a finished ground floor, and (vi) a finished second floor. The high priority for schooling, for adults as well as children, is noted in other Latin American studies such as Butterworth's (1970), and appears to be a major factor motivating rural-urban migration in this region. This contrasts with the pattern observed in Africa, though this may be due not only to educational aspirations being less important, but also due to the comparatively higher standard of rural as opposed to urban education (Lloyd, 1979).

Cultural values act to determine how the hardships of living in a migrant settlement are subjectively perceived. Kaye (1974) describes the extreme overcrowding of Upper Nankin Street (Singapore), with dwelling units often consisting of no more than unventilated bunk spaces, and yet the residents interviewed did not express great dissatisfaction with this aspect of their lives. In a Ghanaian study of the Volta Resettlement area, Lumsden (1975) describes how forced adaptation to a different spatial environment in the home resulted in the perception of conditions as overcrowded, as various aspects of privacy were forfeited. Sharman (1970) describes, in a rural context, how health and nutrition may be affected by cultural

values determining the allocation of time to various tasks as well as by nature, climate, economy and education, and she concludes that it is often the chosen allocation of resources rather than the actual level of resources that results in poor living conditions (from the researcher's point of view).

2.Determinants of Settlement Type

(a) urban location:

A simplified categorization of the possibilities for location in the city according to western models (Balchin, 1979) is as follows:

- (i) central
- (ii) inner city
- (iii) outer suburb
- (iv) peripheral
- (v) satellite.

These various descriptions relate to distance from the centre of the city, and are perhaps most appropriate to cities with concentric bands of housing type. The model disregards variations in city structure due to topography, or other urban models such as linear cities. In developing countries, other forms of city structure are also evident resulting from indigenous traditions, the effects of colonization, or particular local modifications of the modernization process (Scargill, 1979). However, the crucial factor is seen as distance from the city centre, which generally acts as the major location for work opportunities.

A pattern emerges from the various studies. The central area of the city commonly consists of high priced land with high density commercial development. Migrants in this area are usually those who sleep on the streets or in sheltered entries, or they sometimes erect shelters in small pockets of undeveloped land. These are often single male migrants who have only recently arrived in the city, and are actively in search of work or other income opportunity. They may include those lacking relatives already in the city, who might have given them shelter.

The inner city is a zone commonly developed some time ago, but where many of the original residents have moved out to the suburbs. Landlords living inside this zone or outside it rent out property to incoming migrants. The housing stock is often run down



the use of steep slopes for settlement (Kabul, Afghanistan) and extending the sea-front (Georgetown, Malaysia)



street sleepers
outside Howrah
station (Calcutta,
India)

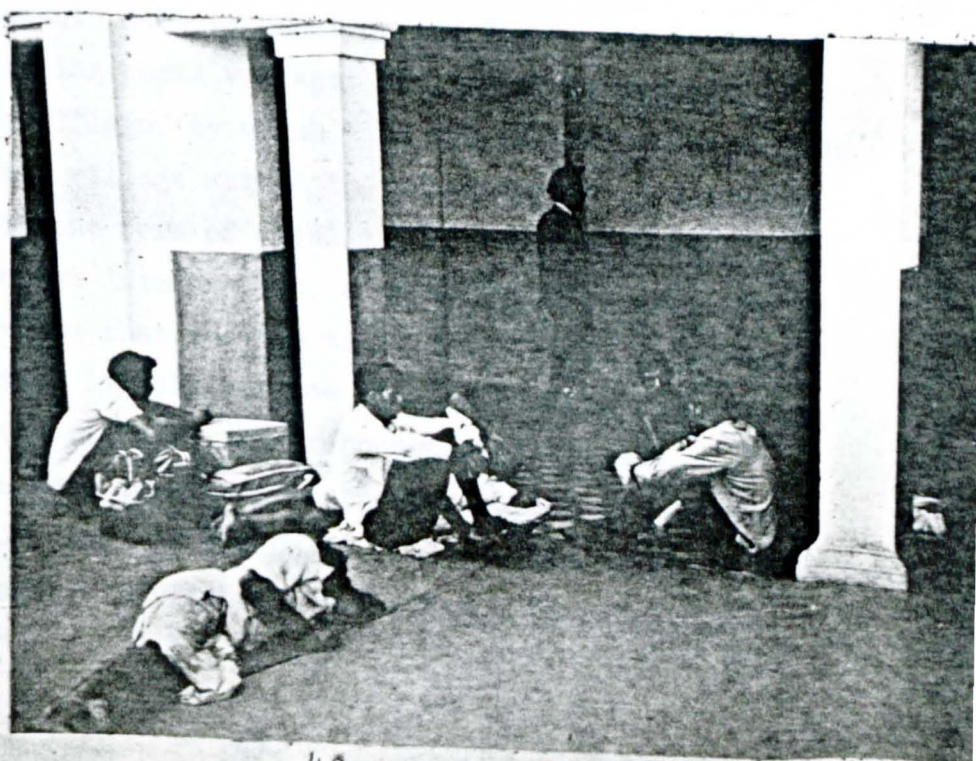


Figure 3.4

and overcrowded. Some migrants settle in this zone, where they may eventually acquire property and become landlords themselves. Some others stay until they have secured a job, and then look for cheaper or better housing elsewhere. In some areas it may be feasible for migrants to own a house further from the city centre, where weekends are spent with the family, and for the wage earner to lodge in the inner city during the working week, to save on transport costs and time (Wilsher and Righter, 1975). In other areas the economics of the various options are different, and migrants avoid coming into the inner city to live as rents are beyond their means.

The alternative to the inner city is usually the periphery, as there is typically a broad band of relatively high-priced housing between the two (Eyre, 1973). In time, as the city grows, the periphery may be absorbed to become an outer suburb. The initial development of the periphery takes place in a variety of ways, but the incentives for development are reduced housing or land costs, and greater access to space than in the inner city. The disadvantages include the greater distance to travel to work, although ultimately industry may be attracted to nearby locations, because of the available labour force (Brett, 1974). The existence of well serviced public transport routes may help to compensate for distance to workplaces, and settlements may grow along the major highways (Butterworth, 1970). Many peripheral settlements are inconveniently located for travelling to work, however, and walking distances of ten miles or more are often tolerated.

Satellite settlements seem to occur in two forms. One is around the nucleus of an existing rural village; the periphery eventually expands to absorb the village, by which time the initial in-migration has already brought the village within the urban sphere of influence (Atman, 1975). A different form of satellite settlement is that formed through government intervention, often intended to rehouse migrants from settlements that require to be demolished. They rarely appear to be successful, largely because the distance to work factor is often ignored by the planners, and rehoused migrants may subsequently leave to seek accommodation nearer to the city centre. Examples are Jhuggi Jhonpuri in New Delhi (India - Van Huyck, 1968), and the government camps established outside Dacca (Bangladesh - Hasnath, 1977).

Some studies suggest that different typologies of migrant settlement location may be appropriate. Turner (1970) points out how some peripheral settlements, as they gradually improve, develop 'subsquatter' settlements of the very poor at their edges, and he fears that this may inhibit the self improving process. Abu Lughod (1976) notes that North African cities have a segmental structure, with a historic core, a colonial appendage, a colonial slum, and various peripheral zones. Brush (1974) identifies many Indian cities at variance with the pattern of maximum population concentration at the centre, decreasing towards the periphery. Meillassoux (1968) suggests that Bamako's growth (Mali) may have resulted in part from the religious connotations of the eastwards direction, i.e. towards Mecca, leading to a particular settlement form. Leeds describes a wide range of suburb types in Peruvian and Brazilian cities (Leeds, 1977). Despite the varied patterns, however, it is clear that many migrant settlements fall into the categories of inner city slum or peripheral settlement.

(b) permanence of migration :

This also can be categorized to take account of a complete range of possibilities, as follows :

- (i) seasonal, with annual return to the village,
- (ii) periodic, with irregular but frequent movement between village and urban area,
- (iii) temporary, with eventual return to the village,
- (iv) perceived temporary, with return to the village planned, but not taking place in reality,
- (v) permanent migration, with no planned return.

It is also appropriate to make some classification with regard to the motivation of migrants, as this may be a major determinant of the permanence of migration (Da Vanzo, 1976). Nelson (1975) distinguishes between cyclic migration, migration to raise certain 'target' amounts of cash, and 'working life' migration. All of these types of migration are clearly identified in various studies, and many migrant settlements contain a mixture of types of settlers. There do seem to be strong differences between migrants in some settlements, however, and this appears to lead to different characteristics in the settlement itself.

Some examples of the various types of migration may be given.

Seasonal migrants are described by Southall (1970) in Kampala (Uganda), having an average stay there of six to seven months, and Gutkind (1969(i)) found that migrants in Mulago near Kampala visited their home villages within six months' residence in the urban area, and that a constant circulation between rural and urban areas was maintained (Gutkind, 1969(ii)). Pye (1969) describes how seasonal migration results from labour surpluses or shortages in either the rural or urban area; and the labour movement gives a considerable amount of desirable economic flexibility, though resources are used up in the migration process itself. This migration 'expense' may explain why seasonal migration patterns are often replaced by a more permanent movement in time, and it may represent an initial phase in the urbanization process in Africa and elsewhere (Gould and Prothero, 1975). Periodic migration is similarly flexible to economic demand, though not in response to the yearly cycle of agricultural activity. It seems common for migrants who have farming land to retain it, so that if faced with urban unemployment they have their farms as a livelihood to return to.

Temporary migration of one sort or another seems common in many parts of Africa (Shack, 1973) and India (Hoselitz, 1974). In Africa, there are marked differences between migrant groups, with some ethnic groups tending to settle permanently in urban areas, and others retaining the idea of the village as a permanent 'home'. These differences are also seen with caste groups in India, though some of the poorest migrants may find it impractical to return to their villages, because they have no land, or they have left behind debts and rent arrears (Nelson, 1975). But generally there seems to be a marked predominance of temporary migration in both areas. Perceived temporary migration has been noted particularly in relation to Africa (Pullen, 1967; Plotnicov, 1970), and it seems that hardship in the city is more easily tolerated if there is elaborate pretence that home is elsewhere, whether or not the migrant has a realistic expectation of returning to the village.

Permanent migration seems common to much of Latin America; and migrants have been described as "burning the bridges behind them" when they go to the city (Watson, 1973); however, some studies have shown that rural-urban links may still be maintained, and return migration may be significant in some areas (Roberts, 1970; 1978). Various patterns of migration have been noted, including

'step' migration between settlements, gradually increasing in size (Mangin, 1970; Flinn, 1971), and 'solitary', 'simultaneous' or 'split' migration of household members (Browning and Feindt, 1971).

The pattern of migration in Southeast and East Asia seems to vary, even within each country. Permanent and temporary migrants both appear to be significant in Thailand, for instance (Drakakis-Smith, 1976(i)) though permanent migration seems predominant, involving both single moves and step migration (Goldstein et al, 1976). Nelson (1975) considers that permanent migration is the dominant pattern in Taiwan and Korea as well as Thailand, though return migration is also noted. Some variation between ethnic groups in their attitude to permanence of migration has been observed in Indonesia (Naim, 1976). Another well documented area is Turkey, where migration into the capital city of Ankara seems to be mainly permanent (Drakakis-Smith, 1976(ii)).

(The permanence of migration into the settlement is important particularly in determining the form of tenure in demand. Permanent settlers have an incentive to invest in their residential environment, with both capital and labour. Thus owner occupation is a common aspiration in areas of permanent settlement, and, given the right conditions, even the poorest settlers may gradually improve their housing through their own efforts. Turner (1968) describes the self-improving process in Peru, and generalizes from it to describe the various stages in the development of a migrant settlement, from the first 'bridgeheaders' to the later 'consolidators'. In areas of temporary migration, such generalizations do not hold good. Any spare resources are either sent back to the village or invested to produce short term gains. Even pavement sleepers in Calcutta may remit funds to their villages (Van Huyck, 1968). Investment in housing is rare, and the majority of temporary migrants live in rented accommodation. The priority is for the cheapest housing possible, even among relatively wealthy migrants, so that savings can be maximized. Those who do not remit funds may choose to spend more on such things as clothes or entertainment (East Africa - Robbins and Thompson, 1974) or durable goods such as radios and bicycles (India - Payne, 1977). In terms of Turner's generalization, it may only be the initial developers, i.e. the landlords, who are the 'consolidators', and the bulk of the migrants may retain 'bridgeheader' characteristics. It has been questioned whether this widespread temporary migration really represents 'urbanization' in the accepted

sense of the word (Little, 1974).

(c) migrant adaptation :

- (i) traditions maintained, duplicated in the urban setting;
- (ii) village traditions modified in the urban setting;
- (iii) village traditions abandoned, with no replacement;
- (iv) village traditions abandoned, and urban norms adopted.

This variable is clearly related to the permanence of migration, with temporary migrants being more likely to retain their village characteristics in the urban setting, and permanent migrants more likely to consciously abandon village traditions and adopt urban norms in an attempt to assimilate into the urban culture. In most areas of temporary or permanent migration, however, there are some compromises made between rural and urban values. In some circumstances the value changes may have negative effects, and in other circumstances the changes may benefit the migrant. There is no ideal point in this range of possibilities. Mitchell's (1973) statistical analysis of migrants in Zambia shows that retaining contact with rural areas positively decreases commitment to the urban area. The South American studies show that even where rural-urban links have no practical use, the retention of some rural values may be necessary for the migrant's mental health.

In Sumatra (Indonesia) the Toba Batak migrants in the urban area modify their definitions of kinship so that an urban 'clan' of related individuals can act as a replacement for the close-knit rural family (Bruner, 1970), providing security and a sense of identity for the individual. This is similar to the 'pseudo-kin' system of 'campadrazgo' in South America (Peattie, 1968(ii); Lomnitz, 1977). In Mexico City (Mexico), migrants from Tilantongo retain village norms applying to kinship links, but adapt certain aspects of their behaviour to suit their urban way of life : their drinking habits are controlled so that a steady job can be held, and attitudes to diet, education, religion and superstition are changed (Butterworth, 1970). As a result, they seem to be comparatively well adjusted. Examples of maladjustment may be found, however. Mangin (1969) describes confusion and disorientation in the Peruvian *barriada*, resulting from conflicting values and loss of values, though he comments elsewhere (1973) that a recent trend for Indian migrants to value and retain certain aspects of their original culture may be a healthy development.

Attempts to combine rural and urban values can lead to low self-esteem by migrants, and insecurity (Watson, 1973).

Migrant adaptation may find expression in housing form and the use of space. In Zambia, some migrant settlements retain village forms, though becoming denser as they grow (Martin, 1977), whereas housing in other Zambian migrant settlements shows the introduction of urban characteristics, such as windows (Tipple, 1976 (i)). In areas of rented housing, however, migrants may have little or no control over dwelling forms, and such cultural expression may be suppressed, compelling the migrant to adjust his lifestyle accordingly.

Some writers have questioned the concept of migrants adapting from a conventional rural way of life to the urban cultural environment. In fact, many migrants have considerable experience of a variety of physical and social settings before they migrate, including exposure to urban norms, which will have already influenced their values and perceptions (Uzzell, 1977, describing Mexican migrants). Migrants may also be motivated by the fact that they do not themselves conform to rural norms, and they may find it easier to adapt to the new environment than to cope with the old one (see Phillips, 1975, describing Italian migrants in Australia). Even where future migrants and non-migrants have similar exposure to urban settings (Nelson, 1975), there may be strong selectivity with regard to other characteristics such as education, wealth, and attitude to innovation (Kemper, 1977).

(d) reactions of the host culture :

- (i) receptive, encouraging integration;
- (ii) detached, remote;
- (iii) hostile.

The majority of studies point to at least some elements of hostility in the relationship between migrants and the urban community. In situations of labour shortage relating to unpopular jobs, there may be deliberate recruitment from the rural areas, but the urban culture may perceive the migrants merely as a source of cheap labour, to be encouraged so long as they may be exploited - this is often a feature of the early phases of migration. More commonly, particularly when migration is well established, migrants may be seen as a threat, competing for resources or jobs, and acting as a politically dangerous group. When hostile feelings are pronounced, migrant settlements may be denounced as unsightly, degrading to the city,

harbouring crime and vice, and being parasitic in many ways.

The perception of migrant settlements acting as a political threat is often misfounded. Migrants may be politically conservative and nationalistic, unwilling to run risks so long as their conditions are gradually improving (Turner, 1968, describing Lima, Peru). Political disaffection is often greater among the urban-born than among migrants (Stone, 1975, describing Jamaica). Where conditions are thought to be worsening, there is more likely to be some political reaction (Bonilla, 1970, describing Brazil's favelas). Repression of political activity may be counter-productive as it will increase any potential hostility (Pye, 1969). Attempts to 'buy' the political support of migrants by giving them practical assistance may be comparatively more successful (Skinner 1977, describing Villa El Salvador, Lima, Peru).

Often the latent or overt hostility between migrants and the host group is intensified by ethnic differences. This may be due to cultural insensitivity, as in Malaysia where the predominantly Chinese urban administration has devised planning and building regulations which discriminate against Malay vernacular housing types (Evers, 1977). In other regions, historical attitudes to race, caste or other grouping may cause intolerance or misunderstanding.

A further variable is the urban history of the area. Latin America is characterized by relatively new cities, the indigenous centres having been destroyed by colonial forces, so that in some areas all residents perceive themselves as immigrants rather than urbanites (Davis, 1974). This is likely to reduce potential migrant-host group hostilities. In Africa, there is a marked difference between East Africa, which lacks distinct urban traditions (Taylor, 1974), and West Africa, where some ethnic groups have been living in 'urban' centres for centuries (Little, 1974). This latter situation, which is also found in much of Asia, is likely to intensify hostilities to the extent where 'locality policing' may be necessary to maintain separation of the urban and migrant communities (Tinker, 1973).

(e) relationships between migrant groups:

The incoming migrants may consist of

- (i) homogeneous migrant groups,
- (ii) various groups, mutually receptive,
- (iii) various groups, detached,

- (iv) various hostile groups, or
- (v) various groups with differing interrelationships.

In parts of South America, the incoming migrants appear to perceive themselves as one group with similar aims and values, identifying themselves as 'cholos' in Peru, for instance (Mangin, 1970). In Brazil, where group differences are made evident by colour, yet there is still an identification with common goals, and a perception of the migrant community as a united group (Bonilla, 1970). The studies of migrant settlements in Turkey and South East Asia have not commented on friction between incoming migrant groups. Intergroup differences do receive comment with regard to India and Africa, however; in India, these relate to caste, and in Africa to tribe.

There may be strong preferences for settling near to members of the same group (Mitchell, 1970, describing North Rhodesian migration). Southall (1970) describes a migrant settlement in Kampala (Uganda) where a distinct cluster of 30 grass huts with a population of 120 was largely inhabited by migrants belonging to the Ankole tribe, and this was seen by the government as a model for tribal harmony. Where housing is in short supply, and particularly where rented housing is sought, such group separation may be impossible, so that the various groups have to come to terms with one another.

One common means of adapting to this situation is through the formation of associations or informal groups based on common place of origin. Doughty (1970) provides several cross-cultural examples of this, from Peru, Mali, Egypt and North America. Shack (1973) describes how village associations act in a very positive way in Ethiopia, channelling investment into the home villages, and Buechler (1970) describes it in relation to the fiesta system in Bolivia. Village associations may also be seen with international migrants in developed countries, such as the Lebanese in Australia (Stanley 1972). They act to receive the incoming migrant, provide an understandable social network, give a sense of security and common identity, and mutual material assistance. Where village associations are not formed, there are often regional or tribal associations that perform the same function. These may be formal or informal groups.

Other forms of association may act to integrate various groups rather than maintain their separation. This is seen with youth clubs

in South America (Turner, 1968; Bonilla, 1970) and also such widespread groups as football clubs, trade unions and religious bodies. Although not significant everywhere (Boswell, 1973(i)), the extent of membership of formal groups can be remarkable : a United Nations (1971) study group in Manila found 29 organizations in a settlement of 2,625 families, with 65% of family heads belonging to at least one.

(f) population balance :

- (i) predominance of male adults over female adults;
- (ii) predominance of female adults over male adults;
- (iii) lack of dependants, i.e. children, old people;
- (iv) surplus of dependants;
- (v) balanced population, i.e. normal age/sex distribution.

These categories are not all mutually exclusive. Most categories seem well represented in various situations. although it would be rare to find a surplus of elderly dependants in a migrant settlement.

Differences in balance between the sexes often seem to be related to the type of work opportunity in the city, and the usual sexual roles in relation to these opportunities. Thus in South America, there is often a large number of women in relation to men in migrant settlements, because of opportunities in domestic service, commerce and light industry, which are perceived as women's work in that area (Mangin, 1970; Roberts, 1978). The initial imbalance may correct itself in time, but is still pronounced in some parts (Roberts, 1970). In Africa and India, the same occupations are often undertaken by men, and males more frequently outnumber females in these areas (Lloyd, 1979). The exception is in some parts where trading is normally pursued by women, which may encourage a balance or even a surplus of females (Peil, 1976). The wage structure may be a significant factor, as in South Africa, where young active males are disproportionately rewarded for their labour (Boswell, 1973(ii)). In some cases, actual living conditions may help to determine the balance of the sexes : for example, in Calcutta men greatly outnumber women among the street sleepers (Lelyveld, 1970).

The balance between workers and dependants may also be affected by living conditions. It seems common in Africa, and perhaps in other areas of temporary migration, for children to remain in the village while their parents work in the town, so that urban savings can be maximized. Southall (1970) also notes that a lower reproduction rate is evident among urban migrants in Uganda, although it is not

clear whether city life causes it, or whether the city attracts those who already have this tendency. In Latin America, by contrast, and perhaps in other areas of permanent migration, there may be a very high proportion of children in migrant settlements, accounting for almost half of the total population (Lowder, 1970).

3. Welfare in Migrant Settlements

(a) housing and street space:

One major difference between migrant settlements is the density and form of plot demarcation used. In some areas, regardless of the degree of authorization, surveyors are employed to demarcate plots prior to dwellings being erected. The resulting 'control' on development may allow space for streets and services, as well as for house extensions. This seems to be the standard practice with land invasions in Peru, for instance. The advantage is that it becomes possible to upgrade the settlement eventually without having to relocate some or all of the houses, and dwellings may be improved and extended in situ, without the more upwardly mobile migrants having to move elsewhere. Where plots are not demarcated and controls are lacking, densities may be too high to facilitate this, and particularly severe crowding may be found in settlements of rented housing. Kessler (1977) describes densities of 1,500 persons per hectare in Haiti, compared with a typical 200-500 persons per hectare in more controlled peripheral settlements elsewhere.

Settlements vary according to the type of tenure provided, and this often relates to the permanence of the migration taking place. With owner occupation, gradual investment in the housing environment is likely to occur, and if a sense of community identity develops, this investment may extend beyond the boundaries of the house itself. With rented accommodation, there is rarely any incentive for investment in the residential environment, and the accommodation may have been chosen to make deliberate savings in this area. Turner and Goetze (1967) comment on how housing conditions do not necessarily reflect income, and this is probably most true in rented accommodation. The attitude of private landlords towards their tenants has been perceived in various ways by different writers. Drakakis-Smith (1976(ii)) considers that the profit motive is dominant, while Peil (1976) quotes Bettison in describing how a private landlord will often subsidize an unemployed tenant for

several months until he finds work, a particular advantage when compared with public rented housing.

Many governments have chosen to intervene in the housing process with regard to migrants, and to build subsidized houses of various types. This contrasts with other migrant settlements where rather than positive intervention, the authorities impose punitive taxation, aggravating the housing problems. The costs of intervention are considerable, due to governments' obligations to conform to their own building and planning regulations, and also as the bureaucracy surrounding public projects is itself a major expense and source of frustration (Morrison, 1974). Where low rise development takes place, densities are often much lower than the equivalent migrant-built dwellings, involving greater land costs - seen, for example, in the workers' towns built outside Casablanca (Morocco - Awad, 1970) and government towns outside Dacca (Bangladesh - Hasnath, 1977). The alternative is high rise buildings, involving greater constructional costs, incurred in the seven storey walk-ups in Hong Kong (Turner, 1970), and high density developments in Singapore and Malaysia (Yeung, 1976). Some studies quote the actual costs involved - high rise apartments in Cuba have been built for U.S. \$ 8-10,000 each (Kessler, 1977), and a huge resettlement town of 3,450 housing units was built outside Tehran for U.S. \$5½ million (Iran - Bartsch, 1974).

Whether units built in this way are rented or whether loans are given for eventual purchase, heavy subsidization is necessary to bring public housing within the economic means of the migrants. Even with subsidization, rehoused migrants may move out to find cheaper housing elsewhere, and more affluent residents may move in to take advantage of the subsidy. A further disadvantage of public schemes is that the social relationships, essential to help the migrant cope with his environment, may be destroyed in the rehousing process. The loss of community identity has been noted in the high rise developments in Singapore (Walter, 1978), and the destruction of extended family networks has been documented in relation to tenement blocks in San Juan (Puerto Rico - Bryce Laporte, 1970)

Having realized that building houses to keep pace with migration is impossible, because of the costs involved, and the rate of immigration taking place, some governments have encouraged or forced migrants to vacate their settlements for 'temporary' houses until

various types of subsidized
public housing - in India
(Chandigarh), Morroco and
Singapore

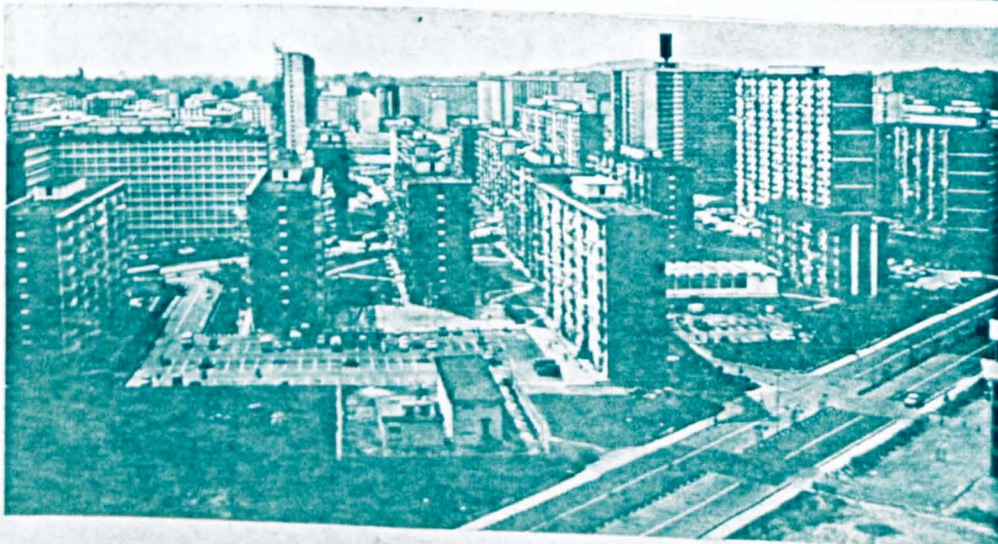
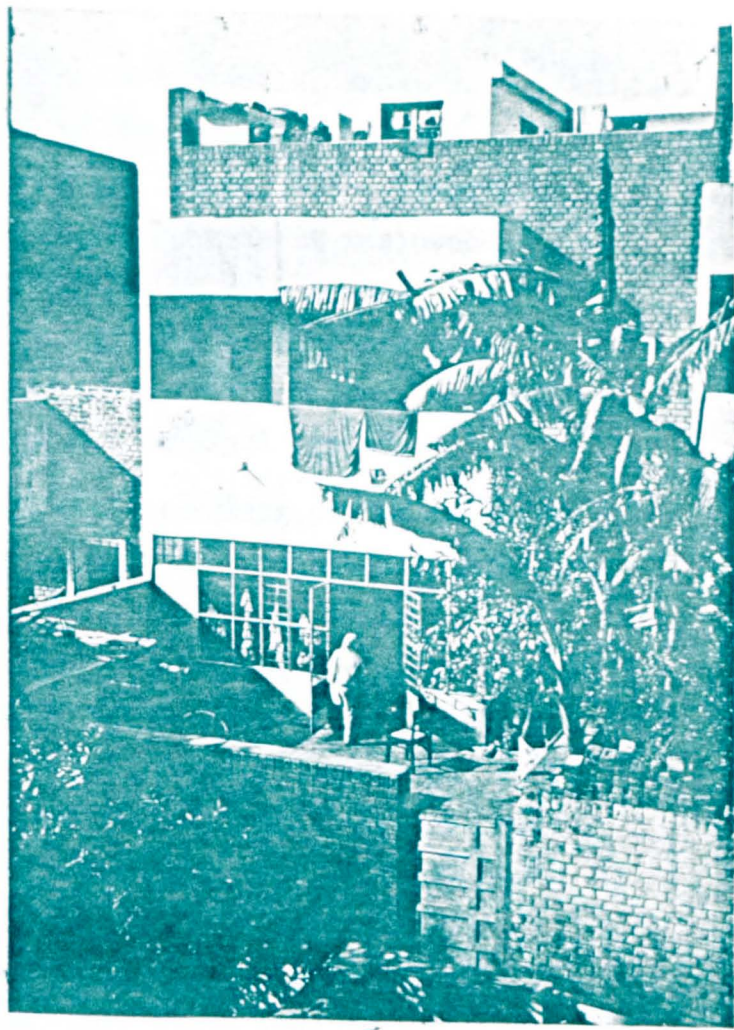


Figure 3.5

such time as adequate permanent housing is available. Examples of this are the transit camps of Madras (Van Huyck, 1968) and temporary houses built for rent in Morocco (Awad, 1970). Standards may be kept deliberately low, to discourage permanent residence. A more positive compromise is the provision of core houses, i.e. basic units which can be extended and upgraded by migrants over time. Some examples of this are given in the next chapter, as West Africa is an area where this solution has been well tried.

Within existing migrant settlements, upgrading can be assisted by various means. Credit facilities may be made available to builders, together with subsidized materials, and co-operative ventures may be encouraged. Savings unions have been established in Lusaka (Zambia - Andrews et al, 1973), and a variety of forms of assistance is given in Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea - P.N.G. Housing Commission, 1977) and Ankara (Turkey - Drakakis-Smith and Fisher, 1976). Even without intervention and subsidy, cumulative investment over time may make a significant contribution to upgrading the migrant settlement. Eyre (1973) calculated that over two thirds of the property in the shanty towns of Montego Bay (Jamaica) were worth over U.S. \$1,000 per unit, with some being valued at over \$10,000. Turner and Goetze (1967) valued most houses at over \$2,000 in San Martin (Lima, Peru) after ten years' input of materials and labour. The upgrading process is most evident in areas of permanent migration, however, and the situation is unclear in relation to areas of temporary migration. Where demands for rented housing exceeds supply, landlords may have little incentive for upgrading their housing stock.

(b) environmental health:

It is clear from the majority of studies that migrant settlements are generally lacking in services of even the most basic kind, and that this leads not only to inconvenience, but also to illhealth. In the absence of any state security system, periods of sickness may result in the rapid depletion of savings or the creation of debts, adding to the poverty and insecurity of the migrant population (Rusque-Alcaino and Bromley, 1979). The nature of the health problems found in any area may reflect the particular climate and ecology of the location, but migrant settlements everywhere are likely to have a high incidence of those disorders caused by insanitary conditions, particularly impure water supply and lack of drainage,

sewage or refuse disposal. The comparative lack of community services such as medical facilities puts migrants at even further disadvantage. Settlements built in locations with particular environmental problems may be most seriously affected by illhealth - Grimes (1976) describes Natzahuálcoyotl, a settlement of over a million people adjacent to Mexico City (Mexico) located on a dry salt lake bed; in the wet season, typhoid is a hazard, aggravated by widespread flooding, and in the dry season the dust increases the spread of pneumonia.

Where administrations are concerned to improve the welfare of migrants, as well as reduce the risks of disease spreading to the rest of the population, intervention to improve the services of migrant settlements is found to be more appropriate than the provision of new housing (World Bank, 1972). For instance, the bustee improvement scheme in Calcutta (Van Huyck, 1968) aims at a basic provision of public water supply, community baths and taps, a sewage system, public latrines, storm drainage, as well as pavements and lighting. Where new development is provided for, serviced plots may be developed, with a basic ground rent : Grimes (1976) lists 13 different countries which have adopted the 'site and service' approach for specific schemes.

Even serviced plots may be beyond the migrants' ability to pay, unless costs are subsidized by self-help, as is being attempted in Lusaka (Zambia - Martin, 1977). An important aspect of this system is user control, avoiding wasteful bureaucracy, and enabling the migrant to order his priorities. In government-directed projects, migrants sometimes find themselves paying for certain services at an earlier stage than they would themselves have chosen, thus stretching their resources too soon (Skinner, 1977). Given time, a self-help approach can have striking benefits - Gosling (1975) describes a co-operative venture at Belo Horizonte (Brazil) which provided a sewage network, an artesian well, electricity supply, a primary school, laundromat, medical post, and a programme of aid to the poorest residents. Such dramatic developments may be limited to areas of permanent migration, however, as it may be difficult to encourage co-operative effort among temporary migrants, despite the fact that their environmental conditions are often worse.

(c) work activities:

Economic opportunities may be divided into 'formal' and 'informal' categories. Peattie (1975) describes the characteristics of the

informal sector as ease of entry, low earnings, the involvement of recent migrants, insecurity, and minimal contribution to national economic growth. The formal sector consists of wage employment largely available through companies located outside the migrant settlement and run by non-migrants. In practice, many informal workers are dependent on the formal sector for supplies and markets, to the extent that many act as outworkers more than as truly 'self-employed' (MacEwen-Scott, 1979). However, it is useful to regard the informal sector as a separate category, despite the interdependencies which exist, since it clearly provides different levels of security and opportunity to the worker (Davies, 1979).

Some writers agree with Peattie that the informal sector provides little contribution to the economy, and go further to claim that it merely represents severe 'underemployment' or 'disguised employment', with workers biding their time until they obtain a formal job (Bartsch, 1974, describing Iran; Chana and Morrison, 1975, describing Kenya). Others point to the positive potential of the informal sector, and its evident growth (Weeks, 1973; Norwood, 1975, describing Malawi and Zambia). Many of the economic advantages of informal activities arise from the smallness of scale, enabling workers to adapt to changing economic opportunities within what are often unstable national economies. Some informal activities undoubtedly serve to subsidize the formal sector, by allowing formal enterprises to make large profits while paying low wages (King, 1977, describing Kenya). But the needs of the low-income migrants themselves may only be met through the informal sector, given the present distribution of resources and services (Sarin, 1979, describing Chandigarh, India). Moreover, in some areas informal activities dominate whole sections of the economy, such as trading and transport (Newcombe, 1977, describing Hong Kong; Roberts, 1976, describing Latin America) giving a much more personal and responsive service than could be provided by formal companies. Several studies have pointed to the high earnings that can result from working in the informal sector, compared with formal wages (Peattie, 1975; Davies, 1979), though this may depend on favourable conditions, such as access to central locations (Eckstein, 1975).

Economic development in the earlier phase of Western industrialization often originated in small informal enterprises, and it might therefore be expected that the present informal sector in developing countries represents the first stage in the process. However, certain

differences have been noted. There is little evidence of any trend towards increasing scale of enterprise (Hoselitz, 1974, describing India) and part of the reason for this may be the existence of legislation and controls which act to discourage growth. In nineteenth century Europe and North America, enterprises were able to grow large and profitable through the use of child labour, paying minimal wages, providing unhygienic but cheap premises, avoiding taxation, etc. and controlling legislation was only introduced after some growth had taken place. In developing countries the legislation has been introduced first, and businesses only avoid compliance by remaining small and insignificant in scale (Roberts, 1978).

(d) other activities :

The fact that few studies comment on the non-material aspects of welfare is perhaps evidence of the fact that the focus of research attention has been 'poverty' as defined by the researcher, rather than welfare as perceived by the migrant (Lloyd, 1979). It is difficult to make any comparative evaluation of leisure facilities, education, and religious practice within settlements, for example.

An aspect of subjective welfare which has received some comment, however, is the migrant's perception of his circumstances over time, and his tolerance of his present situation as affected by his expectations of the future. Self-improvement where residents are optimistic about their future has been noted in Southeast Asia (Hollsteiner, 1975; Atman, 1975) and South America (Turner, 1968), while 'stagnating' settlements where residents have a more pessimistic outlook have also been described (Bonilla, 1970; Gosling, 1975). Studies in Africa and India indicate a mixture of types, with a large number of newly expanding settlements in Africa where the trends are not yet clear.

(e) security of tenure :

Many descriptions of migrant settlements refer to the inhabitants as 'squatters'. However, a wide range of situations exist relating to legality of tenure, despite the fact that it is common for migrant settlements to be insecure in one way or another. The various types of insecure situation may be described as :

- (i) squatting in a building (without the building owner's consent),
- (ii) squatting on land (without the land owner's consent),
- (iii) leasing land from unauthorized speculators (without the owner's consent),
- (iv) unauthorized settlement (building with the land owner's consent but without the planning authority's approval),
- (v) authorized but insecure development (building with all necessary approvals, but likely to be subject to slum clearance).

The first category of squatting is seen in developed countries, of course, but its incidence is mainly limited to city centres in developing countries. Calcutta probably has the largest problem, with well over 100,000 people sleeping in the streets or in buildings where access is possible. Most street sleepers do possess some form of 'locker' of their own, where an evening meal is prepared : this acts as an address, necessary in relation to ration cards and children's education, despite the fact that it may be uninhabitable as living space (Lelyveld, 1970).

There are many examples of squatting on land, and a large proportion of squatters are subsequently removed. In South America, however, land invasions follow a well defined procedure, to minimize the risks of eviction, and some governments have become reconciled to the fact that settlements are impossible to remove without grave political repercussions. Speculation is also documented in South America (Kessler, 1977, describing Colombia), where certain individuals profess to own land or buildings, permit occupation and collect rents without the knowledge of the true owner. Incoming migrants who are unfamiliar with the urban scene may be particularly vulnerable to exploitation of this sort.

Even more complex situations may be found where forms of land tenure vary from the freehold pattern. Where traditional land administration systems coexist with modern urban planning controls, as in parts of Africa, there may be much confusion and ambiguity surrounding the process of authorization. In some cases this may be due to speculation on the part of the chiefs, and in others due to a lack of communication between the two authorities. Migrant settlers may be led to believe that their dwellings are fully authorized, when in fact the urban administration classes them as

'unauthorized'. Even when regulations have not been contravened, however, the physical condition of migrant settlements may justify slum clearance in the eyes of the urban authorities. Countries vary in the extent to which demolition of substandard housing has been carried out - Kenya is an example of a country where many clearances have taken place (Tribe, 1972, lists at least 13 different clearances, affecting thousands of homes). The only truly secure migrant settlement is that which has itself been established by the authorities, such as Villa El Salvador (Lima, Peru - Skinner, 1977).

Intervention to improve the land tenure situation has been proposed by several writers. Currie (1976) presents the arguments for public ownership of land in place of zoning controls, and this policy seems to have been adopted in Zambia, for example (Tippie, 1976(ii)). The practice of allocating land in advance of migrant settlements developing has been attempted in some countries, though with limited success (Peru - Skinner, 1977; Papua New Guinea - P.N.G. Housing Commission, 1977). A measure proposed to regulate settlement as it takes place is land registration, which Haar (1976) describes operating in Singapore, and which he proposes should be introduced in Indonesia.

Security of tenure is crucial in determining the physical environment, as insecurity greatly discourages even small amounts of investment, by owner occupiers as well as landlords and tenants (Pendell, 1974). In Bangkok, where eleven types of low-income housing were identified, security of tenure emerged as the most significant variable accounting for over 40% of the variation in housing input between the different types (Angel et al, 1977).

The following chapter examines the existing data in relation to West African migrant settlements, with regard to this aspect and the other variables affecting welfare.

CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

a history of migration

In West Africa, large-scale migration movements have occurred not only between village and city, but also between village and farming area, mining area, or other area of resource exploitation. Migration to these non-urban areas of economic activity has taken place since the beginning of this century, but with the movement usually representing temporary or seasonal migration, with migrants regularly returning to their villages of origin.

Migration towards urban areas also started about the beginning of the twentieth century, as the cities grew to become centres of trade for primary products, and as some processing industries were established. Administrative centres were also necessary. When the various countries gained independence, the development of national capitals with prestigious buildings became a common priority. In some cases these capitals became the main industrial and commercial centres of the country, to the exclusion of other settlements. In others, 'primacy' is less evident, with a more balanced hierarchy (though McNulty, 1976, considers that the region as a whole exhibits a high degree of primacy, with Paris and London acting as the two primate cities !)

In West Africa, there has been considerable population movement in the past, resulting in tribal relocation. Various empires, such as the ancient kingdom of Ghana and the later empire of Songhai, expanded and then disintegrated. During periods of expansion, conquered peoples were often forcibly moved to work as slaves or soldiers. Whether they changed their location or not, they were often absorbed into the conquering group, adopting a new tribal identity (Stride and Ifeka, 1971).

The establishment of trade routes increased the mobility of people. Trade routes developed first between the forest zone and the savannah lands of the interior, and later routes to the coast became

important. Commodities varied within the region, but the slave trade involved the whole area, and resulted in a huge disruption of the population. Some villages of the savannah area were completely destroyed, and whole communities were moved to the coastal area to work as slaves, or were exported.

While it might be thought that the past mobility of peoples, and changes of tribal identity, would weaken tribal consciousness, this does not seem to have happened. In Sierra Leone and Liberia, the large non-tribal population of freed slaves from the western world has not assisted in the breakdown of tribal barriers - rather, the Creole has adopted the functions of a tribal group (Banton, 1957). Elsewhere, there are strong feelings between indigenous peoples, no matter how recent their territorial claims, and 'strangers' or non-indigenous people. The strongest divisions are seen between the savannah land peoples, and those of the richer but more recently populated coastal zone.

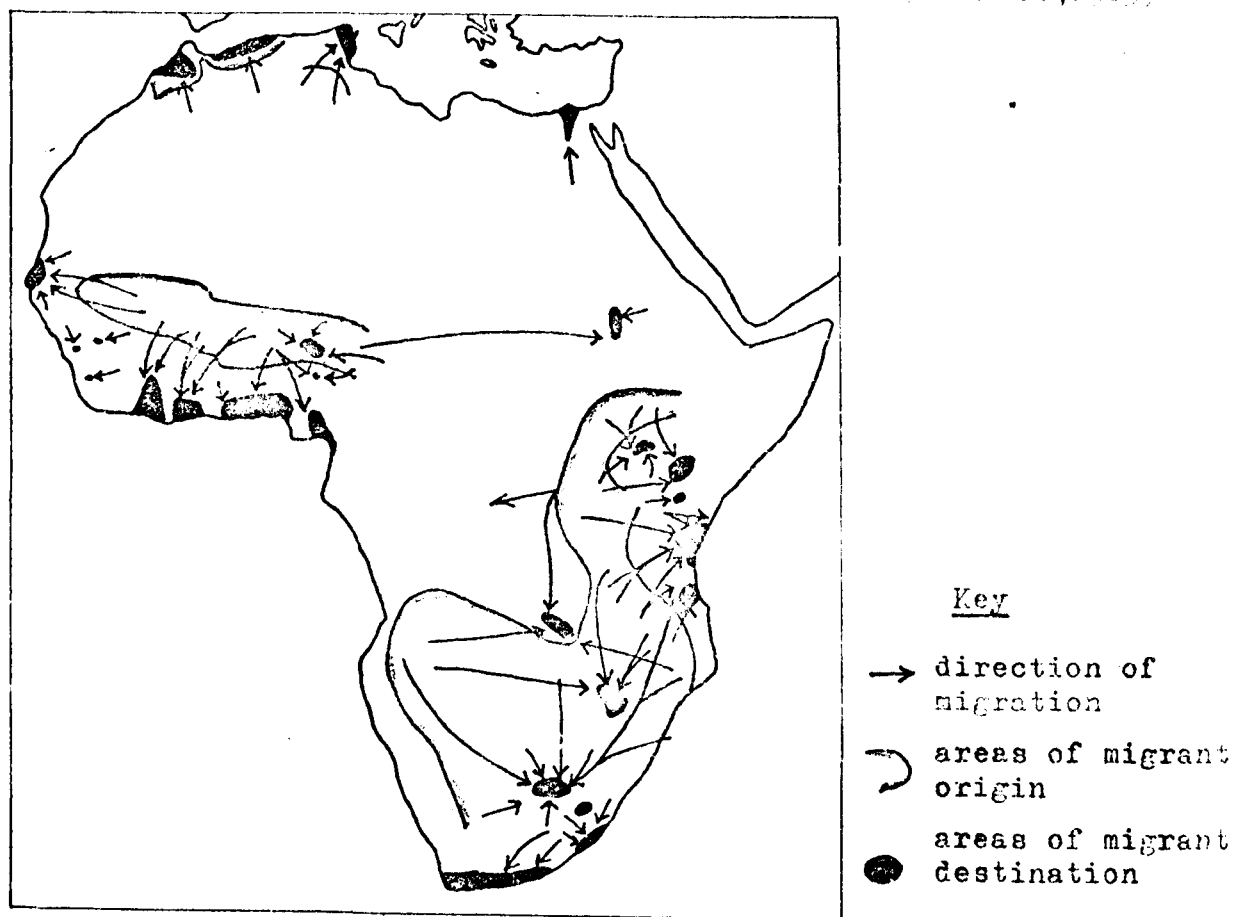
The predominant movement from the interior to the coast is seen throughout the region (see fig. 4.1), with the exception of Nigeria, where the movement is more complex, and there is also some internal migration within countries of the interior towards such cities as Bamako and Ouagadougou. The main migration stream is towards the industries and plantation agriculture of the forest zone. It is estimated (Amin, 1974) that since 1920 the interior has suffered a net population loss of about 26%, while the coast has gained by 21%, with seasonal migration over and above this. The regional total is estimated at 300,000 migrants per annum, of whom 200,000 are seasonal, and this is perceived as detrimental to the source areas, and wasteful in overall resources.

A large proportion of the migration movement is to rural areas, where mining, forestry or farming provides work opportunities. The proportion of migration to urban areas has steadily increased, however, and probably accounts for about half the total movement now. The resultant urban population remains low (13% for Africa as a whole, with 9% in cities over 100,000 population - U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, 1969), but this population is growing fast, with cities doubling in size every ten years.

Typology for West Africa

Within the urban areas, the migrant settlements that develop may

Main Rural-Urban Migration Movements in Africa (Prothero, 1965)



Main Migration Movements in Ghana

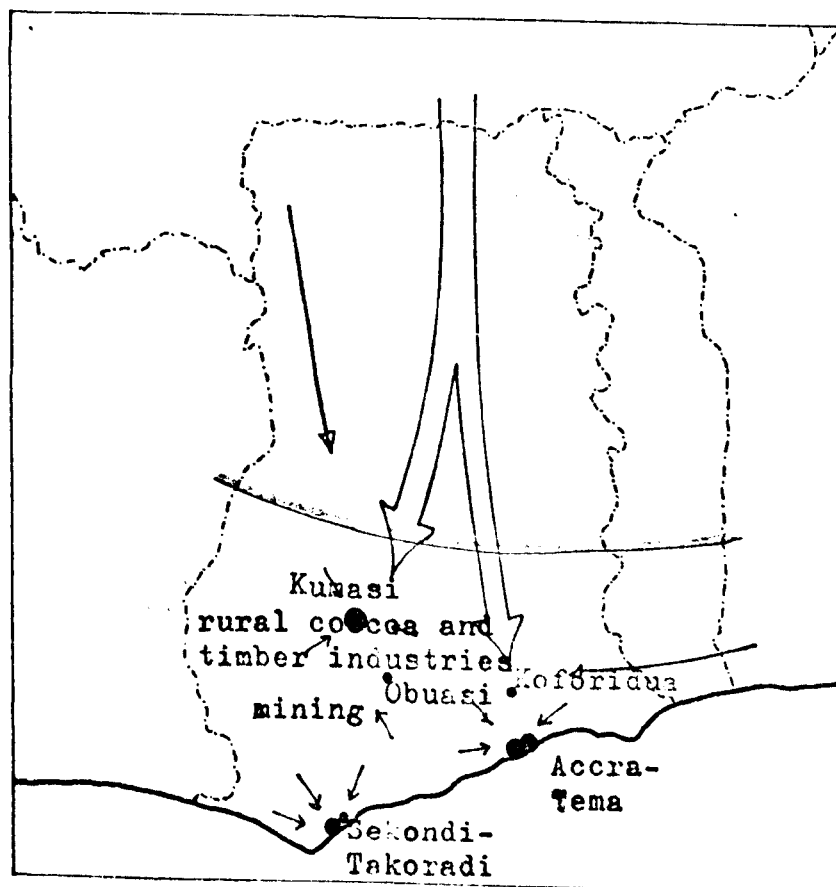


Figure 4.1

be related to the range of characteristics previously described.

the geographical context :

(a) The Natural Environment :

Climate and natural resources have acted as factors in the migration itself. The interior of the Sahel region has been increasingly plagued with droughts, and the land has been impoverished through overstocking. Migration, once started, may have led to further deterioration of agriculture, since those becoming migrants are often those with most initiative and physical ability (Amin, 1974 - though selectivity with regard to education does not seem to operate : Harvey, 1975).

The climate of the interior is characterised by a long hot dry season and a short rainy season. The climate of the coastal zone varies, but typically there are rainy or humid conditions for much of the year, with a short dry season. The more humid conditions have proved suitable for a variety of plantation crops, such as cocoa, rubber, oil palms and coconut palms. The natural forest also provides timber resources which are increasingly being exploited. When cleared, the forest area provides an environment suitable for such crops as pineapple.

The proximity of the coastal zone to ports has given the area an advantage in relation to the production of goods for export, which was encouraged in the colonial era, and which continues to act as the main economic goal of the area. The savannah areas have been little exploited for commerce so far, with the exception of the Senegal/Gambia area, where groundnut production dominates the economy. Most of the production of the savannah lands consists of meat, millet, rice and other foodstuffs for home consumption only, or for trade with the coastal zone.

The climate of the savannah area, with its marked seasons, has encouraged seasonal out-migration in the dry part of the year, when there is little to do in the village, and when supplies of food or money run low. By contrast, food production in the forest zone is less seasonal, and the agricultural activity is more easily spread to take advantage of available labour.

Where migrant settlements develop in urban areas in the coastal zone, the settlement forms are completely different from those found in the savannah areas (see fig. 4.2). Protection from rain is



settlement forms in the West African savannah -
indigenous circular domes huts in Ivory Coast and Senegal

and flat-roofed rectangular compounds in Moslem-influences areas
of north west Ghana and Mali

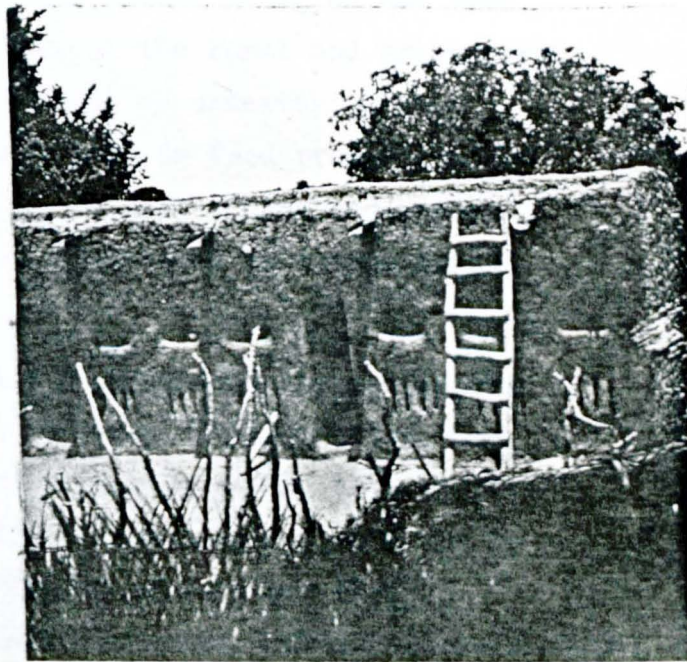


Figure 4.2

important at all times, and the availability of wood makes certain types of construction (post and beam, for example) possible. Climate and natural resources are not the main determinants of the nature of urban housing, however, as is discussed further below. One common problem resulting from climate is land erosion caused by storm drainage. Gulleying of streets is often severe, and the stability of houses is threatened.

(b) Cultural Values :

The most notable cultural aspect of West African migration is the variety of groups, identifying themselves as tribes. Differences can be seen between the groups in the motives for migration, the work they undertake in the urban area, adaptation to the urban area, and relationships with other groups.

Some regional generalizations can be made, however, when comparing with migrants in other parts of the world. Education does not seem to be a major factor motivating migration in West Africa. This is partly because migrants are motivated by short-term rather than long-term goals, and also partly because of the history of colonial and mission activity in the area, which has resulted in many villages having educational facilities superior to those found in the urban area (Gray, 1978). By contrast with reports from other regions, fear of witchcraft is an important factor in motivating out-migration from the rural areas in parts of the region (Prothero, 1965).

A further generalization that can be made is that women in West Africa play an active part in the economy. This is true even of those areas, notably in the interior, where the Moslem religion has been influential (Peil, 1975), and it is true of the rural and urban areas. Women help to farm in the villages, as well as undertaking some specialist activities for extra income, such as food processing or trading. In the urban area, trading is the most common occupation for women, and many individuals gain a great deal of independence as well as wealth through this.

The culture of the coastal area has influenced the settlement forms that migrants adopt, even when building for themselves. The West African courtyard house, with rooms facing inward to a central enclosed space, is convenient for rented accommodation, and can be developed at high densities, often 350-500 persons per hectare (Emery et al, 1966). In Lagos and Ibadan (Nigeria - United Nations, 1964;

Koll, 1972), competition for land has resulted in the shrinking of the courtyard to become a central passage, with street space providing for some of the activities previously confined to the courtyard. More usually in West African urban areas, the courtyard is retained, and used for cooking, eating, bathing, keeping livestock, storage, informal work, and social activities of all sorts.

The cultures of the coastal and savannah areas are notable for the existence of urban traditions, though this has been specific to certain areas, such as the Yoruba territory of Nigeria, and the Hausa-Fulani cities of the interior (Hay, 1977). Much of the region has been relatively untouched by urban influences until recently.

determinants of settlement type :

(a) Urban Location :

The social distance between various tribes in West Africa has resulted in migrants choosing to separate themselves from the native population, physically as well as socially. It is common for a 'strangers' town' (often called a 'zongo', after the Moshie word 'zon' meaning reception area - Marfo, 1974) to be formed some way away from the rest of the town. Migrants from different areas sometimes congregate in different settlements, along tribal lines. Zongos are a traditional settlement pattern even in villages, and they may be seen, for instance, in all major African towns along the pilgrimage route to Mecca (Birks, 1975).

Some of the older migrant settlements have become absorbed into the rapidly expanding towns and cities, so that they have become inner city slums, with increasing overcrowding. Ethnic segregation may persist, however, even in these more central areas.

(b) Permanence of Migration :

While the response to migration opportunity varies between tribes, the most common response in West Africa appears to be temporary migration. Much of the initial migration has been seasonal, and this continues to be important in migration to rural destinations. Where migration occurs to urban areas, however, the periods of residence in the urban areas appear to be increasing (Amin, 1974). Those tribes with an urban tradition, such as the Yoruba, often display a greater tendency to permanent urban settlement (Peil, 1975).

One factor that may influence this tendency to temporary rather than permanent migration is the fact that the majority of migrants have land to go back to, in individual or family ownership (Peil, 1976). In contrast with East Africa, colonization has not resulted in expropriation of land. The village land provides a constant safeguard as an alternative source of income, and some migrants make regular use of this when times are hard in the city (Peil, 1972). Those areas where drought or overpopulation are particularly problematic offer less of a safeguard (Gugler and Flanagan, 1978), though land ownership is still retained, and return migration does take place, often as 'retirement' in old age.

It is notable that even the elite in West Africa may retain their rural links, and appear to at least plan on making their permanent homes in the village (Lloyd, 1974). This contrasts with the pattern among the elite in East Africa (Jacobson, 1973).

(c) Migrant Adaptation :

Rural-urban migrants throughout the world form social groups in the cities based on common place of origin, or other common characteristics. These groups act to give a sense of identity and mutual support, as well as serving a variety of other functions. In West Africa, social groupings are often formed along tribal lines. These have been well documented, and the tribal associations formed by migrants throughout the region seem to be similar in many respects (Little, 1965).

For the first generation, tribal associations may act as replacements for kinship networks, though they may be inadequate replacements in some respects, exerting less social control at the individual level (Pullen, 1967). Their importance in giving identity reinforcement, making the migrant feel more secure, and therefore better able to cope with the unfamiliar urban environment, is well recognized, however (Epstein, 1969). Schildkrout (1974) finds that in the second generation, migrants have no need for a kinship replacement mechanism if they have real kin in the urban area, but they retain tribal associations of a more formal kind to reinforce their tribal identity.

The degree of tribal mixing found in migrant settlements varies, depending on the tribal interrelationships. Little (1965) describes how Zabrama from Niger act as a 'supertribalist' group, remaining

aloof from other groups, maintaining separation of housing where possible. With some other groups, there is a greater tendency to mix socially, and intermarriage may be common. Some individuals may, in fact, change their tribal identity by choice, for convenience. This is possible only in a situation where facial markings are no longer precisely descriptive of tribal identity (Armitage, 1924), and where classifications of tribe are made vague by intermarriage. Even some of the groupings themselves may be vague, as a 'tribe' does not always relate to an ethnic group, but sometimes merely to location or language groups. Some tribes are very small, and are little more than clans; in this situation, a migrant in the urban area may choose to identify with a larger group that encompasses several smaller ones, all being known in different contexts as 'tribes' (Schildkrout, 1978).

Associations or informal groupings apart from tribal ones are found among first and second generation migrants, and some cut across tribal barriers. Religious associations are an example, and the Moslem religion has been particularly successful in spreading a system of values which facilitates tribal mixing (Schildkrout, 1974). Other societies include savings groups, mutual benefit societies, trade societies, entertainment groups - often based on traditional music and dancing, and Christian groups. The youth clubs encouraged in Nigeria are well documented (Bogden, 1969), and sports associations are also popular, often centred on football.

(d) Reactions of the Host Culture :

Because of tribal differences, the relationship between incoming migrants and the 'indigenous' urban population in West Africa has potential for much hostility. The tendency for most migrants to regard themselves as only temporary settlers in the urban area has prevented the establishment of an urbanized pressure group of former migrants, which might give support to migrants when hostility is threatened, or act to mediate between migrants and the urban authorities. Migrants rarely gain access to positions of power in the urban area, and this results in a situation where the urban authorities take decisions arising from the preference of the host group, and leaves the migrants vulnerable to economic exploitation as well as actual persecution.

The fact that migrants provide a supply of labour which can often be used cheaply to carry out jobs disliked by the host group usually discourages the authorities from taking action to prevent in-migration

to the cities. However, there have been cases of action taken against migrants, to send them back to their places of origin. Fair and Davies (1976) describe actions taken in Niger, 1962, and several other parts of Africa including Ghana, in 1969. Such situations have essentially been political demonstrations, and have not led to continuous policy.

Apart from being physically ejected from the cities in this way, migrants may also be threatened by the city authorities attempting to destroy their settlements. The fact that many newly independent governments view migrant settlements as unsightly and substandard reinforces more deeply rooted tribal prejudices. Few clearances of any scale have taken place in West Africa, though the urban authorities often have the explicit intention of clearing migrant settlements, and have the capacity for carrying this out.

(e) Relationships between Migrant Groups :

The particular characteristics of West African migrant settlements is that a variety of tribal groups exists, implying some degree of social segregation. Intertribal relationships vary from friendly to hostile, usually based on historic traditions of allegiance or dispute.

Cohen's (1969) observations of 'detrribalization' and 'retribalization' are relevant here. Detribalization involves the dismantling of traditional attitudes to the tribal group, which may or may not lead to a blurring of tribal divisions, reflected by such phenomena as tribal intermarriage. Retribalization is a re-interpretation of the function and meaning of 'tribe' in the urban setting, which leads to the establishment of a different sort of grouping, reinforcing ethnic divisions.

(f) Population Balance :

The sex imbalance of migrants in West African settlements seems to be less marked than in many other parts of the world. When migrant settlements are first forming, and seasonal migration plays an important part, the majority of the migrants are men. However, as migration continues, and periods of residence in the urban area lengthen, women are also attracted as migrants. In West African cities, they are attracted not only to accompany their menfolk, but also to work, particularly in informal trading. Some settlements now have a surplus of females over males (United Nations, 1968); others such as Bamako in Mali appear to be well balanced (Meillassoux,

1968), while there are still others, such as Kwesimintsim in Sekondi-Takoradi, Ghana, where a large surplus of males over females is reported (Foley, 1972). There is some variation in the proportions of male to female migrants found in the various tribal groups (Weinberg, 1969).

The proportion of children and elderly dependants to working adults is very low in West African migrant settlements, compared with other regions. The low proportion of elderly people may be accounted for by a preference for returning to the place of origin on retirement, if not before, and the recency of migration as a phenomenon - which makes it unlikely that many migrants will have yet reached old age, as well as the generally low life expectation in the region. The small proportion of children in the urban area may be attributed to the West African practice of 'fostering' children, either with relatives or with others, for convenience (E. Goody, 1975). In the context of rural-urban migration, it is convenient for migrants to leave their children in the village, or send them back, and a large number do this. Migrants may also try to limit the number of children they have, by various means.

welfare characteristics

(a) Housing and Street Space :

As a generalization for the region, the type of housing found in migrant settlements in West Africa may be briefly described. Mudbrick courtyard housing is used in densely packed settlements to provide accommodation that migrants may rent. There are some instances of large boarding houses being built, but these may be peculiar to Nigeria (Pullen, 1967).

Attempts to upgrade settlements involve the use of cement rendering to protect the mud, or the gradual replacement of mud walls with some form of cement-mixed block. Corrugated metal roofs have already replaced thatch as the most common form of roofing in most settlements. The provision of subsidized public housing has generally involved low rise detached units, each surrounded by garden space, in contrast with the 'inside-out' pattern of traditional development (Rapoport, 1977).

(b) Environmental Health :

The level of services found in settlements is poor, but there is insufficient data for comparative study. Statistics on numbers of standpipes or public latrines, for example, say nothing about the level

of private servicing. The overall impression is that the level of public servicing is virtually nil.

The response of local authorities to the problems caused by migrant settlements seems to have been mainly negative. Although some low-cost serviced housing estates have been built, these have predictably been beyond the means of most migrants. There has been some experimentation with site-and-service and core-house schemes, but these are mainly restricted to small isolated projects, and there has been little evidence of commitment to solving the large scale problems. Senegal and Upper Volta have developed site-and-service schemes on a larger scale, using foreign aid (United Nations, 1978), but the regional impact of this form of development is small compared with East Africa, and some other parts of the world.

(c) Work Activities :

Whatever the main motivating factor for villagers migrating to urban areas, the economic situation in the urban areas is important in encouraging or discouraging this migration. The earlier phase of migration, where rural enterprises provided the main attraction, gave incoming migrants wages in return for their labour. The initial phase of migration to the cities, when the public administrative sector was expanding, and industries were newly established, may also have provided much wage employment for migrants. There seems little doubt, however, that in-migration has outpaced the provision of formal jobs in most urban areas, and Peil considers that the economic situation in some West African cities now acts as a disincentive to migration (Peil, 1972).

The informal sector is particularly strong in West Africa, and this has absorbed much of the migrant workforce. To some extent, West Africa has a tradition of informal industry, some of which provided the economic base for the earliest towns. Onakerhoraye (1976) comments on this in relation to Nigeria, and Bray (1969) describes settlements based on such informal activity. More recently, the informal sector has been important in developing transport and trading services, and Hart (1970) describes this in relation to Ghana. Not all informal workers are so successful, however, and many use whatever opportunity is apparent to obtain a means of barest survival.

(d) Non-Work Activities :

While some formal workers are involved in work activity for a

large proportion of the time, and informal workers may also work for long hours, some individuals combining two or more jobs to earn their living, much of the workforce in the informal sector is 'underemployed' in relation to its work capacity. However, the time left free from work pursuits may be highly valued for other purposes - looking after children, socializing with neighbours, dancing, singing, gambling, drinking and so on. It would be misleading to think of the time spent in such leisure pursuits as being 'wasted' time in economic terms, and some individuals may deliberately choose activities which leave them with a large amount of leisure time.

(e) Security of Tenure :

The land tenure situation in West Africa often results in a particularly complex and ambiguous situation in urban areas. Some governments have nationalized land, or converted it to freehold patterns on western lines. More commonly, they have superimposed modern systems of land control over the traditional systems of tenure, and these two systems have not been readily compatible (Green, 1972).

There are some variations between different groups in West Africa, but there seems to be a broadly common tradition for chiefs to control the allocation of land for specific uses, and for all ownership of the land to be by the chief on behalf of the tribal ancestors. Some land, such as farms, may be in common or individual ownership (Pogucki, 1950). Most land, however, falls into the 'usufruct' category, where the right to use the land may be acquired, but not outright ownership. Usufruct title may sometimes be inherited or exchanged without reference to the chief (Ollenu, 1971). Traditionally, the usufruct was acquired by making a nominal donation to the chief. In urban areas, because of the high level of demand for plots, chiefs are able to 'sell' plots for substantial sums. Because records are not kept, and perhaps also because of dishonesty on the part of some of the chiefs, situations arise where several individuals have paid for the same plot (Bentsi-Enchill, 1971).

Transplanting the village tradition into an urban market economy is disruptive enough, but the superimposing of planning regulations makes the situation even more complex. Within most urban areas, authority should be obtained from the local government body for any development - again on the basis of land use. Permission to use the land may be obtained for a fee - precisely a duplication of the

chieftaincy role. However, there is no identification of common purpose between the chief and the local authorities. A chief may sell plots where the local authority has zoned the land for non-residential purposes, the chief's incentive being to increase the population under his jurisdiction. Developers are often unaware of the need for planning authorization, having obtained full authorization according to traditional land control practices.

Thus West African migrant settlements often fall into the category of 'unauthorized' settlements, but the actual situation may be peculiar to the region. True 'squatting' is limited to isolated cases, such as that quoted by Peil (1978) from the Ivory Coast.

Migration into Ghana

history of migration

The population of the savannah areas has been much more stable in terms of cultural identity than that of the coastal zone. The Moshie-Dagomba states, especially stable throughout their history, date back to the eleventh century, and remained largely independent until some fell to the Ashanti in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The coastal peoples have taken the identity of tribes who migrated in from elsewhere, largely from the north. These migrating tribes conquered and either displaced or absorbed the indigenous populations. The latest of these major tribal movements was that of the Ewe from further east, who moved into what is now eastern Ghana and western Togo in the eighteenth century.

The largest historical tribal movement into the coastal zone was that of the Akan peoples, who arrived in waves from the thirteenth century onwards, and occupied much of present day Ghana and Ivory Coast. Various small tribes within this major group established control over large amounts of territory for periods of time. The largest of these 'empires' was that of the Ashanti, formed by a group that moved into the area around the eventual site of Kumasi, to exploit the current trade in gold and kola, which was dispatched northwards (Stride and Ifeka, 1971). This trade became even more significant in the seventeenth century, when trade with the coast became important, and the Ashanti expanded their territory and exploited the economic opportunities of the time, which then included the slave trade. The peak of territorial expansion for the Ashanti came in 1824, after which the empire gradually disintegrated, aided in this process by

the British invasion. The Ashanti remained a powerful group, both economically (controlling much of the timber and cocoa industries) and politically. Kumasi is now Ghana's second city, and it has traditional importance as a market centre, playing a major rôle in the Ashanti economy.

With the creation of the powerful Ashanti state (c.1700) and the demand for slaves as well as the local production of gold, ivory and kola, migrant traders were attracted to southern Ghana from the north. First were the Wangara, and much later (after 1800) the Hausa. The Hausa became the best established traders, travelling with large parties of 3,000 people and more, including slaves, across huge distances. As well as bringing slaves to the Ashanti, they also brought cloth, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century they were well established in the cattle trade.

Territorial expansion of the Ashanti northwards led to the displacement of many northerners, as conquered peoples were often brought back to Ashanti as workers, or were moved to areas on the coast around Accra, Keta and Cape Coast. This displacement was accelerated by the activities of the slave raiders Samori and Babatu. The northerners were settled in a separate part of Kumasi, termed the 'zongo', and this separate settlement was well established by the early nineteenth century. Relations between the Ashanti and the zongo residents have varied, with occasional periods of hostility (Wilks, 1961), and other periods of mutual respect. The establishment of Moslem schools in the zongo led many Ashanti to aspire to education, and some of these attended the Arabic schools.

The European occupation, at the turn of the century, created a demand for labour to work on constructing railways in the south (Rouch, 1954). There was a great shortage of labour in southern Ghana, and the arrival of migrants from the north was welcomed. Northerners were perceived as a useful reservoir of labour, and this attitude remains with many southern Ghanaians today, explaining much of the current exploitation (Prah, 1974). The gold mines attracted more workers, and by 1909 there were 15,000 people working in the mines of Obuasi and Tarkwa. The great cocoa boom occurred between 1901 and 1912, creating a further demand for labour.

Most of the initial migration was from Upper Volta, Mali and Niger. Migrants from northern Ghana came southward in great numbers about 1910. People travelled on foot, in bands of 20-60 for protection, and bringing animals, tobacco and salt to sell on the way.

In the 1920s-30s road links to Ouagadougou were completed, Accra was linked to Kumasi by rail, and the new port of Takoradi was developed. Also manganese and diamond mining began. Migration was accelerated, and the movement south became particularly great after about 1930. In 1921 there were thought to be 50,000 northern migrants in the south, of whom 12,000 were from the French Territories. By 1935 large trunk roads had been opened to the north, and lorry travel made migration safer and quicker. A setback to migration was the closure of the French frontiers in 1940, but the end of World War II saw the frontiers open again and a new rush of migrants southward. The proportion of migrants from the French colonies was as much as two thirds of all those moving southwards as late as the 1950s (Davison, 1954), though it is thought to have decreased now. Movement across borders has become more difficult since independence, which has particularly discouraged seasonal migration.

The earlier phase of migration, during the first half of the twentieth century, saw much seasonal migration, involving men only. Migrants would leave their villages in groups after the harvest, and return for the following planting season. Taxation introduced in the rural areas (Skinner, 1965) necessitated the earning of regular cash. Occasional rural famine, such as encouraged the Zabrama to migrate from Niger, has increased the flow of migrants southward.

Migration into urban areas has occurred particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. Kumasi has continued to grow as a market centre, and various processing industries have been established. Takoradi has grown as a port. Accra was developed as a capital by the British, and has become the largest urban centre, its importance as an administrative centre being increased after independence. Various smaller towns, such as Tamale, have grown as district administrative centres. Migration into these areas has occurred both from nearby rural areas, and from places further afield, especially from the north. Those from nearby have usually been assimilated into the urban population, while other migrants have confined themselves to separate zongos or other migrant settlements. Migration for longer periods has become the norm, with some permanent migration taking place with particular groups. Women have recently formed a significant part of the migrant population.

migrant settlements

Migrant settlements in Ghana fall mainly into the pattern for West Africa described previously. However, some variation may be identified. Studies of particular settlements have not always been consistent in the characteristics examined, but some differences in characteristics may be noted.

First, there is some variation in the tribal composition of different urban areas, between different migrant settlements in the same centre as well as between different urban centres. A large proportion of migrants from Upper Volta has settled in Kumasi (le Moal, undated), for historical reasons as well as resulting from chain migration. There appear to be far more Zabrama in Accra (Little, 1965). As well as these marked differences, specific migrant settlements may be dominated by particular groups - Tamale has a Moshie Zongo and a Hausa Zongo (al Hassan, undated), and Kumasi has settlements where tribal segregation is extreme, such as the Ewe settlement of Awunaga (Kumah, 1975).

Other characteristics vary with tribal grouping, and one of these is work type. This may explain in part the preference of certain groups for particular urban areas, where the appropriate work opportunities are available. Hill (1970(i)) found that even though 'tribe' is often a matter of self-classification rather than cultural background, occupation was closely related to self-classification of tribe in the 1960 Census, where 92 different tribal groups were identified. Little (1965) found that the proportion of wage-earning to other occupations varied between urban areas, and Kumasi seems to have had a comparatively low level of wage employment in the 1950s, which has probably continued. This suggests a tradition of self-employed artisans, or other informal workers.

Population balance may also vary with tribal grouping. Weinberg (1969) reports very few women among the Zabrama and Hausa, proportions of about one woman to three men among the Moshie and Busanga, and equal proportions among the Fulani and Wangara, for example. Such variation may account for the fact that there is serious sex imbalance in Kwesimintsim, Sekondi-Takoradi (Foley, 1972), while other settlements appear to be better balanced now. Balance is also affected by the age of the settlements, and the longer established areas are more likely to have a higher proportion of women in the population.

There is some difference in land tenure between different parts of the country, but this is not major. Private freehold ownership is seen in some parts of Accra (de Graft Johnson, 1971), and the migrant settlement of Ashaiman outside Tema exists on state land. The rest of the country is largely controlled by the traditional caretaker chiefs.

Formal and informal associations are formed in Ghanaian settlements as elsewhere. Abloh (1971) lists some 23 formal tribal associations existing in Kumasi in 1966. Many tribal associations are informally constituted, so that a far larger number probably functioned. Mutual benefit groups are formed, and other practical organizations perform specific functions. An example of this is the Landlords' Association reported fighting for better sanitation in Kwesimintsim (Foley, 1972). Trade unions are active in some parts, though their activities are often constrained by the political climate, and they serve formal rather than formal workers (Damachi, 1974).

The migrant settlements in Ghana are commonly mud-brick courtyard houses on a grid-iron pattern (the traditional Akan pattern, symbolizing the urban way of life, Oliver, 1975). Some timber houses are seen in parts of the urban areas, but these are exceptional (Dept. Housing and Planning Research, 1971(ii)). The migrant settlements are similar to low-income areas inhabited by the indigenous population in form and construction, though densities may be higher, and their separation from the rest of the urban area may be clearly marked. Some migrant settlements have grown up around or adjacent to rural villages.

Abloh (1967) reports densities of 500 persons per acre, reaching 1000 per acre in some parts. Many areas are less dense than this, however, particularly those situated at the urban periphery. A more consistent measure of density may be the number of persons per dwelling, which Clinard estimates to be about 20 (Clinard, 1966). Houses are typically subdivided for rent, with one nuclear family usually renting one room.

The sizes of the various Ghanaian migrant settlements vary considerably, affecting the severity of the environmental problems found in them. Nima in Accra contains about 60,000 people (Peil, 1976), and is the largest. Accra also has several other large migrant settlements such as Zongo Lane, Sabon Zongo, Accra New Town and Agboghloshie (Tetteh, undated; Abloh, 1967). Ashaiman in Tema is also large, with 20,000 people. Migrant settlements elsewhere

commonly consist of 3-10,000 people. In Takoradi and Tema, the migrant population is concentrated in a single settlement, whereas in Kumasi and some smaller towns there are several migrant settlements.

Ghana's rate of urbanization is high, even within the West African context. Cities are more than doubling in population each decade, and 75% of city growth is attributed to in-migration. The actual level of urbanization is also high at over 30%, now exceeding Senegal to become the most urbanized country within the region (Hay, 1977).

intervention in the migration process

While there has been much innovation in some areas of housing, assisting the low-income population, intervention has rarely been positive in assisting their welfare. Two examples of detrimental intervention are the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969, and the clearance of Nima, which began in the mid-1970s.

The Aliens Compliance Order was made following violence among Kumasi Moslems in 1968 (Wilks, 1971). The Order amounted to a forced return for many aliens, some of whom were put on buses to the border, while others left voluntarily. Some Ghanaian migrants were confused about the meaning of the Order, and returned to their villages in fear. Altogether over 200,000 foreign nationals left their workplaces in southern Ghana, leaving behind chaos in the cocoa industry, as well as in other sectors of the economy (Adomako-Sarfo, 1974). While the provisions of the Order were subsequently relaxed through economic necessity, aliens are still officially prohibited from engaging in a number (37 in all) of work activities, including trading. This prohibition is not enforced, however.

The clearance of Nima, the largest migrant settlement, is a project that has long been promised in the interest of removing unsightly and insanitary development. It is opposed by a philanthropic movement 'Operation Help Nima' (Wellington, 1969). There has been little attempt to provide houses for the present inhabitants. The government's intentions are not clear - the environmental problems will obviously not be solved by clearing Nima, as the migrants will have to settle elsewhere, poorer than before. Perhaps it is hoped that some will return to their villages. Indeed, the lack of improvement of migrant settlements generally may be due to a perceived need to discourage in-migration.

There have been some attempts to develop subsidized housing for low-income migrants in Ghana. Some low-cost housing schemes have been built, although in practice these have served middle-income families. A more realistic approach was taken with the development of 'core houses' providing very basic accommodation, which could be extended through time to become a traditional courtyard house. This form of dwelling was extensively used in resettlement villages built when the Volta Dam was planned, rehousing about 80,000 displaced villagers (Tamakloe, 1971). The concept has been further developed, and pilot projects constructed in Tema (Pfister, 1971).

On a more modest scale, a project which was effective in upgrading a great many dwellings was the Roof Loan Scheme (United Nations, 1969), put into effect in the rural areas. Villagers formed themselves into housing societies, and obtained four year loans to re-roof their properties with durable materials. Poor roofing was held responsible for much dilapidation of mud-brick dwellings, especially in the rural areas where thatch was still in use. The scheme is no longer in operation.

On a much larger scale, the construction of the New Town of Tema was a bold attempt to increase the stock of low-income housing. Careful planning used the neighbourhood concept, with 3-5,000 people relating to the size of a typical Ghanaian village (United Nations, 1971). Even this recent centre has been unable to supply adequate housing at the right cost for those who need it, and the adjacent migrant settlement of Ashaiman is the result, housing 20,000 people compared with 75,000 for Tema itself. The only migrant settlement where a measure of approval and assistance has been given is Ashaiman, where the Tema Development Corporation has eventually decided to service and upgrade the settlement (Djangmah, 1974). It remains to be seen whether this will be implemented.

State subsidized low-cost housing estates have been built in some parts, such as Teshie Satellite City, Medina and Dansoman, with about 1,000 units each (United Nations, 1971). However, there has been much publicity in Ghana over the corrupt practices evident from the allocation of some of the houses, which has clearly benefited the more affluent elements of Ghanaian society (Jeffries, 1978).

While there is little indication that the government wishes to upgrade the housing or services of migrant settlements generally,

there are signs that an urbanization policy has begun to emerge. The 1975-80 Plan indicated that the aim was to be dispersed growth, with the establishment of 60 district capitals (McNulty, 1976)..This could have the potential of assisting rural development, and easing population pressure on the largest cities. However, recent political upheaval has disrupted such long term strategies.

CHAPTER FIVE

KUMASI AND AYIJA

Kumasi is Ghana's second largest city, with a population of over 350,000 (1970), compared with 650,000 for Accra. It is much larger than the next largest towns, Sekondi-Takoradi with 160,000 and Tema with 100,000. It has grown from a settlement of about 3,000 in 1901, reaching over 70,000 by 1948, and over 180,000 by 1960 (Abloh, 1967). Some of this increase is due to a high birthrate among its residents, and some due to expansion of the boundary to include more outlying villages, but a large proportion of the increase must be attributed to in-migration. Ayija is a migrant settlement on the eastern periphery, with a population of about 8,000.

the growth of Kumasi

By the nineteenth century, the settlement of Kumasi had developed into two distinct sectors : that of the indigenous Ashanti population, and the zongo inhabited by people who originated in the north. Physically these two areas were separated by marshland.

When the British invaded Kumasi and set up an administration, a third sector was created - that of the Ridge. As in many other tropical cities, the European colonists preferred to settle on higher land, to minimize the danger from malarial mosquitoes (Marfo, 1974).

It is perhaps illustrative of the dramatic growth and change that has taken place that this basic structure of the town is now unrecognizable. The Europeans left the Ridge, and part of it was developed for commerce, with some of the remaining residential area becoming a home for wealthy Ghanaians. The Zongo's growth was curtailed, so that it ceased to have a function as the main residential area for northerners. The marsh separating the Zongo was drained to provide a market site, so that the previous barrier became a focal meeting place. The indigenous sector was affected by the influx of Ashanti and other southern migrants, resulting in dispersed growth with some tribal segregation (see fig. 5.1).

There have been several stimuli to Kumasi's continued growth. Its traditional role as the dominant centre of Ashanti Region has

Some Suburbs and Villages in and near Kumasi

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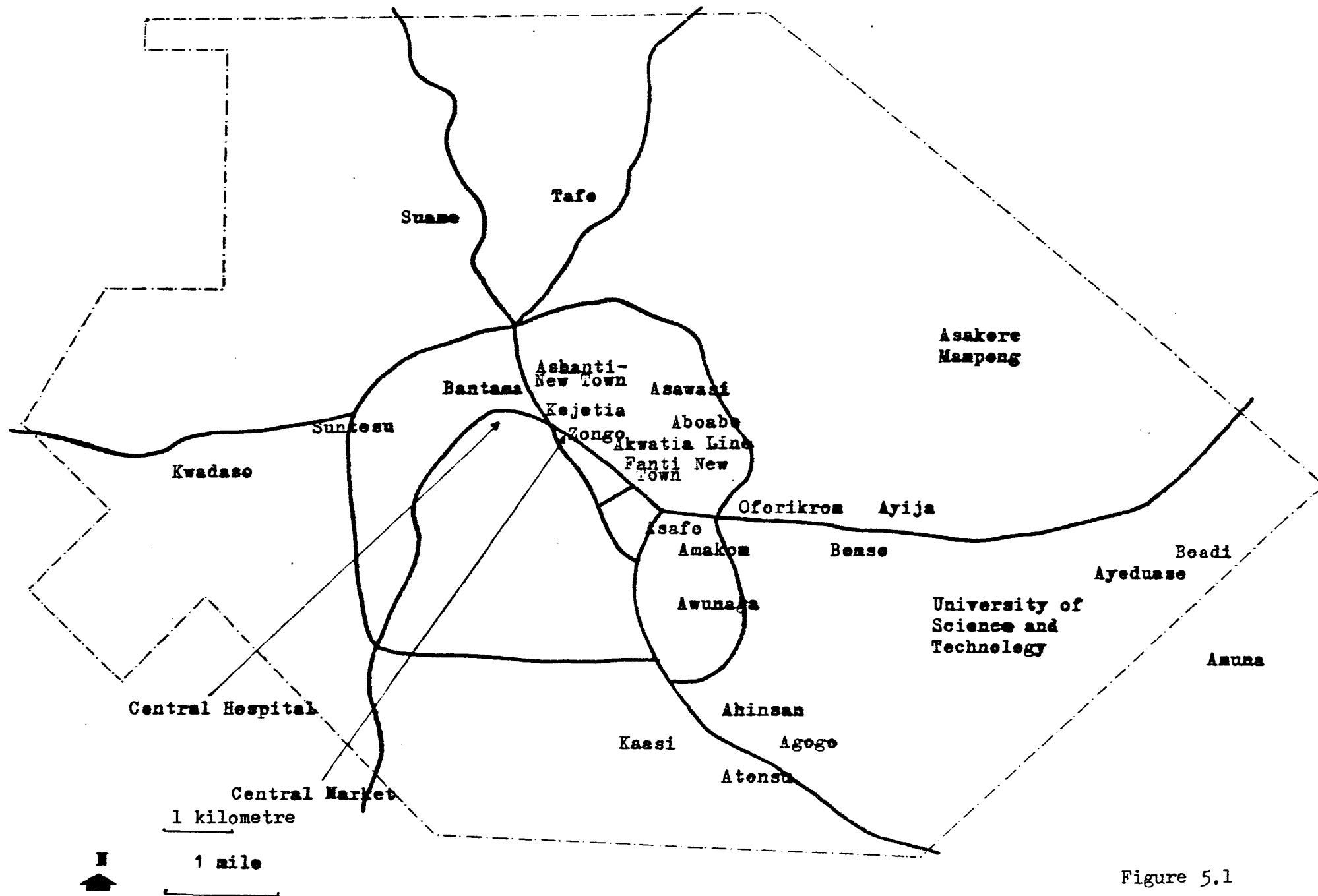


Figure 5.1

assumed great importance as the region has developed, producing gold and diamonds, cocoa and timber, as well as foodstuffs. Kumasi acts as a market town, as well as an industrial town in processing many of the raw materials, and a major administrative centre.

The Central Market, which functions in distributing retail and wholesale goods, is one of the largest markets in Africa. It occupies 25 acres, and provides workspaces for about 9,000 traders (Peil, 1972). Its size, which gives it the capacity for a wide variety of goods to be on sale in the same vicinity, and facilitates competition between sellers of the same goods, is its main advantage. Traffic congestion of the city centre is an increasing problem, particularly as the city grows outwards beyond easy walking distance of the market. Other markets have grown up along the main approach roads to the city, and some of these have been successful in becoming major distribution points for certain goods, such as Asafo market to the east. Smaller markets exist within most residential areas, to distribute household goods to the least mobile section of the community.

Kumasi's importance as a market centre continues to be crucial. Its central location in relation to the country as a whole strengthens it in this role. However, the 1950s saw the city's economy diversifying, through a considerable amount of investment. Several factories were established, some producing goods for domestic consumption (e.g. beverages) and some producing goods for export (e.g. various timber processing industries, Peil, 1972). In addition, a College of Technology was established in 1953, which has subsequently achieved university status. This has had a great impact on the city's growth (Church, 1974), not only economically through the provision of jobs, but also physically. A large area of land is taken up by the University campus, and workers' housing is in great demand in the area immediately surrounding the campus boundary.



Apart from the market, Kumasi has other informal industries which employ large numbers of people, and some of these have considerable economic importance, contributing at least as much to the economy as formal establishments. Specialist activities are often undertaken by a large number of entrepreneurs operating in the same area, and each business by itself employing only a few individuals, but with co-operation between businesses so as to provide a comprehensive service. The car repair workshops of Suame Magazine are an example of this, with individual workshops specializing in different

manufacturers for spare parts (Sunnun, 1973). Another specialist area is Awunaga where over one third of household heads work as self-employed carpenters in making various goods (Kumah, 1975). Aboabo and Ahinsan are areas where charcoal burners operate, this time with each business producing similar goods, but in a situation of high demand for the product (Welsing, 1974). Charcoal produced by the informal sector is sought by some formal industries, as well as by householders for domestic fuel, and by informal industries.

The growth of residential areas in Kumasi appears to have been greatly influenced by the traditional pattern of land control, whereby chiefs have authority over relatively small areas of land around a hamlet or village, and are responsible for controlling the settlement form through land allocation. Chiefs receive income from their subject peoples, and it is therefore in their interest to attract larger populations to their territories. In situations of great demand for land, when the allocation of land may attract a considerable price rather than the traditional nominal payment, there is even greater incentive for chiefs to encourage residential development. In most cases this has resulted in the expansion of original hamlets into distinct pockets of urban settlement, according to traditional boundaries. In a few cases, the chiefs have set aside an area of land for development which is separate from the original settlement. Thus the city has grown by gradual expansion of small peripheral settlements rather than by the creation of large new residential zones (see fig . 5.2). This process seems to be continuing, with more distant peripheral villages competing to attract population. The resultant city is remarkable for its low overall density, despite the high density of individual pockets of development. Areas of farmland may be seen in many parts of the urban area, for example.

The location of various industries in Kumasi, as well as the University of Science and Technology, has taken advantage of the dispersed population. Many of these centres of employment are located well away from the city centre, providing employment opportunities for the surrounding suburban population, with minimal travel costs. This ideal situation has deteriorated in recent years, however, as the demand for jobs now greatly exceeds supply, so that potential workers compete for jobs regardless of location, and many who live near to one factory find themselves having to travel across the city to work in another. Many jobs are insecure, so that the costs

Location of Ayija and Comparable Housing Areas in Kumasi

-  migrant housing
-  village areas with some migrant intake

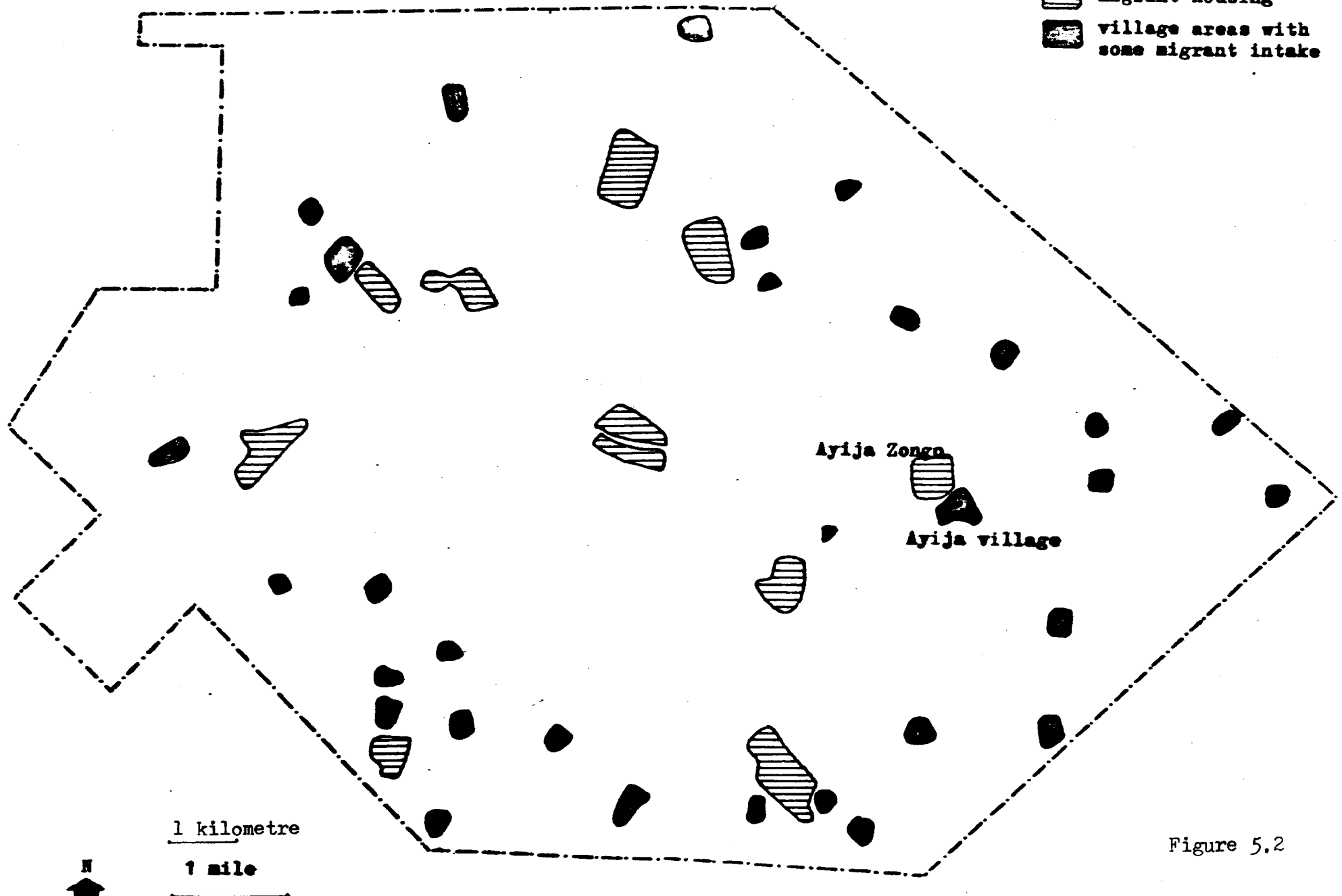


Figure 5.2

of moving house near to employment may not be justified.

The period of greatest growth through the influx of southerners is thought to have been 1910-1945 (Tetteh, 1967). The main groups involved were the Ashanti, the Fanti, and the Ewe (from Togo as well as southern Ghana). Settlements that grew from this in-migration were Ashanti New Town, New Amakom, Fanti New Town, Oforikrom, and more recently Awunaga and Atonsua-Agogo. The settlements have followed the traditional Ashanti pattern of grid-iron layout and densely packed courtyard housing, and there is little difference in physical character between one settlement and another.

A further type of development which seems to have served southerners is the building of several government-sponsored housing estates. Examples of these are the Asawasi Estate, North and South Suntresu Estates, Kwadaso Estate and Zongo Estate. Each of these has now been extended through unauthorized building activity (Houlberg, 1973). Public housing is continuing to be built, with several developments being evident in the Ahinsan area. Often these schemes serve the middle income rather than the low-income groups, though the subsidized rents would be within reach of some of the latter. The type of development is different from the traditional, consisting of small detached bungalows centrally placed on comparatively large plots of land. While such houses have probably been allocated to middle-income families because of their greater influence and contacts, and in the absence of clear guidelines on identifying the greatest housing need, there may also be reasons why such developments would not be attractive to low-income households. The low density reduces the possibility for informal work through distribution and services, which is a disadvantage both for potential workers and for those who need such services. The house layout makes it difficult to subdivide houses into one-roomed rental units, which is what is most in demand. Nevertheless, the access to plots of land which could be used for growing vegetables, and the provision of services to these subsidized houses, might help to balance the disadvantages, if the poor could gain access to such developments.

Northern migrants have traditionally had to find their own solutions to their housing need, and the settlements that they have created reflect this pattern. The city authorities seem to have been particularly unsupportive towards these settlements, and in some cases have taken steps to clear them. The original Zongo has suffered three slum clearance actions since 1925, and development

was frozen in 1963, which has greatly limited its size. In 1910, the Zongo represented about 20% of the city, whereas it now contains only about 1% of the total population. The population structure of the Zongo now shows a high proportion of households with long residence in the city, and many were born and raised in the Zongo. Some migrants stay temporarily in the Zongo when they first arrive in Kumasi, often lodging with friends or relatives, but they soon move out to other areas (Southall, 1967).

Major areas of settlement for northerners are Sabon Zongo, Aboabo, Ayija Zongo and Moshie Zongo (Abloh, 1975), which have mainly grown since the 1950s. In these settlements, although the traditional Ashanti chief retains control of the land, northerners have been appointed as zongo chiefs, to control other aspects of the administration. Many different tribes are represented in these settlements and, as in the original Kumasi Zongo, an urban culture has developed in some isolation from the indigenous culture, based on Hausa as a language and Islam as a religion. Moshies and Busangas from Upper Volta are well represented among the earliest migrants, and many of these have built houses for letting to newcomers. There is some absentee landlordism reported (Houlberg, 1973). The form of settlement is similar to the traditional Ashanti pattern (and therefore different from the northerners' own cultural traditions) although the housing is often more densely packed. Most accommodation is let out as single room units.

A recent trend appears to be for northerners and southerners to mingle in the same settlement, even renting adjacent rooms in the same houses. This 'infiltration' is apparent both in those settlements previously dominated by southerners and in the northerners' zongos. It would be tempting to deduce that this reflects a reduction of inter-tribal hostility, and a greater awareness of common nationality, but this is not necessarily the case. Greater individuality, combined with a priority for maximizing the economic advantage of location, perhaps provides the explanation.

The more recently expanding hamlets on the present periphery seem to be attracting population on the basis of locational or economic advantages rather than ethnic segregation. Whether this will continue to be so remains to be seen; if so, it would represent a new phase in the city's growth. Villages which have been or are being expanded and absorbed as integral parts of the city are Ayija,

Kentenkrono, Oduom, Bremang, Old Tafo, Pankrono, Sipe Tinpom, Chirapatre, Ayeduase, Gyinyasi, Kotei, Ahinsan, Bomso, Adukum, Adrom and Oforikrom (Abloh, 1971), and Kaase.

the growth of Ayija

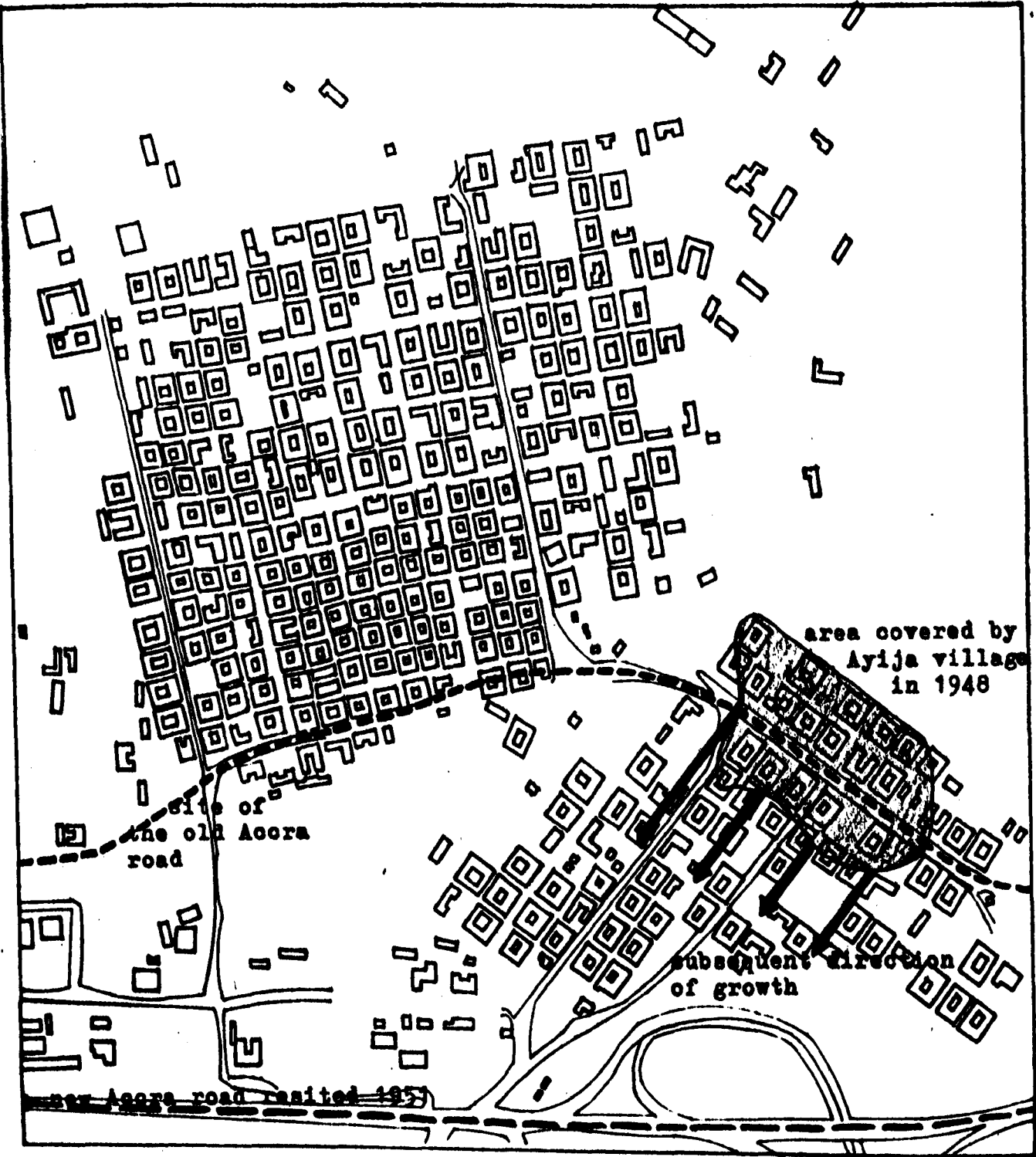
Ayija's origins date back to those of Kumasi itself. Osei Tutu (c.1700), the founder of Kumasi, took as a wife the queen of Asakyire, a village near to Bekwai in Ashanti Region. She was given the 'stool lands' (i.e. chieftaincy) of Ayija, appropriated from the Amakomhene, so that she could settle with her followers (Abloh, 1975). Ayija stayed small until at least 1948, as shown by an aerial photograph of that period. The 1948 census stated that there were 35 compounds containing 206 rooms and occupied by 387 people, but the photograph indicates an even smaller settlement. The village at this time was surrounded by thick bush, partly containing cocoa plantations, and with a very small amount of shifting cultivation to produce food crops.

Soon after 1948, the settlement was enlarged by in-migration, with the first migrants probably coming from elsewhere in Ashanti Region. By 1954, when the first northerners arrived, Ayija was already said to be overcrowded, and a separate zongo area was allocated for the newcomers. The main Accra Road originally passed down the main street of Ayija village, but in 1951 this was rerouted south to its present position. This probably encouraged the village to grow southwards, towards the new road (see figs. 5.3 - 5.6).

After the arrival of the first northerners, who were a group of Moshies from Upper Volta, the Ayija chief employed surveyors to demarcate plots. These seem to have been employees of the government Survey Department working in their spare time. Ayija village and Ayija Zongo had grids of plots laid out, to facilitate allocation to future settlers, and this planned grid has provided guidelines for the development of Ayija until the present day. Ayija village still contains some room for expansion and infilling within the original plots; however, Ayija Zongo has less space, and some recent plots have appeared outside the originally demarcated area. The present population (mid 1974) is approximately 2,400 in Ayija village and 5,600 in Ayija Zongo.

Ayija's growth is much influenced by its proximity to the University of Science and Technology, which provides employment for

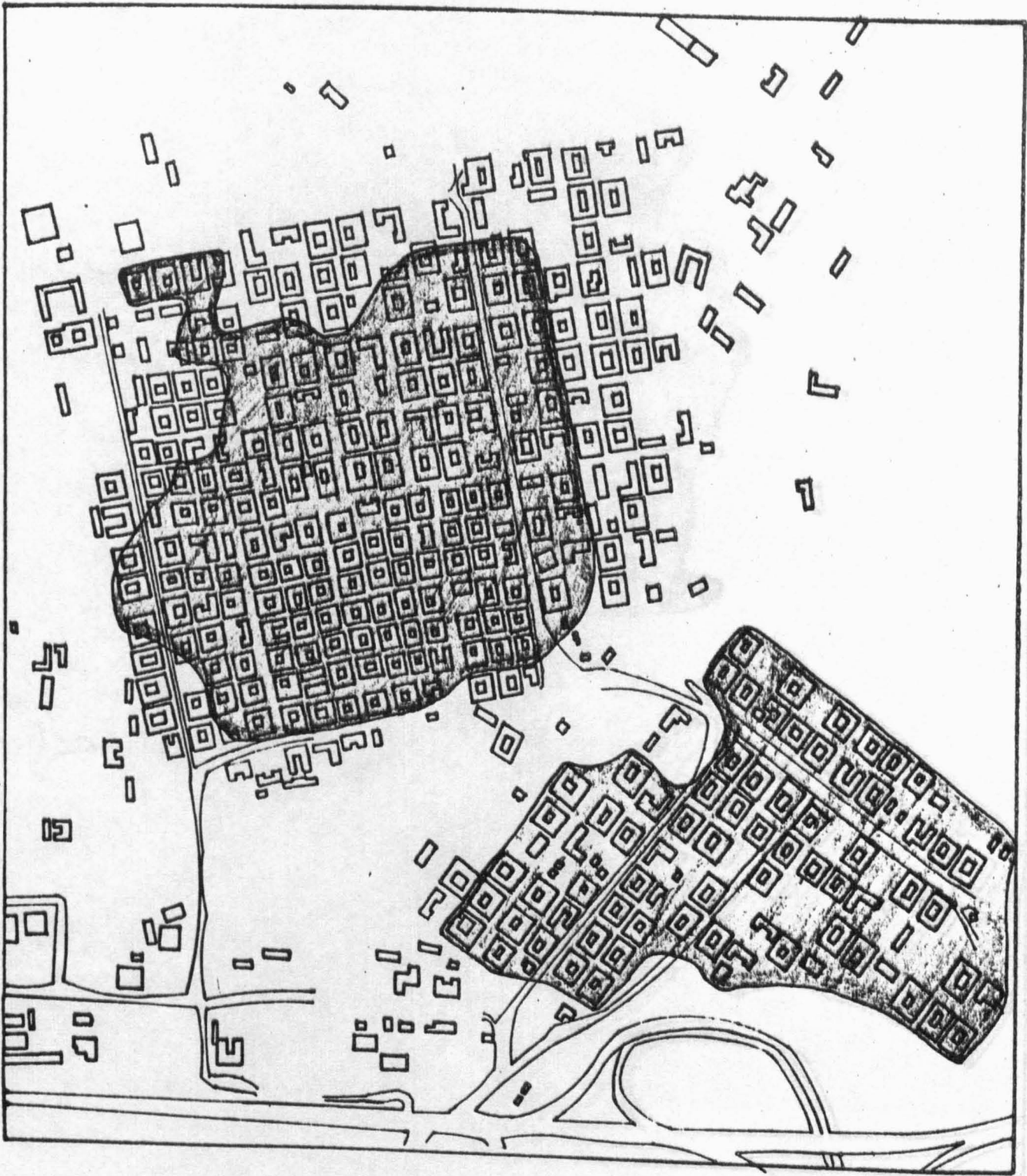
Ayiya 1948 and Subsequent Growth (base map shows 1974 settlement)



scale 1:5000

Figure 5.3

Extent of Development 1963



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scale 1:5000

Figure 5.4

Extent of Development 1972

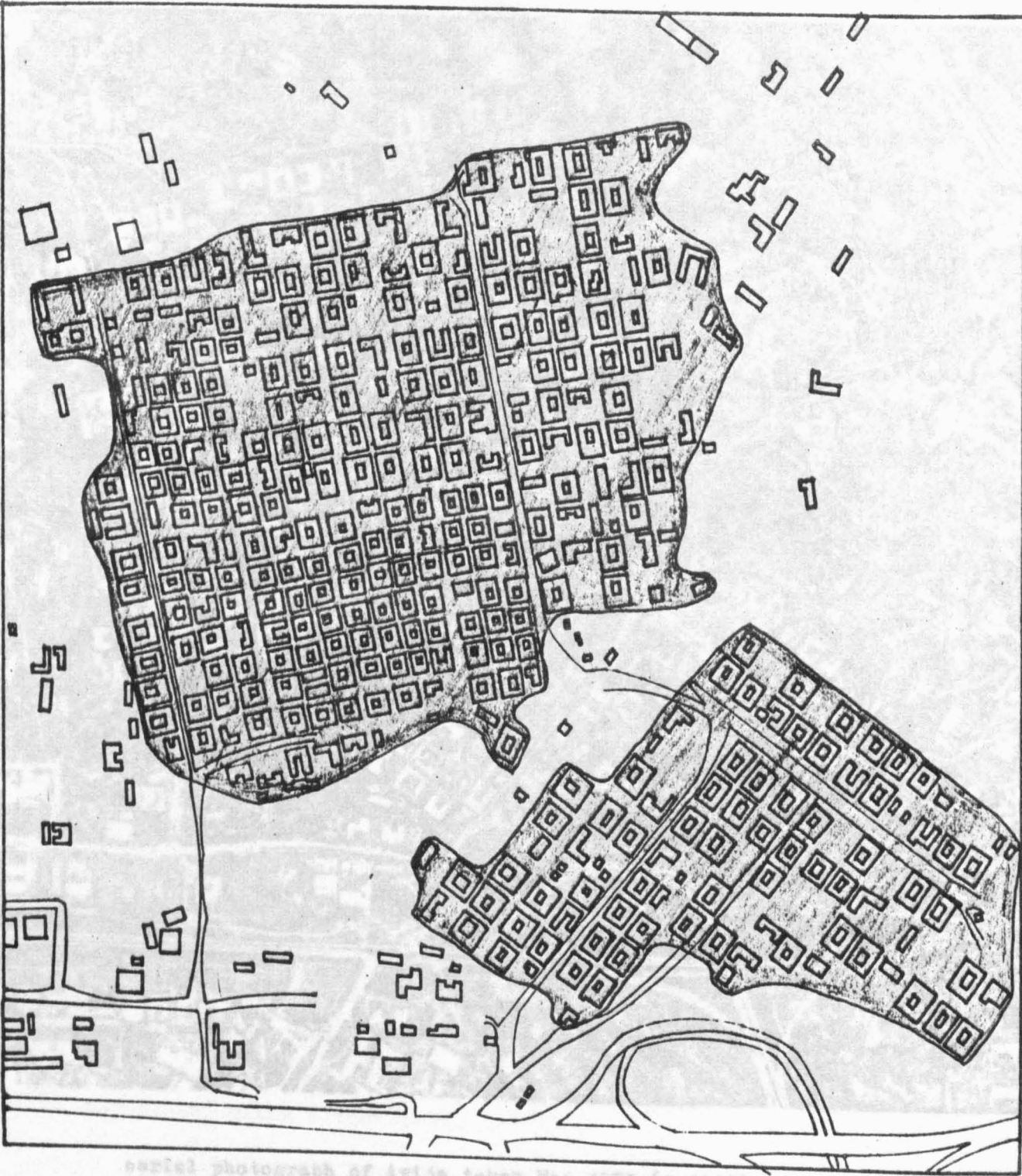


Figure 5.4

Figure 5.6



pronounced class differences.

serial photograph of Ayija taken May 1972 (1:5000) of providing
 main Accra road and university entrance shown below
 is well attended by Ayija residents. The University is also a
 market for trading commodities. Some children receive education
 in the University schools. The campus is a gathering ground for
 some raw materials, such as firewood and waste paper, and some people
 farm there.

Figure 5.6

a large number of Ayija residents. Ayija grew rapidly as the University expanded, and it seems to be growing more slowly at present partly in response to a more static employment situation. Another factor influencing Ayija's growth, however, was the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969, which caused some northerners as well as aliens to leave Ayija, because of the general sentiments against northerners as a group. Some of these have since returned. Growth of the settlement was rapid before this time, but the allocation of new plots is said to have been slower since 1969. This may be due to the fact that a large proportion of property developers in Ayija are aliens : beyond the proportion of aliens among the whole population of Ayija residents.

Ayija and its immediate surroundings

Ayija's growth in the future is likely to be limited to the west by the expanding high-income area of West Ayija (see fig. 5.7). This has largely grown up since 1959, but has expanded most rapidly in recent years. Its growth has probably been influenced by the proximity of the University, like the low-income settlement. The relations between the low-income and high-income areas are not close, and there is some hostility over sensitive issues such as theft. Some Ayija residents are employed in West Ayija as watchmen or servants. Also, some traders from the low-income area have set up stalls in West Ayija. Women from West Ayija often shop at Ayija market, some people attend the same mosques and churches, and West Ayija children often go to the same schools as Ayija children, so that some friendships are formed through this contact. Nonetheless, the amount of social interaction appears to be minimal, and mainly to be produced by functional necessity. The relationships between Ayija residents and the occupants of the University's junior staff quarters to the east seem to be closer, perhaps because of the less pronounced class differences.

The University has some functions beyond that of providing employment. The Community Centre has films and indoor games, and is well attended by Ayija residents. The University is also a market for trading commodities. Some children receive education in the University schools. The campus is a gathering ground for some raw materials, such as firewood and waste paper, and some people farm there.

Locational Terms Defined

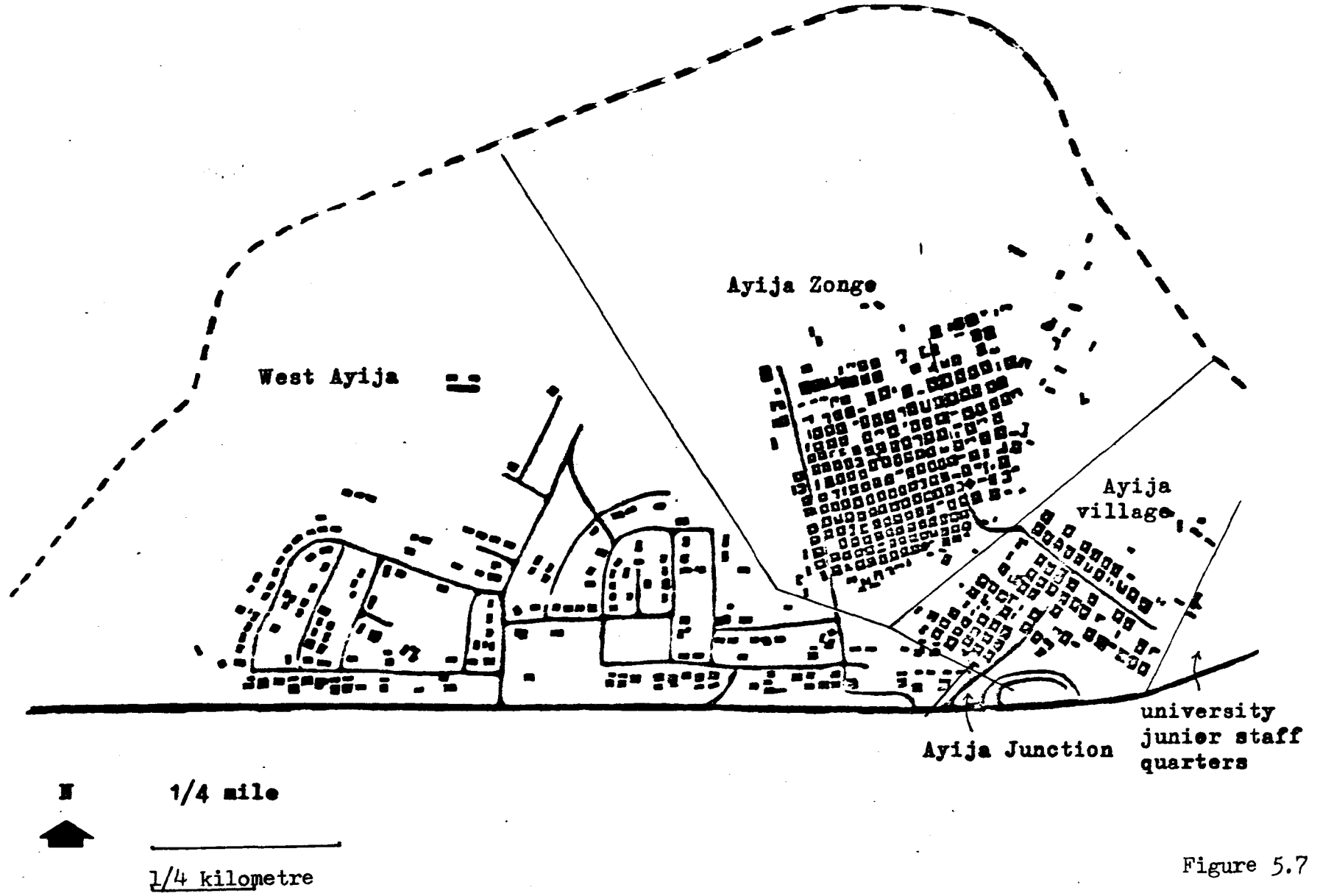


Figure 5.7

The use of University land for its natural resources has some historical justification. Some of the land which presently comprises the university campus previously belonged to the Ayija royal family, and it was appropriated under conditions which the elders claim were not fulfilled. Some claim that services such as water and electricity were promised in return for the land, though this seems to have been an unwritten understanding. Some of the other villages that lost land to the University, such as Ayeduase, have received water supply from the University : however, it seems that water pressure is insufficient for further extensions to be made. This has caused some ill-feeling in Ayija, and there is a widespread opinion that the University is in Ayija's debt.

In relationships with university workers who have accommodation on campus, the latter are seen as an advantaged lot by Ayija residents. Each family has its own self-contained accommodation, at much subsidized rents. Ayija, by comparison, is a densely packed tenant community, where the lack of facilities is worsened by overcrowding.

Ayija-Kumasi relationships

One characteristic of Ayija that is immediately striking is the degree to which it appears to be self-contained, acting in isolation from the rest of the city. In part, this may be due to the latent hostilities and jealousies between Ayija and its immediate surroundings. To a large extent, however, it seems that Ayija functions as a settlement such as it would if it were a separate township rather than an integral part of the city, and this appears to be common with other migrant settlements in Kumasi.

The ways in which Ayija residents use the city may briefly be summarized here. Travel characteristics were studied by Mr E.K.A. Tamakloe in his survey of urban travel characteristics in Kumasi (Tamakloe, 1975). All of the occupants of five houses in Ayija village and twelve houses in Ayija Zongo were interviewed, giving a sample of 733 people, or just under 10%. The travel characteristics discovered represent a certain amount of optimization within present price structures of transportation, and with present values incorporating attitudes to walking, carrying loads, crowding, pollution, etc. The desire lines between place of origin and destination for journeys described in the interviews (concerning the journeys undertaken in one working day) are here described diagrammatically, for journeys to destinations outside Ayija (see fig. 5.8). What this study shows is that daily

Journeys Outside Ayija on Foot and by 'Trotro'

⇒ Major desire lines for people travelling by 'trotro'

→ Desire lines of people travelling on foot

Width of final arrow proportional to number of people in 10% sample, 1mm=10 people

95



1 mile

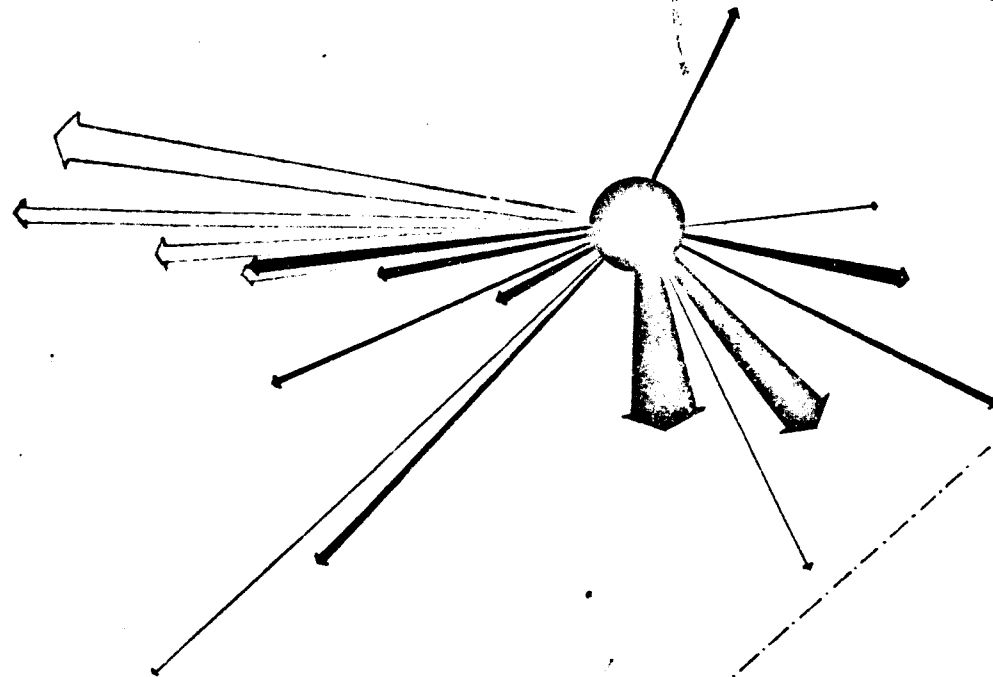


Figure 5.8

travel from Ayija is generally to areas within about seven miles, i.e. areas which are regarded as within walking distance, although the majority do not walk, but use the 'tro-tro' (passenger van). Such daily travel is usually for specific purposes, such as going to work or attending school, rather than social activities such as visiting friends. There is very little travel to more distant parts of the city, either for work or for social activity.

My own study of traders and informal workers in Ayija, their sources of goods and destinations of any products, permits some summary of the flow of goods into and out of Ayija. The concentration of source areas is in the same quadrant of the city, but separate suburbs are used as distinct sources for different sorts of goods. It is important to note that it is traders and manufacturers who seek out these goods, and most consumers buy products from traders in Ayija, without travelling further afield. In this respect Ayija acted as a rural village might, with some trade existing between villages, but most villagers satisfying their needs through the local market. Some goods are also 'exported' from Ayija to various parts of Kumasi, and to other destinations (see figs. 5.9 and 5.10). Although this informal production is not of major economic importance to the city as a whole, it is significant that the settlement is a net producer of some goods, contributing to the total economy. The commonly held view of migrant settlements as 'parasitic' (Barber, 1967) is not appropriate in the case of Ayija.

In view of the way in which many needs appear to be satisfied within the migrant settlement itself, it is necessary to examine in what ways the migrants benefit from being in the city, rather than a rural village. After consideration, the inevitable conclusion is that they benefit very little, and pay high costs for the few benefits that they do receive. The city authorities provide very few services to the settlement. Refuse is periodically cleared from a dump at the site of the new Ayija market, and the public toilets are occasionally emptied. Privately owned toilets are only emptied for a considerable fee. It is notable that the Kumasi City Council workers involved in these activities are rarely resident in the area, so that any ill-feeling resulting from the inadequate servicing becomes directed outside Ayija itself, towards the rest of the city. Electricity is not generally available, and there is no street lighting. The few water taps in the settlement have been provided by individual residents at great cost (which is being recouped



Destinations of Goods "Exported" from Ayija

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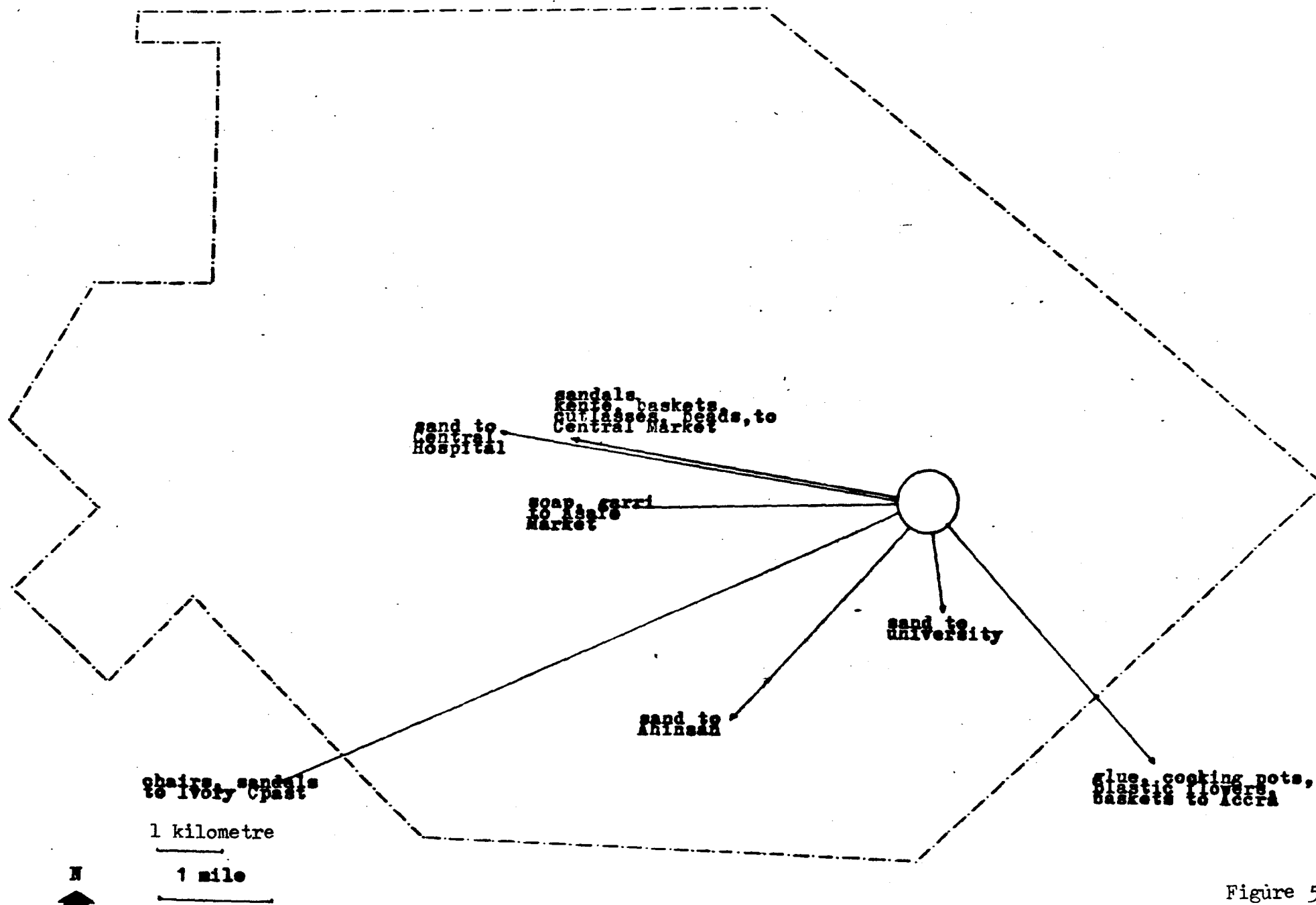


Figure 5.10

through water sales). Roads are unmade, with no provision for drainage.

The provision of schools for Ayija children is totally inadequate to satisfy demand, even allowing for the fact that many parents send their children back to the villages during the school years. The schools established to cater for Ayija are overcrowded, having to operate shifts to increase their capacity, and there is still keen competition for children to gain entry into the local school, and to schools in other neighbourhoods, with many failing to get into school at all.

Health facilities are a little better in Ayija than in other migrant settlements, due to the proximity of the University Hospital. Elsewhere the main source of medical treatment is Kumasi Central Hospital, where patients may queue for days. In the University Hospital, university workers and their families are able to obtain free medical treatment, and other patients receive treatment for a fee. The service is limited to treatment : there are no local facilities for obtaining advice on birth control or preventative medicine, for example. There is no programme for health education.

The city does provide significant work opportunities for Ayija residents, which could not have been generated within Ayija itself. These are mainly formal jobs, with a quarter of Ayija's economically active population being employed by the University. Altogether, about 40% of Ayija's workforce is in formal employment outside Ayija, with the other main employers being various government departments in the city centre, and various private timber processing firms in Ahinsan, Amakom, Oforikrom and elsewhere. Almost all of these formal workers are men, and altogether 60% of male workers in Ayija are in formal employment. Most of the workers in the informal sector who work outside Ayija are traders, with a third of Ayija traders doing the bulk of their business outside the area. In addition, some tailors and seamstresses work in Kumasi Central Market, and some fitters/mechanics work in the Suame Magazine car repair area.

About half of the workforce in Ayija is employed within the settlement itself. A large proportion consists of women, who might be expected to be less mobile than men in relation to their work activities. However, a significant number of men are also involved, and the capacity of the settlement for generating its own employment opportunities is remarkable. This reinforces the impression of Ayija operating as a relatively self-contained entity. Non-workers are

virtually all dependent for survival on the earnings of informal or formal workers, the contributions made by the government towards non-workers consisting almost exclusively of pensions to previous state employees.

The cost of these few benefits is difficult to estimate, from the migrant's point of view. Obviously one of the greatest costs is the original move to the city, involving the sale of assets to pay for the journey, and expenditure in time and money on arrival in the city, before the migrant becomes sufficiently established to be able to make a living. There must be considerable social cost too, in sacrificing the support which the extended family in the village provides, and in having to create a new network of useful or supportive contacts.

Once established in the city, there are recurrent costs involved in continuing to live there. Formal workers pay income tax, and in addition basic rates (a head tax) are levied from all adults by Kumasi City Council. Informal workers are generally only involved in income tax payments if they have to make insurance claims, loan applications, or applications for state-subsidized housing. They are, however, subject to a system of local authority taxes, rates, licences and fees. Property rates are adjusted to a sliding scale, with residents of more affluent suburbs paying a higher proportional rate in relation to the value of their property. In practice, however, very few people pay rates at all, in either type of suburb. It is more difficult to avoid the payment of market dues, hawkers' licences and other fees, which are collected from people found working.

Many aspects of the collection of revenue by the government and the City Council are inadequately defined, and much is left to the collector's discretion. Thus the collectors of market dues have a target amount to collect each day, reduced in bad weather, and the collection activity itself is open to abuse. Assessments of income tax for informal workers, when this becomes necessary, is very arbitrary. Other aspects of administration are also open to abuse, such as the inspections carried out by the environmental health officer, which consist of collecting bribes off houses visited, so that he will not report them as being insanitary. Activities such as these, involving workers who live outside Ayija, increase the resentment felt by Ayija residents towards the city authorities.

Having seen how the city may be perceived by Ayija residents, it is necessary to consider how Ayija is viewed by the city authorities. As with other migrant settlements, Ayija is seen as a nuisance to the city structure as a whole, and the administrators prefer to ignore its existence altogether. Most of the village and all of the zongo is ignored for planning purposes, being omitted from maps of the city - a situation noted in migrant settlements in some other parts of the world, where there appear to be justifiable claims to legality (Lomnitz, 1977). This situation has resulted in various planning decisions being taken perhaps unintentionally, some of which threaten the settlement's future. One of these decisions is the siting of the Volta Cable, which runs diagonally across the settlement. This major supply cable carries 161,000 volts, and its route is supposed to pass through a clear zone of land. Compensation is due to those adversely affected by the routing of the cable, but it is unlikely to be paid to Ayija residents, as their presence has not been officially recognized. Ayija is not the only settlement affected by this.

A potential threat to the settlement is the 1967 Development Plan prepared for the area. This completely ignores the settlement already in existence, and proposes a different system of plot allocation (see fig. 5.11). This in itself would not be of concern so long as there were no reason for implementation of the plan. One feature of it, however, is the proposal to site a railway goods depot in the northern part of the present zongo, and there are arguments put forward advocating this, in the interest of relieving the city centre of congestion (Church, 1974). If the funds were found for this move, a considerable part of Ayija would have to be destroyed.

The plans prepared by the city authorities must also be seen in the context of alternative land uses. The planners themselves express a preference for an extension of the high-income area of West Ayija into the area now occupied by the low-income settlement, to satisfy the demand for high-income housing near to the university campus. This is so despite the fact that there are other possible zones for this expansion, and little consideration is given to the needs of the low-income university workers, and other inhabitants of Ayija who would be displaced by such development. The housing in West Ayija is pleasant to look at, but the view that everyone should live in such houses assumes a state of affluence that has yet

to be reached.

It is doubtful whether the contribution made by Ayija to the city as a whole is recognized by the authorities. Ayija provides about a third of the workforce for the university, which is of national importance. It contributes workers in other industries and offices, as well as generating its own economic activity, producing some goods for use outside Ayija itself. It provides all this at negligible cost to the city, which provides very little in the way of infrastructure to serve the inhabitants. Ayija contributes to the city's wealth, while receiving very few benefits.

The welfare of residents of Ayija appears to be irrelevant to the urban administration. The levels of welfare in the migrant settlement appear to be achieved in spite of rather than because of the urban infrastructure. This self-reliant characteristic of Ayija's welfare will become clearer in the following chapters, which proceed to examine the various aspects of welfare under the headings of housing and street space, environmental health, work activities, non-work activities, and security of tenure. First, however, the cultural context of the settlement is described, particularly in relation to the process of in-migration.

CHAPTER SIX

MIGRANT SOCIETY

This chapter summarizes the cultural context of the present study. The composition of the population in Ayija is described in relation to ethnic origins, age and sex, and some comments are made on the type of social groupings which function within the settlement. First, there is an examination of the motives for migration into Ayija, as revealed by the case study of Zebila migrants. It is important to understand some of the reasons for in-migration, and the type of society resulting from the migration process, before trying to assess the welfare of individual residents.

motives for migration

Some comment may be made on the motives for migration discovered from interviewing ten migrants from Zebila, eight non-migrant counterparts from Zebila, and 19 past migrants who had returned to Zebila. As will be seen, a large proportion of migrants originates in the small north-east corner of Ghana where Zebila is located, and where the various tribes show cultural similarities. Thus although the case study may not be representative of the total in-migrating group, it may be representative of a significant part of it. Within the Kusasi tribal area, Zebila is one of a number of villages that have acted as a source area for migrants to Ayija (see fig. 6.1).

From an objective study of the settlement conditions, several factors appear likely as contributory to out-migration. It seems commonly recognized that the area around Zebila is being fully cultivated within the limits of the indigenous technology, yet the crops provide for little more than a subsistence level of living, because of the high population living from the limited land supply. This is likely to produce a situation where there is considerable pressure on individuals to migrate, though the pressure may be exerted indirectly.

The traditional system of authority in the village was upset by the imposition of a chieftaincy system by the British, taking power away from the 'tendana' (earth priest). Several other parts

Birthplaces of Kusasi Migrants now Resident in Ayija

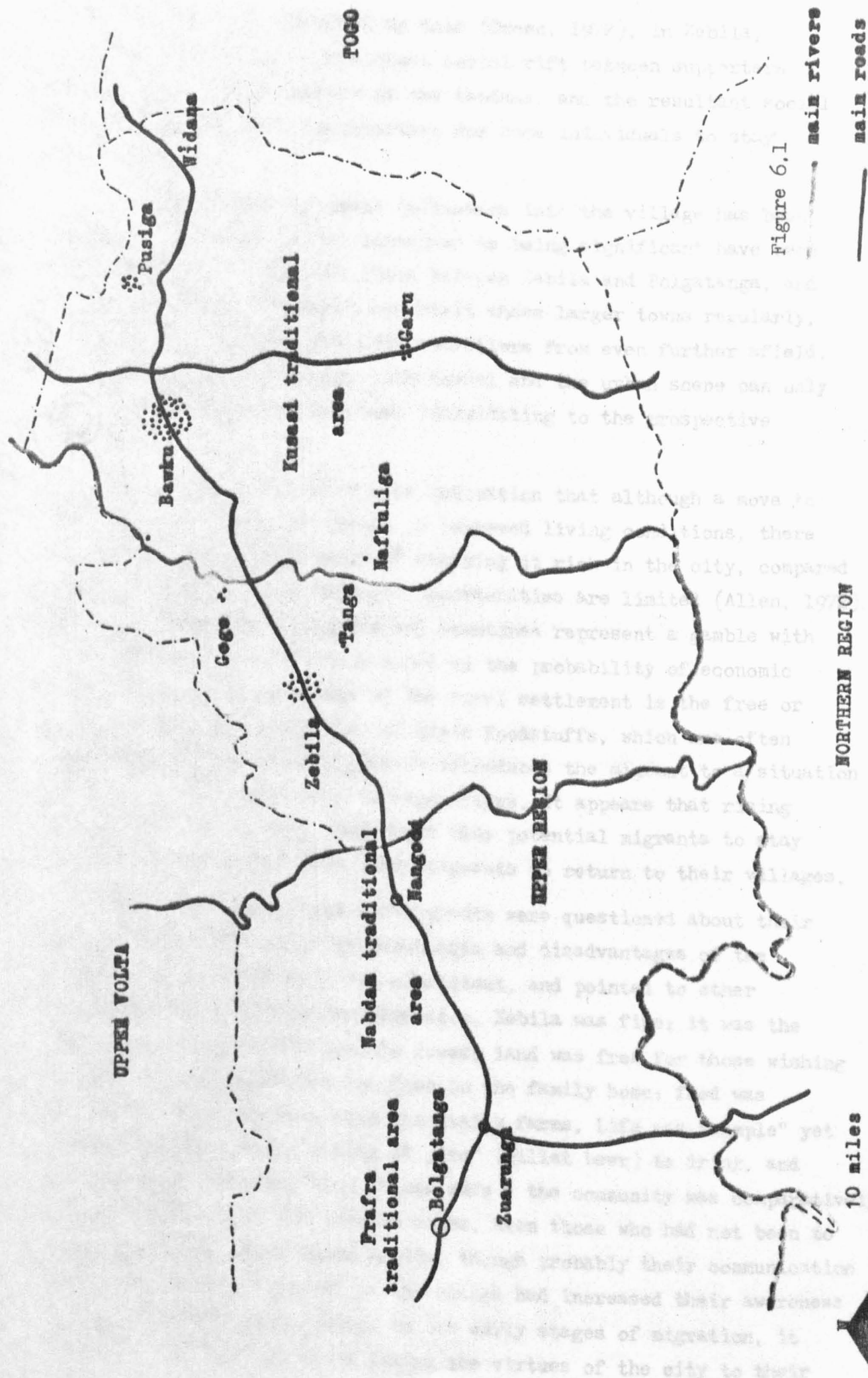


Figure 6.1

of West Africa were affected by this (Green, 1972). In Zebila, there is evidence of a persistent social rift between supporters of the chief and supporters of the tendana, and the resultant social tensions may act as a disincentive for some individuals to stay in the village.

The penetration of urban influences into the village has been gradual, but recent events perceived as being significant have been the improving of transport links between Zebila and Bolgatanga, and Zebila and Bawku. Villagers now visit these larger towns regularly, bringing them into contact with travellers from even further afield. This increasing familiarity with travel and the urban scene can only act to make migration seem less intimidating to the prospective migrant.

There also seems to be some indication that although a move to the city will often not result in improved living conditions, there is at least a greater chance of striking it rich in the city, compared with the village where economic opportunities are limited (Allen, 1972). Thus the decision to migrate may sometimes represent a gamble with luck, rather than a decision based on the probability of economic benefits. A major advantage of the rural settlement is the free or comparatively cheap supplies of basic foodstuffs, which are often taken for granted until migration introduces the migrant to a situation where food is a major item of expenditure. It appears that rising food prices 1975-9 have encouraged many potential migrants to stay at home, and have led some urban migrants to return to their villages.

When the migrants and non-migrants were questioned about their perceptions of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the village, their responses were consistent, and pointed to other possible factors motivating migration. Zebila was fine; it was the 'hometown', where one's parents lived; land was free for those wishing to farm it; accommodation was free in the family home; food was relatively cheap or free from the family farms. Life was "simple" yet "lively enough", with "plenty of pito" (millet beer) to drink, and friends to relax with. Also it was safe - the community was comparatively secure from thieves and various vices. Even those who had not been to the city acknowledged these merits, though probably their communication with dissatisfied migrants in the cities had increased their awareness of the village's good points. In the early stages of migration, it was said, the migrants would praise the virtues of the city to their

relatives at home, and so encourage others to join them. This has given way to a more realistic attitude to migration, and most compound residents in Zebila have close relatives who have migrated, who are able to give their appraisals of city life. The disadvantages of Zebila were that there were no opportunities for work in the dry season, and few ways of making money other than by farming. The lack of dry season earnings seemed of more concern than any distaste for farming, and some returning migrants claimed that they preferred farming to any other sort of work. But in the dry season, even this activity ceases, and there is no steady income. The rising importance of money in the economy of Zebila, to pay taxes, and to purchase clothes and other goods from the south, may make this an increasing problem. Food may be stored through the dry season, but the man who attempts to save money is likely to be burdened with relatives demanding a share.

In weighing up the pros and cons of migrating, the actual level of rural and urban incomes is of some importance. Todaro (1973) discusses a model for predicting the point at which migration will be perceived as economically advantageous, taking into account the income levels, the prospective migrant's planning time-span, and the expected risks of unemployment. An attempt was made to compare Zebila and Ayija incomes, but there were difficulties in computing real incomes from crop yields and capital savings (cows, buildings, etc.), especially when much income and property was shared within the compound. The crucial aspect of comparative incomes, however, appears to be their seasonal distribution, and the length of the prospective migrant's planning horizon may vary seasonally, becoming shortest when resources are exhausted in the dry season. Almost everyone mentioned the lack of work in the dry season, and the hardship that this caused. Some migrated to the city during the dry season, and the lack of work was the main motivating factor. For most, however, the reasons for migration were more complex. The economic factors perhaps helped to explain the rate of migration rather than the 'incidence' (Gugler and Flanagan, 1978).

The migration movement results from attraction to the city as well as driving forces from the village (Amin, 1974). The city was attractive because there were work opportunities, city life promised excitement and variety, and some even thought that the climate of southern Ghana was better (cooler). The main disadvantage of the city was the high cost of living, especially with regard to goods

that were cheap or free in Zebila, i.e. land, accommodation, food and water. Even the 'excitement' could be a disadvantage - some saw the city as being "too complicated", insecure, and a difficult place for making friends and enjoying oneself.

Other general (as opposed to personal) migration motives were of little importance. Only one migrant left to further his education, none seemed to aspire to non-agricultural work as a major motive, one was "sent for" by a relative, and in two instances young migrants left for the city with their elder brothers. The idea of proving oneself in the city, and seeing the city lights as a prerequisite for manhood, seemed to be reflected in some of the descriptions of the advantages of city life, but never seemed to be the main motivating factor. Peil (1972) suggests that some older men may migrate to the city to experience city life before they die, but the study of Zebila indicates that old age was more likely to be associated with a return to the village.

All of the factors so far described are what might be called 'generalized' reasons for migration, often given by migrants in response to initial questioning. Usually, however, there are private personal reasons for migrating at a particular time. Personal factors may reinforce considerations of rural-versus-urban life, or in some cases they may be the sole motivating factors.

The break up of the family, for whatever reason, may prompt individuals to move. So long as the family is an integrated cohesive unit, the forces of attraction of urban life may be insufficiently strong to wrench the prospective migrant away. If it weakens, individuals may find themselves without ties, dependants or supporters, and without any strong reason for staying in the village. If an individual loses both parents, and is not an heir to property, he may need to migrate to support himself. A family argument may prompt some to leave. Conflicts between the young and the old may lead to argument, and the younger members of a family may seek status in the city that they were denied in the conservative village. Conflicts between an individual and his dependent relatives may result from too many demands made on him, which he cannot refuse according to village conventions; he may seek city life as an escape from the burden of dependants, in order to have privacy and accumulate personal property.

Conflicts over marriage were the reasons for at least five migrants leaving Zebila, and it is thought that this is a common cause. The

traditional bride price in Zebila is three cows, and if a man cannot pay, his in-laws may seek to take his wife back. When cows were worth less, the system may have been workable, but in the present situation only the rich can afford to marry, legitimately. This situation is also noted in relation to the Moshie by Skinner (1965). A knowledge that the situation is different in other parts of Ghana makes Zebila's young men impatient, and many may run off with their wives to 'hide' in the city. Others go to the city alone, and send for their girlfriends later. Others still may go to the city to seek a cheaper wife.

Witchcraft is a factor which most migrants were reluctant to discuss - it is known to have helped motivate at least three people to move, and it probably affected more. Sometimes men who have refused to pay the bride-wealth may fear that witchcraft will be practised against them. Personal tragedies such as the death of children, or illhealth, may lead an individual to think that a witch is acting against him, and the city may be seen as a refuge from this (Butterworth, 1970). The changing values in Zebila, as a result of its contact with 'modern' life, may produce a loss of security for some, which may cause fears of evil influences. The conflict between systems of authority in Zebila, mentioned previously, may also increase feelings of insecurity in the village. The city appears anonymous compared with Zebila, and it is a good place to hide from relatives, dependants, in-laws, enemies and witches.

The reasons for migrating to Kumasi rather than to other urban areas are largely convenience and tradition. If a prospective migrant has talked with friends who found work in Kumasi, he is more likely to try his own luck there than in other unknown areas. Most of the migrants who had returned to Zebila were from Kumasi, Tema or Kintampo - the vast majority from Kumasi. Kumasi is nearer to Zebila than other major cities, which is convenient for visiting. Life is a little cheaper than in Accra, and accommodation is easier to find. There is some tradition of working in the cocoa plantations seasonally, and some former cocoa workers have moved into Kumasi. Most migrants came from Zebila straight to Kumasi, or after spending a little while in rural Ashanti Region in the cocoa business.

The reasons for choosing Ayija were because of chain factors (having relatives there, having visited there in the past, etc.) or because of its comparative cheapness. Nearness to employment was slightly less important. The social life was also liked. Probably a

zongo provides an understandable social environment through contact with other northerners, and especially with fellow Kusasi, and the peripheral situation makes for a more relaxed way of life than that found in the congested city centre. Analysis of the previous residence of Ayija inhabitants showed that many had moved to Ayija from more central locations in Kumasi, probably because of the better access to space and the cheaper rents.

Having examined why people leave Zebila initially, it is necessary to investigate the factors which prompt individuals to return to the village. Often the reasons for migration have a degree of finality, as with runaway couples who cannot afford the bride-wealth. In this case contact may be broken off completely with Zebila, and friendships with other Zebila migrants may be minimized, for fear of legal action (according to traditional laws). Those who have had family quarrels are unlikely to return until grievances have been righted, migrants whose relatives have died or gone separate ways may have nothing to draw them home, and those who once felt the burden of dependants too strong to bear are unlikely to willingly accept the load again. A change of circumstances may affect the possibilities for return - such as the acquisition of wealth sufficient to pay the bride price, or the patching up of a family quarrel, but these may be unplanned events. Abloh (1969) and others suggest that migrants may be reluctant to return because they feel that they are expected to take money and presents home beyond their financial abilities - this may have been true of the era when villagers held an unrealistic view of urban wealth, but it is thought that this attitude is less prevalent now. Virtually all of the migrants from Zebila had a clear intention of returning to the village eventually, whatever the original reasons for their departure.

The migrants who had returned to Zebila were all glad to be back 'home', even those who had returned for entirely unselfish reasons. Two migrants had returned to care for their aged parents, one returned on the death of his brother, one because his father paid the bride price, one because he was worried about his children in Zebila, two were 'fetched' by their parents, one returned because he was sick. Many of the reasons for returning were again due to personal factors, and not simply the rise in the cost of living in the urban areas. Increasing economic difficulties in the city are important reasons for returning, but are often secondary to others, sufficient to tip the balance and prompt the move. A few migrants

mentioned specifically economic reasons for returning - one wanted to farm, one lost his job, one "overworked" himself - but these were the minority. It is likely that some older people 'retired' home to the village; certainly it was the intention of all migrants to return to Zebila before they died.

Most migrants maintain strong links with the village, through visits and remittances, even when the reasons for their migration might indicate a likelihood of such contact being minimized. Often a visiting/exchange of goods relationship is with a particular individual in the village. Visits and remittances are often reciprocal, and often of a commercial as well as a social nature. Apart from the economic benefit derived, however, the migrant's desire to feel a continuing bond with the settlement is of great importance. If a migrant dies before his return to the village, his body is buried in Ayija with little ceremony, and his clothes are sent back to Zebila to act as the 'body' in relation to the traditional funeral rites. Thus the emotional attachment is firmly with the village rather than the city. This is of obvious importance in determining the type of society that develops in the urban area, as the migrants lack a sense of commitment to urban culture, and tolerate their living conditions as being of only temporary duration. There may be important differences of attitude between temporary migrants such as those from Zebila and more permanent settlers such as many of the migrants from outside Ghana, especially those from Upper Volta. Here there are political difficulties in returning to the villages of origin, and drought conditions prevailing in the home villages act as an added disincentive, together with more complex factors (Kumekpor, 1974; Schildkrout, 1978).

migration into Ayija

The vast majority of adult residents in Ayija are migrants. The main exception to this is the community of Ayija-born Ashantis in the original village area, which comprises about 16% of the total adult population. Apart from this group, the number of adults born in Ayija is small - about 3% or less for most groups. Of course, many children have now been born to migrants in Ayija, but few of these have yet reached adulthood.

The number of people born elsewhere in Kumasi is also small, though here there is more variation between groups. For Ashantis, the proportion is about 6%. For some groups, especially the Hausa (25%), Moshie (13%) and Gonja (10%), a significant proportion

of those in Ayija are second generation migrants, and there is some tendency for these to have moved to Ayija from Zongo or Aboabo in Kumasi, where they were born (see fig. 6.2). Both of these areas are migrant settlements of long standing, more centrally located in the city. For other groups, the proportions of people born elsewhere in Kumasi are small - usually 2% or less of those in Ayija.

For those born outside Kumasi, several places of origin emerge as being important (see figs. 6.3 - 6.5). Southerners come from a much more dispersed area than northerners. Many Ashantis have moved to Kumasi from nearby areas of Ashanti Region, particularly from around Bekwai to the south, Ejisu and Konongo to the east, and Mampong to the north. Many of those from the Bekwai area are from Asakyire, the traditional village of origin of the Ayija Ashantis, and there seems to be considerable movement between Asakyire and Ayija village for farming and administration of family land. Other areas of origin of southern migrants are Somanya, where most of the Krobos come from, and various coastal areas such as around Cape Coast, Accra and Aflao. Of these, migration from the Cape Coast area is the heaviest, and probably accounts for about 7% of the Ayija population.

There are several areas of northern Ghana that Ayija migrants come from, but the largest group originates in a relatively small area of north-east Ghana between Sandema and Bawku. Here there is a number of small tribes living, with closely allied cultures : the Kasena, Builsa, Nankane, Kanjarga, Grunshie, Frafra, Nabdam, Tallensi and Kusasi. About 20% of Ayija residents originate in this area, or about 25% of the in-migrating group. The proportion from north-west Ghana is small by comparison - about 6%. Partly this is accounted for by the larger total population of the north-east, which is far more densely populated than the north-west. However, the numbers are great even when this is taken into consideration. It is possible that better road links in the north-east may have facilitated the introduction of elements of southern culture, encouraging communication with the south and eventually producing chain migration. It is also likely that the denser population is growing beyond the optimum for support from the land, under existing conditions of cultivation, and that the north-west has a comparative abundance of land, even after allowing for its poorer soils and greater infestation with tsetse fly. Whatever the reasons, the pattern of disproportionate migration from the north-east is marked (see figs. 6.4 and 6.6).

Birthplaces of Ayija Residents Born in Kumasi, but outside Ayija

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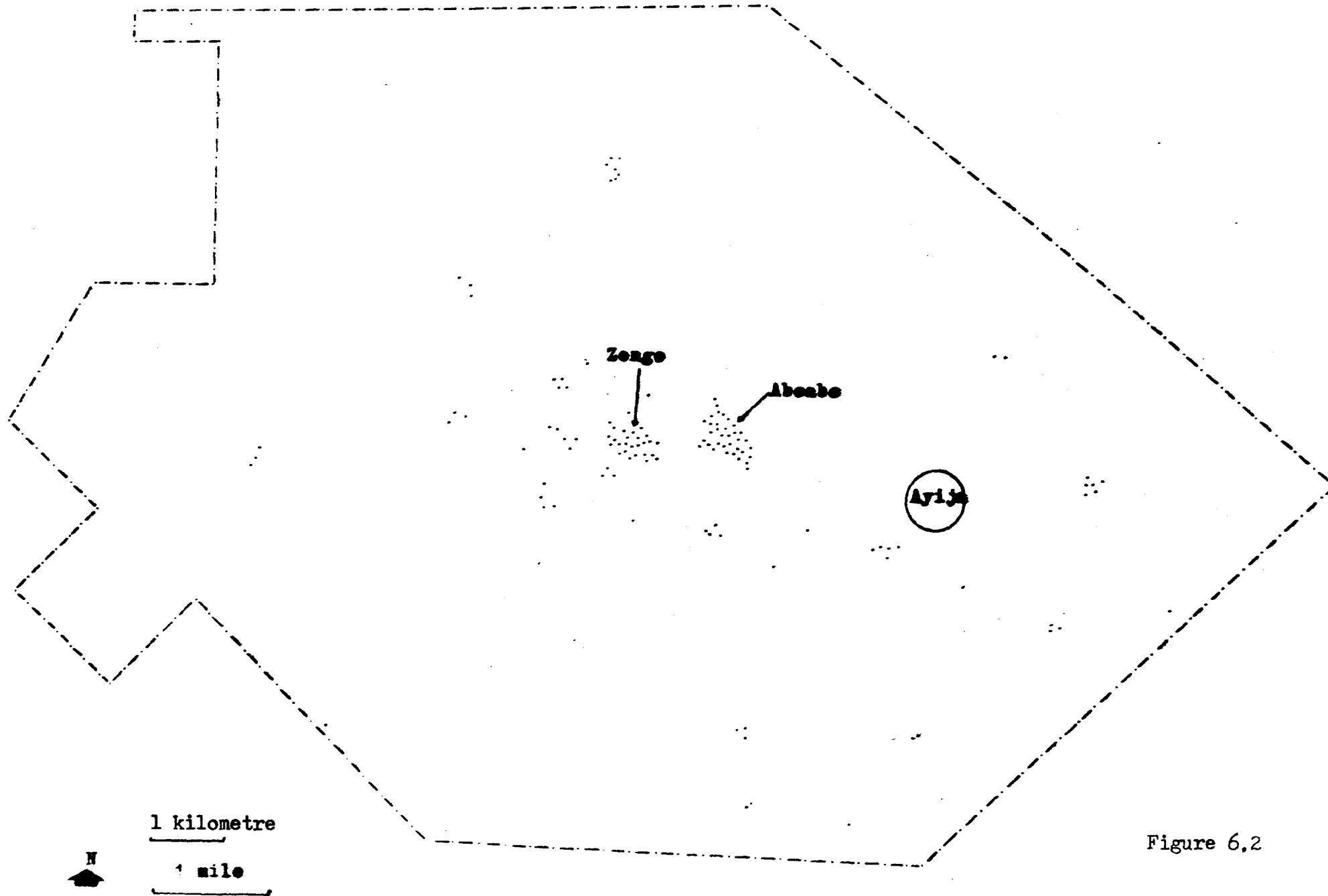
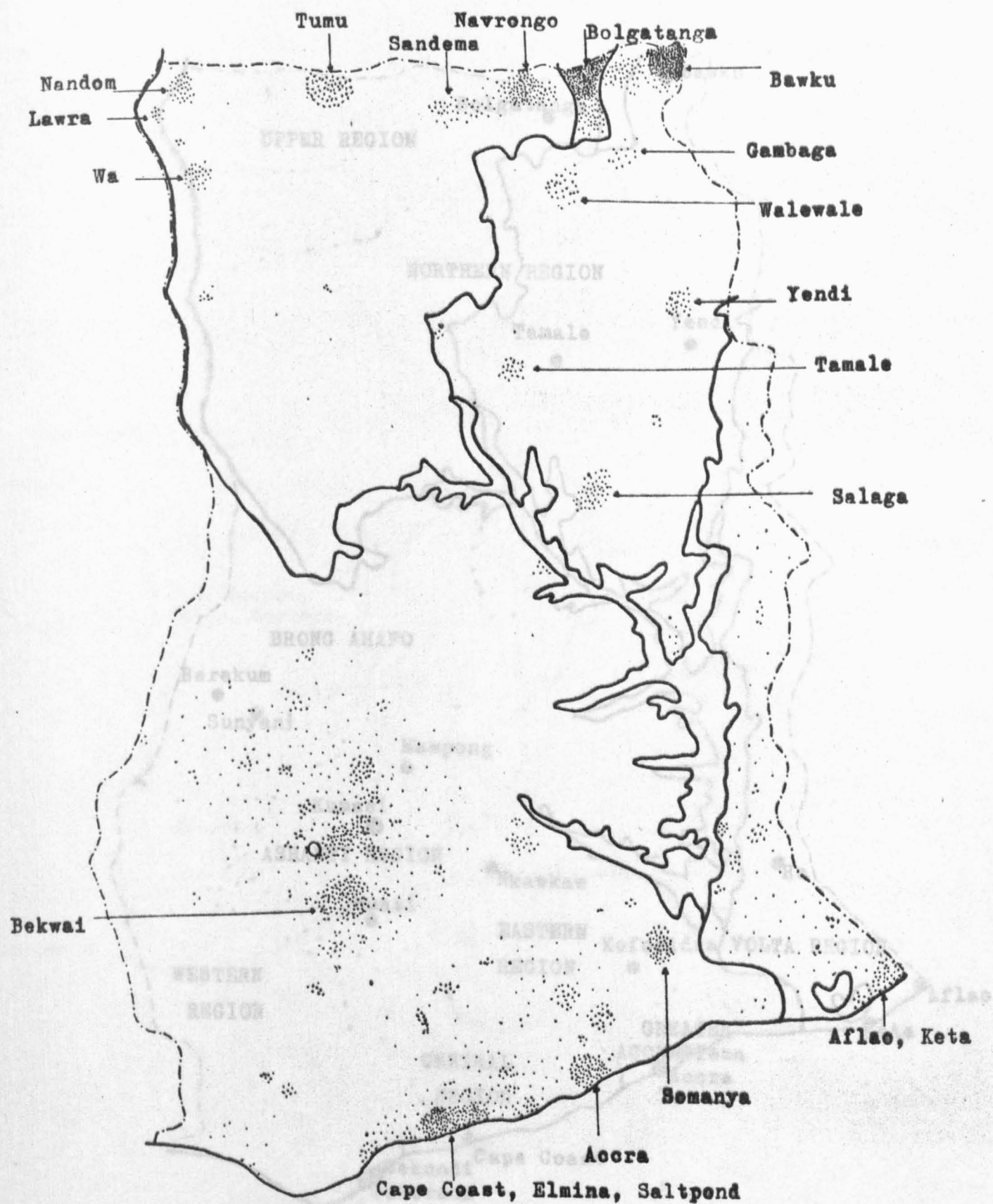


Figure 6.2

Birthplaces of Ayija Residents Born in Ghana, outside Kumasi



50 miles

50 kilometres

Figure 6.3

Regions and Some Major Towns of Ghana

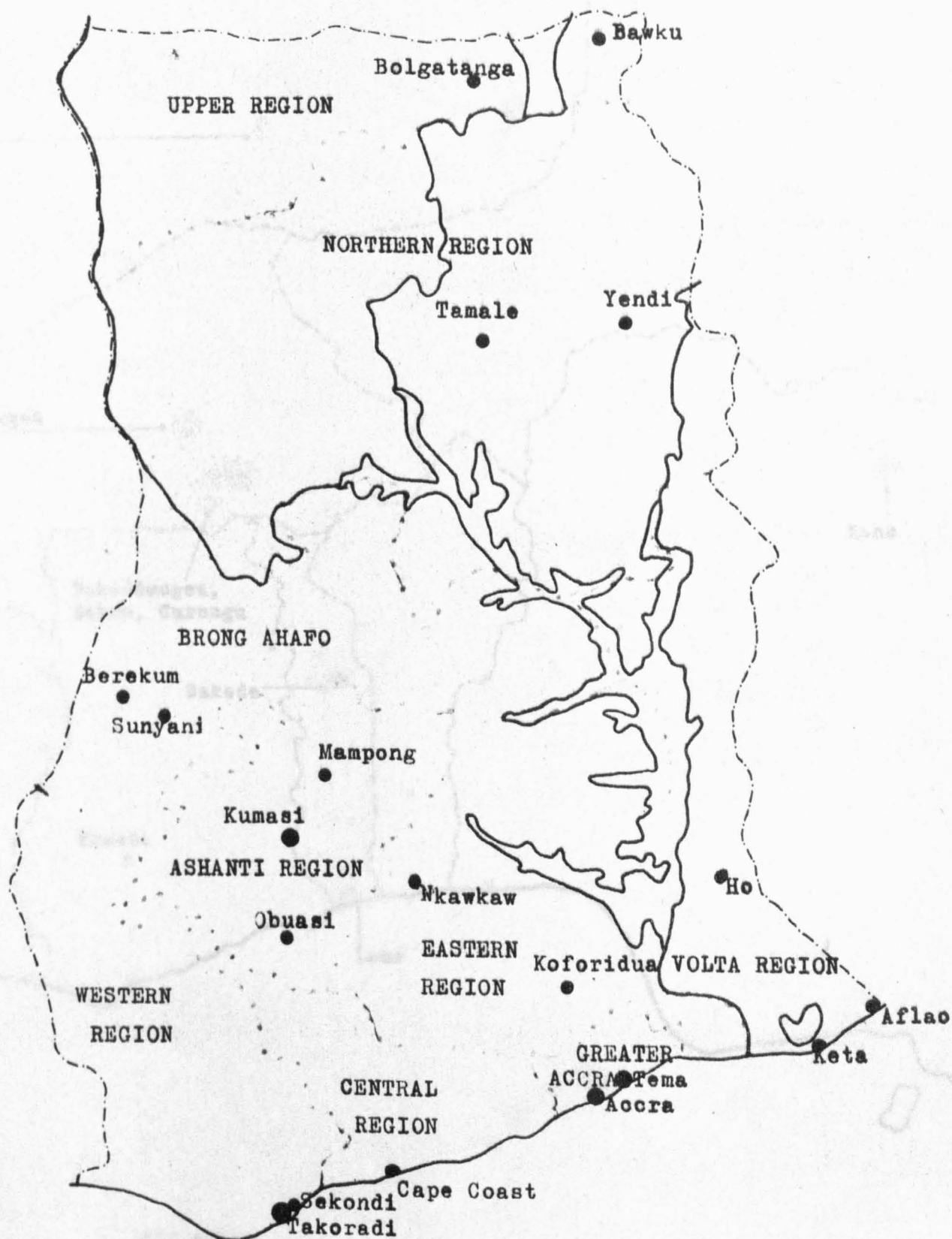


Figure 6.5

Birthplaces of Ayija Residents Born outside Ghana

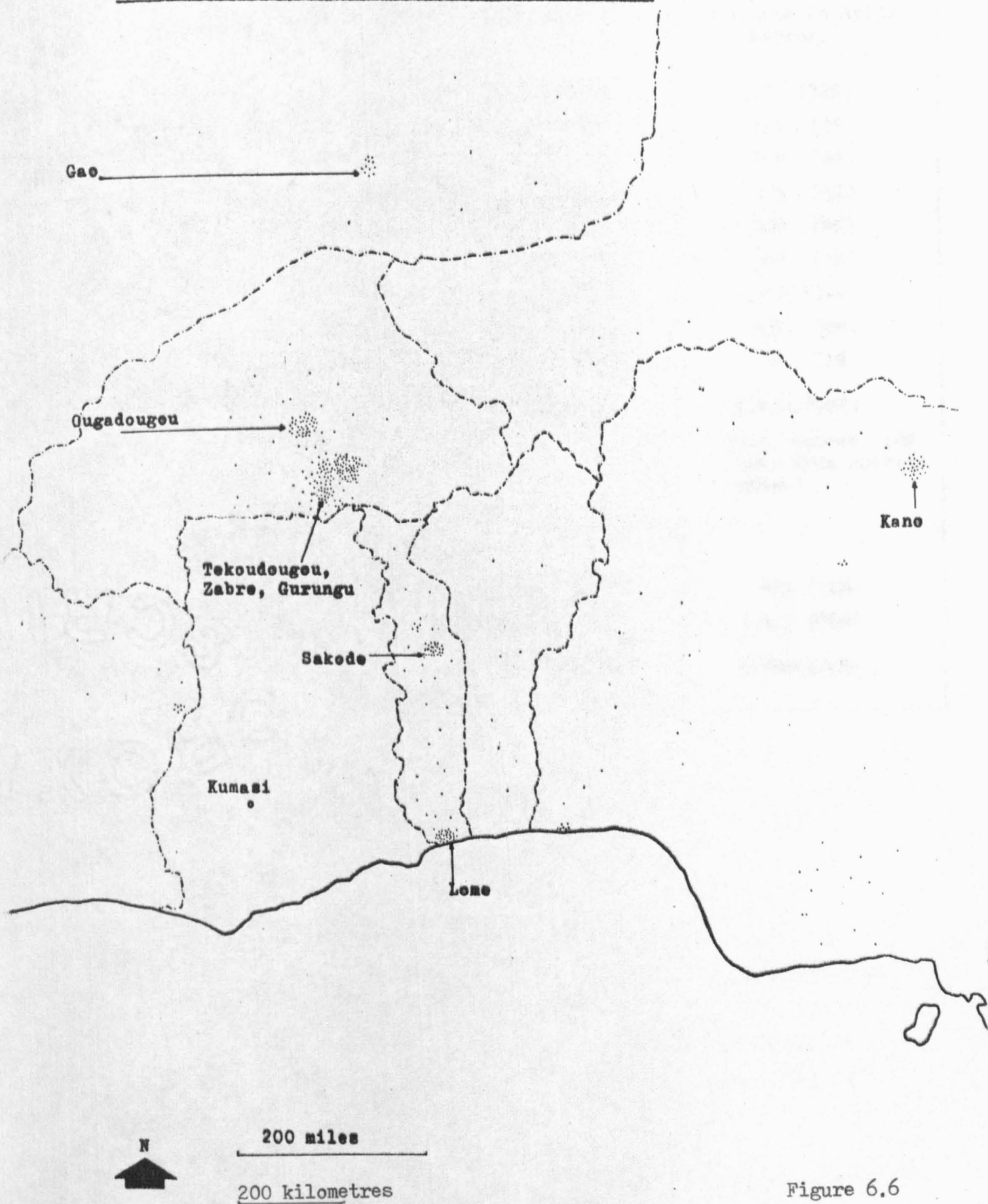


Figure 6.6

Migration to Ayija from Different Regions and Areas of Ghana

Region/Area	Population	Migrants in Ayija (approx.)
Ashanti	1,481,698 (17%)	2,221 (32%)
Brong Ahafo	766,509 (9%)	121 (2%)
Central	890,135 (10%)	708 (9%)
Eastern	1,261,661 (15%)	275 (5%)
Greater Accra	851,614 (10%)	183 (4%)
Northern	727,618 (9%)	598 (7%)
Upper	862,723 (10%)	1,840 (24%)
Volta	947,268 (11%)	432 (6%)
Western	770,087 (9%)	81 (1%)
Total	8,559,313 (100%)	6,459 (90%) (i.e. approx. 10% come from outside Ghana)
Western Upper Region	313,865 (37%)	413 (22%)
Eastern Upper Region	542,858 (63%)	1,427 (78%)
Total	862,723 (100%)	1,840 (100%)

Figure 6.6

Of those migrating from outside Ghana, the main concentration is of the Moshie and Busanga from southern Upper Volta. These groups have many cultural similarities with those of north-eastern Ghana, and there are also linguistic ties. Other areas include Sakode (the place of origin of many Kotokoli), Kano (Hausa and Fulani) and Gao (Gao and Zabrama) (see fig. 6.5).

Most of the Ghanaian migrants were born in the traditional areas of the tribes to which they belong, except for the few second generation migrants born in Kumasi. Of the ethnic groups whose traditional homes were outside Ghana, however, a large number were born in Ghana. Also about 50% of the Busanga were born in Ghana, many in the area around Bawku, into which the Busanga have been migrating for some time. This is also evident with a smaller proportion of Moshies, where a similar gradual migration into the Bawku area has taken place (Hilton, 1962). Of the Kotokoli, about 30% were born in various parts of Ghana, and a further 20% originated in Lome, representing a migration over several generations from northern to southern Togo, and thence to Ghana.

An analysis of previous places of residence gives some indication of the pattern of migration into Ayija. The proportion of migrants coming straight from their places of origin to their present accommodation in Ayija, possibly with a few nights' stay with friends or relatives immediately after arrival in Kumasi is about 10%, and is greater for southerners than for northerners. A large proportion moved from other accommodation in Ayija - about 35% : this indicates considerable mobility within the settlement. Also a large proportion - about 30% - moved to Ayija from other areas of Kumasi, indicating that Ayija is often not the first stop for migrants coming into the city, but a place that people move out to after they have lived in Kumasi for some time (see fig. 6.7).

For those whose previous accommodation was outside Kumasi, but away from their place of birth, the proportion is about 10%; less for southerners and more for northerners. This is about equal to those coming straight from their place of origin, and indicates that as much as 50% of the migration movement may be broken into several stages, with various intermediate destination points. The industrial centres of Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi were intermediate stops for a large number, and gold and diamond mining, timber felling and cocoa growing areas of southern Ghana attracted large numbers as well.

Previous Places of Residence of Ayija Migrants, for Those Previously Residing in Kumasi

but outside Ayija

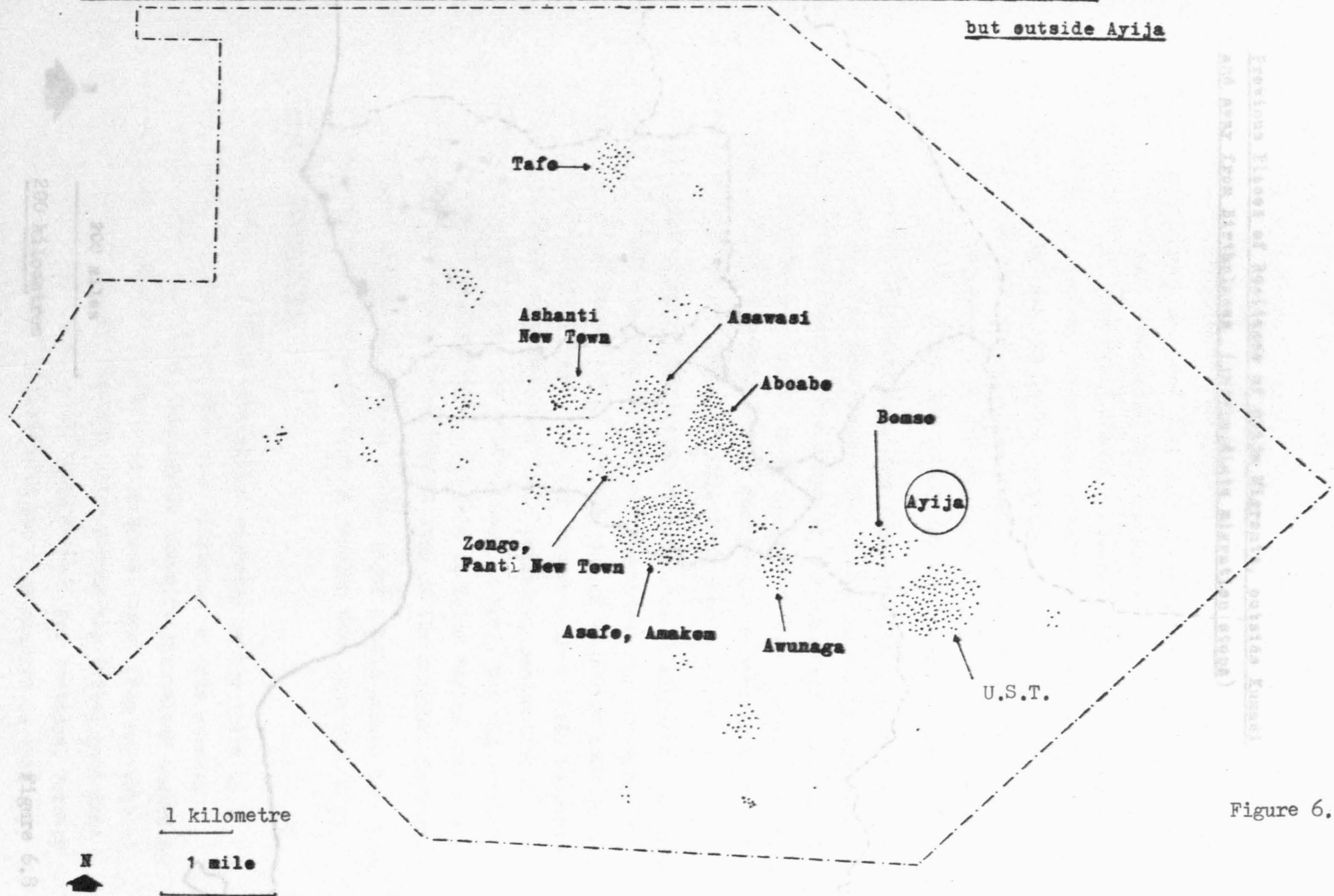
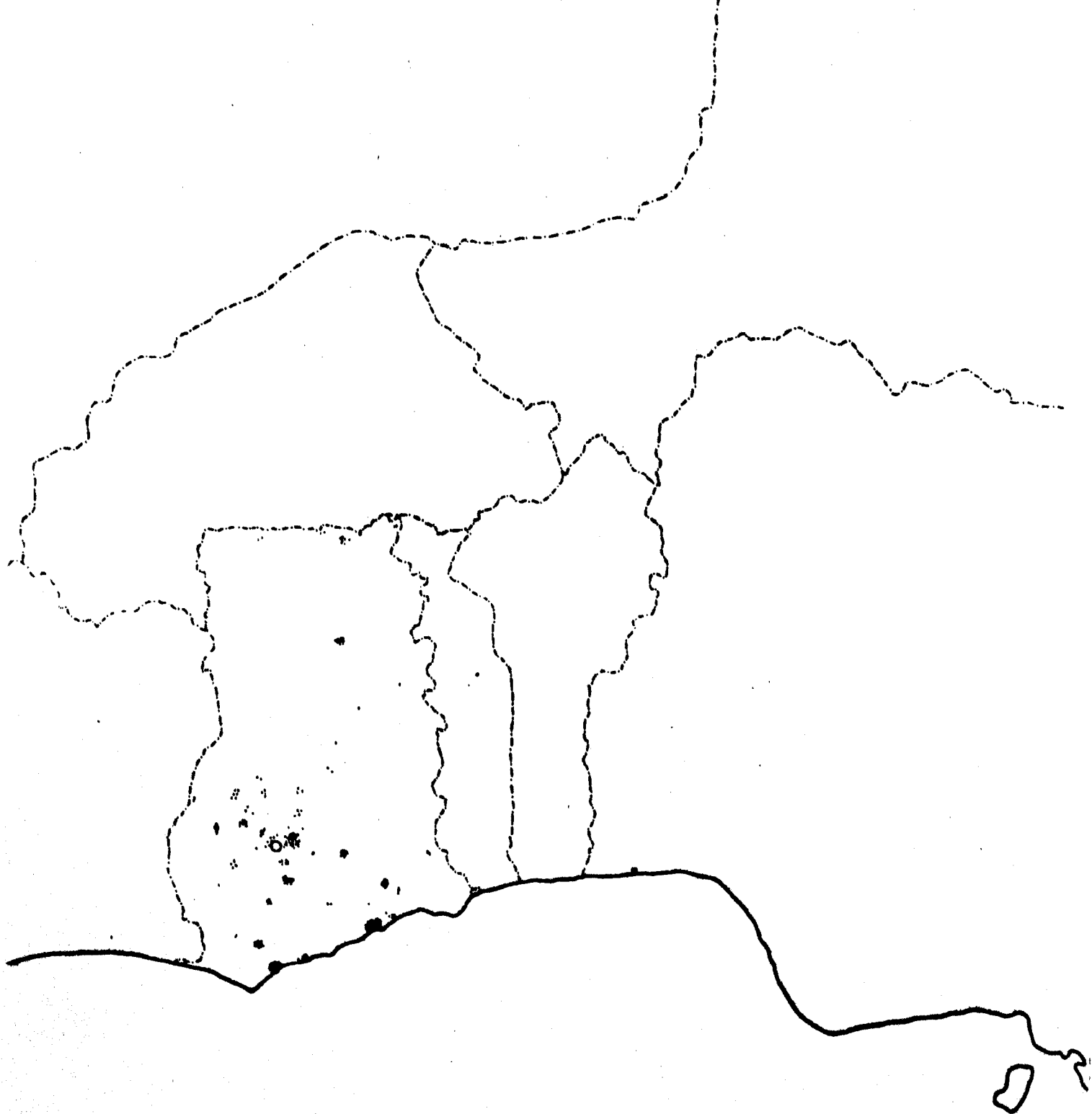


Figure 6.7

Previous Places of Residence of Ayija Migrants, outside Kumasi
and away from Birthplaces (intermediate migration steps)



200 miles

200 kilometres

Figure 6.8

Some had gone to regional administrative centres, such as Bolgatanga and Tamale, but these were few by comparison (see fig. 6.8).

The time that people have lived in their present accommodation gives some clues as to the stages at which the various ethnic groups moved into the settlement. For Ashantis in the village, the average period of residence is about five years, compared with about three years in the zongo, indicating that the movement of Ashantis into the zongo is a comparatively recent phenomenon. (Ashantis born in the village are excluded from this estimation, as are all Ayija-born residents). Those with the longest average periods of residence are the Moshie and Gonja (about seven years), Hausa, Ga and Dagomba (six years). The groups with the shortest periods of residence are the Zabrama and Gao (about one year); however, there are few of these.

The average length of time that migrants have been in their present accommodation is about four years. This indicates a high turnover of residents, with possibly a quarter of the population changing its place of residence each year. House owners are less likely to move, of course, so that the mobility of tenants may be even greater, with perhaps a third of all tenants moving each year.

The place of birth and length of residence of migrants sometimes gives clues about specific motives for migration. For instance, the average length of residence of the Ibo, all of whom were born in Nigeria, was about six years, and this suggests that their migration to Ghana may have coincided with their political persecution in Nigeria during and after the Biafran wars. A small but significant number of recent migrants came from Peki in Volta Region, where a settlement farm project has displaced many of the original farmers.

The characteristics of some of the major ethnic groups that have migrated into Ayija are summarized in tabular form (see fig. 6.9).

tribal identity

Many African studies have placed emphasis on the tribe as a social unit, and there has been some criticism of this approach (Gutkind, 1974). In Ayija, individuals classify themselves according to their tribe, for identification purposes, apart from any more profound social reason. Migrants often assume the tribal name into their own personal names, as in 'Yaro Kusasi', for instance. Perhaps it is easier to become familiar with one's neighbours in this way, by classifying to aid memory.

Migration Characteristics of Main Ethnic Groups in Ayija

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	Ayija population	ave. length of residence in present accommodation (years)	% born in Ayija	% born in Kumasi (outside Ayija)	% previously living in Ayija (born elsewhere)	% previously living in Kumasi (born elsewhere)	% migrating via intermediate destinations	% migrating straight from birthplace (outside Kumasi)	total %
Ashanti (village)	1278 (16.1%)	5.0	60	6	8	10	4	12	100
Ashanti (zongo)	777 (9.8%)	3.0	3	7	35	31	6	18	100
Fanti	708 (8.9%)	4.3	1	2	44	30	8	15	100
Busanga	637 (8.0%)	4.6	3	2	42	35	8	10	100
Frafra	450 (5.7%)	4.6	0	1	46	30	13	10	100
Ewe	432 (5.4%)	4.6	3	0	39	30	11	17	100
Moshie	370 (4.7%)	7.0	3	13	31	28	20	5	100
Gonja	339 (4.2%)	7.0	2	10	23	40	15	10	100
Hausa	222 (2.8%)	5.7	5	25	22	18	11	19	100
Kusasi	194 (2.4%)	4.2	1	0	45	34	13	7	100
Kotokoli	180 (2.3%)	7.2	7	6	33	21	19	14	100
Akwapim	174 (2.2%)	4.2	1	3	26	34	17	19	100
Kasena	165 (2.1%)	4.0	0	0	48	36	10	6	100
Sisala	160 (2.0%)	5.2	0	0	49	32	11	8	100
Dagarti	159 (2.0%)	5.5	2	0	48	26	12	12	100
Ga	149 (1.9%)	6.0	3	0	33	31	8	25	100
Dagomba	148 (1.9%)	6.0	2	0	26	40	15	17	100
Kanjarga	134 (1.7%)	4.2	0	2	36	44	12	6	100
Mamprusi	110 (1.4%)	4.3	0	0	36	41	15	8	100
Tallensi	107 (1.4%)	3.9	2	0	51	31	6	10	100
Krobo	101 (1.3%)	5.2	0	0	40	14	14	32	100
Others	958 (12.0%)								

Figure 6.9

Thus it is evident that tribal identity is important in Ayija, fulfilling at least this function. However, the concept of 'tribe' is full of ambiguity, and tribes which are distinct ethnic groups are rare. Some of the smaller tribes, such as the Kanjarga, appear to be little more than clans. Others such as the Ashanti are more like political unions. Some of the larger tribes have a warlike past, such as the Dagomba and Gonja, and they are in the process of assimilating smaller groups such as the Mo and Wangara, so that members of the smaller groups may describe themselves differently according to the situation. Some tribes identify themselves with an amalgamated grouping, such as the Akan, which includes the Ashanti, Brong, Fanti, Akwapim, as well as other smaller groups. In Ayija it is thought that the Lobi and Mo call themselves Dagarti, the Tallensi and Nabdam call themselves Frafra when it is convenient to identify with a larger group, and the Nankane, Kasena, Builsa and Kanjarga sometimes call themselves Grunshie. The traditional locations of some of these groups are shown in figs. 6.10 - 6.11.

Mixed marriages have added confusion to tribal identity, allowing even more leeway for personal choice. In some tribes a child takes the tribal identity of the father, and in others the mother's tribe is adopted. Such practices do not always correspond to matrilineal and patrilineal systems (Rattray, 1932). When there is a mixed marriage, the child's identity is not always clear. Situations where both sets of in-laws disown the child on behalf of the tribe are found, as are other situations where both lay claim to the child. More usually, the situation remains ambiguous until the child is able to exert some choice in the matter.

Apart from acting as a means of classifying people, the tribe does appear to have important social functions in Ayija. The tribal group within the migrant settlement may be called on for support, practical assistance, or as a means of meeting people and making friends. In this way, the tribe in the migrant settlement acts differently from the tribal grouping in the homeland (Epstein, 1969). In Ayija, it functions as a reception base, assisting the migrant in his adaptation to urban ways of life, while at the same time reinforcing his sense of identity. The need for such supportive cultural groups has been noted in many other studies of migration (Price, 1969). With international migrants, nationality may become the means of group identity, with rural-urban migrants elsewhere it may be place of origin or caste, and here it is the tribe that serves

Location in Ghana of the Main Tribal Groups

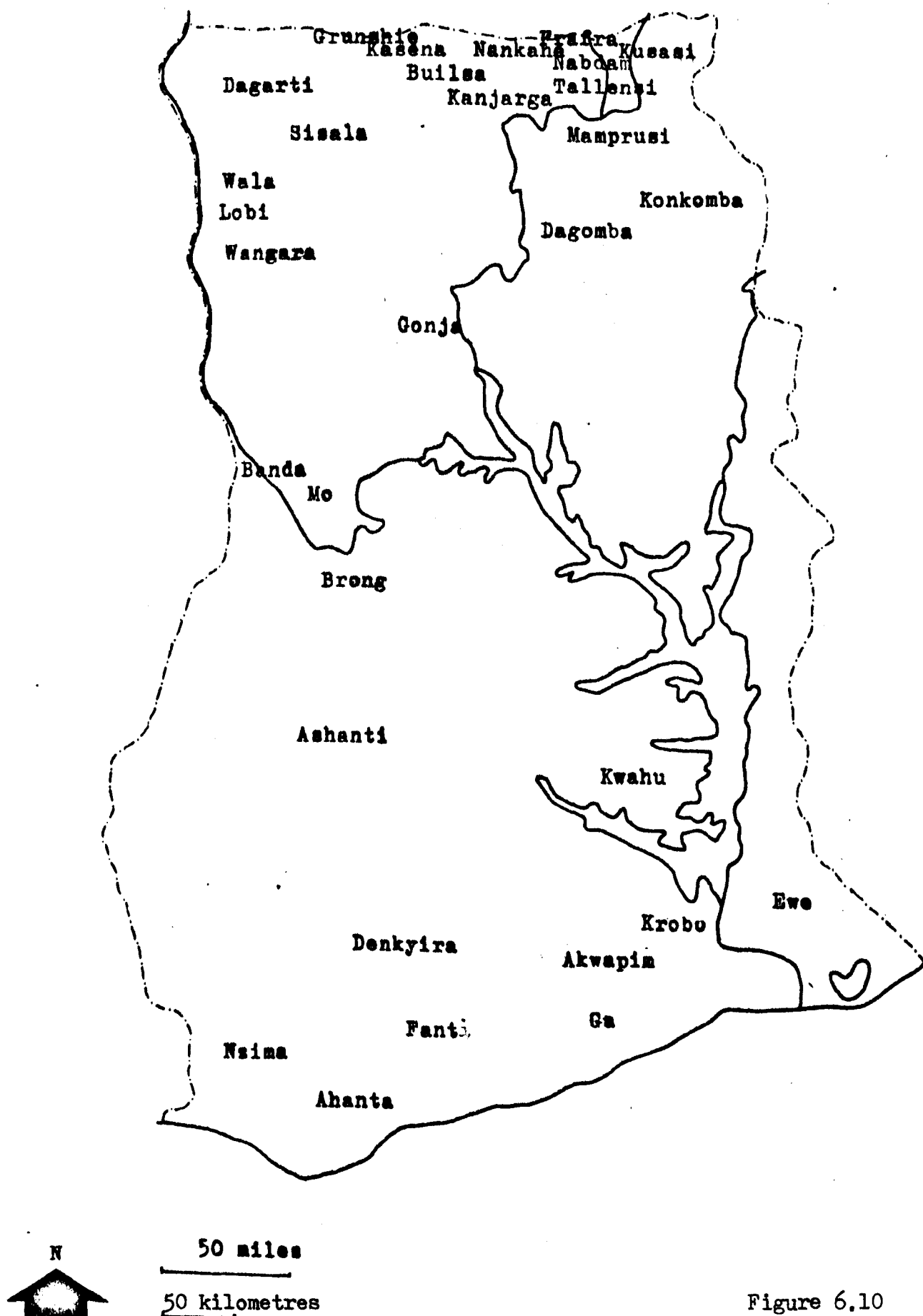


Figure 6.10

Location of Non- Ghanaian Ethnic Groups Found in Ayija

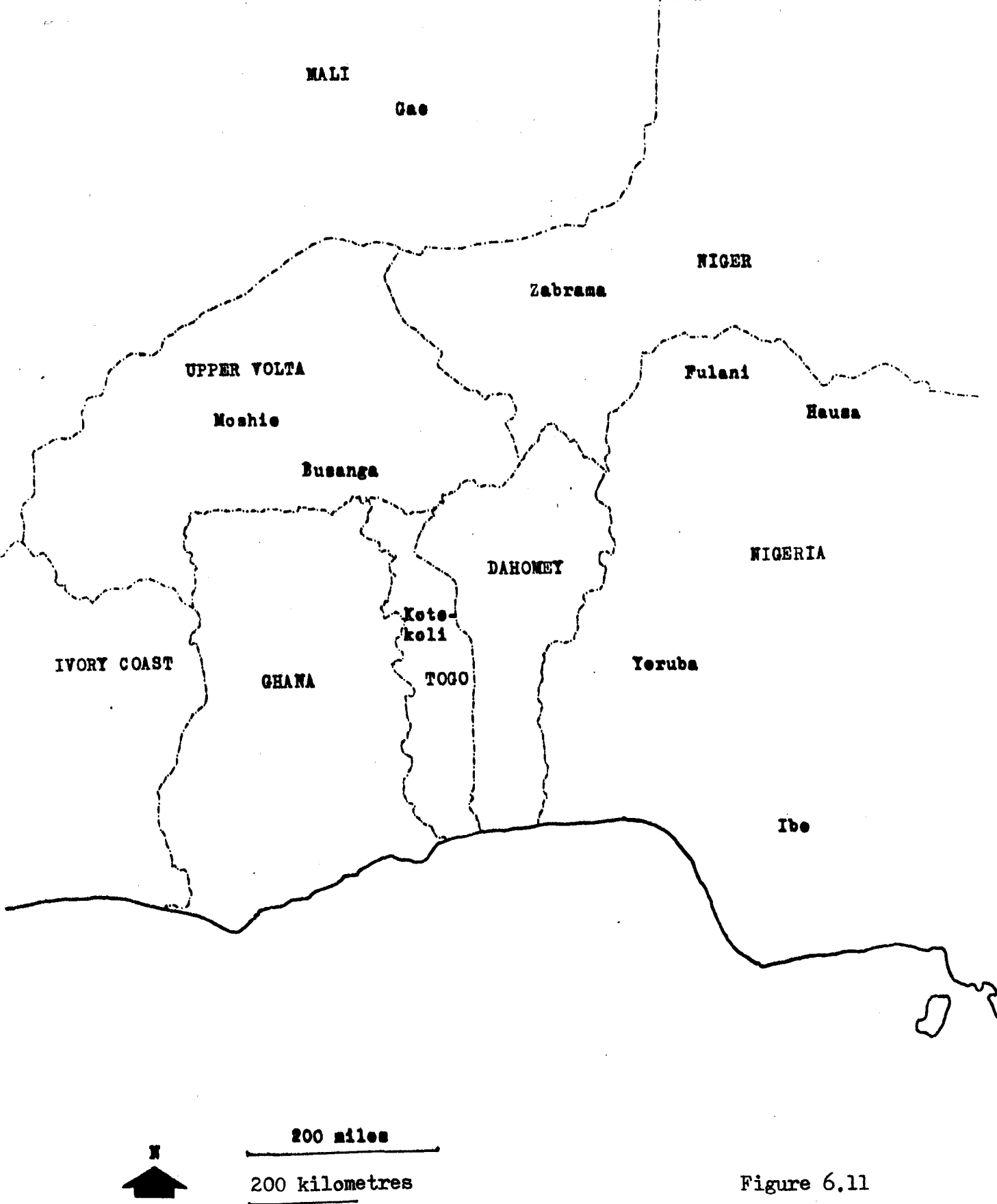


Figure 6.11

the purpose of acting as a reception 'club'. With some tribes, this function is latent, only becoming active when there is a specific need; however, some have regular routine social and cultural activities, such as the Ewe who have a large cultural dance group.

Some groups are more introspective than others because of language. Twi is the language of the Ashanti, and it is mutually understood by other Akan, but other tribes have languages which are not mutually comprehensible. Where there are broad groups encompassing several tribes speaking varying dialects, there may be a preference for social relationships within this group : this may happen with the Mole-Dagbani languages, for instance (Hill, 1970(i)). Other tribes may have a common second language, such as Hausa, which is spoken or understood by most northerners. Some tribes are virtually isolated by their language, such as the Ewe. Ultimately migrants may learn Twi, so that language is no longer a serious barrier to social contact, but those contacts already made through common language may continue to be important.

The traditional relationships between the tribes may be relevant to how the individual acts towards his neighbours. In particular, there is much latent hostility between the Ashanti and northern tribes, because of historical conflicts; this is not only reflected in friendship patterns, but also in the dislike on the part of northerners for using Twi as a language of communication. Other tribes have 'joking relationships' between them, with traditions encouraging friendship (Rattray, 1932; Schildkrout, 1974).

All of these considerations might lead the migrant to seek residence with other members of the same tribe, same language group, or at least with 'friendly' tribes. Contacts that the prospective resident may already have within the settlement may help to secure accommodation near to other members of the same group. In view of this, it is perhaps surprising that there is not more segregation of tribes according to residential location within Ayija, and it is probable that the high demand for accommodation within the settlement limits the flexibility needed to achieve such segregation.

The most striking ethnic separation is that seen between Ayija village and Ayija Zongo. Ayija village consists of about 1,300 Ashantis, 800 other southerners, and 300 northerners and aliens. In Ayija Zongo the largest single group is still the Ashanti with nearly 800 people, and Fantis and Ewes form large groups with 400

and 200 respectively. However, northerners are far better represented in the zongo : the Busanga and Moshie from Upper Volta, many Hausa from Nigeria and Kotokoli from Togo, as well as Frafra, Gonja, Kasena and Kusasi as the most numerous northern Ghanaian tribes. Altogether there are about 1,700 southerners and 3,800 northerners in Ayija Zongo. Taking the settlement as a whole, the most numerous groups are (in order) the Ashanti, Fant¹, Busanga, Frafra, Ewe, Moshie, Gonja, Hausa, Kusasi, Kotokoli, Akwapim, Kasena, Sisala, Dagarti, Ga, Dagomba, Kanjarga, Mamprusi, Tallensi and Krobo. Each of these groups has more than 100 individuals. There are also many other ethnic groups with smaller representation.

The table (fig. 6.12) shows the size of the major ethnic groups in the village and the zongo, and the maps (figs. 6.13 - 6.16) show the distribution of members of these tribes through the settlement.

Of the southern groups, most are well dispersed throughout the settlement, though with the general increase in proportion in the village. Ewe are an exception to this, being well dispersed in the zongo as well as the village. Gas are clustered in the village more than the other southern groups. The Krobos show some tendency to gather together in one of the older parts of the zongo, where some of the women practice prostitution.

The northern groups vary in their clustering characteristics. The Kotokoli community tends to nucleate in an area known as 'Kotokoli Line', which is another area renowned for prostitution. Some of the northern groups, such as the Busanga, Gonja and Moshie, tend to nucleate around the tribal chief's house. Others, such as the Dagomba, Tallensi, Dagarti, and Hausa, are dispersed throughout the zongo area, but tend to group in certain houses. Some of these latter groups have less well defined hierarchies within the zongo, often lacking their own chiefs, so that they identify with social groupings smaller than that of the whole tribe. It may be that these smaller groupings represent clans, or groups from the same village of origin.

Clans are commonly units smaller than the tribe, where some ultimate blood relationship is believed to exist. Clan members regard themselves as blood relatives, and the bond is therefore stronger than between members of the same tribe but different clans. Rural settlements are often dominated by a single clan (though this is not always the case) so that common place of origin may reinforce the social ties. Marriage often has to take place outside the clan,

Main Ethnic Groups in Ayija, in Order of Size

<u>Ayija village</u>		<u>Ayija Zonge</u>		<u>Ayija (total)</u>	
Ashanti	1278	Ashanti	777	Ashanti	2055
Fanti	268	Busanga	594	Fanti	708
Ewe	203	Fanti	440	Busanga	637
Ga	112	Frafra	388	Frafra	450
Akwapim	79	Meshie	364	Ewe	432
Frafra	62	Gonja	339	Meshie	370
Busanga	43	Ewe	229	Gonja	339
Ibo	35	Hausa	219	Hausa	222
Sisala	33	Kotekoli	179	Kusasi	195
Kusasi	31	Kasena	165	Kotekoli	180
		Kusasi	164	Akwapim	174
		Dagarti	147	Dagarti	159
		Dagomba	147	Ga	149
		Sisala	127	Dagomba	148
		Kanjarga	119	Kanjarga	134
		Mamprusi	110	Mamprusi	110
		Akwapim	95	Tallensi	107
		Tallensi	94	Krobo	101
		Builsa	82		
		Krobo	82		
		Grunshie	66		
		Fulani	65		
		Wala	62		

Figure 6.12

Distribution of Tribes in Kyija :

1 dot = 1 person



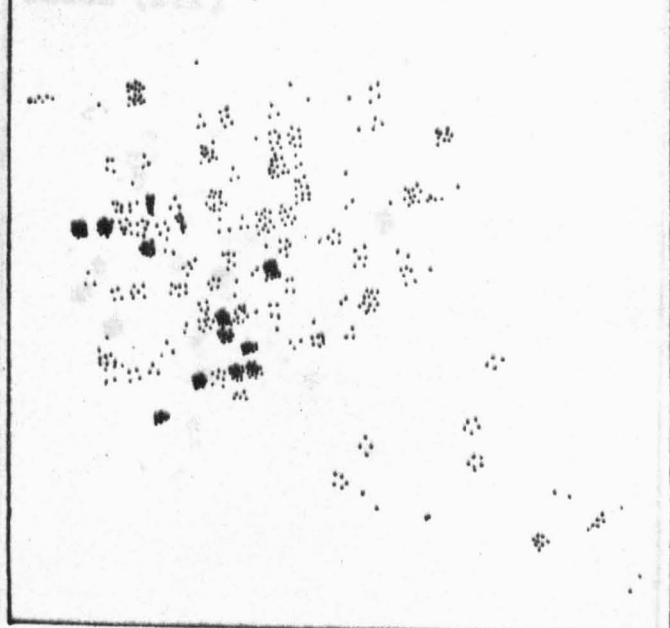
Ashanti (total 2055 persons)



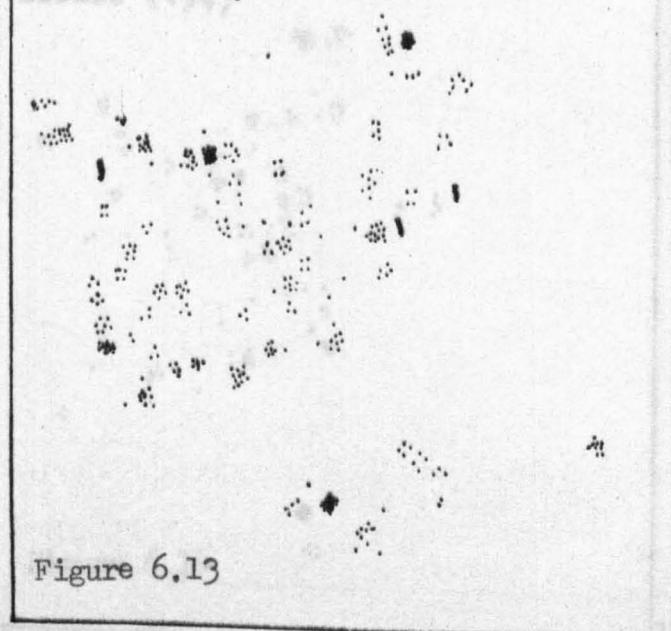
Fanti (708)



Busanga (637)



Frafra (450)



Ewe (432)

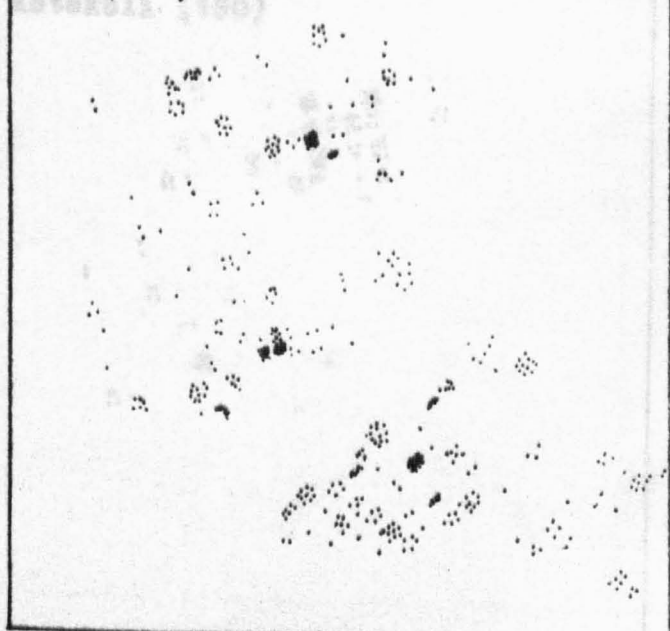
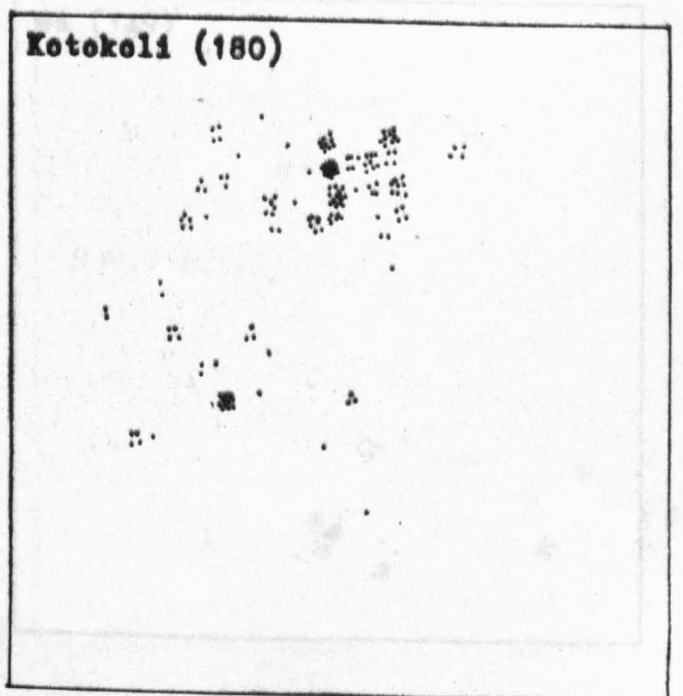
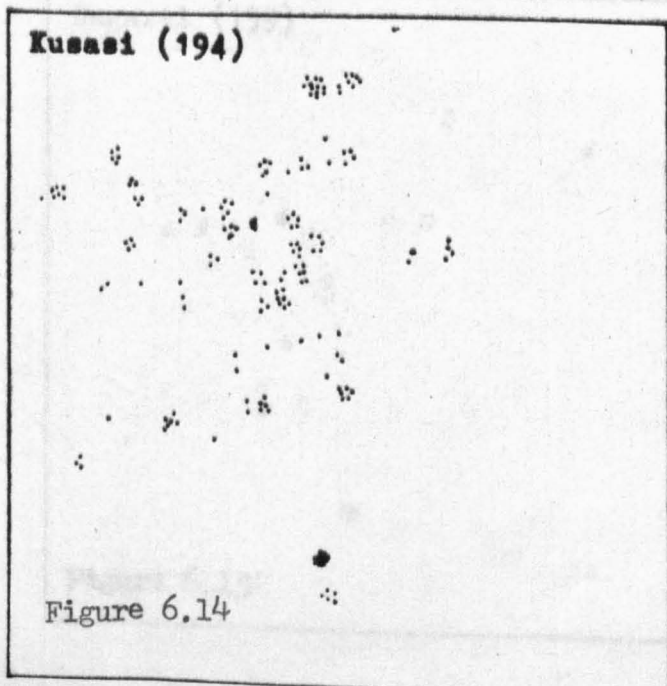
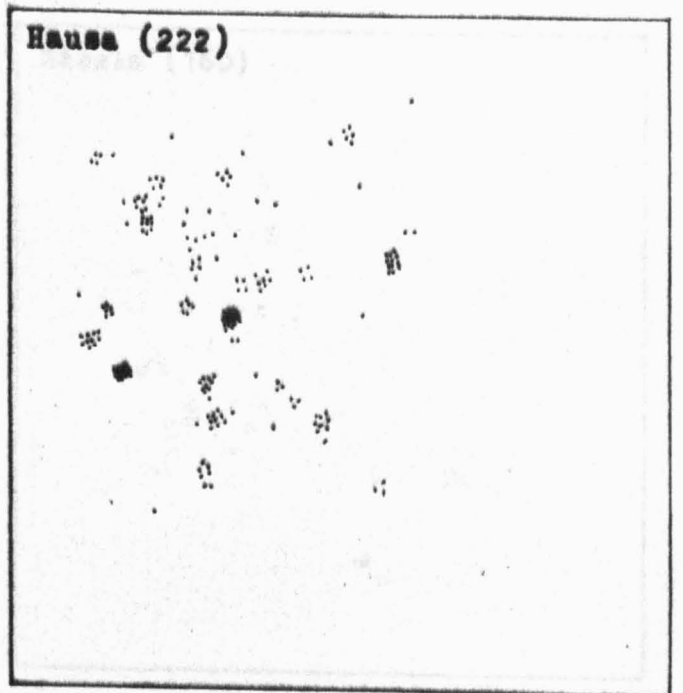
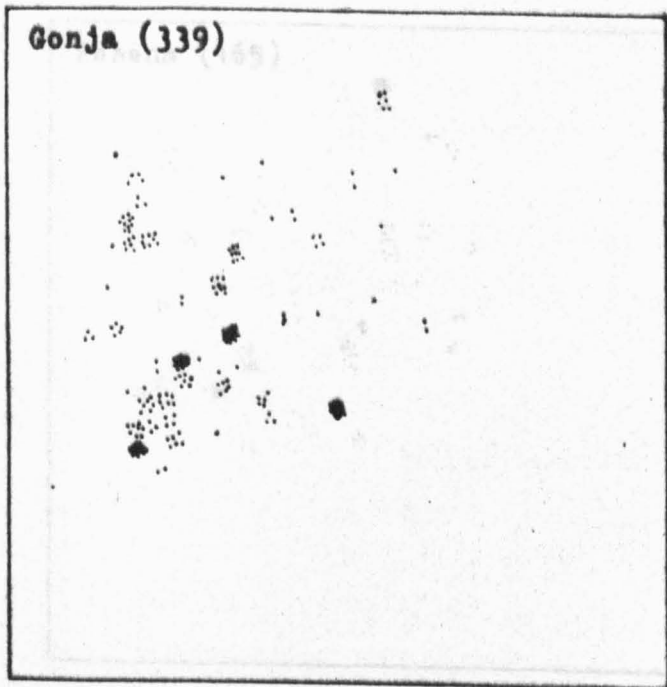
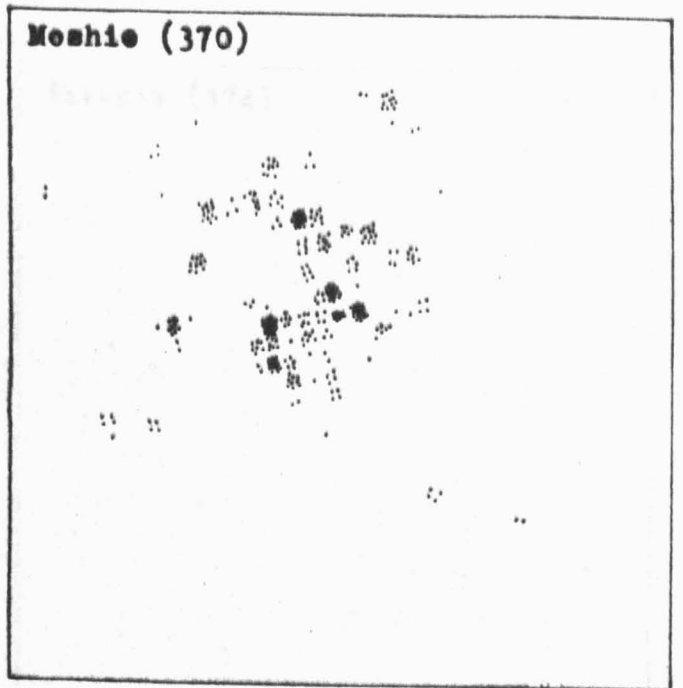
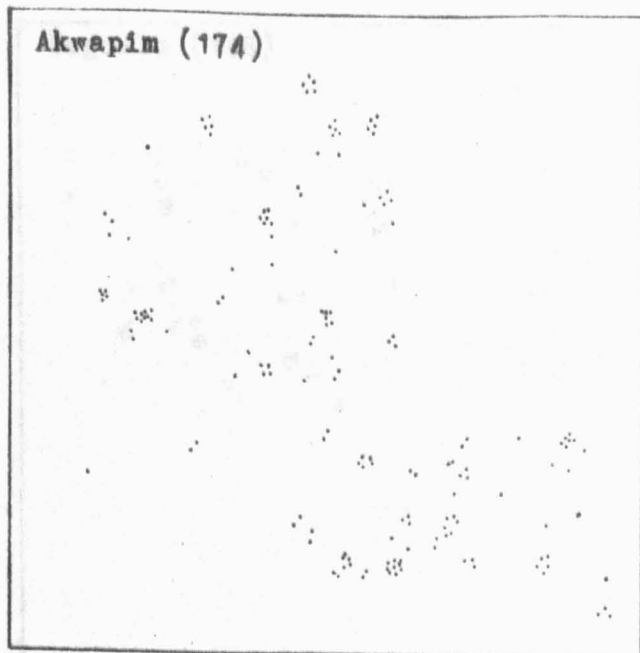


Figure 6.13

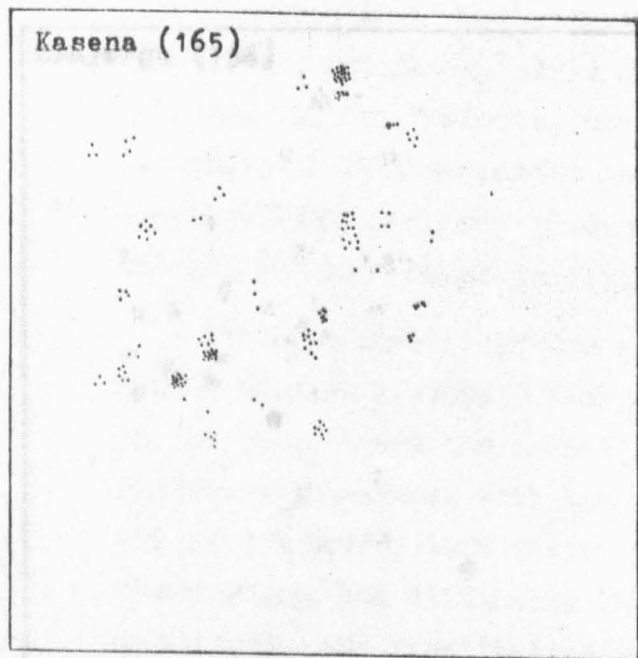




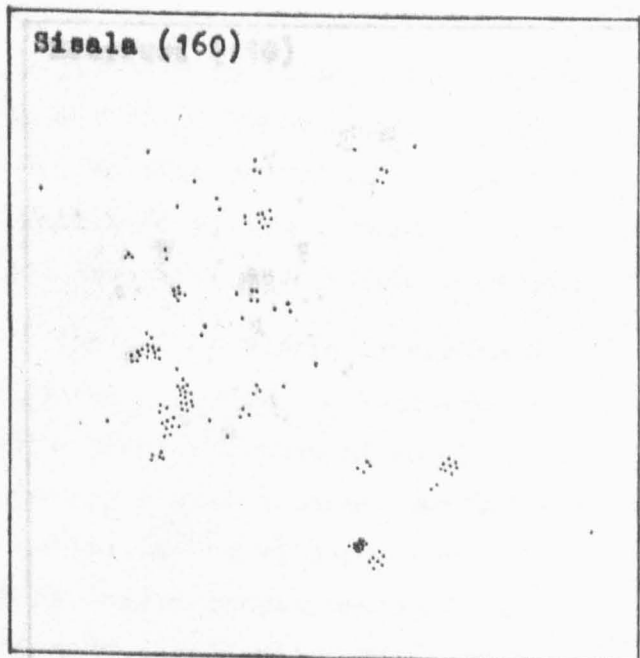
Akwapim (174)



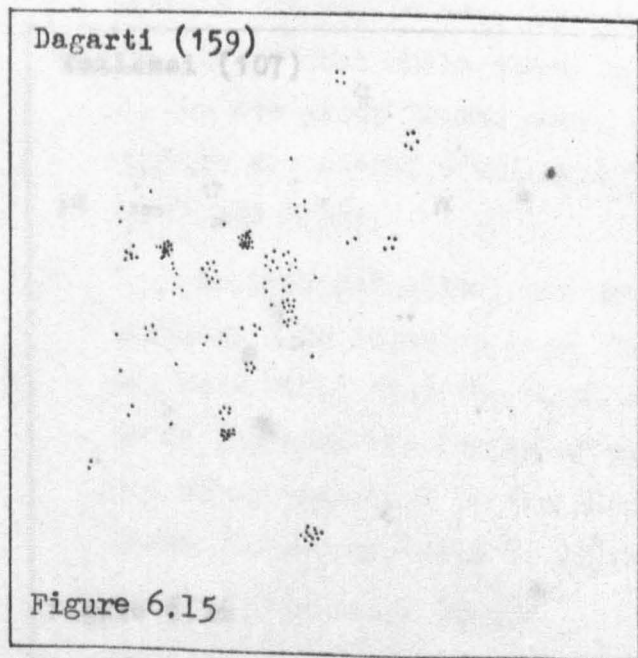
Kasena (165)



Sisala (160)



Dagarti (159)



Ga (149)

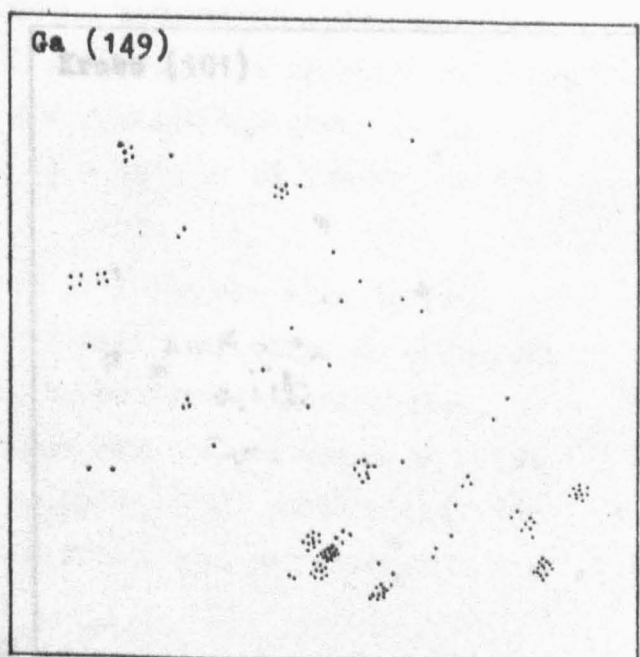
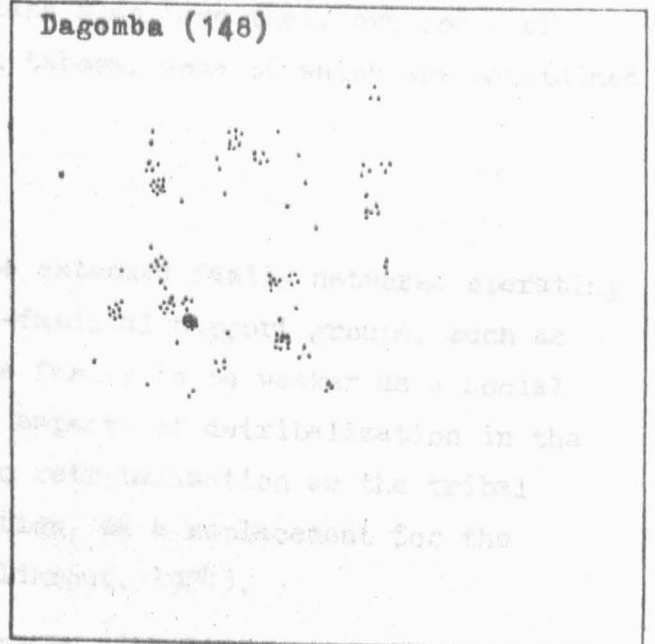


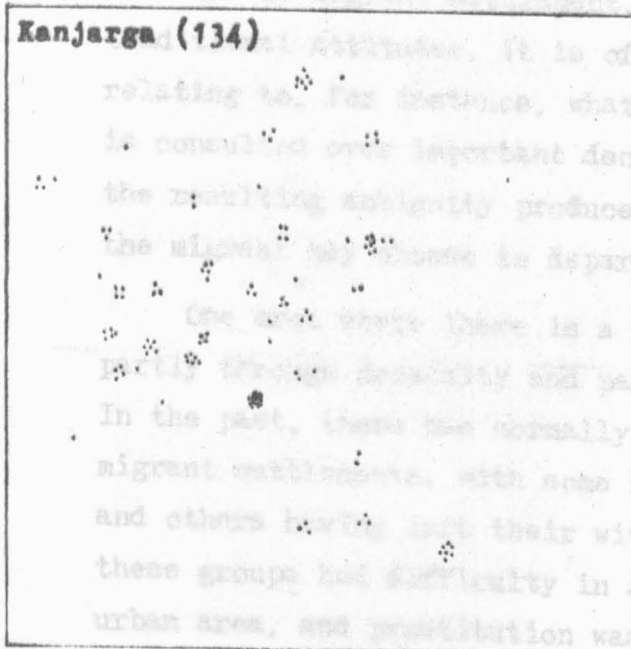
Figure 6.15



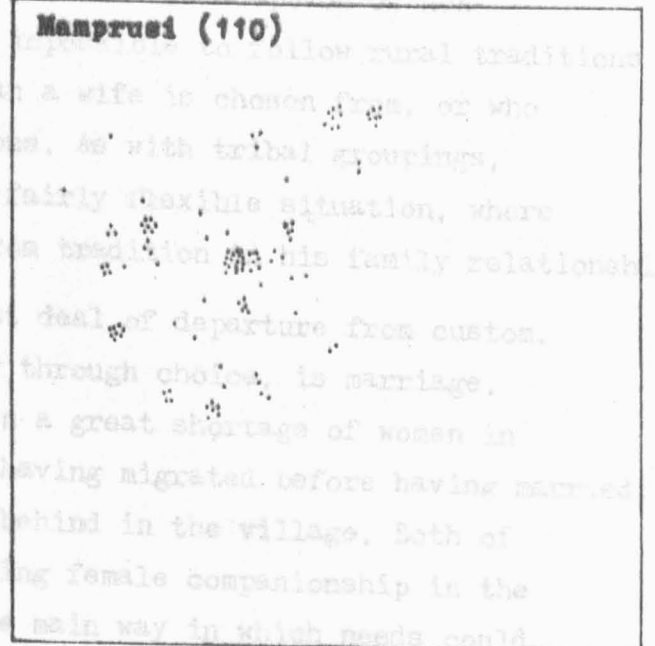
Dagomba (148)



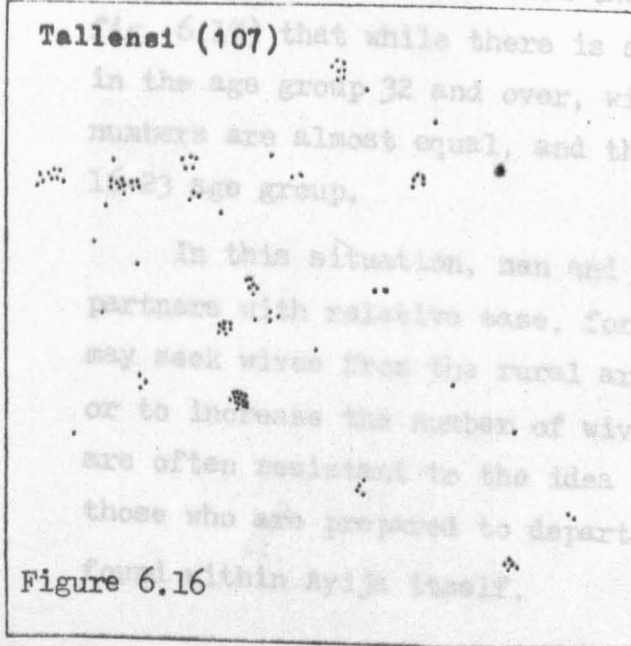
Kanjarga (134)



Manprusi (110)



Tallensi (107)



Krobo (101)

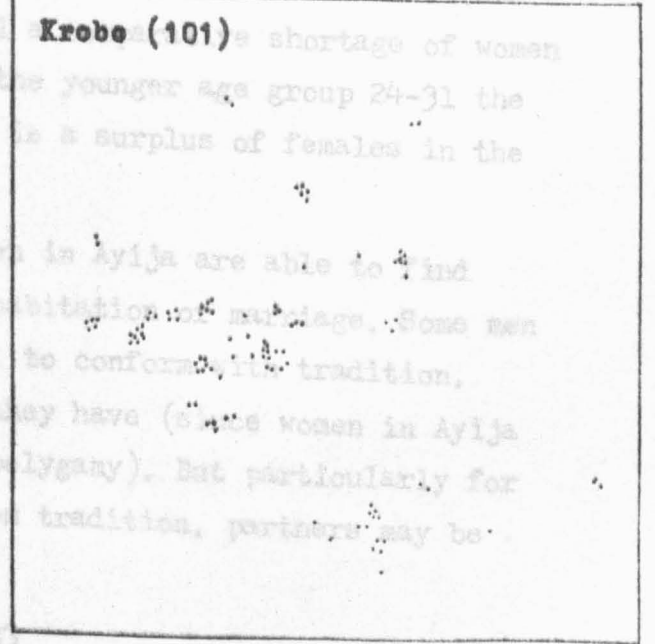


Figure 6.16

because of traditional beliefs. Clans also have their own codes of belief and action relating to clan taboos, some of which are maintained in the migrant settlement.

the family

In the migrant settlement, the extended family networks operating in the village are replaced by non-familial support groups, such as the tribe, and it is common for the family to be weaker as a social unit. With tribal groups, one sees aspects of detribalization in the adaptation to urban norms, but also retribalization as the tribal group takes on its new social function, as a replacement for the extended family (Cohen, 1969; Schildkrout, 1974).

The juxtaposition of ethnic groups with different customs towards the family, particularly with groups that are numerically weak in the migrant settlement, results in the adoption of non-traditional attitudes. It is often impossible to follow rural traditions relating to, for instance, what clan a wife is chosen from, or who is consulted over important decisions. As with tribal groupings, the resulting ambiguity produces a fairly flexible situation, where the migrant may choose to depart from tradition in his family relationships.

One area where there is a great deal of departure from custom, partly through necessity and partly through choice, is marriage. In the past, there has normally been a great shortage of women in migrant settlements, with some men having migrated before having married, and others having left their wives behind in the village. Both of these groups had difficulty in seeking female companionship in the urban area, and prostitution was the main way in which needs could be met. In Ayija this may well have been the situation in the past. However, it may be seen from the present population structure (see fig. 6.17) that while there is still a comparative shortage of women in the age group 32 and over, with the younger age group 24-31 the numbers are almost equal, and there is a surplus of females in the 16-23 age group.

In this situation, men and women in Ayija are able to find partners with relative ease, for cohabitation or marriage. Some men may seek wives from the rural areas, to conform with tradition, or to increase the number of wives they have (since women in Ayija are often resistant to the idea of polygamy). But particularly for those who are prepared to depart from tradition, partners may be found within Ayija itself.

Population Pyramids for Ayija

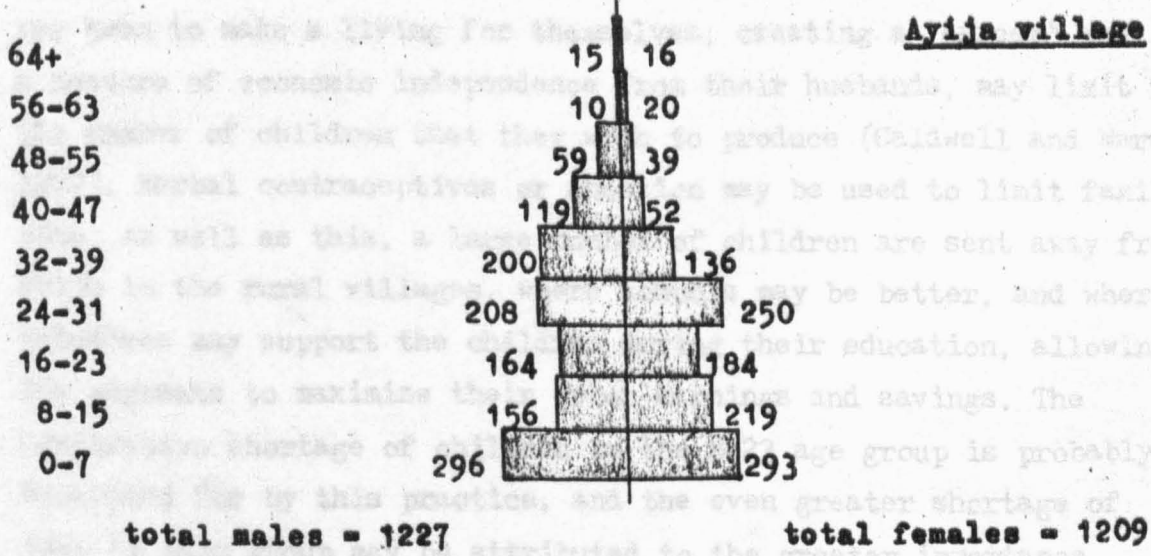
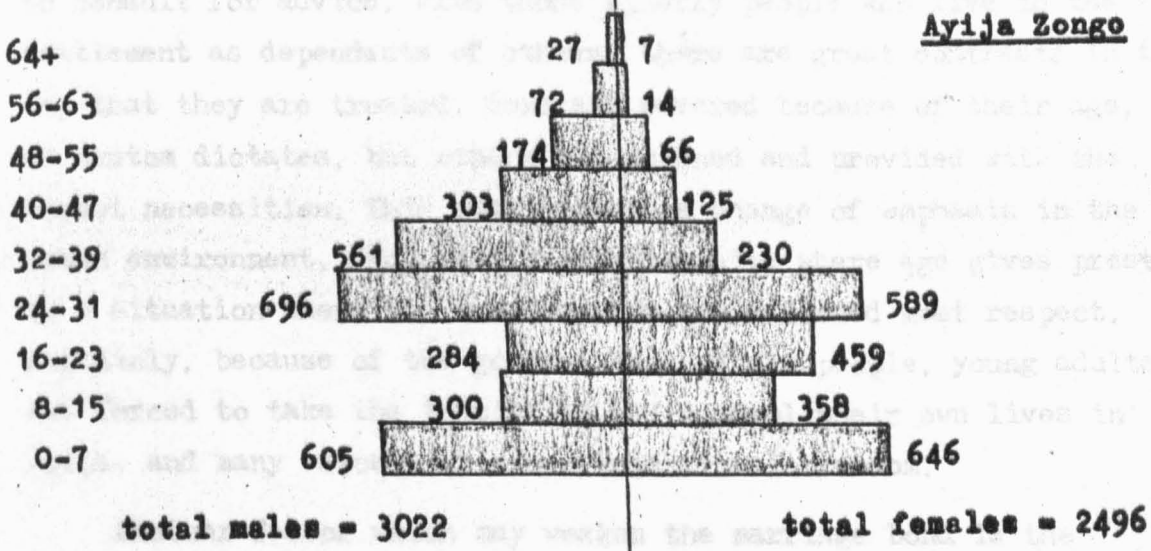
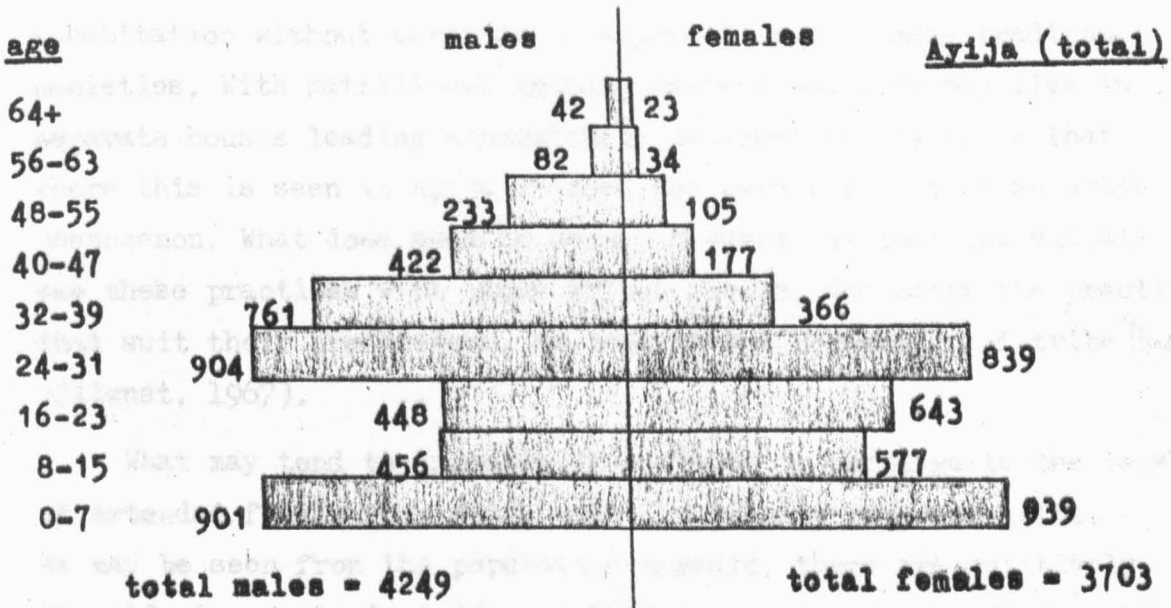


Figure 6.17

500 persons

Some marriage unions appear to be unstable, but it would be difficult to claim with any certainty that marriage instability is greater in the migrant settlement than in the villages, as has been claimed elsewhere (Peattie, 1968⁽ⁱⁱ⁾; Roberts, 1970; Little, 1974). Cohabitation without marriage is approved even in many traditional societies. With matrilineal tribes, husband and wife may live in separate houses leading economically independent lives, so that where this is seen in Ayija it does not merely represent an urban phenomenon. What does seem to occur, however, is that individuals see these practices with other tribal groups, and adopt the practices that suit their preferences, to some extent regardless of tribe (Remiclignet, 1967).

What may tend to increase instability in marriage is the lack of extended family ties which would oppose any proposed split. As may be seen from the population pyramid, there are relatively few elderly people in Ayija, so that a young man may have few elders to consult for advice. With those elderly people who live in the settlement as dependants of others, there are great contrasts in the way that they are treated. Some are revered because of their age, as custom dictates, but others are scorned and provided with the barest necessities. This may indicate a change of emphasis in the urban environment, from family relationships where age gives prestige, to a situation where the breadwinners are afforded most respect. Certainly, because of the general lack of old people, young adults are forced to take the initiative and control their own lives in Ayija, and many welcome this non-traditional freedom.

Another factor which may weaken the marriage bond is the comparative lack of children in Ayija. The fact that many women are keen to make a living for themselves, creating a 'career' and a measure of economic independence from their husbands, may limit the number of children that they wish to produce (Caldwell and Ware, 1977). Herbal contraceptives or abortion may be used to limit family size. As well as this, a large number of children are sent away from Ayija to the rural villages, where schools may be better, and where relatives may support the children during their education, allowing the migrants to maximize their urban earnings and savings. The comparative shortage of children in the 8-23 age group is probably accounted for by this practice, and the even greater shortage of boys in this group may be attributed to the greater importance attached to the education of boys. It is also relevant that girls

may be more useful as helpers to their mothers in their urban occupations, such as trading. A further factor limiting the number of individuals in this age group is that many children of the main in-migrating group have not yet reached this age. Similarities with the population pyramids of other migrant settlements in Kumasi may be seen in relation to this and other features (Houlberg, 1973; Marfo, 1974 - fig. 6.18).

There is some reverse movement of older children from the villages to the city, for secondary or tertiary education. Sometimes they are sent to lodge with relatives, and sometimes they live alone. In either case, they may be supported by remittances from their parents, or 'sponsored' by a more wealthy relative. Although cases of this are known in Ayija, the population pyramid suggests that the number is small relative to movement in the reverse direction.

For those children who live in Ayija with their parents, they are sometimes supported by one or the other parent, or by both. Where husbands and wives live in separate rooms, the younger children commonly live with their mother, and she is responsible for feeding them and her husband, often using her own earnings to pay for the food. Men commonly pay the rent for their wives, even when they live in separate houses, and they may also contribute towards items of expenditure such as children's clothing, and provide capital for wives who are trading. There is great variety in the dependency relationships operating between man and wife, but a measure of independence is usual, even when they are sharing the same room (peil, 1975). The relationship might vary with individual circumstances : for instance, in times of need a man might have to borrow money off his wife to meet his responsibilities, but this is often treated as a debt to be repaid (Marriis, 1962).

Dependency relationships within the extended family are far more open to choice than in the village. With most ethnic groups it is traditional for individuals to have absolute obligation to give to relatives when asked, especially when the request comes from an elder (Hart, 1974). It is often claimed that this stifles initiative, and encourages more successful individuals to conceal their wealth for fear of family demands (Onibokum, 1971; Bauer, 1974). In Ayija, some migrants feel that an important reason for migrating was to avoid meeting obligations of this sort, where they appeared unreasonable. Within the migrant settlement, the individual feels that he can adopt

Form of Population Pyramid for Moshie Zongo, Kumasi

age

64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

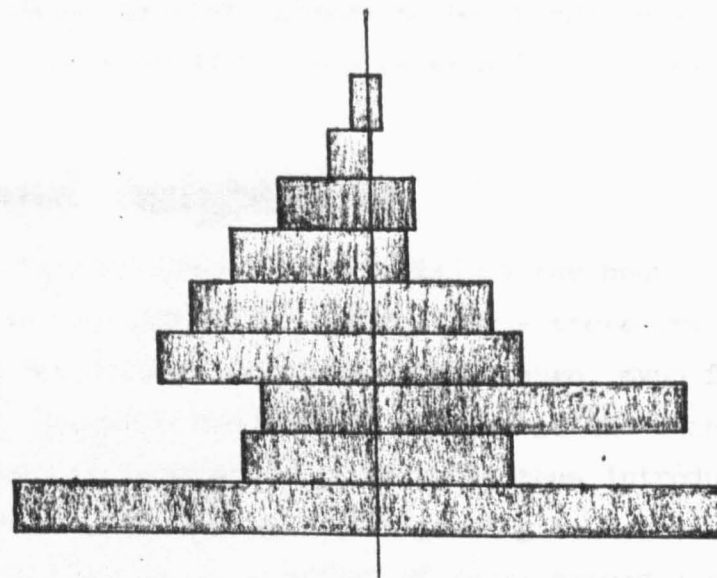
32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7



Form of Population Pyramid for Atonsu/Agogo, Kumasi

age

56+

48-55

40-47

32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7

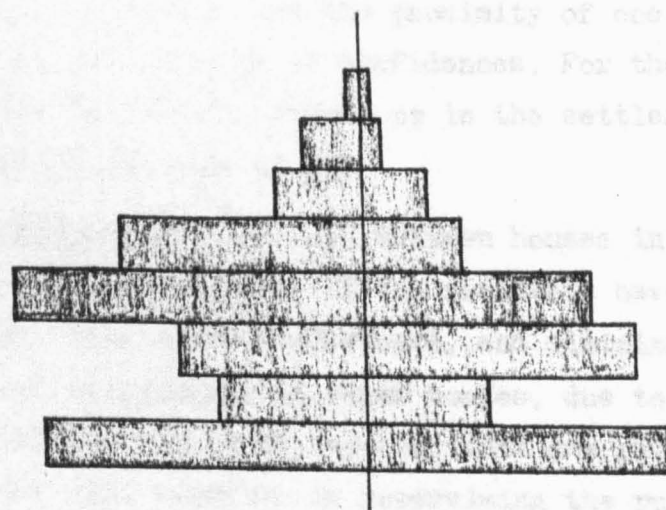


Figure 6.18

500 persons

different norms, enabling him to refuse unwarranted requests. There is a consequent trend to more territoriality and personal possessiveness.

An example of the new 'urban' attitude to the extended family may be seen in relation to house sharing. In most of the cultural groups represented in Ayija, tradition dictates that one's house is open to all relatives, and even remote clan members. However, in Ayija, it is common for clan members to be charged rent by a house owner, and even close relatives may be expected to make an economic contribution.

friends and neighbours

Ayija village and Ayija Zongo contain a few houses where all of the occupants are related to one another - there are about ten such houses in the village and five in the zongo. Even fewer houses have unrelated occupants who are all members of the same tribal group. The rented courtyard housing found in Ayija thus introduces a different form of social group, corresponding to house occupancy. Houses generally consist of a series of rooms around a central courtyard, typically with a nuclear family occupying one or two rooms. It is common for 10-20 families to be found living in the same house, sharing the common courtyard space, cooking area and bathing huts. This sharing necessitates getting to know one another for practical purposes, but closer relationships are encouraged by the tendency of children to play together, and the proximity of one family to another encourages the exchange of confidences. For the newly arrived migrant, the first friendships struck up in the settlement may be with co-residents of the same house.

There is considerable variation between houses in the level of social activity that takes place. If the residents have no common language, they may make friends elsewhere, and minimize contact with their closest neighbours. In other houses, due to the personalities as well as the cultures involved, co-residents may get along together very well, and may join together in supervising the running of the house, helping to improve the building, co-operating in economic activities (helping one another to get jobs, setting up enterprises together), looking after one another's children, and so on. The house owner, if he is resident in the house, may be an important influence on the social situation. If he establishes good relationships with his tenants, and encourages group identity, choosing new tenants with some discretion, co-residents may become a cohesive social group.

Beyond these main social groupings relating to tribe, family and house, there are other groupings with important social functions for certain individuals. There is a football club, which brings together men and boys with an interest in sport. There are various 'esusu' savings groups which have a social as well as practical function, particularly for women. Co-workers may become friends, and their social activities may extend beyond the workplace. These networks operate on an informal level, however : there are no formal organizations such as trade unions, political organizations, youth clubs and formal mutual aid societies which draw significant membership from Ayija - this is at variance with observations made of other parts of urban West Africa (Little, 1970; Green, 1972). The main formal organizations with a social impact are religious institutions - the mosques and churches in and around Ayija. Even the tribal organizations are informally constituted.

systems of authority

Such social control as exists within Ayija tends to relate to the family or tribe as a group, rather than to the settlement as a whole. This is partly a reflection of the social fragmentation caused by tribalism, and partly a result of the particular system of authority which has evolved in Ayija.

A peculiarity of the Ashanti hierarchy operating in Ayija is that the land is in the custody of the Hia-hene, who is traditionally (and currently) one of the Asantehene's wives. She therefore spends much of her time in the palace in Kumasi, and is not able to exert any regular controlling influence over events in Ayija. Because of this historical custom, Ayija also has a chief, who is jointly chief of the village of Asakyire. However, he too is absent from the settlement for much of the time, as he is a man of considerable status within the national administration, acting as Chairman of the national bus company, and living in Accra for much of the time. Even when he visits the settlement, he lodges elsewhere, in a nearby high-income suburb. Thus Ayija lacks a resident leader, who might be an important agent in bringing about change in the settlement (Gutkind, 1969(ii)).

In the absence of both these figureheads, administration on a day to day basis is left to the rest of the royal family in Ayija, a brother of the chief (the 'Gyaasehene') handling the important function of land allocation. Even here, there may be problems during the cocoa farming seasonal activity, when many of the royal family

are away on their farms, so that a further level of deputization may be called into play. The other main chieftaincy functions of generally keeping order, and arbitrating disputes, tend to be handled within the tribal groups. Most tribal groups have their own chiefs, or less formally titled leaders, who act to receive the incoming migrants, and act as a general reference point. Each tribal chief within the settlement relates to a network of chiefs throughout Kumasi, and an overall chief of each tribe for the whole city.

For domestic-scale problems, the system of social control on a tribal basis operates efficiently, but the lack of overall authority makes it difficult to tackle intertribal disputes, and to encourage mutual co-operation between tribal groups. The Ashanti (and other tribes) traditionally call on volunteers to work on projects involving 'communal labour', usually concerned with settlement improvement. This custom has obvious potential for improving the environment in and around Ayija, but the traditional sounding of the gong arouses a very apathetic response from the residents, and the lack of clear leadership within the settlement is probably a contributory cause.

When land was allocated to northerners for a zongo, the Moshie leader of the first group of settlers was appointed as chief of the zongo, with a certain amount of implicit delegated authority for dealing with zongo affairs. Because this delegation was unclear, however, the position of zongo chief has tended to involve a title rather than any specific functions, and there have been disputes in the past over the lack of consultation by the Ashanti leaders over certain issues affecting the zongo. In recent years it has become apparent that even within the zongo, the Moshie chief's position was weakening, as the Busanga were becoming more numerous and ambitious for leadership. Subsequent to the fieldwork for this study, the original Moshie chief died, and the new Moshie chief was no longer recognized as overall head (having made himself unpopular on a number of scores). Theoretically each tribal chief now assumes equal status, though the general recognition of the Busanga's superiority in numbers may foreshadow a bid for leadership by the Busanga chief. In the past, the Moshie chief was able to successfully co-ordinate the activities of other northern chiefs, presiding over regular meetings. It is not clear that such co-ordination will be able to continue, though the main stimulus to the northerners' co-operation, i.e. antagonism towards the Ashanti, is as strong as ever.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT

The physical setting for life in Ayija may be described with reference to three components : (i) the natural environment, (ii) housing and (iii) street space. These three aspects of the environment determine the characteristics of the site for the settlement and the current site potential, the form of man-made environment imposed on the site through construction, and the network of space that results from the construction of buildings. The relationships between these three aspects of the environment are complementary, in terms of the sum total of space available, and they also reflect the competing demands for space within the settlement. Thus the greater the area that is used for house construction, the more the natural environment will be encroached upon; the more demand there is for private space within the settlement, the less street space will be left for public use. In terms of consequential development, however, the description must start with the natural environment, as this explains some of the attractions of the site for human settlement, as well as some of the constraints on future expansion of the settlement.

the natural environment

The climate of Ayija is fairly equitable, with monthly mean temperatures of around 25°C all year. The main seasonal variation is rainfall, as there is a marked dry season from November to March, during which winds blow from the inland Sahel areas. The dry Harmattan desert wind is sometimes felt at this time. The rest of the year is humid, with steady rainfall occurring throughout, but with two rainfall maxima in June and October (Johnston, 1958). The onset of the rains is often marked by severe storms, which may cause a considerable amount of flooding, and damage to vegetation and buildings.

In relation to the climate, an important advantage of Ayija's site is the fact that it is well drained, and situated above the surrounding area which may be subject to flooding. Ayija village developed on a gentle southerly slope, and the zongo occupies a

watershed area with gradual slopes to east and west. Beyond the areas covered by the settlement the land slopes more steeply, into valleys. The proximity of several streams to Ayija may also have been a factor in its original development, providing the initial water supply. The streams are the Sisa to the west, the Konkonwia to the north, and the Wiwi to the east (see fig. 7.1).

The natural vegetation of the area is dense forest. Persistent clearance for farming has led to a degeneration of this cover into thick bush. Before the major expansion of the settlement in the 1950s and 1960s, the vegetation consisted of bush interspersed with cocoa plantations, with some temporary clearings for the cultivation of food crops. The presence of much natural cane is suggested by the meaning of the name 'Ayija' (i.e. beyond the cane). The original dense forest cover has thus been removed for some time, but it remains over much of the University campus to the south, and in other areas within walking distance. The present vegetation is lush and dense, with most of the trees still standing being those maintained for various food crops : mangoes, oil palm nuts, plantains and bananas, avocados, oranges, coconuts, rozelle and pawpaw. Within the settlement some trees have also been maintained or planted for shade, or for superstitious reasons, and a dense thicket is preserved as a fetish grove (i.e. home of the fetish or spirit) between the village and the zongo (see fig. 7.2).

The natural environment continues to provide important economic resources for the settlement. The most notable of these are building sand, sites for various industries, wild foods, firewood and other raw materials.

The location of plots for growing food crops around the settlement is shown in the map (fig. 7.3). This area expands during the wet season. Land not used for raising crops is grazed by livestock. The local area is supplemented by land illegally cultivated on the University campus, often by university workers who are resident in Ayija. Of the area immediately surrounding Ayija, 112 different plots were counted within 200 metres of the settlement, varying in size from a few square metres to several hectares. The most common crops are maize (usually planted after the first rains) and cassava (usually planted in the rainy season, after the maize harvest, and dug up before the next rainy season). A few people have sugar cane farms, especially to the north-west of Ayija Zongo. Some perennial

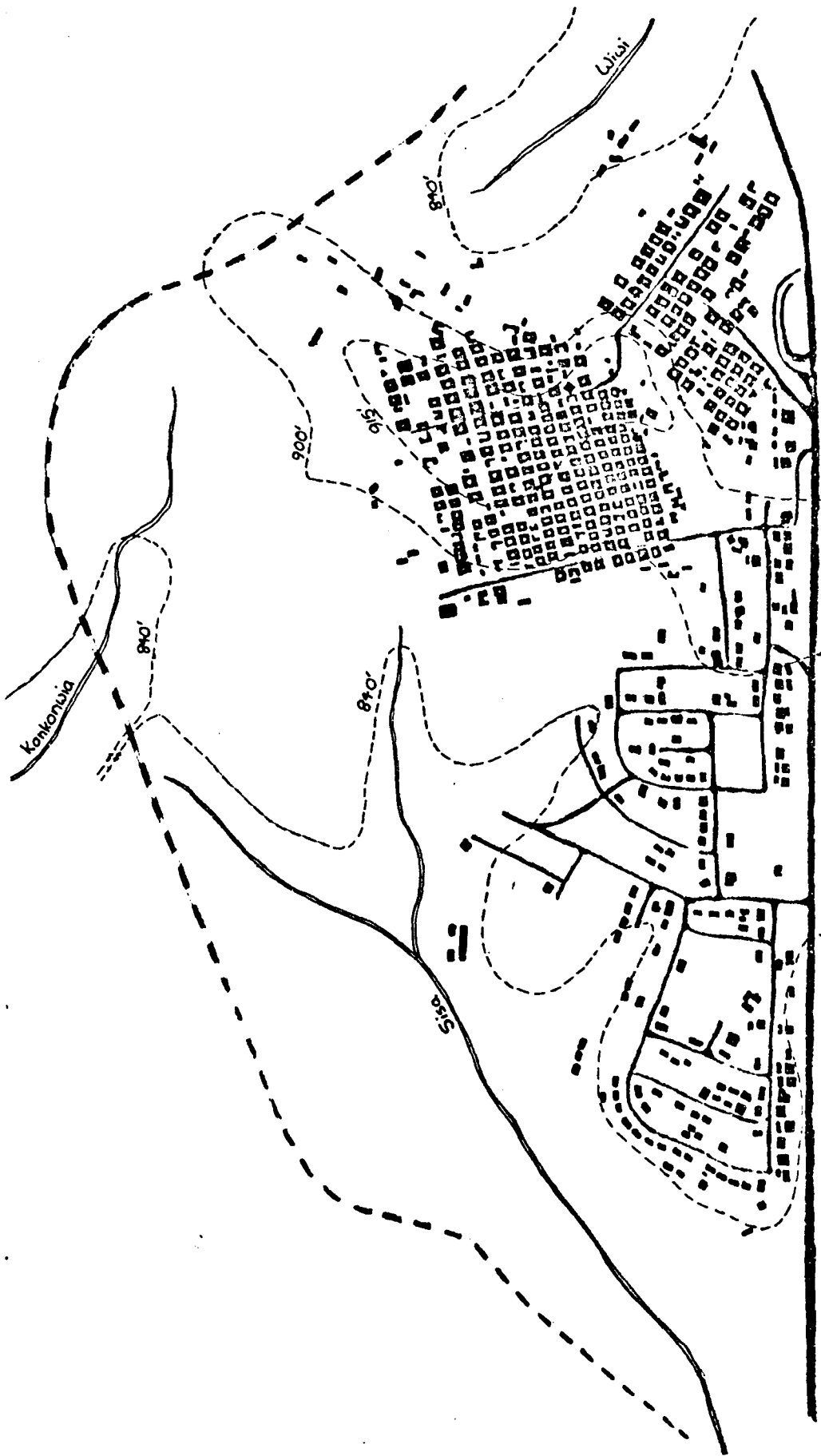


Figure 7.1

Distribution of Trees in and around Ayija

scale 1:5000

N



● trees used for food crops or medicines
● other trees

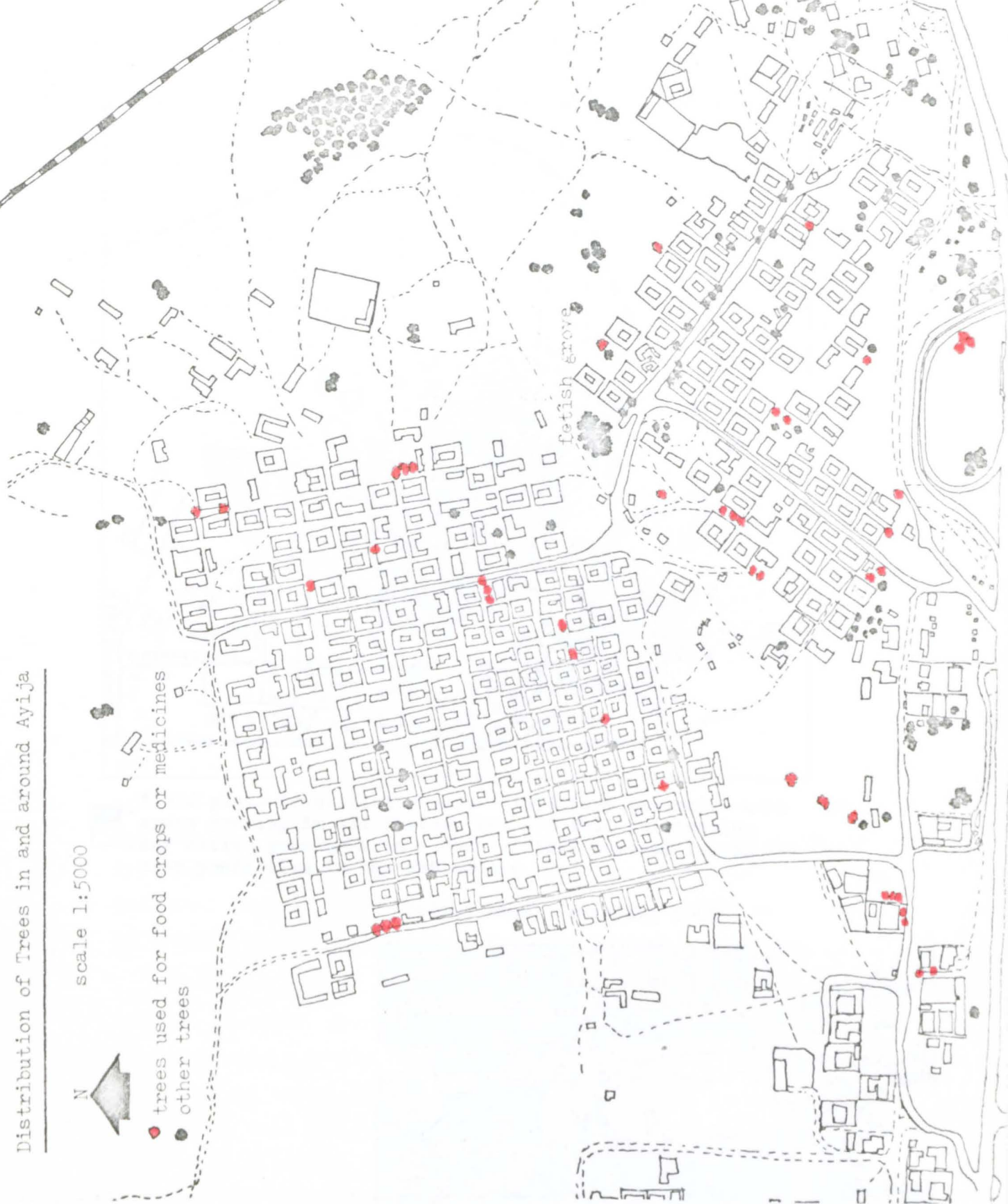
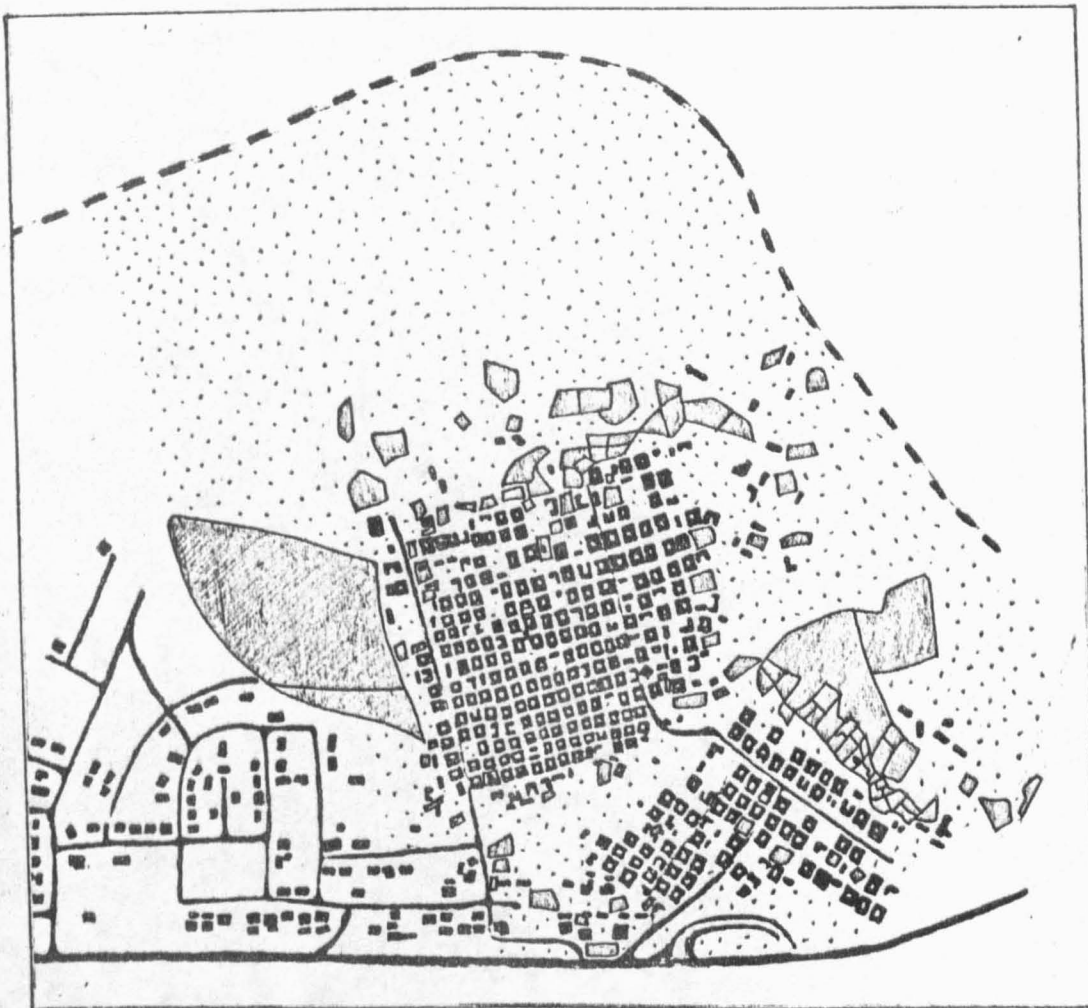


Figure 7.2



■ field plots identified November 1974 (dry season) - some
 ■ crops growing in all fields, but not full cultivation
 ■ -dry season grazing area - much of this becomes fenced for
 crop production in the wet season

(Below) sheep "stealing" food

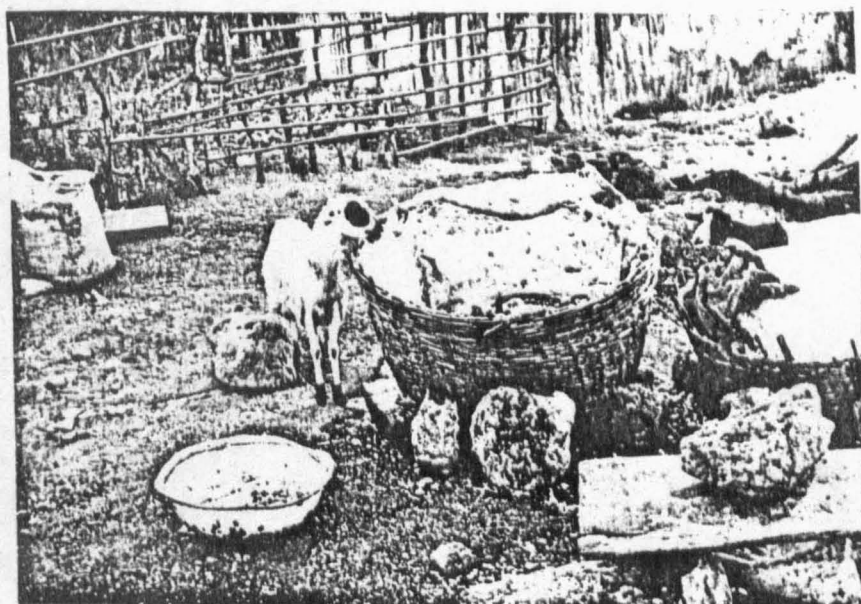


Figure 7.3

crops are grown, such as pineapples and various tree crops. Cocoyam is common in small and large plots (grown for its leaves as well as its tubers) and 'wateryam', a similar plant to cocoyam, is grown near to rivers and streams. A few people grow yams as a luxury staple. Vegetables are often grown in small plots near to the settlement, and these include okro, garden eggs (a variety of eggplant), peppers and (more rarely) tomatoes. Beans were only noted on one plot, and no other crops were evident at the time of the survey. Permission to use land for agriculture may easily be obtained from the village elders, on payment of an amount which varied for the plots identified from a minimum of about ₦6, to more substantial amounts. The largest farm consisted of about 8 hectares, and had been acquired on down payment of ₦72, with a continuing payment of ₦5 per year. There is no shortage of farmland, especially for those prepared to cultivate areas some way from the settlement.

Farm tools in Ayija are limited to the hoe and the cutlass. Land is cleared by burning, at the end of the dry season, which increases the phosphorus content of the soil, at the expense of some of the humus (Webster and Wilson, 1966). No mineral fertilizers are applied, but unfenced land receives human and animal excrement and vegetable refuse, which replenishes the soil to some extent. No artificial irrigation is practised, but farm plots which have drains running into them from the settlement are favoured. Without irrigation, dry season farming is limited to the more resistant cassava, cocoyam and yams. Hand watering is impractical in an area where water has to be bought, or transported uphill from the streams.

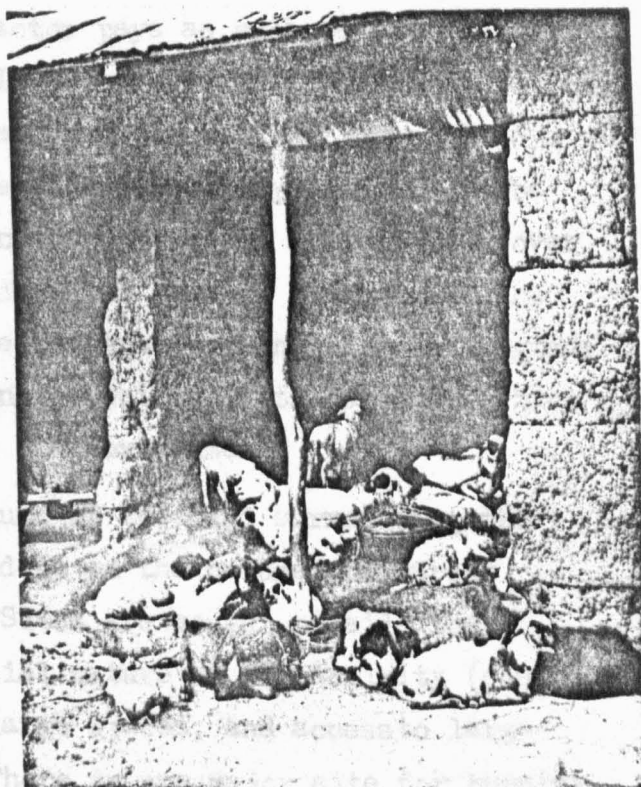
Livestock kept in Ayija includes cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, rabbits, chickens, guinea fowl, turkeys, ducks and pigeons. There are three cattle kraals in the settlement, containing about 90 cattle, which are led around the settlement to graze during the day, and to drink water from the streams. Sheep and goats are kept in smaller herds by many people, and are locked into buildings or enclosures at night, and left free to roam in or around the settlement during the daytime. These animals are all kept for meat, with slaughter usually being limited to festive occasions : the naming of a child, a death, a wedding, the end of the Ramadan fast, the completion of a child's schooling, or to appease the gods. Otherwise, animals might be sold in times of extreme financial need, thus representing a form of saving. It is notable that this non-commercial attitude

contrasts with the more recent trends of cattle owners in rural areas (Hill, 1965), indicating that in the migrant settlement, traditional values may be reasserting themselves.

Poultry are kept in small numbers by many people, and are confined at night, but have free range during the day. Most feeding is limited to scavenging on the streets, but the birds also wander into the surrounding bush. Poultry is kept for regular consumption, and chickens and guinea fowl also for egg production. There is some demand for poultry for ritual (sacrificial) purposes. Chickens are kept more than other poultry, as they are easiest to rear and to keep under control. Rabbits and pigs are kept in small numbers, and reared in confined space. They are fed on scraps, and wild plants are also picked for feeding to rabbits.

A major disincentive for farming in the migrant settlement is the prevalence of stealing. High value crops such as tomatoes are rarely grown, and farmers allow for some loss of any crop planted. Animals are only kept by residents able to provide secure housing at night (see fig. 7.4), but there are still frequent losses. There is also much conflict between those who plant crops and those who keep livestock, as much damage to plants may be caused by the latter. In addition, much concern is expressed over the use of the Wiwi stream for watering cattle, as it is also used as a limited source of drinking water for humans. So it may be seen that farming is not readily compatible with high density urban living. However, the natural environment does provide some potential for those anxious to raise their own food.

All residents have access to certain wild foods in the surrounding area, though competition for these is fierce. Fruit trees have been mentioned above, and other previously cultivated plants grow wild in parts, such as cocoyam. Truly wild foods include various berries, leaves and roots used as flavouring, and mushrooms and honey available seasonally. Some foods are sought by particular ethnic groups - snails by the Ashanti, certain moths and grubs by various groups, snakes (killed in defence rather than for food) by some northerners. Rats are often caught by young boys and killed for food. Fish is caught in the Sisa stream, again usually by children. Larger game is sought by adult hunters, including professionals, and this includes rabbits, deer, grasscutters (i.e. a large rodent) and monkeys. For these larger animals, hunters often venture further



(top) hoeing the land around
Ayija, the high-income houses
of West Ayija seen in the
distance

(centre) cattle kraal in Ayija

(bottom) sheep tethered in a
kitchen in a courtyard house

Figure 7.4

afield than the immediate surroundings, and the University campus is a common hunting ground.

Palm wine is tapped in the immediate surroundings, as well as further afield, usually by professional tappers. The oil palm is tapped for 'adoka' and more commonly the raffia palm for 'adorka'. Tapping inevitably causes some damage to the palms, and the most regularly tapped trees near the settlement are being steadily killed off.

Apart from foodstuffs, Ayija's surroundings provide other resources. Herbs, leaves for wrapping, plants for use as dyes, cane for basketry, raffia for weaving, bamboo for furniture making, and firewood are the most notable. The collection of firewood involves a large number of women who make daily trips into the bush, often cutting green branches for collection later. Charcoal is generally preferred as a fuel in Ayija, as it is cleaner to use, but firewood is slightly cheaper or free to the collector, so there is a constant demand. The collection of firewood has a severely damaging effect on the vegetation around the settlement, and collectors often have to go further in their search for wood, again often using the University campus as a source.

Another activity which has a drastic effect on the landscape is sand digging, though this is limited to specific areas. Four main areas around Ayija are exploited (see fig. 7.5). The rights to dig sand are acquired by contractors paying the village elders and Kumasi City Council, and one contractor pays as much as £30 per month. Sand is dug by hand, sifted in pools of water to reach various grades (including gravel) and loaded onto trucks for transport to building sites in Ayija and elsewhere in Kumasi. Ayija seems to be an important source of building sand for the city. Exploitation over a period of about 15 years has produced an overall lowering of the land surface by about 2 metres. The constant washing of sand to grade it results in much of the sand being deposited in the streams, which may also have a negative effect on the environment.

Another industry which makes use of the land surrounding the settlement, though it is not dependent on the natural resources found there, is charcoal burning. Sites are sought outside the settlement, because of the antisocial nature of the activity (causing smoke and dust) and the need for large spaces, and access to large quantities of water for cooling. There is one major site for burning,

Sand-digging
sites

abandoned
charcoal-
burning
site



Figure 7.5

Figure 7.6

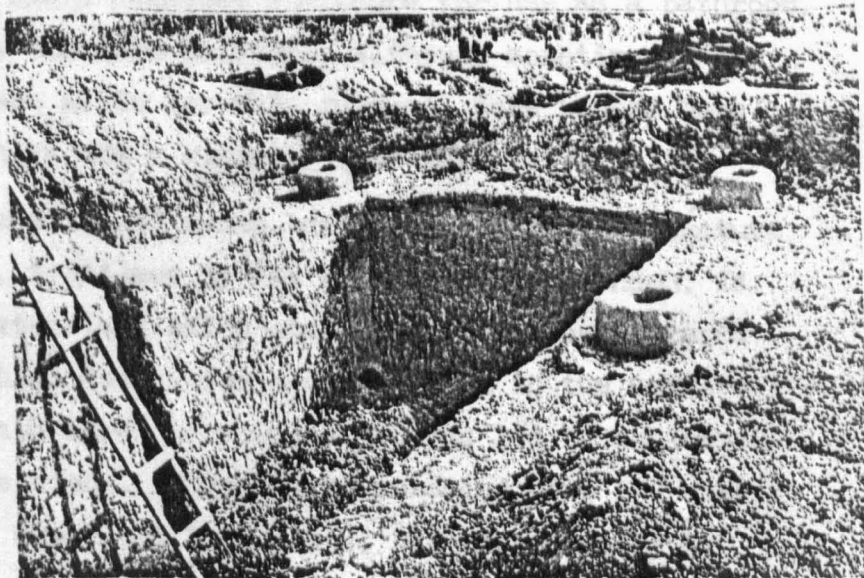
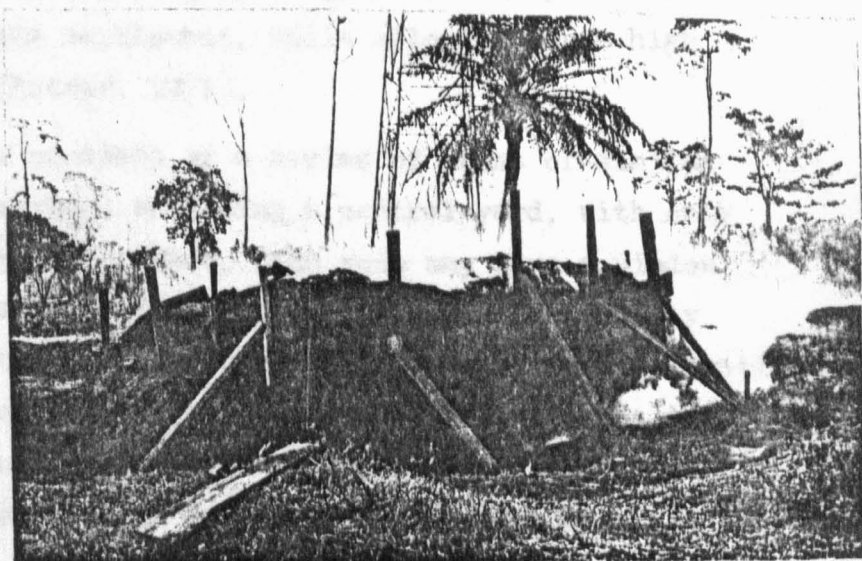
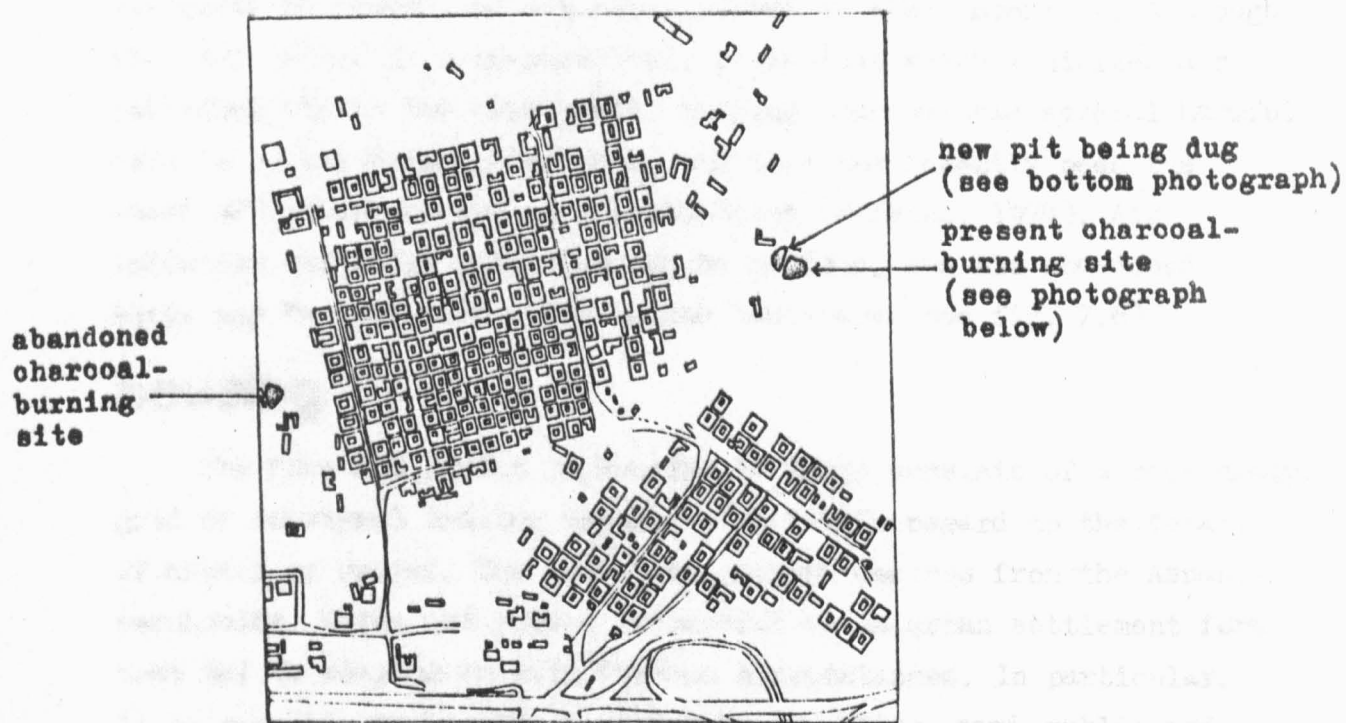


Figure 7.6

situated on the slopes down to the Wiwi stream, though by 1979 this had been abandoned. An older abandoned site to the west of the settlement had access to a (now disused) well. Wood is bought from the sawmills, delivered by trucks, so vehicular access is also important. Although the end result is a comparatively clean fuel which minimizes air pollution within the settlement, burning charcoal has several harmful effects on the surrounding area, and this has recently been the cause of concern to the city authorities (Welsing, 1974). Air pollution and water pollution may be serious, and old abandoned sites may be permanent scars on the landscape (see fig. 7.6).

housing

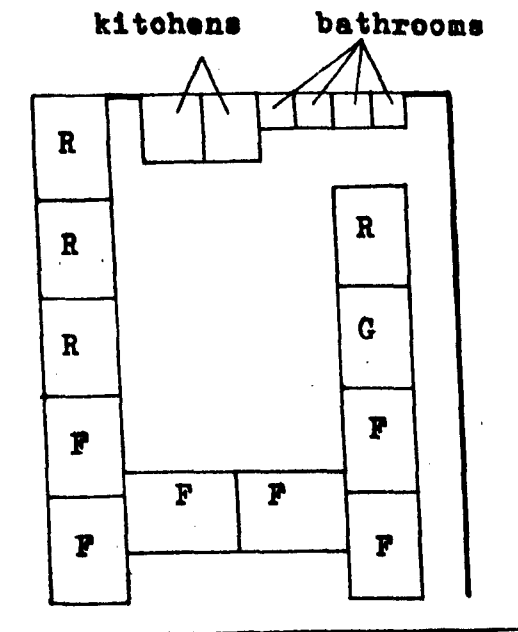
The form and layout of housing in Ayija consists of a rectangular grid of courtyard housing imposed with little regard to the details of aspect or relief. The grid-iron pattern derives from the Ashanti vernacular, which has proved successful as an urban settlement form that may be adapted to suit various circumstances. In particular, it is possible to provide a hierarchy of public, semi-public and private spaces within the settlement, while allowing for a high density of occupation (Rutter, 1971).

The courtyardhouse consists of a series of rooms of similar size (e.g. ten square metres) enclosing a central yard, with only one common entrance from the street. Each room may have a window to the street, but this has shutters over it which are normally kept closed for security reasons, so that windows are more decorative than functional. Each room also has a door directly onto the yard, or by way of a small enclosed private verandah. Within the yard are areas, sometimes covered and enclosed, for cooking on open fires. Each house also has a screened enclosure for use as a bathroom, usually located outside the main building, although sometimes a room in the house is set aside for this purpose. Some houses have a bucket toilet, but these are a minority (see fig. 7.7).

Many houses have additional rooms built onto the main structure, opening off the street, sometimes by way of a covered verandah. In some cases these are extensions which open off other rooms entered from the courtyard. A high demand for accommodation in the settlement, for sleeping quarters and also for workspaces, has led to an increase in the building of extensions, gradually encroaching onto the street space. Sometimes these are built by tenants, but more usually by the house owners themselves (see figs. 7.8 and 7.9).

Sample House Plan from Ayija Village

not to scale



F= rooms belonging to house owner's family

R= rooms rented out

G= rooms reserved for guests

Sample House Plan from Ayija Zongo

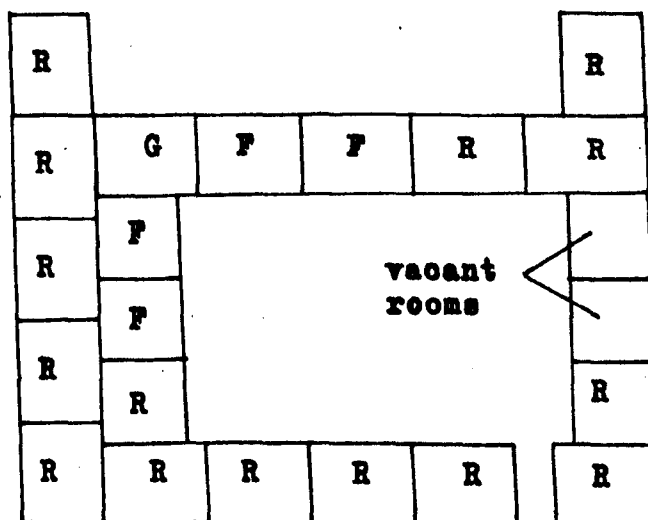
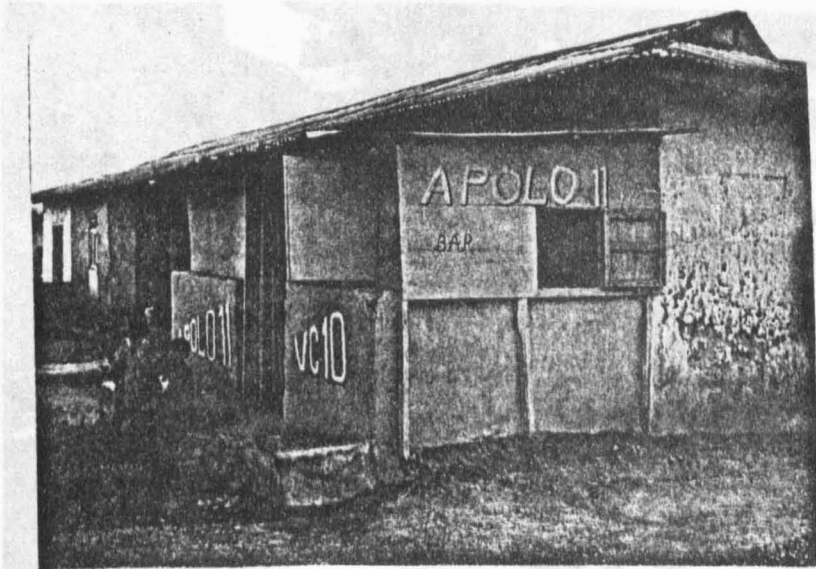


Figure 7.7



(top) house extension
used as an akpateshie bar

(centre) a free-standing
previsions store; note
also street hawkers
carrying their wares on
their heads

(bottom) house extension
used as a previsions store

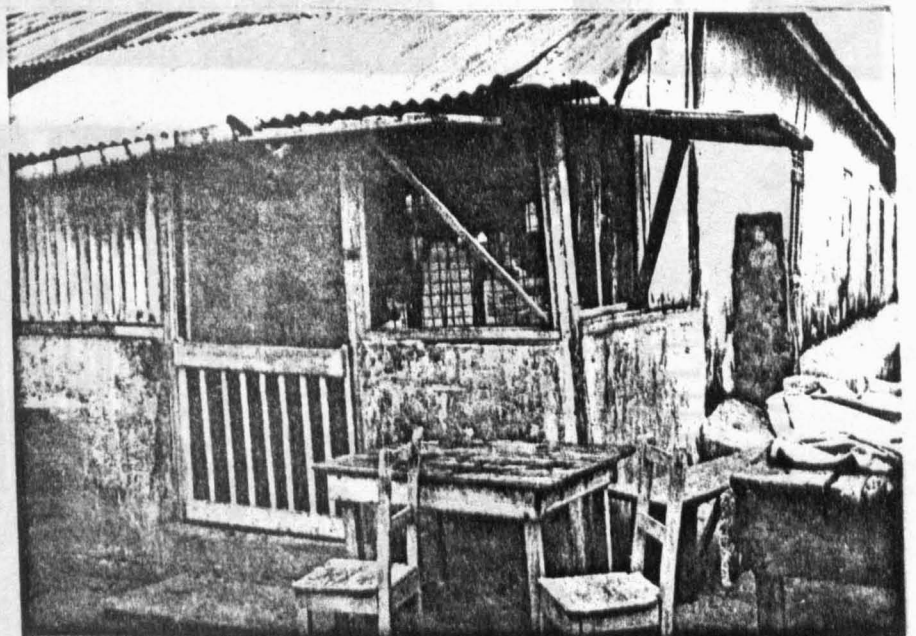
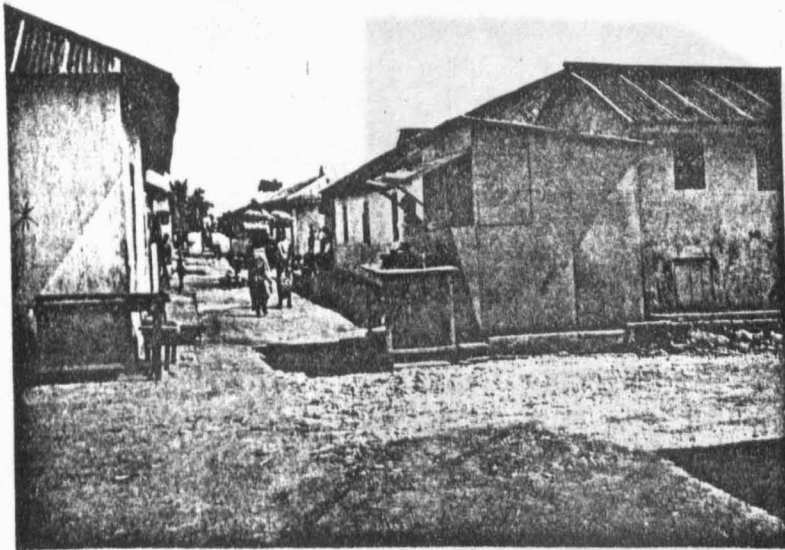


Figure 7.8

Figure 7.9



(left) home-made house extension used for extra family living space

(below) enclosed verandahs provide extra living and work space

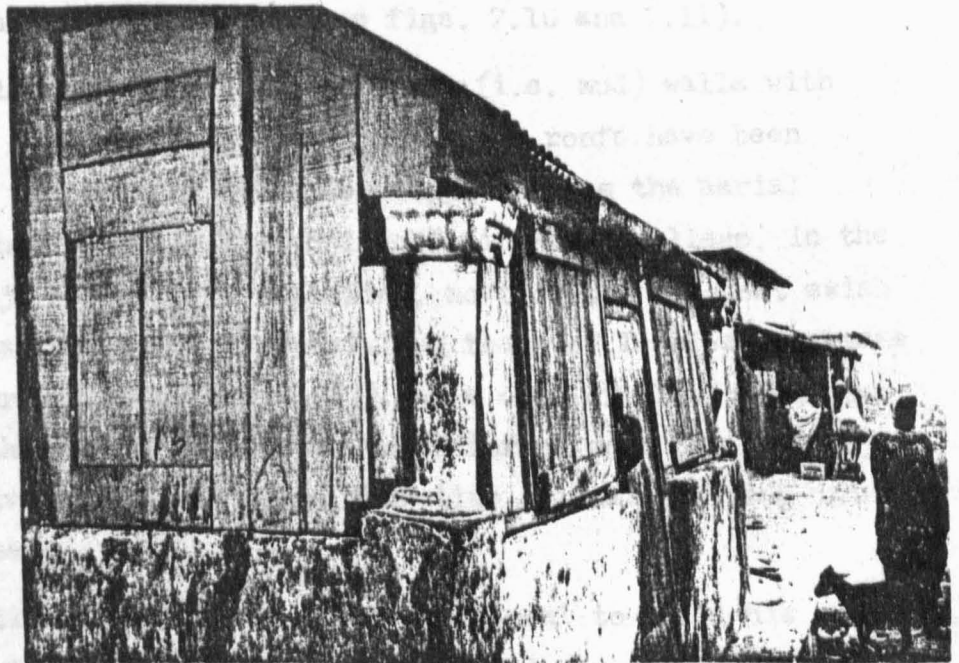


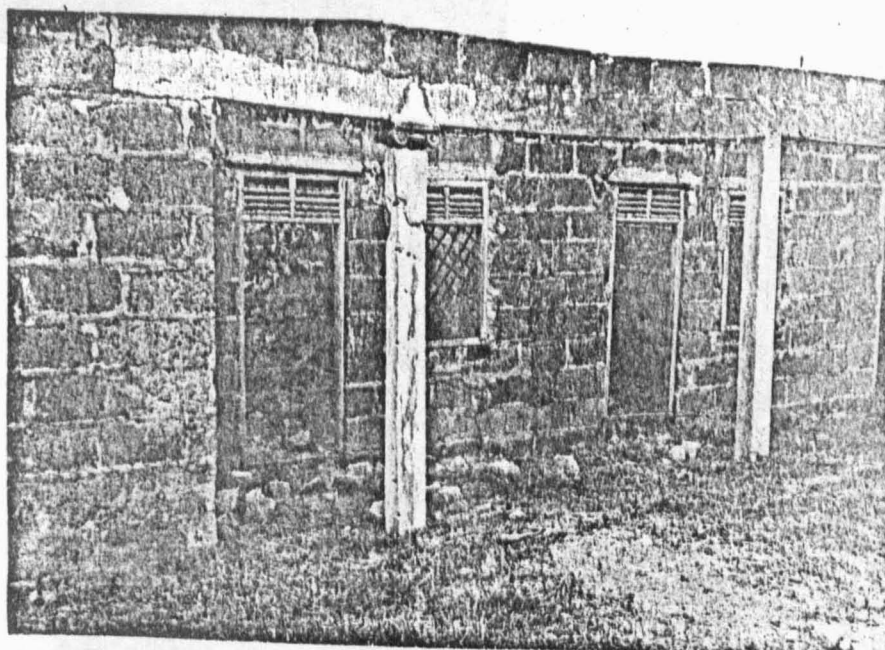
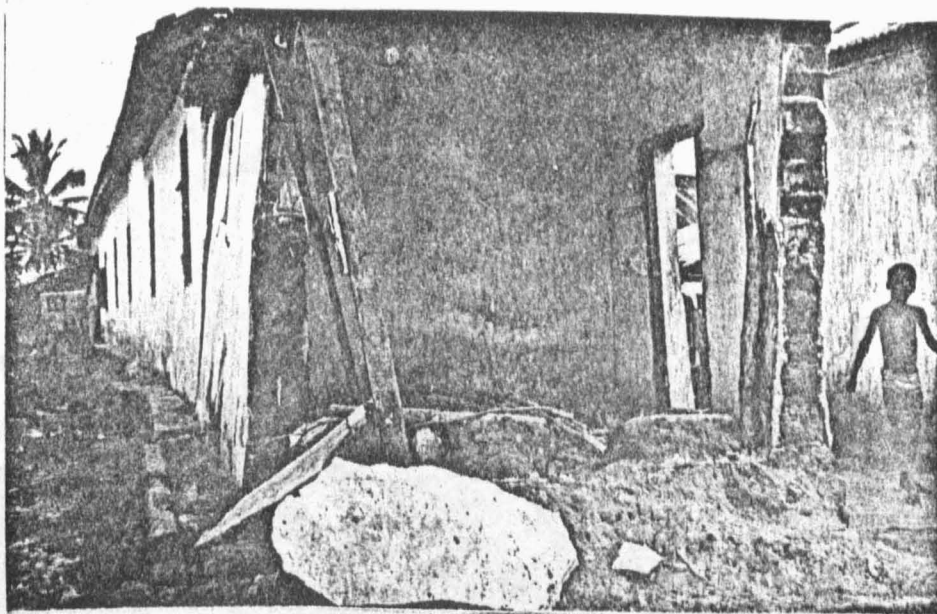
Figure 7.9

The method of house building is incremental, with a few rooms being built at a time in most cases. Thus at any one time in the settlement there is a number of oblong, 'L' or 'U' shaped blocks, which function as houses, but do not yet represent completed structures. As house builders are not able to rely on credit, savings are amassed before a phase of construction is begun. Sometimes savings take the form of piles of building blocks, and it is common for these piles to stand exposed to the weather and deteriorating for several years, due to an unforeseen change in the prospective builder's fortunes (United Nations, 1957). Piles of sand and cement are also often abandoned, either before or after building activities, and partly constructed buildings are left in an unusable state for long periods of time. Disused buildings steadily crumble due to lack of maintenance, and the settlement has several spaces occupied by ruins, where reconstruction has not yet begun (see figs. 7.10 and 7.11).

Traditional construction was of swish (i.e. mud) walls with thatched roofs. More recently corrugated metal roofs have been widely adopted, and even by 1948 there appear (from the aerial photograph) to have been no thatched roofs in Ayija village. In the 1960s, when Ayija was rapidly expanding, most of the low-cost swish housing in Kumasi was built by specialist teams of Togolese Atakpame construction workers (Houlberg, 1973), at a cost of about £8-10 per room. In 1969 the Aliens Compliance Order forced most of the Atakpame builders to leave Ghana, and since this time a local building industry has begun to emerge.

A prospective developer contracts a 'mason' to build his property, and the mason hires labourers by the day, and gives subcontracts to block-makers and carpenters. The mason acts as site foreman, and assumes responsibility for ensuring that the construction is sound. The builders working in Ayija are mainly local residents, many of whom also work on sites outside the settlement. At the time of the survey, there were about 20 houses under active construction in Ayija.

In recent years, the methods of construction have acted to steadily upgrade the housing in the settlement, largely through the introduction of several block-making machines, producing blocks from various cement-sand or cement-soil mixtures (Paillon, 1972). Block-making is a specialist activity within the settlement, and some decorative concrete blocks are also made (see figs. 7.12 and 7.13). As the old swish buildings fall into disrepair, they tend to be replaced by the new sandcrete or landcrete blocks, at a cost of



(top) collapse of a room in the wet season
(above and right) unfinished abandoned
buildings in Ayija

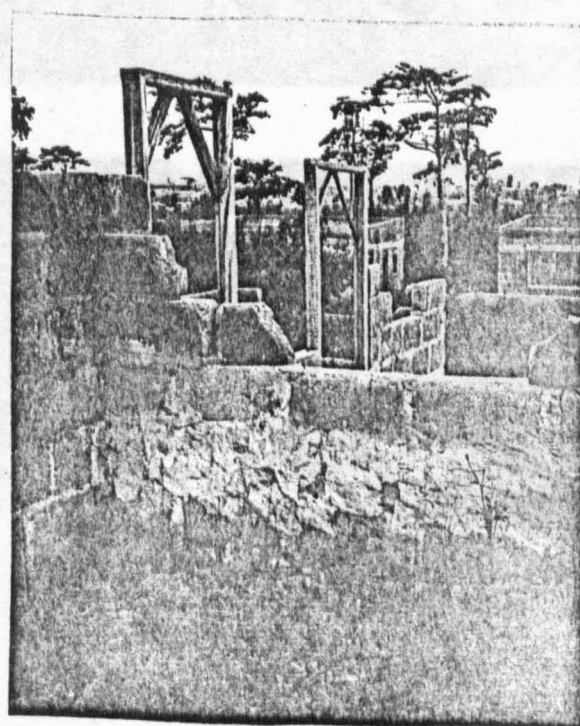
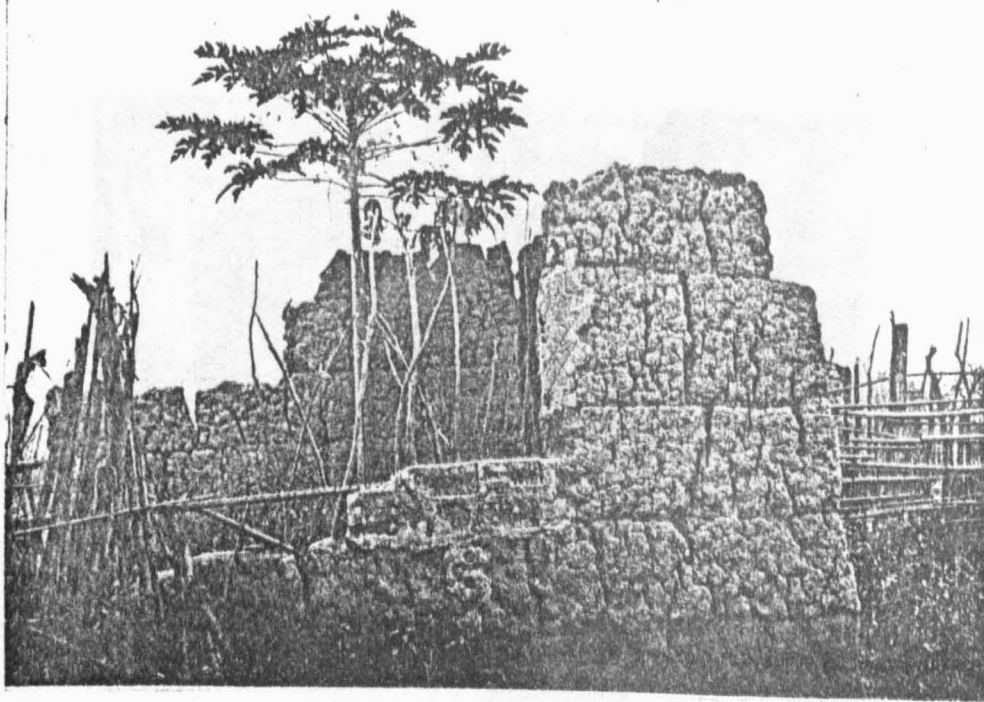


Figure 7.10



(above) a disused ruin
(right) solidified
piles of sand block
the streets - relics
of past building
activity

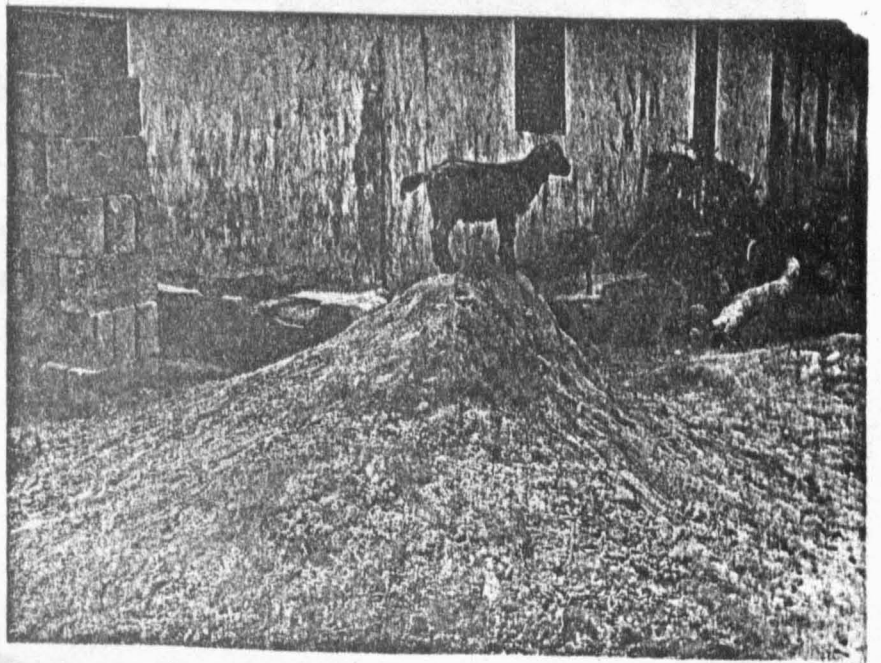


Figure 7.11



(above) builders at work

(right) block-maker using his
own block-making machine

(below) a house nearing
completion, typical of many
of the newer houses being
erected in Ayija

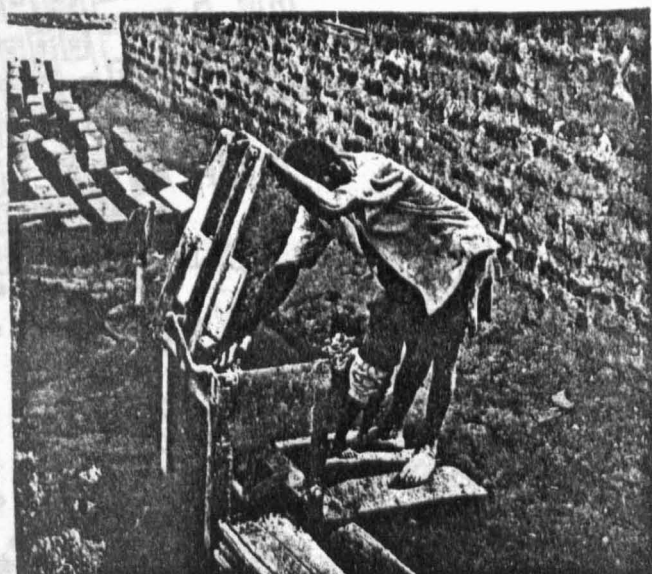
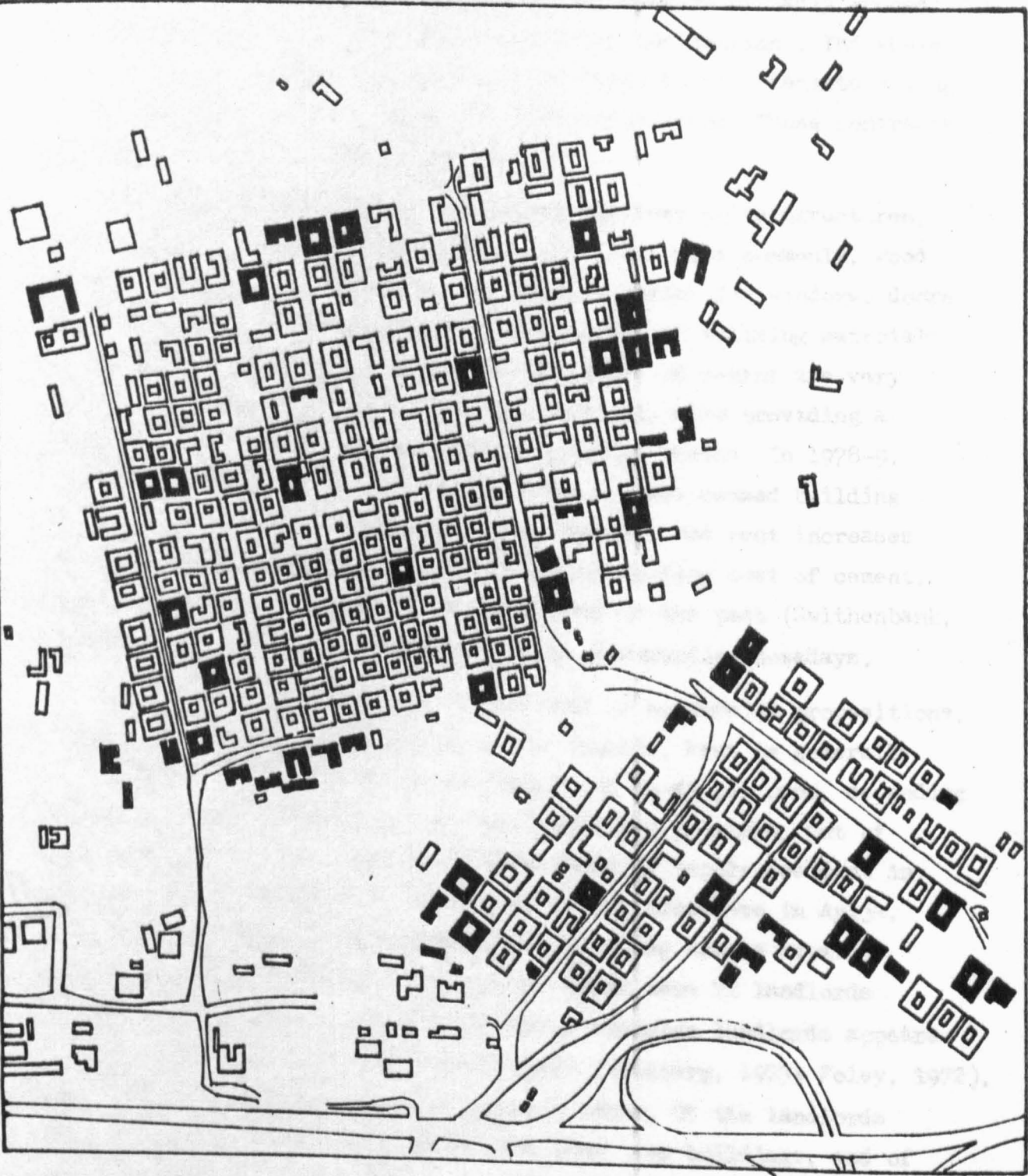


Figure 7.13

Figure 7.12

Sandorete, Landorete and Brick-Walled Buildings in Ayija



scale 1:5000

Figure 7.13

about ₵250 per room compared with ₵170 for a modern swish room. A considerable proportion of building activity at the beginning of the dry season consists of demolishing the remains of badly eroded sections of wall, and completely rebuilding the section. The whole of one side of a courtyard house may be rebuilt, with tenants moving in to share with other tenants of undisturbed rooms. These contracts are seasonal, and of short duration.

The more prestigious new buildings are very solid structures, with concrete lintels and massive foundations. More commonly, wood is used for lintels, and it is the usual material for windows, doors and roof frames. Problems in the availability of building materials do not arise with wood or sand, but shortages of cement are very common, and this frustrates building activity, also providing a further incentive for stockpiling of building blocks. In 1978-9, a serious national cement shortage seems to have caused building activity to virtually cease throughout Kumasi, and rent increases for new buildings are attributed to the escalating cost of cement. Bamboo may have been used in place of wood in the past (Swithenbank, 1964) but it is rarely seen in building construction nowadays.

Most houses in Ayija are constructed as commercial propositions, with individual rooms being let out to tenants. Rent is generally paid monthly, and payments range from ₵2.50 to ₵5 per room, depending on the type of construction and the facilities provided. Out of 318 inhabited houses, most (171) were owned by people resident in the house, and others (41) had owners living elsewhere in Ayija, either owning several properties (20) or owning houses separate from those they lived in. In addition, there were 72 landlords living outside Ayija - the proportion of absentee landlords appears low compared with some other settlements (Houlberg, 1973; Foley, 1972). None of the owners was a major property owner. Of the landlords living outside Ayija, none owned more than two buildings, and of those resident in the settlement, none owned more than five buildings. The property owners appear to be permanent settlers in Ayija, and many come from those ethnic groups which have tended to take up permanent residence. It was not possible to analyse the ethnic origins of landlords not resident in Ayija, but of those resident in the settlement, 53 were Ashanti (45 of these in the village area) and there were 26 Moshie, 14 Gonja, 11 Busanga, 10 Hausa and 9 Kotokoli as the best represented groups. Thus as a generalization, most property owners in Ayija are either Ashanti or from one of

the non-Ghanaian ethnic groups. This tendency is disproportionate to the sizes of these ethnic groups in the total population. There are a few women among the property owners in the settlement - 12 in the zongo and 18 in the village area were recorded.

As an investment, despite the problem in raising the necessary capital, house building yields a good return. Letting out rooms in a courtyard house may be expected to yield 25-45% annual return on the capital cost of construction, in common with some other parts of Africa (Tribe, 1970) and elsewhere (Grimes, 1976). If rents were the same for traditional as for improved methods of construction, the shorter-life high-maintenance swish buildings might yield a better return (Tribe and Persson, 1969), but the fact that the better buildings can command higher rents provides some incentive for improvement, in addition to prestigious motives. Rents in Ayija are low compared with the rest of the city, though there are signs of a tendency for them to increase relatively. As a proportion of income, rents in 1974 were about 12-20% of most workers' incomes, which is low compared with other areas of developing countries (e.g. Grimes, 1976), though higher than in some other Ghanaian settlements (Marfo, 1974). By 1978 the position had changed, with rents of £10-30 per room per month representing about 25% of average earnings.

Altogether there were 1017 rooms in Ayija village at the time of study, and 2760 rooms in Ayija Zongo (i.e. completed habitable rooms, not counting kitchens and bathrooms). Of these, a total of 315 rooms in Ayija village and 385 rooms in Ayija Zongo were used by the owners of the houses, or by close relatives. In addition, 17 rooms in Ayija village and 21 rooms in Ayija Zongo were used as 'guest rooms' for the landlord's visitors. The total number of rooms let was 632 in Ayija village and 2113 in Ayija Zongo. The zongo area thus emerges as more of a renter society. If one restricts observations to the older part of Ayija village, i.e. the houses on either side of the old Accra Road, it is apparent that more than half of the rooms there are occupied by property owners' relatives.

The overall density of the settlement is about 250 persons per hectare. This is not particularly high compared with other areas in developing countries (Agency for International Development, 1966). Room densities are comparatively high, though. If the average is calculated by total no. of people / total no. of rooms, this gives

2.5 persons per room in Ayija Zongo and 2.6 in Ayija village, which is not high by Ghanaian standards (Abloh, undated). When the frequency of various conditions of crowding is examined, however, Ayija appears comparatively crowded (Marfo, 1974). The density occurring most commonly is four persons per room, and 40% of the population lives at higher densities than this. In Ayija Zongo there is a large number of people living alone in their rooms (especially single men), but still about 28% of the population lives at higher densities than four persons per room. The highest occupancy rate was eleven persons living in one room, and there were nine cases of rooms inhabited by ten persons each (see fig. 7.14).

It is notable that there are few vacant rooms in Ayija. An overall average of 5.7% was revealed by the survey, though this includes many rooms used as stores or animal pens. This compares with a vacancy rate of 30% discovered in Moshie Zongo and Atonsua-Agogo at a slightly earlier time (Houlberg, 1972) which led to a conclusion that there was no real shortage of accommodation, and that any apparent overcrowding was due to other causes. In Ayija, it is apparent that accommodation is in increasingly short supply, as is verified by the difficulty which some recent migrants have experienced in finding rooms.

Despite the pressure of population on the available accommodation, the system of courtyard housing provides an environment where a great deal of choice is possible in levels of personal interaction. The courtyard itself provides space for much functional activity, and the opportunity for social interaction with a select group. This leaves the room free from functional use for much of the time, so it becomes an available retreat for individuals wishing to withdraw from social activity, even in cases where the room is used by several individuals for sleeping purposes. Some people eat their evening meal in their rooms, but it is also common to eat in the courtyard or in the street. Apart from this, the room is used for sleeping and for storage of household possessions. In addition, it may also be used as a base for work activities - this is referred to again later.

Rooms are generally furnished, which often represents a departure from rural traditions. The level of furnishing reflects the affluence of the occupant, and it is also used to express his adaptation to urban living. Much of the furniture is made by local carpenters, who are able to respond to the particular demands of Ayija residents,

Density of Room Occupation in Ayija

Density in persons per room	Number of persons living at specified density		
	Ayija village	Ayija Zongo	Ayija (total)
1*	364	1068	1432
2	358	1036	1394
3	357	915	1272
4	408	932	1340
5	370	625	995
6	210	474	684
7	175	252	427
8	80	120	200
9	54	63	117
10	60	30	90
11	-	11	11
Total	2436	5526	7962

Types of Room Occupation in Ayija

	Ayija village	Ayija Zongo	Ayija (total)
total no. houses	86	232	318
rooms used by landlord or his relatives (not paying rent)	315 (31.0%)	385 (14.0%)	700 (18.5%)
rooms let	632 (62.1%)	2113 (76.6%)	2745 (72.7%)
vacant rooms (some used for stores or animals)	28 (2.8%)	187 (6.8%)	215 (5.7%)
landlords' guest rooms	17 (1.7%)	21 (0.7%)	38 (1.0%)
uncompleted rooms	25 (2.5%)	54 (2.0%)	79 (2.1%)
total rooms (excluding kitchens, toilets and bathrooms)	1017	2760	3777
ave. no. rooms per house	12	12	12
ave. no. persons per inhabited room *	2.51	2.21	2.31
ave. no. persons per sleeping room	2.64	2.48	2.53

* some people had several rooms to themselves, thus living at a lower density than 1 person per room

Figure 7.14

as well as changing fashions. The items most commonly bought appear to be, in order of priority, a bed, partitioning bars to screen the bed (from which curtains are hung), a set of two single and a double chair (bought without cushions, but with dimensions so that standard foam rubber cushions may be fitted, often with polythene covers), several small tables and one central 'coffee' table, a mirror, and a glass or open display cabinet. A room furnished in this way might represent an investment of £100-150 (see figs. 7.15 and 7.16).

The activities of a sample courtyard space are described, to give an impression of the use of this space as a functional area as well as a thoroughfare (see figs. 7.17 and 7.18). In this example, the tenants belong to a wide variety of ethnic groups, and there is no common language : this has the effect of minimizing the amount of informal social contact taking place in the courtyard. The day's activities started after 4.30 a.m., with women going to the public toilets to empty pans and bowls of night soil, women and children taking their waste bins to the bush to empty and to fetch water. On the day of the study, the sanitary inspector (a Council employee, who makes daily inspections in Ayija) called at about 6.30 a.m., made complaints about certain things, and was tipped by the residents so that he would not cause trouble. A few people took baths, and many left for work by 7 a.m. Food was generally not prepared, but snacks may have been bought from street traders on the way to work. Animals (chickens, ducks) were let out of the disused room in which they had been shut for the night. The women who had not gone to work bathed their children in the courtyard, and adults used the room reserved for bathing.

The rest of the day was occupied by various comings and goings - traders fetching their goods from their rooms, traders from elsewhere looking for customers, customers seeking house traders, friends calling, women going out to fetch water or do shopping. Activities taking place in the courtyard included children's play, and one woman taking her turn at sweeping (some houses operate a rotational system for cleaning the yard).

By about 4 p.m. women had started cooking, and they did house-keeping work (sweeping out their rooms, washing clothes in the yard) in between food preparation tasks. Most of the women of the house were present at this time. The chickens and ducks competed for food scraps, stealing wherever possible. From about 5 p.m. the working

Examples of Room Layouts Found in Ayija

not to scale

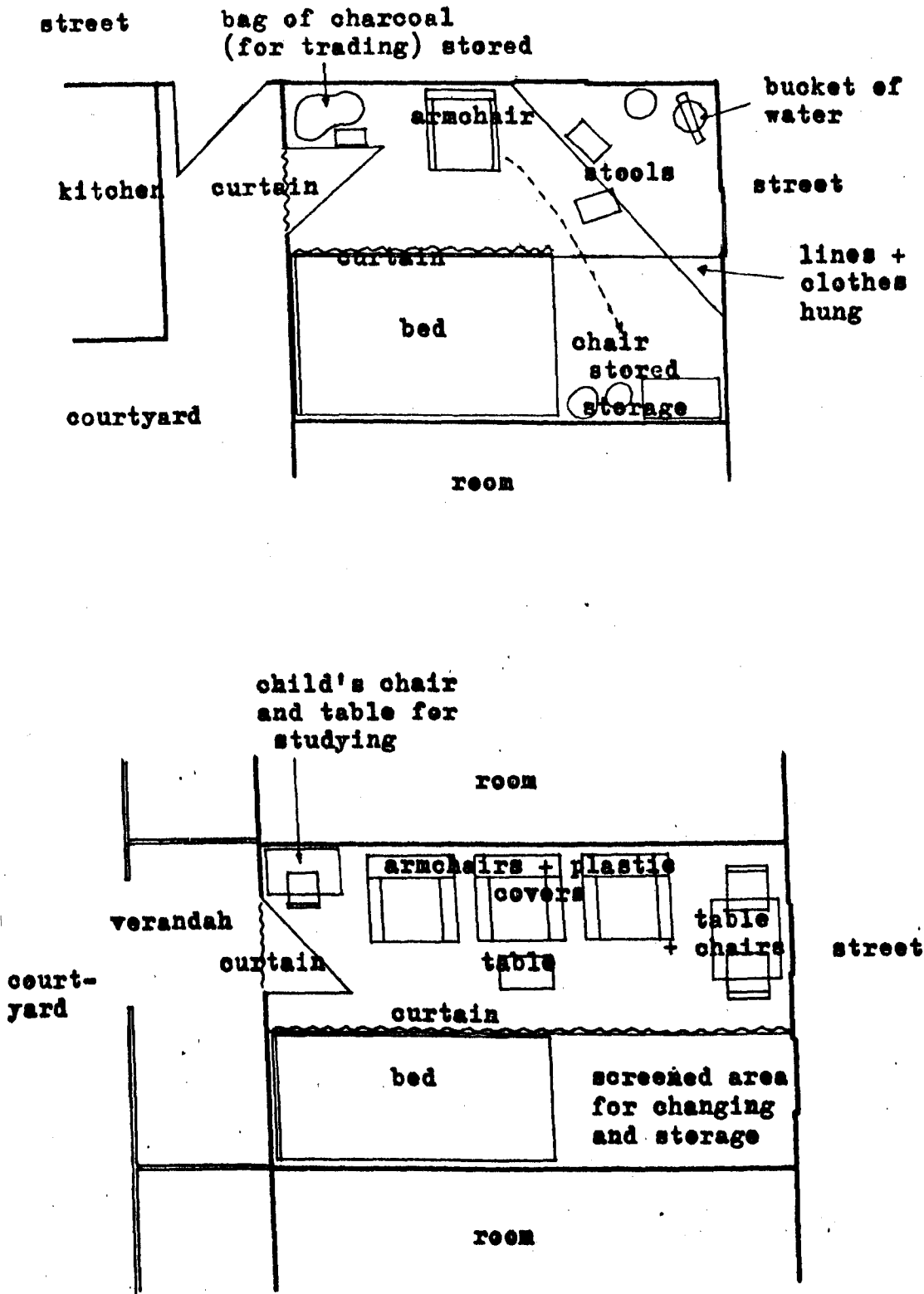
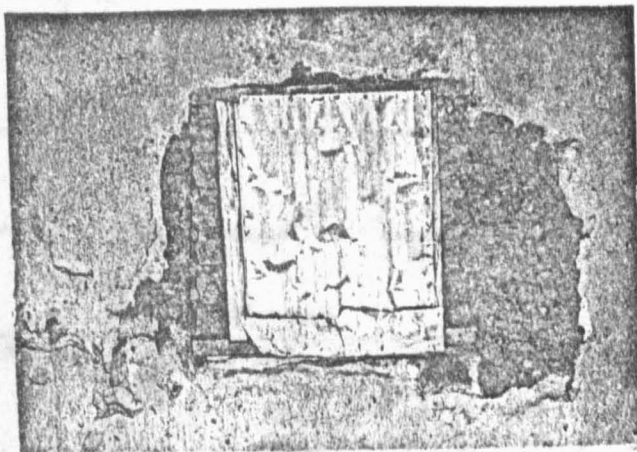


Figure 7.15



(above) a blocked window - typical of many

(below) a fairly typical room in Ayija - note bed screened by curtain to right, furnishing, goods on table for house trade, and use of window spaces other than for ventilation



Figure 7.15

Site Plan of a Courtyard in Ayija

approx. scale
1"=4'

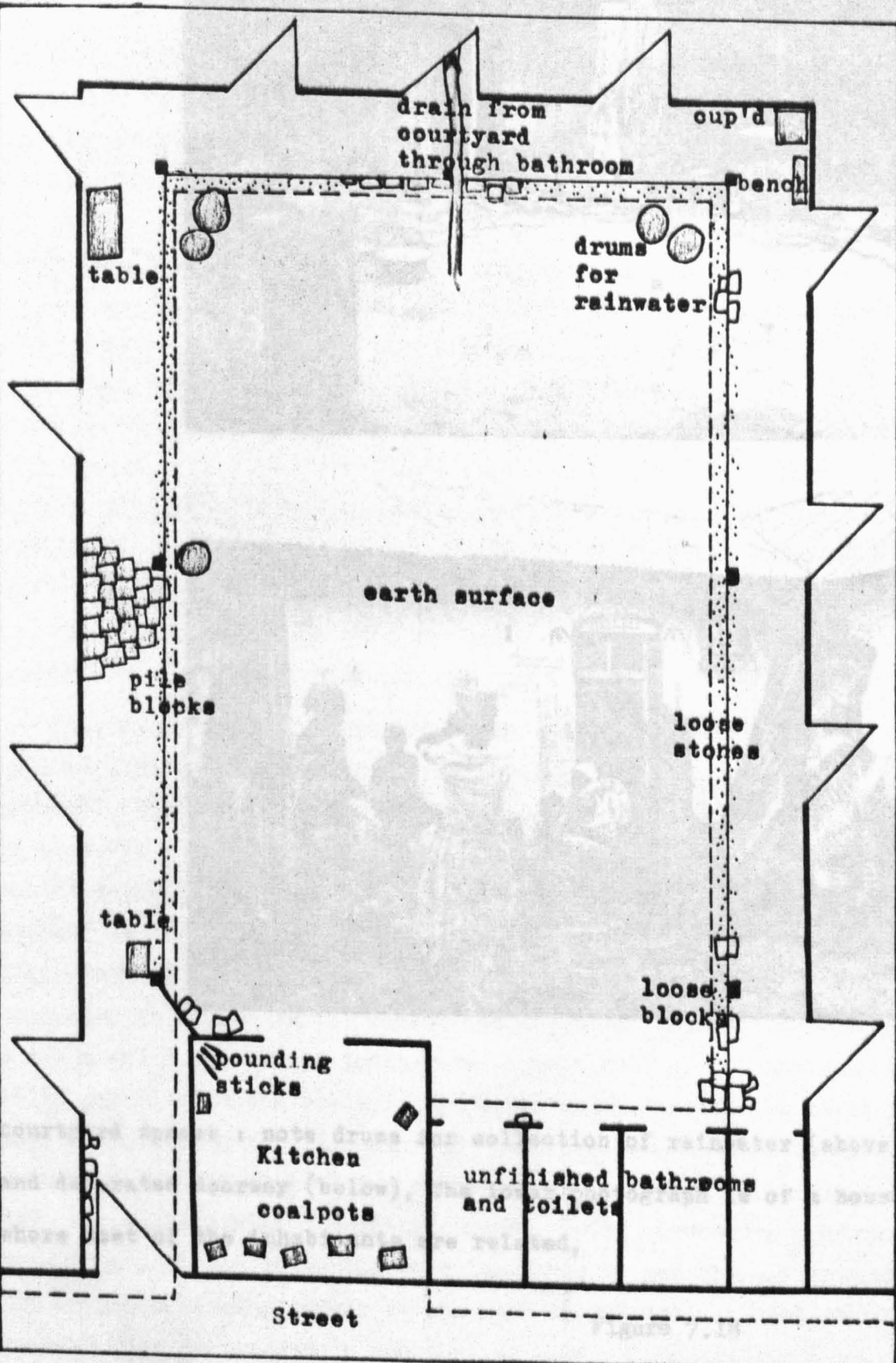


Figure 7.17



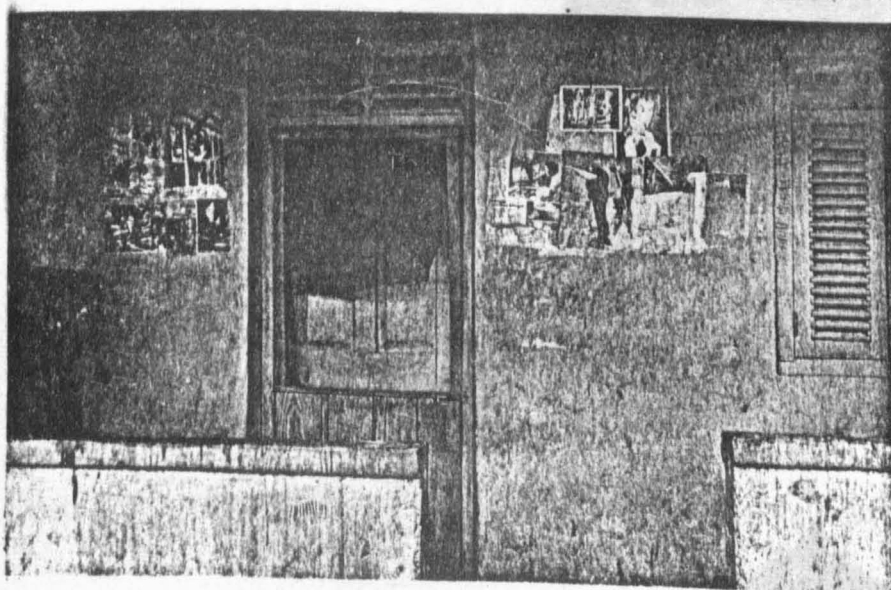
courtyard spaces : note drums for collection of rainwater (above) and decorated doorway (below). The lower photograph is of a house where most of the inhabitants are related,

Figure 7.18

men started arriving home, taking baths and retiring to their rooms, where they were joined by their wives and children. By about 7 p.m. everyone was in their room, and many had gone to sleep by 8 p.m. Some stayed up later, talking by the light of kerosene lamps, but remaining in their rooms. By 9 p.m. virtually everyone was asleep.

Within the courtyard housing arrangement, there is little to distinguish one room from another externally, despite the fact that the inhabitants come from a wide variety of cultural as well as personal backgrounds. There are some attempts to personalize the environment, but these are comparatively rare. Where personalization does occur, the room doorway is the most obvious external element relating to the individual occupant. Generally, the symbols presented to the outside world reflect the urban man, or else the Moslem convert, rather than the rural migrant from a tribal background (see fig. 7.19). It may be that this is due to a lack of confidence, and a fear of being misunderstood by individuals from other cultures. Certainly, the lack of personalized decoration contrasts strongly with rural traditions in many villages, such as Zebila where it is notable that the women are mainly responsible for decorating the house (see fig. 7.20). The fact that the house in Ayija is not usually regarded as a permanent home may also be a factor.

This expression of conformity with the urban environment (or a non-expression of ethnic origins) is also reflected in Kusasi migrants' explanations of their own perception of the house in Ayija. The contrast with housing in Zebila is striking - circular huts with complex networks of private space, and access to open land around the compound in a low-density dispersed settlement, compared with a single rectangular room facing onto a relatively public area, and surrounded by houses on all sides. Yet there are aspects of housing in Ayija which are valued positively - about half of the migrants from Zebila perceived their rooms in Ayija as 'modern', with the rectangular shape facilitating the placement of furniture. Rectangular housing forms seem to have some status connotations in the north, because of their association with modernity (Archer, 1971). Those who preferred their accommodation in Zebila were less able to put the comparisons into words, referring merely to the fact that Ayija was "not as nice as home". The difference in the form of housing was readily perceived as shown by the migrants' own drawings of their houses. There was no marked difference in the way that migrant counterparts drew their houses in Zebila, indicating that perception did not change in the urban environment (see figs. 7.21 and 7.22).



personalized space :
decorated doorways -
however, there were few of
these

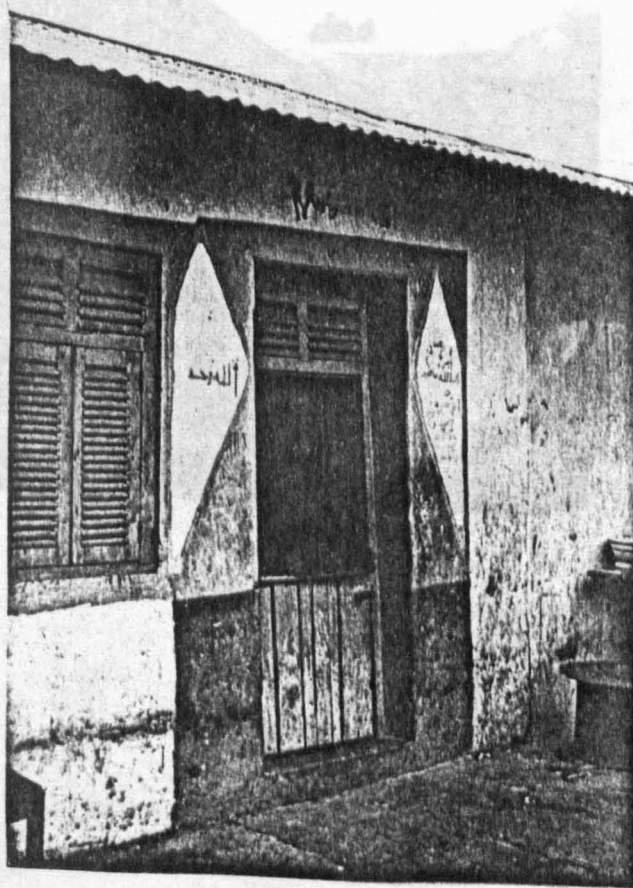


Figure 7.19

painted houses in
 Zebila

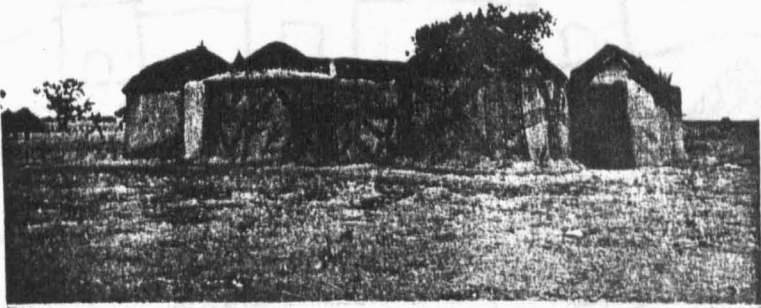
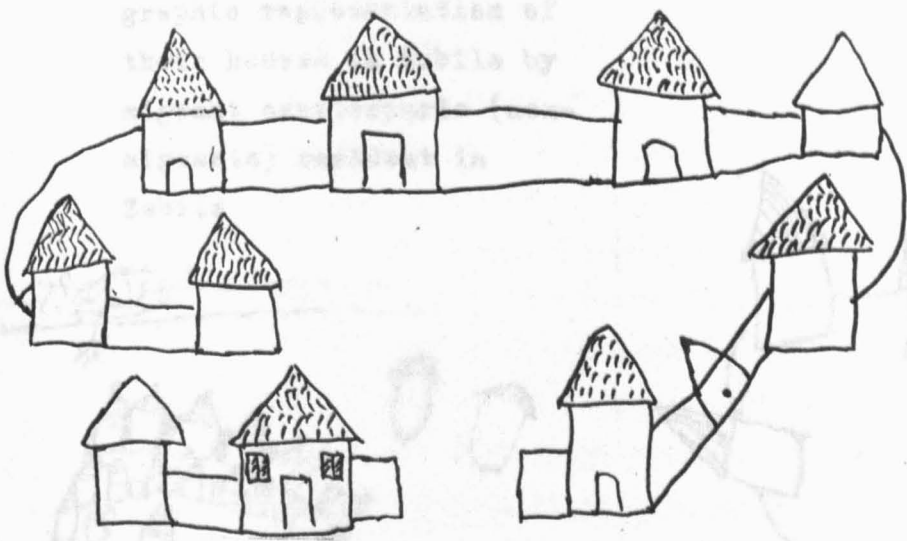


Figure 7.20



Figure 7.21



graphic recollections
of their houses in
Zebila, drawn by
migrants in Ayija

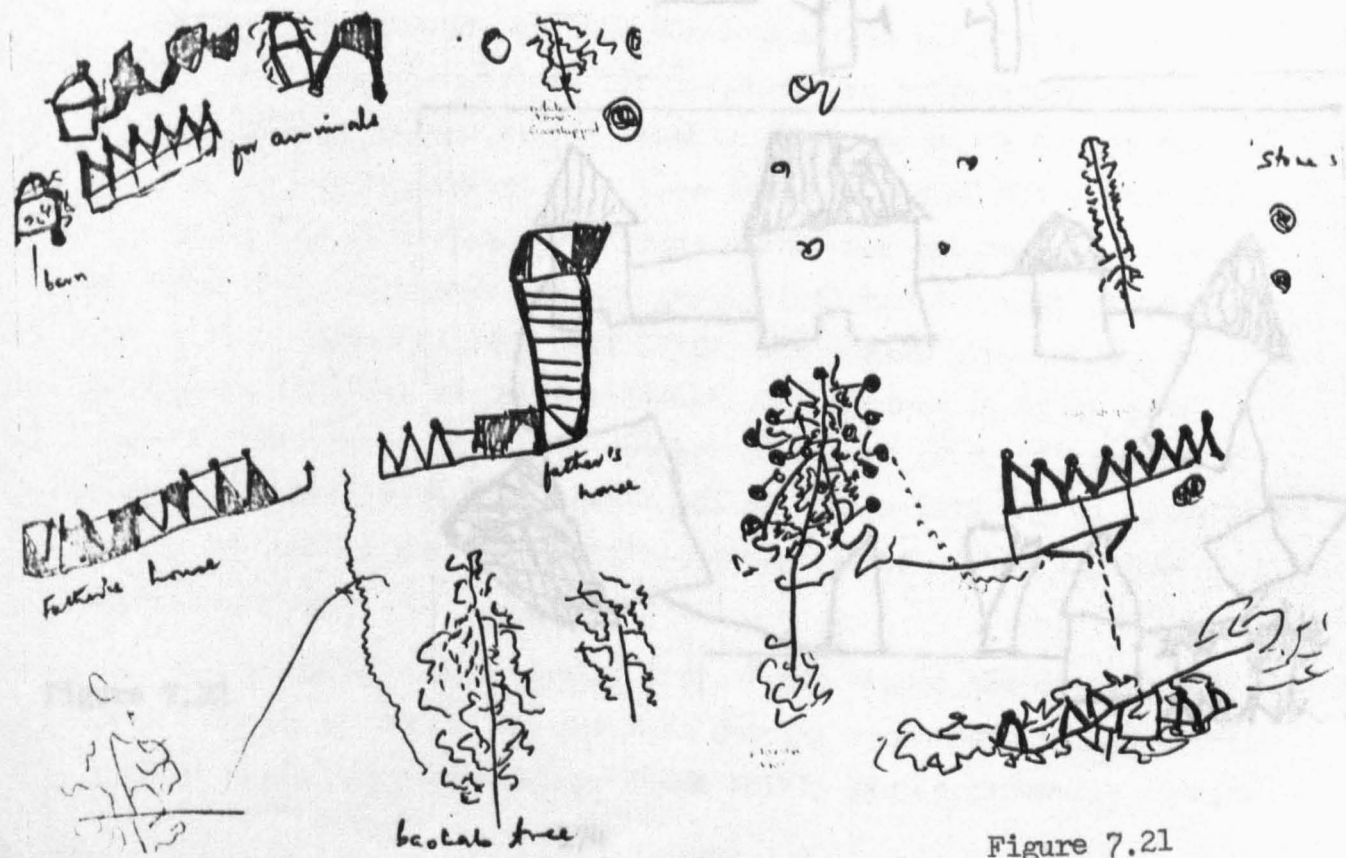
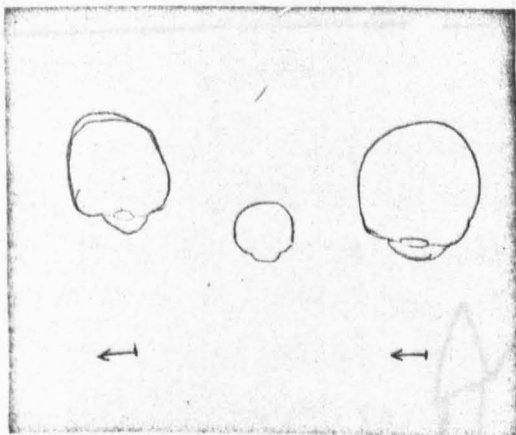
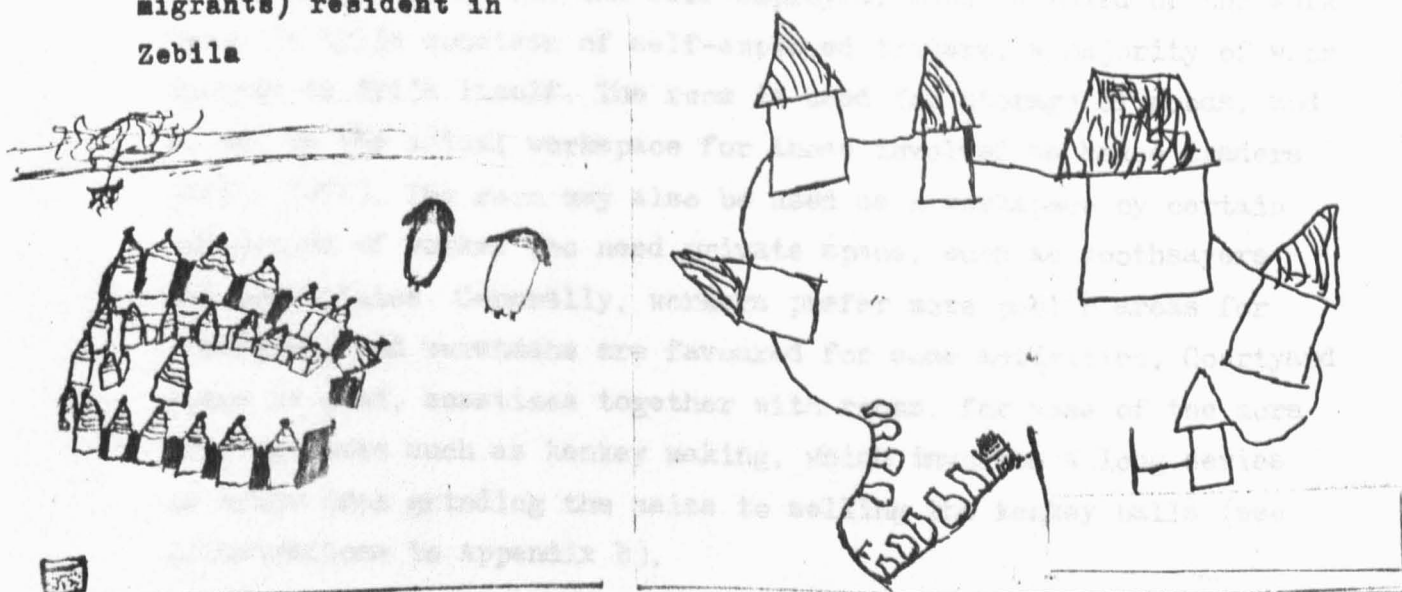


Figure 7.21

graphic representation of
their houses in Zebila by
migrant counterparts (non-
migrants) resident in
Zebila



street space

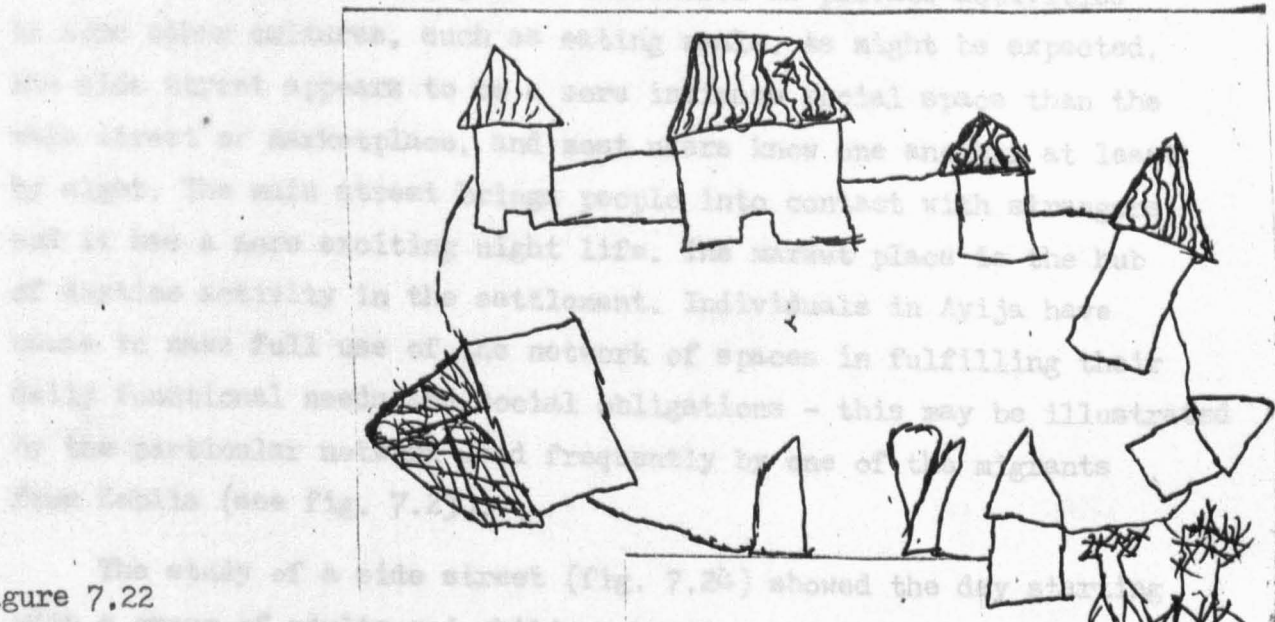
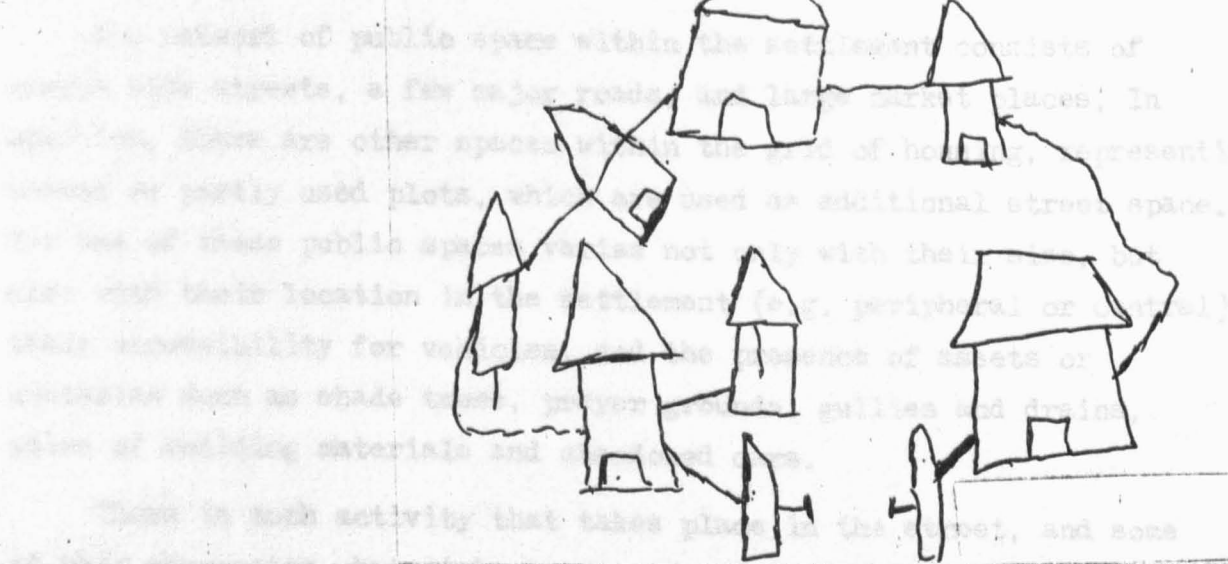


Figure 7.22

One function of the house which assumes greater importance in Ayija than in Zebila (though of some importance in both) is in providing workspace for the self-employed. About a third of the work force in Ayija consists of self-employed traders, a majority of whom operate in Ayija itself. The room is used for storage of goods, and it may be the actual workspace for those involved as house traders (Hill, 1971). The room may also be used as a workspace by certain categories of worker who need private space, such as soothsayers and prostitutes. Generally, workers prefer more public areas for workspace, and verandahs are favoured for some activities. Courtyard space is used, sometimes together with rooms, for some of the more complex tasks such as kenkey making, which involves a long series of tasks from grinding the maize to selling the kenkey balls (see illustrations in Appendix B).

street space

The network of public space within the settlement consists of narrow side streets, a few major roads, and large market places. In addition, there are other spaces within the grid of housing, representing vacant or partly used plots, which are used as additional street space. The use of these public spaces varies not only with their size, but also with their location in the settlement (e.g. peripheral or central), their accessibility for vehicles, and the presence of assets or obstacles such as shade trees, prayer grounds, gullies and drains, piles of building materials and abandoned cars.

There is much activity that takes place in the street, and some of this represents what might be considered as private activities in some other cultures, such as eating meals. As might be expected, the side street appears to be a more intimate social space than the main street or marketplace, and most users know one another at least by sight. The main street brings people into contact with strangers, and it has a more exciting night life. The market place is the hub of daytime activity in the settlement. Individuals in Ayija have cause to make full use of the network of spaces in fulfilling their daily functional needs and social obligations - this may be illustrated by the particular network used frequently by one of the migrants from Zebila (see fig. 7.23).

The study of a side street (fig. 7.24) showed the day starting with a group of adults and children beating containers in the street to make noise, as a community 'alarm bell'. People gradually emerged

Network of Space Used Regularly by a Zebila Migrant

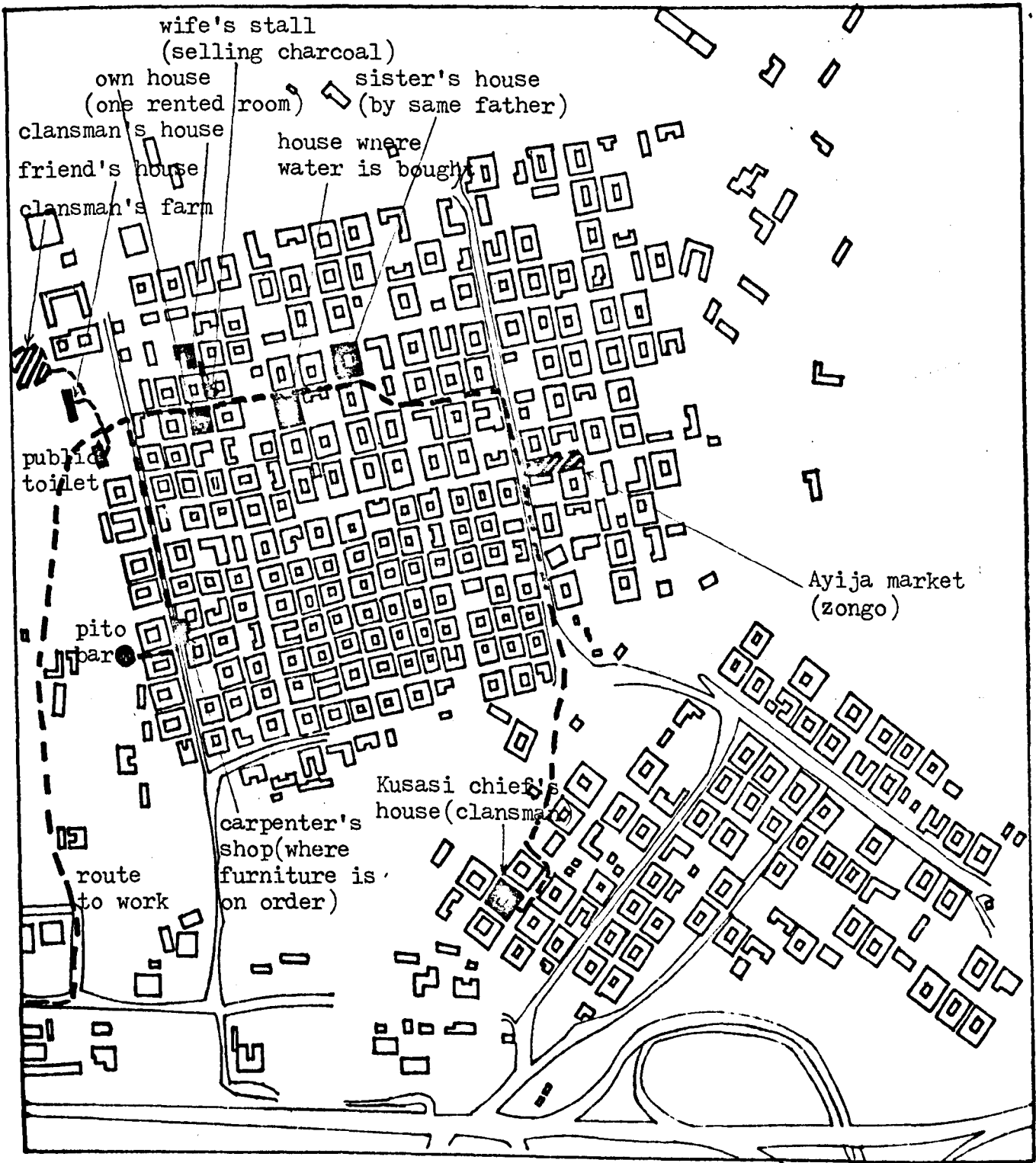


Figure 7.23

Site Plan of a Minor Street in Ayija

approx. scale
1"=10'

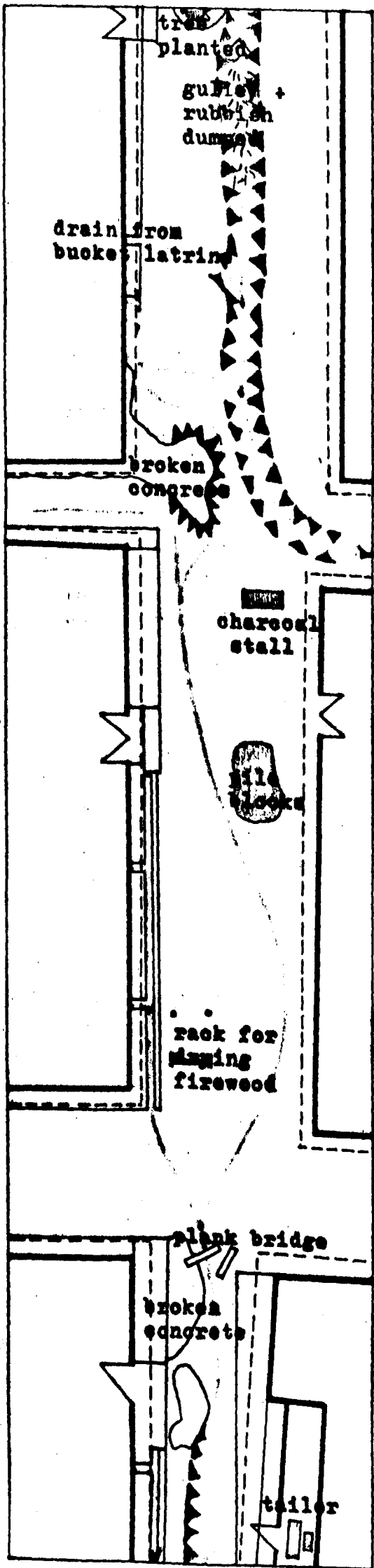


Figure 7.24

from their houses, carrying kerosene lamps and wearing warm clothes, sometimes smoking cigarettes. By 6.30 a.m. several traders had set up stalls in the street, and more hawkers were passing. Workers were still leaving home, but others passed by leisurely, and children played. Some sat eating breakfast bought from traders, and women came out to talk. A washerman passed by collecting clothes from customers. A trader with chewing sticks (for cleaning teeth) did good business.

By 7.30 a.m. the traders had been joined by a basket weaver who started work, and a tailor emerged to work on his verandah. Various animals (goats, chickens) joined the company. People were still busy coming and going - women fetching fire from certain houses (to light their own fires) and traders fetching goods from their rooms to stock their stalls. Children passed by on their way to school, and a beggar joined the street activities, reciting prayers and asking for money. People entered the street to stand and talk, as well as to buy and sell, and others still passed by on their way to other areas. Various workers shouted out to advertise their services, including a drug seller and a pounding stick repairer. This bustling activity continued throughout the morning and afternoon, with schoolchildren appearing at midday. In the afternoon the traders were joined by a firewood seller and a meat trader, and hawkers sold milk, bread, oranges and 'pito'. After about 5 p.m. workers arrived home, some fetching bowls from their rooms to buy food on the street. Others joined the social activity in the street. A credit seller came around to collect debts now that people were at home. The street became full of people standing or sitting and talking, as well as humans or animals passing through. By about 6 p.m. activity decreased, because of failing light. A couple of people remained with a lantern to talk, and some passed to and from the mosque.

The activities in the main street (fig. 7.25) started and finished later than in the back street, and reached their peak during the early evening. The traders moved stalls into and out of the space, rearranging the environment to suit the activity timetable. Early in the morning, workers passed by, and some women traders went to market with their children. Schoolchildren passed by on their way to school, and a few motor vehicles made delivery calls to shops (this particular street being motorable). Children arrived to play by about 8 a.m., and a group of men played 'ludo' later in the morning. Other activities were confined to humans and animals passing along

Site Plan of Major
Road in Ayija

approx. scale
1"=10'

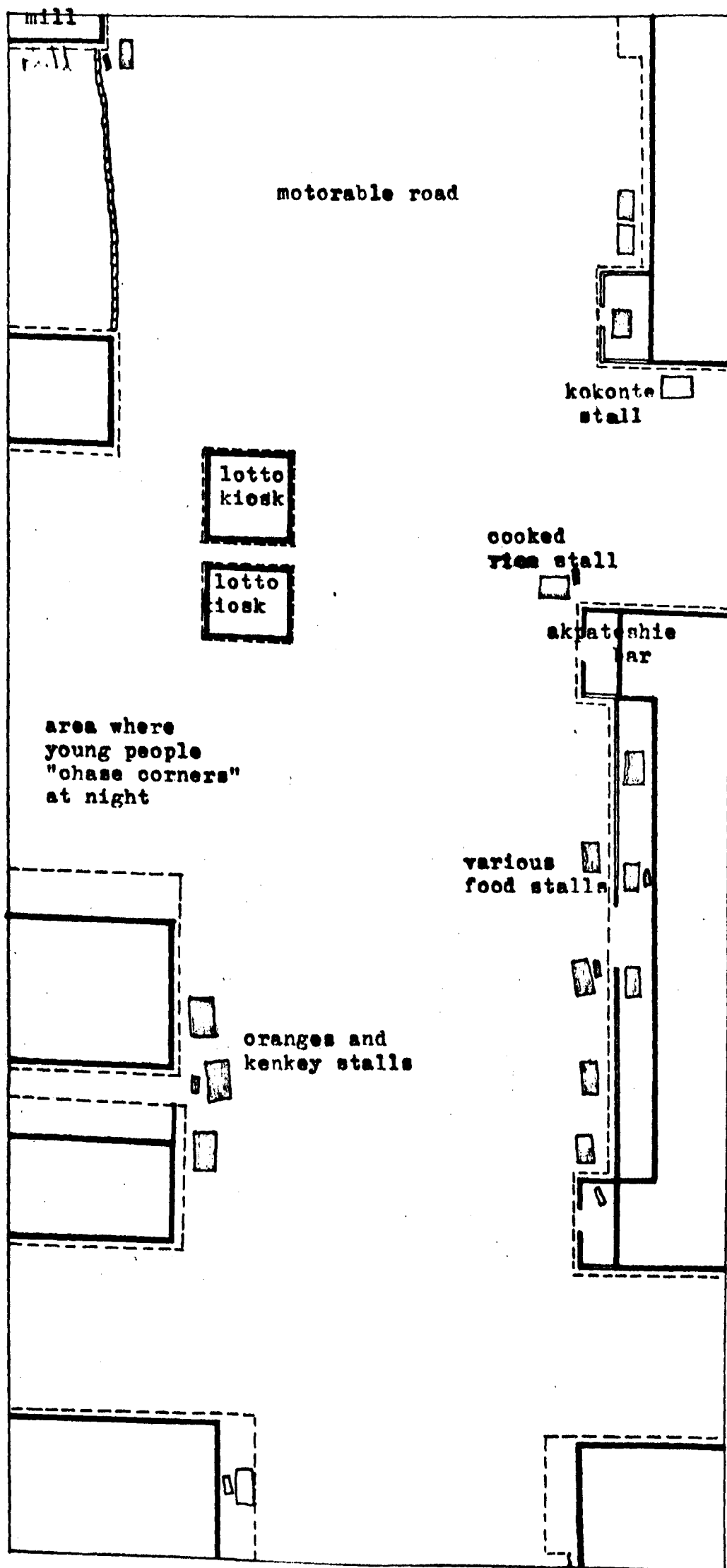


Figure 7.25

the street, with little pause, and some trading activity. A grinding mill also did business.

Activities became more lively after about 5 p.m. Many more food sellers arrived and set up stalls, often cooking food on the street. Passers by started to stop and talk more, and people ate their food in social groups. By 6 p.m. the traders had lit kerosene lamps on their stalls. A lot of young people gathered in the space, with boys and girls flirting in the shadows, and some young prostitutes soliciting. The activities in the main street continued until about 8.30 p.m., with young people staying longest.

The location of the markets was subject to a major change during the study period. The zongo market (see Appendix A, which also illustrates the methodology used for the spatial analyses described in this chapter) and the village market (fig. 7.26) were amalgamated on a new site (fig. 7.27) lying between the village and the zongo areas. Traders and customers were interviewed to investigate their reactions to the move, and it was notable that the majority welcomed it, as it was thought that the new market would help bring the village and zongo residents together, and reduce friction between the two communities. This was despite the fact that the move was made necessary by a directive imposed by the city authorities, with only a few days' notice and little prior consultation. The new market serves Ayija's population with its daily needs for raw foods, some cooked foods, and fuel, acting in competition with street traders but having the advantage of greater turnover and customer choice. Ayija Junction also has a market (fig. 7.28), but this specializes in cooked foods, and acts as a major terminus for the trotro (passenger van) (see fig. 7.30). The Junction area differs in the fact that it serves a large number of people not resident in Ayija, and it has more of a night life, like the major street area. It is characterized by long queues for the trotro at peak commuting times (6-8 a.m. and 4-5 p.m.), and the buying and eating of foods by those waiting for or leaving the trotro, and passing to and from the University.

The main market and the two smaller markets that preceded it have certain distinct components. A fish smoking area is situated at one end, and a charcoal selling area is also located at the periphery. The new market has the advantage of better vehicle access, and there is a trotro service which is of great assistance to traders, most of

Site Plan of Ayija Village Market

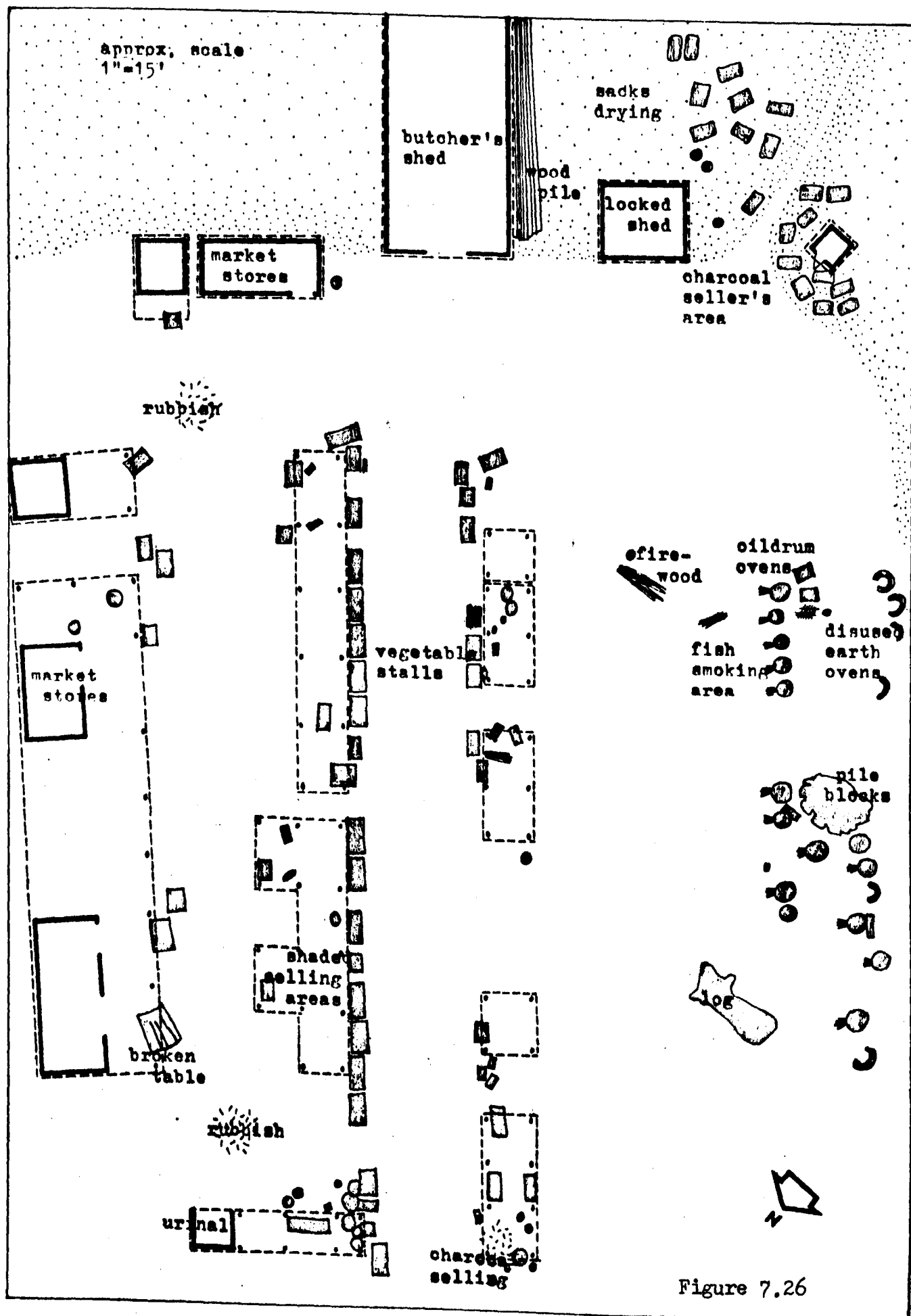


Figure 7.26

Site Plan of New Ayija Market

approx. scale 1"=20'

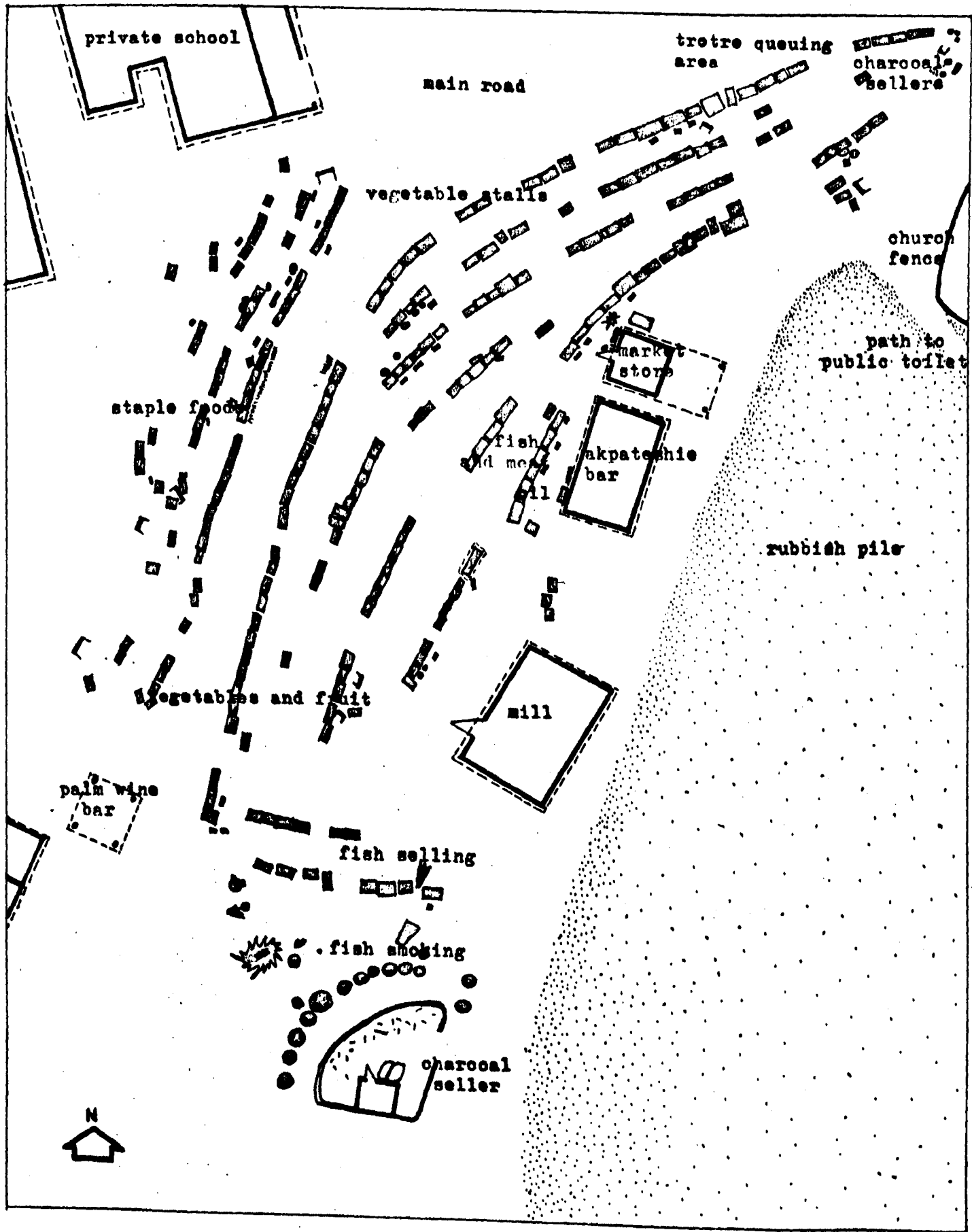


Figure 7.27

Site Plan of Ayija Junction

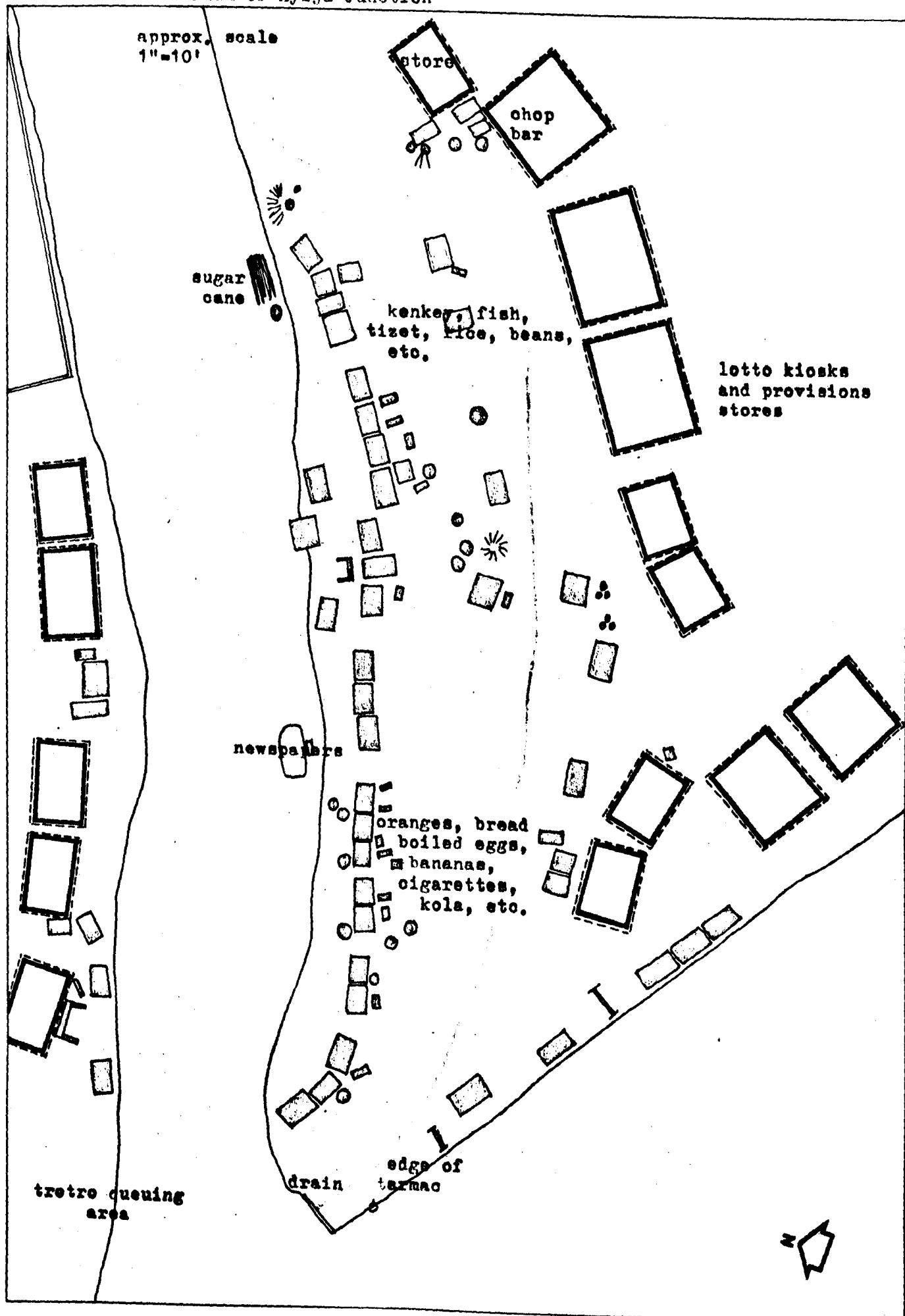
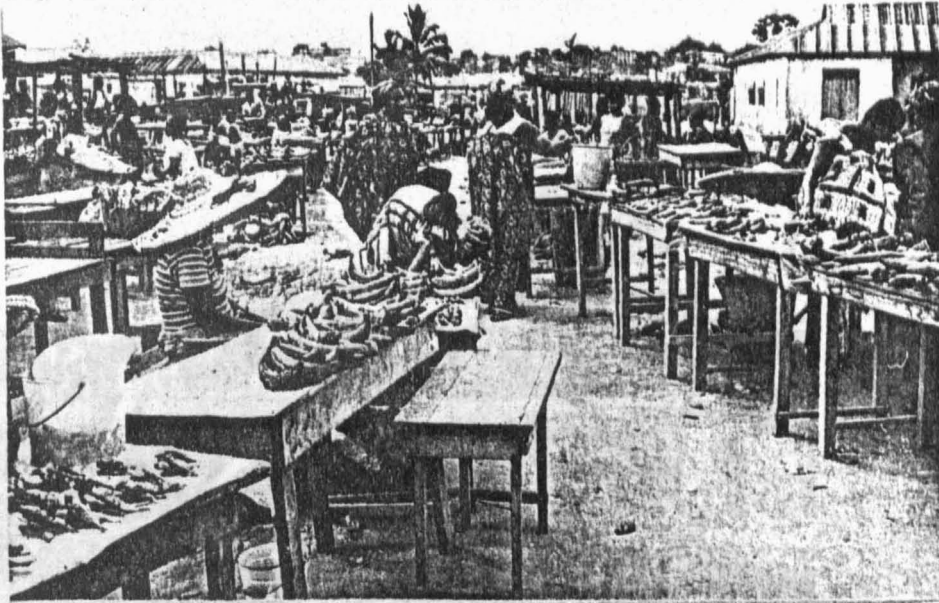


Figure 7.28



(top and right) Ayija
Market

(bottom) Ayija Junction
marketing area

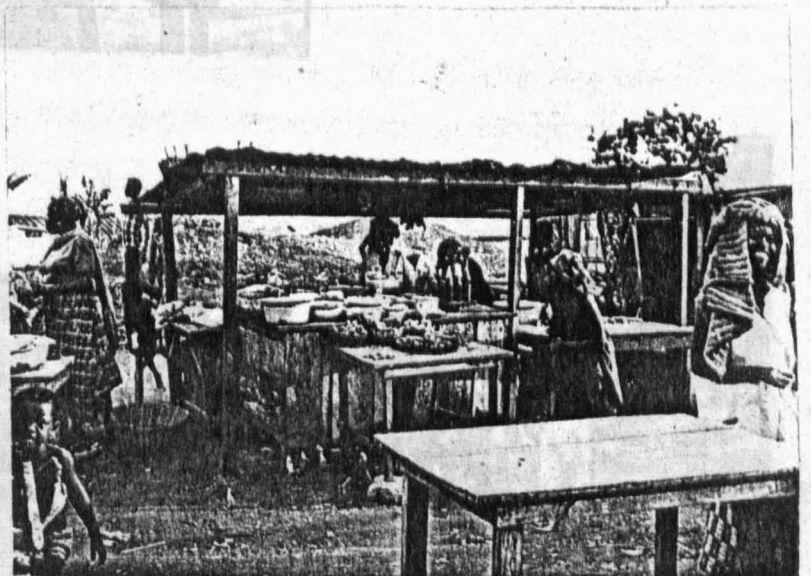
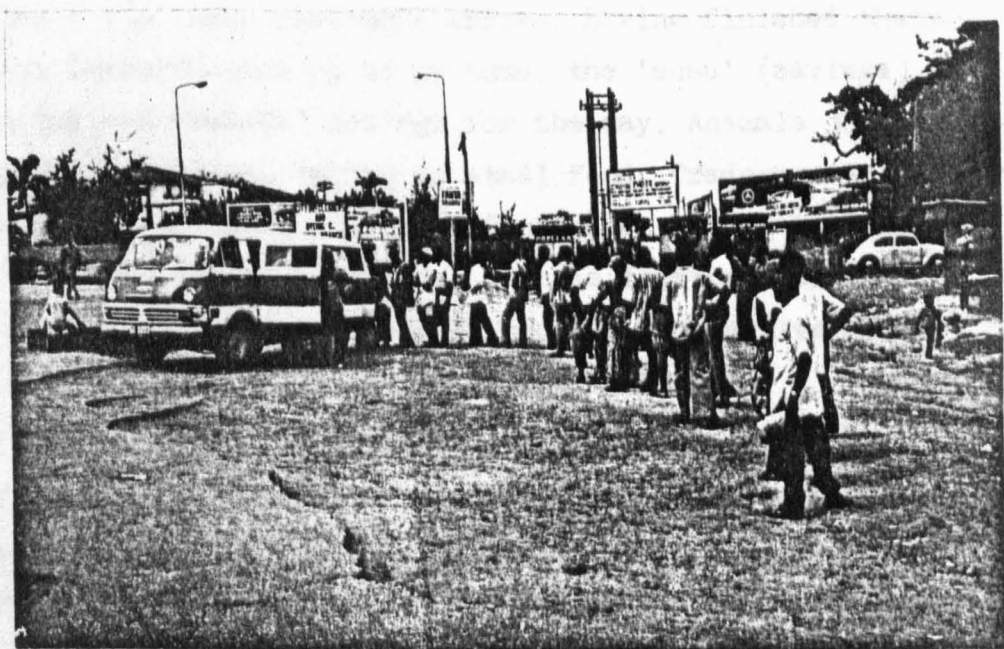


Figure 7.29



(above) trotro waiting by Ayija market

(below) queuing for the trotro at Ayija Junction

Figure 7.30

whom fetch their goods from elsewhere in Kumasi. The day's activities start later than in the streets, with traders bringing in their goods from the city, fish smokers setting up their fires, trucks delivering goods, charcoal sellers arriving with bags, and animals scavenging around the stalls - ducks around the fish smokers' area and goats around the flour and vegetable stalls. Market activities reach their peak at 1-2 p.m., with about 130 traders and 250 customers being present at this time. Much of the activity is social, with groups of women gossiping, and children playing. Some traders shop from other traders, for the goods they do not sell themselves. Throughout the day, traders who have sold all their goods depart for Kumasi and return with new stocks - often different goods from those they sold earlier. Hawkers join the market for short intervals during the day, shouting to advertise their wares. Some workers apart from traders set up stalls, such as a bowl repairer and a cobbler. The richer, well dressed women of Ayija seem to shop mid-afternoon, after the main rush. After 4 p.m. male customers arrive, having finished their work. As traders start to pack up to go home, the 'susu' (savings) man arrives to collect traders' savings for the day. Animals join in the packing up activities, trying to steal food. Traders wash themselves, sweep around their stalls, and children arrive to help carry goods home. Some perishable goods, such as tomatoes, are reduced in price to clear stocks. Selling becomes less active after about 5 p.m., but some people linger on in social groups.

Like the house and the courtyard, the streets and marketplaces are important not only for domestic life, but also as workplaces. For those who work in the settlement, it seems preferable to occupy public spaces where possible, as this advertises products or services, and allows the worker to chat to passers by, and to watch what goes on around him. This also has the effect of reducing the use of private space, but places greater demand on the available public space, especially by some occupations which need large working areas. Even the narrowest street may be obstructed (from the point of view of the pedestrian) by large piles of flour laid out to dry by flour sellers, pots of palm kernels boiling up for oil extraction, basket weavers splitting their cane, kente and raffia weavers and their looms, and so on. Larger spaces may be occupied by such industries as aluminium pot manufacture, selling sawn wood, selling bottles, etc. Traders' stalls occupy all categories of space, and some free standing sheds are placed in the street for selling

groceries, lottery tickets, or as tailors' workshops. Signs are erected advertising the presence of various entrepreneurs, competing for the attention of the passer by.

Thus in assessing how the settlement functions for its residents, it is important to recognize that it is much more than a dormitory suburb. For most of the inhabitants it provides shopping and social facilities of all kinds, and for a large number it is also a place of work. However, this concentrated demand on space is not reflected by an intensive use of dwelling units (i.e. rooms) themselves. Domestic, social and work activity tends to take place in more public spaces, such as the courtyard or the street.

(right) preparing food in the
courtyard - pounding "fufu"

(below) preparing and selling food
in the street - maize flour
for "tizet" drying on mats

(bottom) eating breakfast on the
street



Figure 7.31



(left) workspaces
in the street - a
bread oven in the
foreground

(right) shaded area
used as a meeting
place in Ayija Zenge



(below right) "durbah"
held on a vacant plot
in Ayija village



Figure 7.32

CHAPTER EIGHT

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

Health and housing are those aspects of welfare usually regarded as most crucial, and the level of welfare relating to them is viewed as easily measurable, so that it can be compared with data elsewhere. In satisfying housing needs, however, there are some subjective needs that go beyond the basic needs of shelter from the elements, and these may not be easily comparable. An assessment of the level of health of a population may be more objective, as the standards desired are more universally applicable.

A major determinant of health is the standard of nutrition achieved, and this is affected by the availability of various foodstuffs. But the supply of food is not the only factor here - various cultural traditions impose restrictions on eating habits, the food budget may be affected by competing demands for non-food items, and the distribution of food resources to different members of an eating group (such as a nuclear family) may reflect status rather than nutritional need. The causes of illhealth are poorly understood by the sufferers, not only in relation to malnutrition, but also to infectious diseases. Environmental conditions found in the low-income settlement provide a level of sanitation which makes it difficult to achieve a high level of health, whatever the standard of nutrition and health education.

food supply

The price structure is a major regulator of food demand, reflecting supply conditions at different times. However, some forms of food supply do not come into the price structure, being available without money expenditure. As has been seen, there is a considerable amount of local farming in Ayija, probably involving about a quarter of the population to some extent. Much of this is concerned with the production of staples, particularly cassava and maize. Cassava is especially popular because of its high productivity for labour expended, its capacity for production on poor or exhausted soils, its high cost of transportation if it is grown elsewhere (Moss and Morgan, 1970),

as well as its palatability. Some vegetable production and poultry rearing is also very significant to food supply within the settlement. Wild foods contribute further to food supply outside the price structure, and the importance of this has been widely reported elsewhere, even in an urban context (Clottey, 1971; Hartog, 1971).

The majority of food consumed in Ayija is bought, however, either in a raw state, ready cooked, processed or packaged. Most retailing is done within the settlement, with shopping outside the area being restricted to traders seeking goods to sell in Ayija. Sales are through a network of house traders, hawkers, street traders and market traders. Many traders sell a wide range of goods, or swap from one commodity to another depending on wholesale supplies. Others specialize in certain commodities, reflecting consumption patterns in the settlement. The numbers of traders involved in various types of commodities are described in Appendix B, together with some description of sources of supply, and consumption patterns.

A distinction may be made between raw foodstuffs, processed foodstuffs, and those that are cooked ready for eating. Much processed food and fully cooked food is on sale, representing considerable specialization of activity within the settlement. The supply of cooked foods may be even more important to nutrition in Ayija than the supply of raw foods, as a large proportion of households rely on street traders rather than carrying out their own food preparation.

Prices are subject to a great deal of variation, and it is likely that this is reflected by an adjustment in the quantities of various goods on sale. Changing prices for specific goods between September 1974, May 1974 and September 1978 are shown (figs. 8.1 and 8.2). Some rises are due to seasonal variations (e.g. maize), some due to country-wide shortages (meat, fish, tinned milk), some due to shortages in the system produced by a demand for exportable goods (palm nuts and palm oil, groundnuts), some due to inflation or price fluctuations on a worldwide scale (sugar, bread), and some at a more local scale of inflation (tomatoes, onions). At the same time, some foodstuffs which have been subject to shortages in the past are becoming more readily available due to increased local production (notably rice). Generally, consumers are not able to protect themselves from price fluctuations, as they have insufficient funds for bulk purchases, and they lack storage facilities. An

Major Price Changes in Foodstuffs, September 1974 to May 1975

commodity	price, September 1974	price, May 1975	comments
maize	minimum £9 per cocoa-bagful	£19 per cocoa-bagful	prices largely seasonal, expected to fall after May
rice	30p per lb.	40p per lb.	fewer shortages than in previous years
bread	sold in 2½p, 20p, etc. denominations	same prices but smaller size	steady rise
onions	1½-5p each	2½-15p each	steady rise
tomatoes	2½-10p each	5-20p each	steady rise
groundnuts	5p per milk- tinful	10p per milk- tinful	steady rise due to increased demands for oil, as export
groundnut paste	5p for 2 tea- spoonsful	5p for 1 tea- spoonful	
palm nuts	25 nuts for 5p	15 nuts for 5p	
refined sugar	40p per lb.	£1 per lb.	shortages common, prices rose to £2 per lb. (unofficial) but later fell
fish	£18 per carton	£24 per carton	controlled prices, rising by steps, some shortages
meat	£1.10 per lb. (bbef)	£1.80 per lb.	prices unsteady due to shortages
tinned milk	14p per tin	25p per tin (unofficial)	official price rose to 22p after long shortage in June 1975
groundnut oil	£1.30 per bottle	£2 per bottle	steady rise
palm oil	£0.75 per bottle	£0.95 per bottle	steady rise
margarine	75p per lb.	£1.10 per lb.	shortages common

Figure 8.1

Price Changes to September 1978 (from September 1974) :
(showing inflation since the study period)

commodity	price	price change	comments
maize	£70 per cocoa-bagful	+ 750%	
rice	£1.80 per margarine tinfoil	-	different unit sold
bread	20p to £4	+ 800%	
onions	20-35p each	+1,000%	
tomatoes	15-60p each	+ 600%	
groundnuts	£3 per margarine-tinfoil	-	different unit sold
groundnut paste	£1 for 2 teaspoons-ful	+2,000%	particularly high increase in the price of oil and oil-producing nuts
palm nuts	20 for £1 :	+2,500%	
refined sugar	£2.50 per margarine tinfoil	-	different unit sold
fresh fish	£100-160 per carton	+ 600%	
meat	£6 per lb.	+ 550%	
tinned milk	£1 per tin	+ 700%	
groundnut oil	£10 per bottle	+ 800%	see comments above
palm oil	£8 per bottle	+1,050%	
margarine	£10 per lb.	+1,350%	

Figure 8.2

exception is that maize is sometimes bought from villages by the sackful in season, and stored in rooms for personal consumption; this is probably the commodity suffering most from drastic but predictable seasonal price changes.

nutrition

There is no doubt that diet is heavily influenced by prices. Northerners migrating to Kumasi, for example, adapt from using millet as a staple because of its comparatively high price in the south. They experiment with food after their arrival in the city, and adopt new eating habits, encouraged by economic necessity. There is a continuing demand for small quantities of food familiar in the north, for special occasions, but this is fairly insignificant in their diet as a whole.

Similarly, there is adaptation in diet reflecting fluctuations of prices in Ayija. An example of this was in response to drastic increases in the price of sugar in 1974, from ₵0.40 per lb. in September to ₵1.50 per lb. in December, with shortages producing a black market price of ₵2 per lb., or three cubes for five pesewas. This produced a change from a situation where sugar was used very liberally in milk drinks, porridge, and other foods, to one where it was used very sparingly indeed.

Seasonal price fluctuations produce regular changes in diet. In September, the types of food consumed showed some variety, with different staples and vegetables being competitive in price. In February, there was less variety, and even less by May, when vegetables were limited to dried okro, palm nuts, beans, garden eggs, and (most common of all) groundnuts. A change was apparent from one where a variety of staples was consumed (yam, cassava, plantain, maize, rice and others) to one of heavier reliance on cassava and rice.

Despite adjustments to the price structure, cultural factors are still important in determining what people eat. Popular dishes are restricted in number, but there is a striking difference between the zongo and village areas, reflecting different eating preferences for northern and southern Ghanaians. Although most individuals try all the foods available from traders at one time or another, southern Ghanaians more commonly eat 'fufu with soup', 'kenkey' with fried fish and pepper, beans and 'garri'. Northerners prefer 'jollof rice', 'tiset and okro soup', and porridge.

Taboos are still observed by certain ethnic groups, which may limit the consumption of food for certain categories of people. A common taboo with northern women is against eating hen eggs, though guinea fowl eggs may be permitted. Young children are generally restricted in eating animal foods. Other taboos relate to groups of people at certain times, such as pregnant or lactating women. Apart from taboos, there may be superstitions concerning the effects of certain foods : often a pregnant woman's diet is restricted by the belief that her baby will take on the physical characteristics of any animals she consumes (Dovlo, 1975).

Food consumption at different times of year may be affected by fasting, or by celebrations. The major Moslem fast of Ramadan is widely observed in the zongo, even by some non-Moslems. In contrast with this long period of abstinence, celebrations may be cause for massive consumption of food. Some celebrations are regular, such as the end of the Ramadan fast, but others are related to personal events.

Within these cultural constraints, there is also some variation in individual preferences for food budgeting. Most people buy food requirements on a day-to-day basis, and budget accordingly. Food is a major item in the budget for everyone, greatest for those with least income (up to 70% of total expenditure) and least for the most wealthy (as little as 30%). However, the relationship between income and expenditure on food is not simple, and some individuals obviously place more or less priority on satisfying their food needs than others. Even absolute expenditure on food does not always increase with income. There is much competition in terms of budgeting for expenditure on consumer durables, for status and other reasons. The acquisition of clothes and furniture give prestige to the individual, and his diet may suffer because of his materialistic aspirations. He may also make sacrifices in his regular expenditure in order to save capital to invest in business, or to remit back to the village. Patterns of expenditure observed in Ayija are shown (figs. 8.3 and 8.4) with 'savings' representing amounts of money put aside for major items or remittances.

Diet may also be affected by certain price fluctuations in non-food items, and fuel provides an example of this. During the study period there was a steady rise in the price of both charcoal and firewood. This may explain a trend towards an increasing proportion of food being prepared by food sellers, rather than prepared at home,

Proportional Expenditure for Various Purposes (excluding working capital)
from information on daily expenditure

	September 1974 village zongo		February 1975 village zongo		May 1975 village zongo	
cooked foods	45%	6%	12%	43%	61%	48%
raw foods	24%	31%	6%	48%	24%	43%
stimulants	26%	1%	-	-	6%	-
transport	1%	-	1%	-	3%	3%
rent	-	5%	-	-	-	-
transfers	4%	2%	13%	-	-	2%
fuel	-	3%	-	9%	-	4%
consumer durables	-	49%	22%	-	-	-
others	-	3%	46%	-	-	-
<u>Proportional Expenditure for Raw Foodstuffs (%)</u>						
plantain	4.4	1.8	-	14.3	9.4	2.6
cassava	-	3.6	-	9.7	4.7	2.6
rice	3.4	10.8	-	4.5	-	14.5
flour	-	4.8	-	-	-	15.2
bread	0.5	1.5	-	3.6	-	10.6
garri	0.5	1.6	-	-	-	-
yam	4.4	7.2	-	-	-	-
total staples	13.2	31.3	-	32.1	14.1	45.5
tomatoes	3.2	3.8	22.9	4.0	4.7	2.6
onions	2.4	2.6	11.4	2.2	1.6	2.0
garden eggs	0.4	0.9	14.3	1.8	4.7	0.7
okro	-	2.7	-	0.9	-	-
pepper	1.2	1.6	-	4.0	-	-
beans	0.9	0.1	17.1	-	1.6	2.0
salt	-	1.6	-	0.4	1.6	2.0
baobab leaves	-	0.9	-	4.5	-	0.7
groundnut paste	1.5	0.6	-	-	-	5.2
dawadawa	-	0.6	-	2.7	-	0.7
palm nuts	-	-	-	3.6	-	-
kontomire	0.5	0.6	-	-	-	-
sugar	-	1.0	-	-	4.0	-
total vegetables and flavourings	10.1	16.0	65.7	24.1	14.2	15.9
fish	11.2	18.0	-	26.8	28.0	13.2
meat	1.5	18.0	22.9	12.5	-	18.5
snails	-	-	-	-	10.9	-
prawns	-	-	-	0.9	-	1.9
milk	-	-	-	-	-	2.5
total animal protein foods	12.7	36.0	22.9	40.2	38.9	33.6
oil	0.5	6.0	11.4	3.6	-	-
fruit	-	7.6	-	-	-	1.0
stimulants	63.5	2.1	-	-	32.8	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 8.3

Expenditure of Economic Units in Ayija (% of total)

(data from information on monthly budgets, sample house survey)

unit no.	food	clothes	rent	trans- port	educ- ation	furni- ture	enter- tainment	remitt- ances	savings
1	27	2	-	13	2	2	7	2	45
2	54	15	6	4	-	8	4	-	9
3	58	12	3	7	-	-	6	-	14
4	44	11	7	5	-	-	11	-	22
5	47	23	9	7	-	-	-	-	14
6	38	6	6	2	-	-	10	19	19
7	67	-	-	23	10	-	-	-	-
8	54	8	-	32	6	-	-	-	-
9	62	13	13	6	-	-	-	-	6
10	56	8	-	3	3	-	-	-	30
11	67	4	11	7	11	-	-	-	-
12	70	10	10	5	5	-	-	-	-
13	77	3	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	44	9	9	5	-	5	14	14	-
ave.	55	9	7	9	2	1	4	2	11

n.b. by 1978 earnings had risen to an average of about £120 per month, and given the price rises indicated previously, one might deduce that the same food as purchased in 1974 would represent more than the total income, unless economies in consumption were made; rent accounted for about 25% of average incomes in 1978; living standards had clearly deteriorated.

Gross Income Re-Invested in Goods for Trading, 1974-5 (working capital)

(data from information on daily budgets)

period	% Ayija village	% Ayija Zongo
September 1974	-	11%
February 1975	36%	21%
May 1975	189%	158%

Contribution of Various Income Sources to the 'Household' Budget

	money earnings	money transfers	goods transferred or harvested
Sept. 1974			
Ayija village	48%	28%	24%
Ayija Zongo	86%	6%	8%
Feb. 1975			
Ayija village	86%	8%	6%
Ayija Zongo	92%	8%	-
May 1975			
Ayija village	90%	7%	3%
Ayija Zongo	93%	5%	2%

Figure 8.4

since bulk cooking makes more economical use of fuel. However, this tendency to increased specialization of activities may have other contributory causes.

The level of nutrition achieved in Ayija could not be accurately measured in this study, but average consumption patterns seem to indicate a diet with adequate calories but poor protein content. Much of the protein is in the form of staple foods, which are deficient in certain amino acids (e.g. Purseglove, 1969(i)). Small quantities of vegetables, especially beans and groundnuts, may be important, but comparatively little animal protein is consumed. Other studies in southern Ghana indicate an average consumption pattern of around 2,000 calories per day, with about 50gms. protein (Gold Coast Statistical Department, 1956; Simic, 1971), which has changed little over time. An example of the food required to produce this level of nutrition would be about 2 lb. of staple food and 2 oz. of fish per day, with a few vegetables (Purcell, 1939).

Of some concern is the lack of calcium in the diet, which may particularly affect growing children and pregnant or lactating women. Apart from expensive packaged foods, there are few dairy products available. The local cattle and goats give very little if any milk for human use (Webster and Wilson, 1966), with cows' milk being used solely by the Fulani herdsman and owners. Pickled pigs' feet are on sale, as a calcium source (Ehrlich and Ehrlich, 1970).

Of more concern than average consumption patterns in determining individual welfare is the distribution of food resources among different categories of people. An example of the distribution between a man, his wife and his six year old son is shown (fig. 8.5). The method of food allocation gives preference to adult males, while children and women may be comparatively deprived. This is particularly so for protein foods, which are most essential for children as well as pregnant or lactating women. The way in which food is purchased on the street adds to this problem, as an individual with a small amount of money to spend may only be able to afford a set portion of staple food, while only an individual with more money can afford an additional portion of meat or fish. Most children seem to exist on a carbohydrate diet, with very little meat or fish being consumed, and few vegetables.

Samples of Daily Food Intake

(from sample house survey)

	food	activities
(i) a child (boy of six)	<p>7 a.m. porridge 5p, and sugar 2½p(bought)</p> <p>1 p.m. jollof rice 5p (bought), 1 cup water</p> <p>6 p.m. 1 plate fufu and palm soup(prepared by grandmother)</p>	<p>helped in house, played football morning and afternoon</p>
(ii) working woman	<p>8 a.m. rice 7½p, beans 5p, garri 2½ p (bought)</p> <p>12 noon 3 pieces toasted plantain with groundnut water 10p (bought)</p> <p>6 p.m. ½ plate fufu with palm soup, small piece fish and snail (prepared by mother)</p>	<p>housework 6 a.m. - 8 a.m., trading at market 8 a.m. - 6 p.m.</p>
(iii) working man	<p>7 a.m. rice, stew and meat, 35p (bought), 1 cup water</p> <p>12 noon fried yam 10p, groundnuts 5p, Cocacola 30p(bought) 1 cup water</p> <p>6 p.m. 1 plate fufu and palm soup with 2 pieces fish and Snail (prepared by mother-in-law)</p>	<p>7 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. labouring in Kumasi</p>

Figure 8.5

A further element in determining the nutritional value of the food consumed is its method of preparation. Diet in Ayija probably suffers to some extent from reliance on bulk cooked foods, with much reheating and prolonged cooking. Also, the serving of cooked foods is a fiercely competitive activity with low profit margins, and food sellers may be tempted to use the cheapest possible raw materials, to keep prices as low as possible. The alternative to the present system might be of no overall benefit to diet or welfare generally, however, since the specialization of activities allows for maximum earning capacity of sellers and consumers alike, and this may result in more money being available to spend on food than would otherwise be the case.

However poor the diet may be in Ayija, it is certainly more varied and less subject to supply fluctuations than in northern Ghana (Grant, 1952). In the Upper Region, for instance, there is a heavy reliance on millet as the staple food, and although average consumption quantities may be similar to the south (Addai, 1970), there is more seasonal variation. After the annual harvest in November, there is much celebration, and heavy consumption of food and pito. Grain is stored in large granaries, and begins to be rationed by about January (Fortes, 1936). If the granary is insufficiently stocked to last the whole year, which is common, consumption decreases to a hunger period in June-October, which is also the most strenuous period for farming work. It has been estimated that consumption varies from 3250 calories per day in November to 800 in July, compared with a more usual fluctuation of 1500-2500 calories per day in urban areas to the south (Johnston, 1971).

illhealth

It is difficult to estimate the effects of malnutrition in Ayija. Certainly the problem seems far less serious than in northern Ghana, where 'kwashorkor' (Maddox, 1972) and other nutritional disorders (Arthur, 1969) are far more apparent. It is likely that the ill effects in Ayija are normally limited to retarded physical and mental development, and a lowered resistance to disease.

The infectious diseases affecting Ayija are numerous. Of the respiratory diseases (for typology, see Barton, 1970), cerebrospinal meningitis is fairly common, with cases being admitted to the University Hospital most weeks, but particularly in the dry season,

when dust particles increase the spread of the infection. Disease caused by insect carriers includes malaria, which is probably the major killer of the area, with most people suffering attacks at various times, and filaria and typhoid are also found. Snails in the streams and other areas of water may cause bilharzia (Wright, 1970), which is difficult to diagnose or to treat, but which is probably very common in Ayija, having a general debilitating effect but sometimes causing severe sickness and death. Alimentary diseases are also common, caused by faecal contamination by hands, water, food or flies. Included here are gastro-enteritis, infective hepatitis, dysentery and various skin infections. The other major infectious disease is measles, which together with gastro-enteritis is a major killer. Both affect children particularly, and it is estimated at the University Hospital that 20-25% of measles admissions and 15-20% of gastro-enteritis admissions are fatal cases. Gastro-enteritis is often thought to be caused by bottle feeding infants with milk that has been prepared in insanitary conditions.

Many of the diseases occurring can be related to environmental conditions in the low-income settlement. Djangmah (1975) was able to compare health statistics for the low-income settlement of Ashaiman with those for Tema as a whole, and found a striking difference. Most common environment-related diseases were about five times as common in Ashaiman as in Tema (see fig. 8.6). It is quite likely that a comparison between Ayija and Kumasi as a whole would yield similar results, if the data were available.

Mental health in Ayija is more difficult to assess. A few individuals were discovered who were classed by their neighbours as 'mad', behaving completely irrationally, living alone and generally surviving by begging. Other cases were discovered where there had obviously been some sort of nervous breakdown, and this was sometimes attributed to the difficult transition from rural to urban life. The mixture of cultural values and the loss of supportive family ties in the migrant settlement is bound to be mentally disturbing for some, but generally the residents in Ayija seem able to take care of themselves to some extent, with friends offering psychological support when needed. Traditional healers may also be able to act to give support before cases become acute.

Comparison of the Incidence of Disease among Residents of Tema and Ashaiman (Djangmah, 1974)

1. Environmental Health Related Diseases

Type of Disease	Ashaiman % of population	Tema
malaria	9.0	2.0
typhoid fever	8.6	1.2
dysentries	5.6	0.6
infant diarrhoeas	9.5	2.1
ascaris	7.2	1.7
infectious hepatitis	4.8	0.9
tuberculosis	0.8	0.1

2. Non-Environmental Health Related Diseases

heart disease	2.5	2.3
hernia	0.4	0.2
pneumonia	1.3	0.9
peptic ulcer	0.04	0.06
appendicitis	0.06	0.06
rheumatic fever	0.07	0.1

Figure 8.6

medical services

The major source of modern medical treatment is the University Hospital. Established with the aim of providing a free service to university employees (of whom many are living in Ayija) it also serves others for a fee. Children are charged ₦1.50 per consultation plus the cost of any treatment, and adults are charged ₦3 plus treatment costs, giving normal total charges of ₦3-8 for the treatment of a specific complaint. Those needing treatment attend first as outpatients, where they may have to wait several hours, but where they will eventually be seen. In this situation, Ayija residents are comparatively fortunate. Individuals elsewhere who have to rely on the Central Hospital in Kumasi may have considerable difficulty in obtaining treatment, due to huge queues and a complicated administrative system. Some cases have to be referred to the Central Hospital, as the University Hospital lacks specialist equipment.

A constant complaint from doctors at the University Hospital is that patients often attend hospital only after they have tried a variety of other cures for their ailments. In the first instance, they may resort to folklore, and try a self-administered treatment. If that fails, a traditional healer or herbalist will often be consulted. By the time the individual attends the University Hospital, not only may his condition have deteriorated because of the delay in seeking scientific medicine, but also his symptoms may have been complicated by the treatment he has received. In view of the general accessibility of medical treatment at the University Hospital, doctors find it difficult to understand why they are not consulted earlier.

There are other points of view, however. Much recent scientific interest has been expressed in the value of traditional medicine (Frankenberg and Leeson, 1974; Leslie, 1974; Chen, 1976) and it is likely that many of the herbal remedies used have real curative effect. It is likely that doctors at the hospital only see the 'failures', and that their workload is relieved to some extent by a proportion of successfully treated cases. It may be, also, that traditional healers receive some of the cases where modern scientific treatment has been unsuccessful.

There are about 17 people in Ayija who practise in some way as herbalists, treating the sick. Most are consulted to remedy

non-physical ailments as well, through their magic, and fortune-telling is often combined with healing. A similar combination of services is offered by the traditional Akan healers (fetish priests, working through certain spirits and their fetishes), the northern soothsayers (consulting the spirits of the land and the ancestors) and Moslem fortune tellers (Malams who use their knowledge of the Koran to perform magic and see the future). Herbalists from Nigeria and Dahomey also practise in Ayija : these are thought to have very great supernatural powers, though the bases of their creeds are not precisely understood. There seems to be some attraction to unfamiliar cultures for 'magic' cures (McLeod, 1975), and some patients also consult a variety of healers to compare their effectiveness, and ensure that the right spirits are somehow appeased in the process. The healers who practise in Ayija feel that there is a great demand for their services, from within their own particular ethnic or religious groups, as well as from others. Each man's herbs are his own secret, handed down through generations, but never disclosed to rival herbalists or potential patients. Thus it is unfortunately impossible to compare the treatments used. Apart from herbal treatment, much of the healing service consists of psychological support, with a great deal of sensitivity being shown to the social problems of the patient.

Initial charges made by traditional healers are nominal, and this may be an attraction to patients. It is common for about 20 pesewas to be charged for a short consultation, and ₵2 for complicated treatment of a serious ailment. If treatment is successful, however, further payment is expected, often with sacrificial animals being demanded, or donations of alms to the poor being specified. Thus the eventual costs may be greater than those incurred at the University Hospital.

The chief fetish priest of Ayija draws customers from a wide area, and is generally respected and feared. There are constant queues outside his house, with a majority of people suffering from physical ailments. There is also a second fetish priest, a northern soothsayer, three foreign herbalists and eleven Moslem fortune tellers. Some of these draw customers from outside Ayija.

Apart from the treatment of illnesses, medical services are also sought by women in the forms of abortion and midwifery. Some hospital workers will practise abortion for a fee, but some women in Ayija

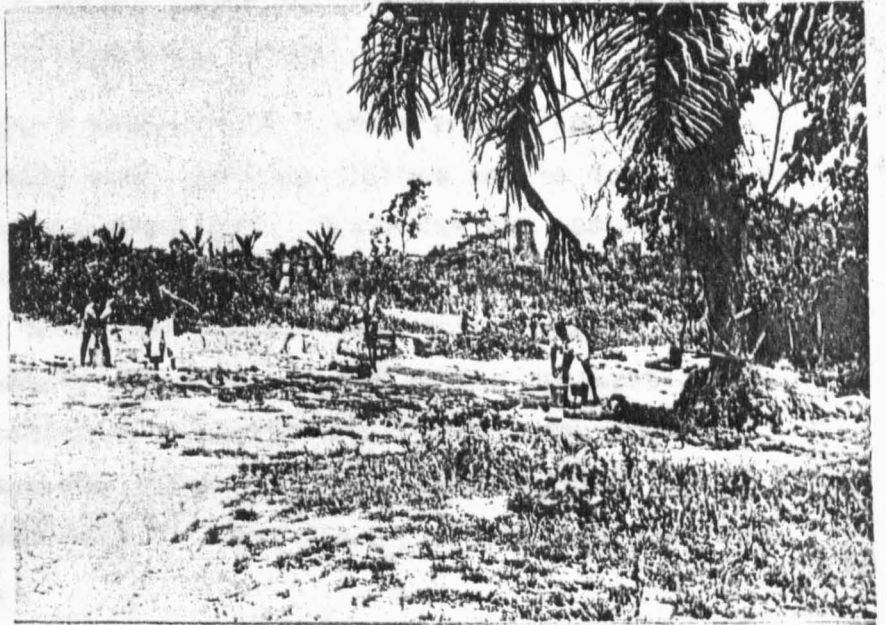
will provide a cheaper though probably more dangerous service. Many women are prepared to act as midwives when necessary. Birth control is also in demand from some women, but there is considerable difficulty in obtaining contraceptive pills, in contrast with the situation in some other parts of West Africa (Caldwell and Ware, 1977). There appears to be greater reliance on herbal and dietary means of controlling fertility.

water supply

Public water supply in Ayija is virtually non-existent, and this has an adverse effect on health in several ways. The fact that most water has to be bought increases the cost of living, and enforces economies in the use of water which lead to poor sanitary conditions.

Three public taps have been installed in the past, but only one of these is still operable, and this gives only a small trickle, with the cause of failure attributed by the Water and Sewage Corporation to corroded pipes. A pump was installed by the University, but this broke down soon afterwards. Most water is now bought from twelve houses where private taps have been installed at great expense (increased to about 24 houses by 1979). Small amounts are collected from the streams, though there are complaints that stream water often causes stomach pains. Some wells by the Wiwi stream are used for washing clothes. In addition, some rainwater is collected in oildrums in the courtyard.

With installation costs of up to £1,000, those individuals with private water connections have to recover their costs in some way. In 1974, a charge of a pesewa per bucket was made, and water sales throughout Ayija seemed to be in the region of one bucket per head per day. By 1979 the charge had risen to 10 pesewas per bucket, however. The outlay on installation is recovered in under a year, so that as long as prices are maintained, water installation is a good investment. Water rates of £2 per month used to be charged for unmetred supplies - this represents about 1% of takings. The recent increase in price may be due to the introduction of some metred supplies, however, making the costs to the supplier considerably higher. Total consumption in Ayija probably amounts to about 200,000 litres per day, supplemented by some free supplies from streams and rainwater tubs. Costs in 1974 were around 30 pesewas per head per month, or



(above right) washing clothes by the stream

(below right) water being sold



(left) trench being dug for a new water pipe connection



Figure 8.7 supplies of both

about $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of income. By 1979 the proportion of income spent on water had probably risen to about 3%. The fact that water has to be paid for causes much discontent among residents of Ayija, as in other unserviced areas of the city (Nfojoh, 1973).

Most people buy piped water for all their needs, and most is taken up by having a daily wash. Washing clothes may be done less often, but this also uses a great deal. There are six washermen operating in Ayija, who wash clothes as a business for more wealthy residents, and some of these use piped water, though others use the streams. A smaller quantity of water is used in the preparation of food, including the washing of utensils and ingredients, and this is needed both for those who prepare food at home, and for those who prepare food commercially. A small amount of water is also used for drinking purposes.

Economies in the use of water for food preparation and for washing hands are likely to have the worst effects on health, though these activities use less water than others. The temptation to use free natural water supplies, particularly the streams, may cause the spread of water-borne disease, such as bilharzia. Rain water storage in open oil drums may also be detrimental to health, by encouraging mosquito breeding, and thus increasing the incidence of malaria.

It is striking that the provision of public water supply is considerably better in Zebila than in Ayija. The supply is limited to a three hour period every morning, and sometimes an additional period in the afternoon, but there are several taps in the centre of the village, and water is free and unrationed. In a dispersed rural settlement there are obvious difficulties in a centrally located supply, but even the most distant compounds seem to make use of the public supply for some of their needs. The supply comes from a borehole, and is pumped into a water tower. The man-made lake in Zebila provides a reservoir of water which is used for bathing, washing clothes and watering animals. Wells are also dug where needed throughout the settlement, using communal labour. The same disadvantages apply to these supplies as in Ayija, i.e. contamination by parasites and other organisms. However, in general terms, the supplies of both piped and natural water appear to be better in the rural area.

Water Sources and Public Toilet Facilities in Ayija

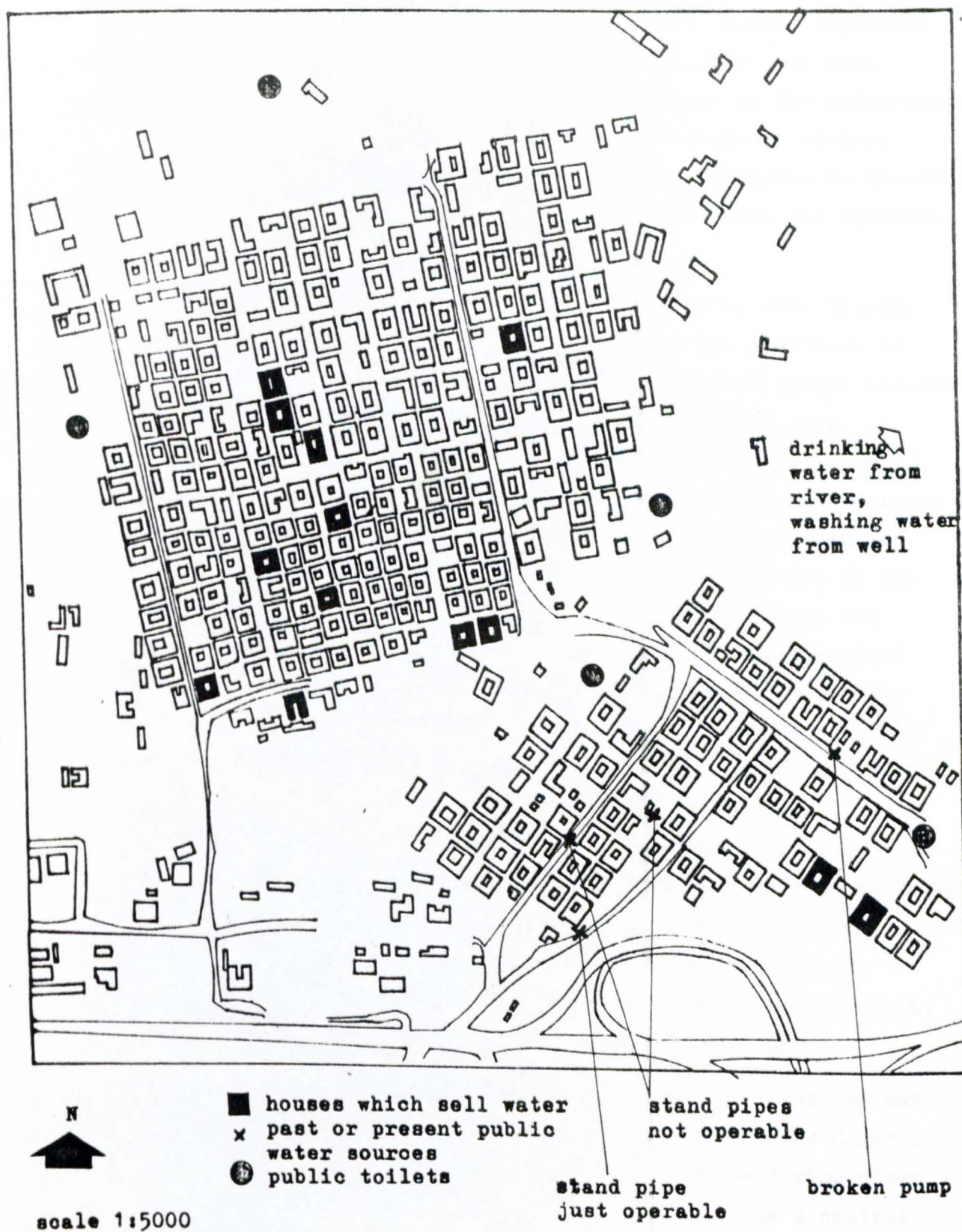


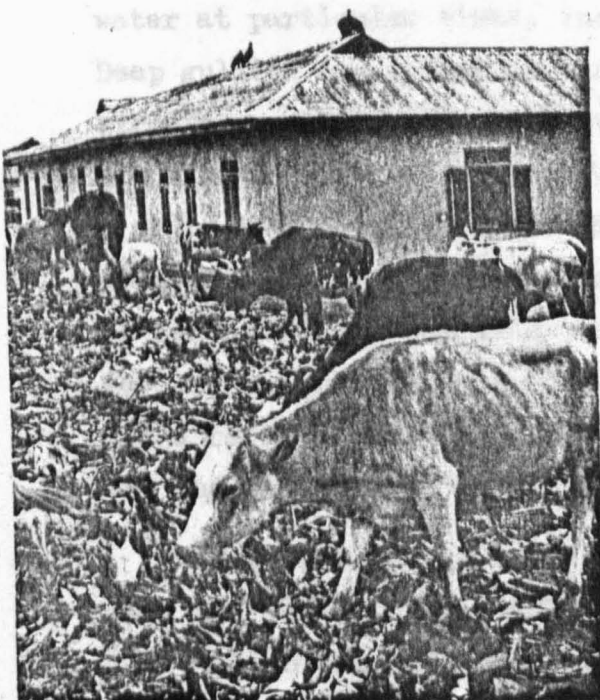
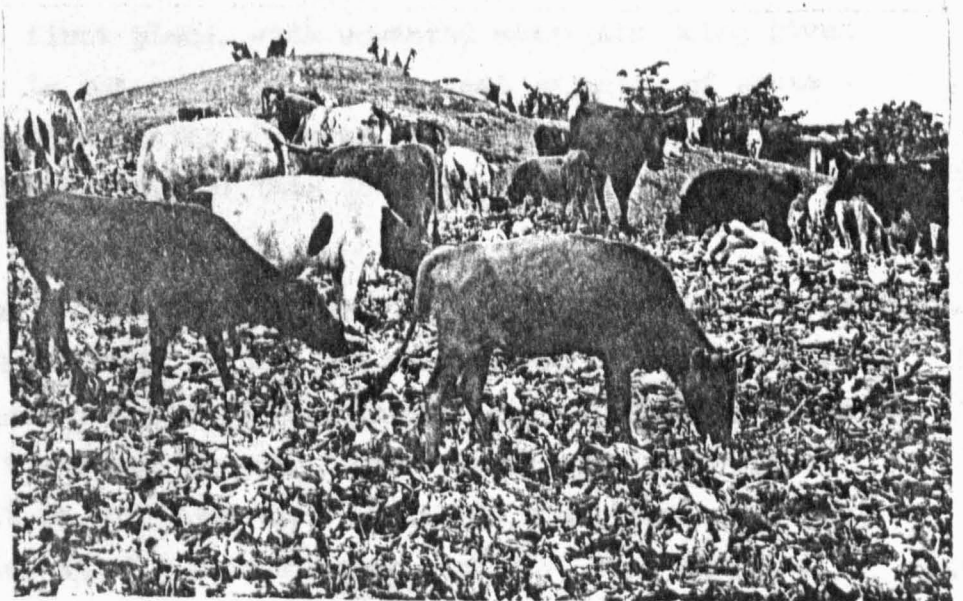
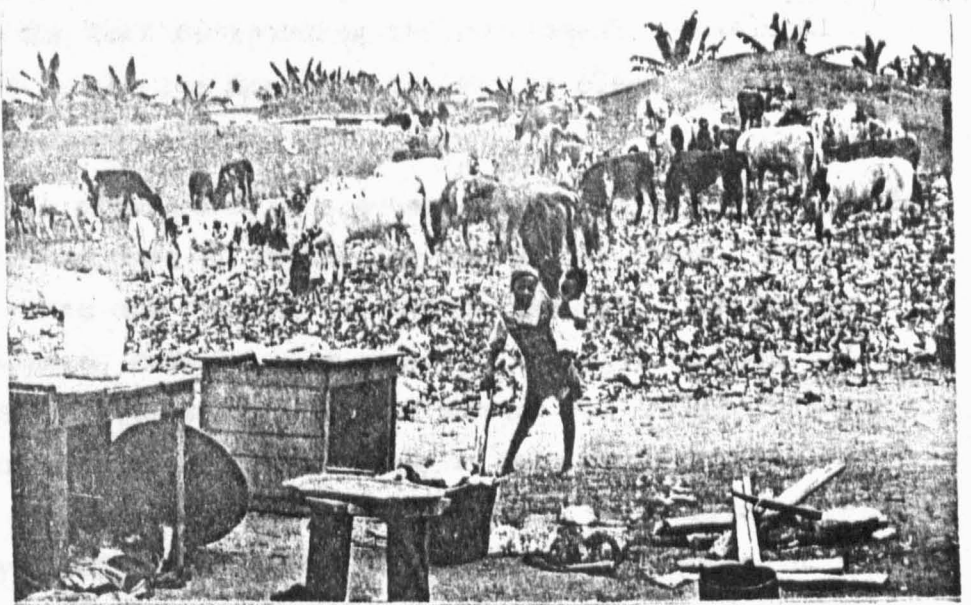
Figure 8.8

waste disposal

The wastes produced in Ayija are of several types. There are animal and human faeces and urine, washing water wastes, vegetable wastes and inorganic wastes (tins, plastic bags, etc.) as well as rainwater run-off. Again, the services provided by the authorities are minimal in Ayija, and the lack of facilities has an adverse effect on health. Harmful bacteria use the various wastes as breeding grounds, and flies also breed on the wastes and spread the bacteria to cause disease.

The provision of toilets in Ayija is limited to five blocks, and constant queues outside these indicate that the provision is grossly inadequate (see fig. 8.8 for the provision of public toilets in 1974; since then, the block by the market place has been demolished, and another built to the northwest of the settlement). In response to this poor provision, almost half of the house owners in Ayija have installed bucket toilets. The City Council doubled the charges for emptying these private toilets in 1974 (to ₵3 per month), and this discouraged further provision, and led to the closure of some toilets. By 1979, the situation had deteriorated further, with owners of toilets paying the Council for a service that had ceased to operate, and a further ₵2-3 per bucket to have toilets emptied privately. The City Council also appeared to be discouraging the provision of toilets by withholding permits, on the grounds that septic tanks should be installed. Trucks continue to collect wastes from the public toilets, however. Many individuals resort to using the bush or open drains within the settlement, increasing the spread of bilharzia and other diseases. Animal excrement is also spread through courtyards, streets and the bush, with a particular concentration in the animal compounds.

The main organized refuse collection in Ayija is carried out by one head man and two labourers employed by Kumasi City Council (not residents of Ayija). Apart from periodic visits during clean up campaigns, the only collection point for rubbish is a central tip, where some refuse is also burnt. The service is paid for by a system of market tolls, with about ₵10 per day being collected. Much of the refuse produced in Ayija is not taken to the central tip, as it is too far away from many of the houses. Much is discarded



cows and vultures scavenging
at the main refuse tip in
Ayija, on the edge of the
new Ayija Market

Figure 8.9

on streets or in the bush surrounding the settlement. Occasional attempts are made by the residents themselves to clean this up, but there is widespread apathy.

The problem is alleviated to some extent by recycling activities. There is much picking over of refuse for any usable items. Bottles and jars may be taken and sold to the bottle traders. Tins may be re-used as containers. More or less clean papers will be used by traders for wrapping foodstuffs. Bits of string and cardboard may be collected, and polythene bags so long as they are unbroken. Oddments may be collected by children for making toys. Bits of metal are collected by older children for sale to scrap merchants in Kumasi. These potential uses often limit the amount of refuse discarded in the first place, with unwanted materials being given or sold directly to potential users. The vast majority of waste produced is vegetable matter, however - probably in the region of 90% (Agyapong, 1974). Much of this is devoured by livestock or by scavengers such as vultures.

Waste water is commonly disposed of by tipping it into the street. Most soapy water is left to find its own way out of the settlement, though a few house owners have constructed short lengths of concrete drains next to their own property. There is no public provision for drainage. It is estimated that about 180,000 litres of washing water must drain out of the settlement each day, concentrating in particular gullies. The problem of disposal of waste water is increased by rainfall run-off. This produces vast quantities of water at particular times, increasing erosion of street surfaces. Deep gullies are common in many parts of the settlement, making streets unusable, and passable only by way of bridges. Some gullies are already undermining the foundations of houses, and erosion is a major threat to the settlement. Vehicular access is severely restricted by gullying, so that many parts of the settlement cannot be reached. There are no surfaced roads anywhere. An interesting development subsequent to the field work for this study was that Ayija residents financed the clearing of the central refuse mound, and the infilling of some of the worst gullies with the debris.

If public services are lacking in relation to waste disposal, they are virtually non-existent in other respects. There is no street lighting, and private electricity supplies are only possible in a small part of the settlement. Demand for private supplies

Drains and Refuse Dumps in Ayija



Figure 8.10

appears small - only five houses had connections made in 1974, though this had increased slightly by 1979. The electricity is used only for lighting small areas. The lack of street lighting is of more concern to most residents, because of the danger of stumbling over potholes and treading on snakes at night (Houlberg, 1973) as well as fear of witches in the dark.

It is worth noting that apart from water supply, there are other ways in which Zebila is superior to Ayija in the provision of services. Refuse and waste water disposal is not so problematic, as each compound is surrounded by its own area of farmland, and the mainly organic wastes may be discarded unobtrusively. The provision of public toilets is also less crucial because of the low density of the settlement, but the facilities here are much better than in Ayija. There are five blocks, each containing about 20 holes, providing facilities about ten times greater than in Ayija, per head of population.

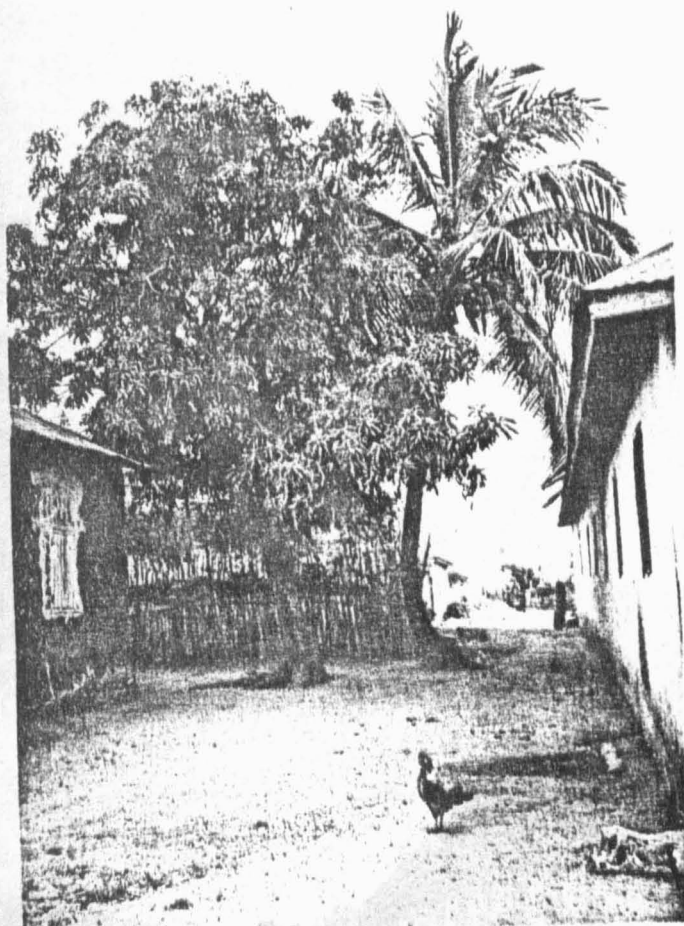
Some of the poor health in Ayija may be caused by ignorance, with various ailments being attributed to witchcraft (Debrunner, 1959) or blamed on other mystical causes. There is a general lack of knowledge about hygiene, and there is no effective public health education to combat this. Thus individuals may not be able to increase their welfare with respect to health through making choices about their environment, even given the right resources. However, experience elsewhere indicates that education alone may not be effective in the eradication of environment-related diseases (Pereira, 1973). A major constraint on health in Ayija is the environment itself, and the resources it has to offer.



street scenes - note
open drains and gulleys



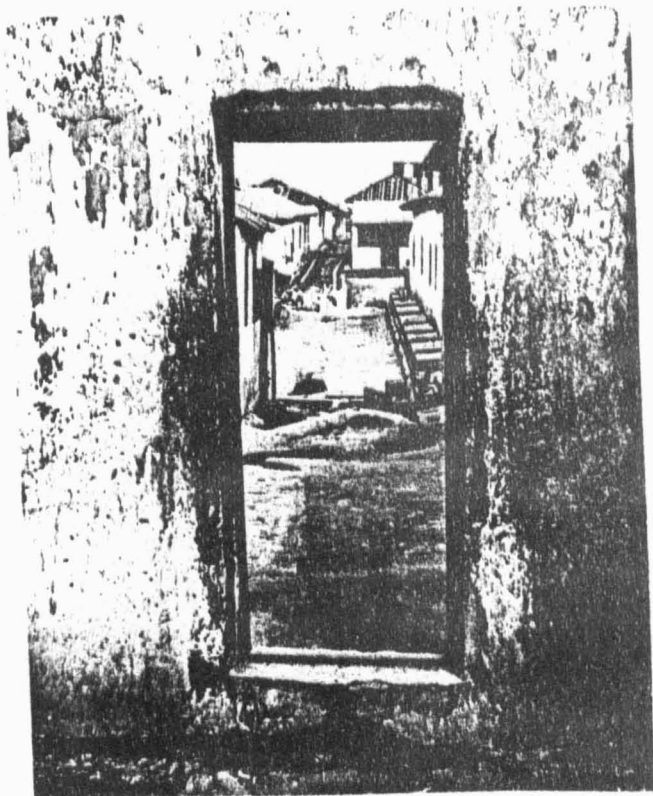
Figure 8.11



(above left) a bathroom in Ayija, typical of many
 (above right) shade trees in Ayija, a fenced garden plot beyond
 (below) abandoned car on an Ayija street; note also plank bridge
 over gulley



Figure 8.12



street scenes



Figure 8.13



concrete drains built by individual house-owners; these usually end where the building ends (see below left)

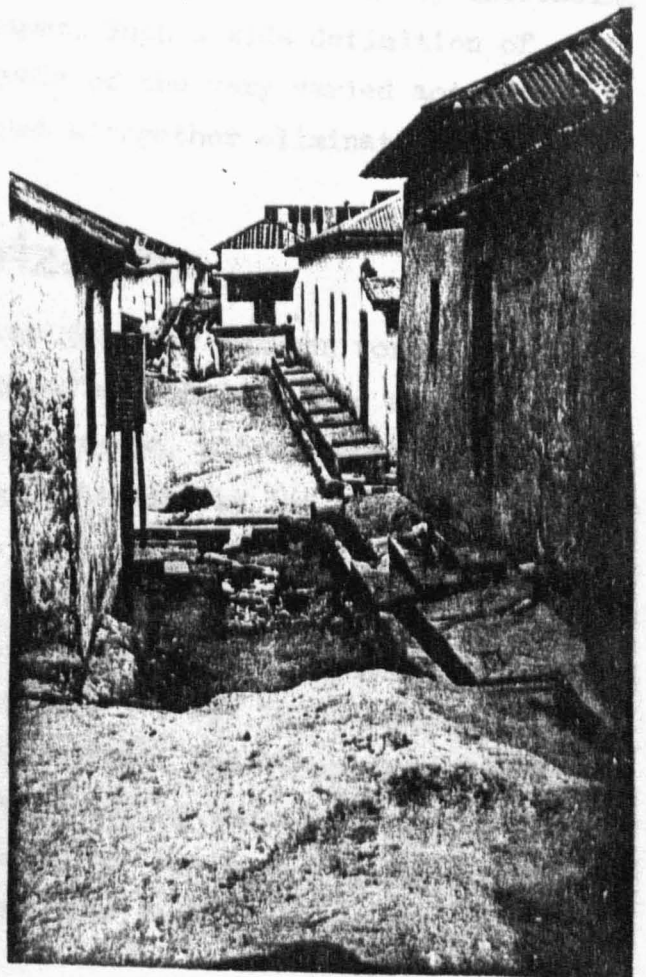
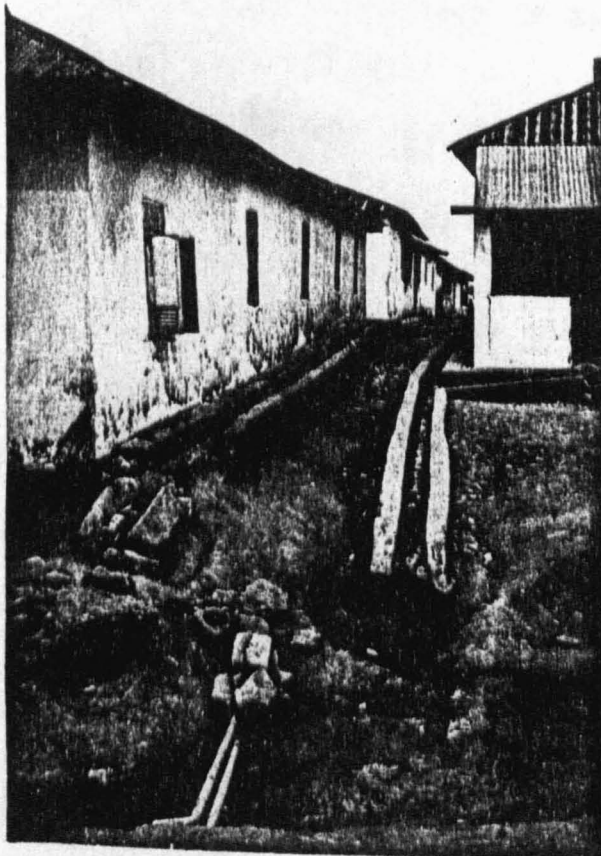


Figure 8.14

CHAPTER NINE

WORK ACTIVITIES

The economy of Ayija is here examined in relation to the work activities pursued, and the welfare derived from these activities by the individual workers. Some observations are also made on the resultant economic structure of the settlement, and the flows of money into and out of the settlement.

'Work' is defined here as any activity which is pursued because of its immediate income generating possibilities. Thus study is excluded from this category, since it is usually pursued with future economic gains in mind. Leisure activities (including 'play') may incidentally generate some income (or economize on expenditure), but they are not undertaken principally for this reason. Work may generate incomes in the form of money, goods, credit or clearance of debts, and other concessions. All of these will ultimately be reflected in material form, affecting individual welfare by increasing the capacity of the individual budget. Such a wide definition of 'work' appears necessary for analysis of the very varied activities pursued in Ayija, though it does not altogether eliminate the definition problem.

difficulties in categorization

An example of the still unclear boundary between work and non-work activities is the position of apprentices, who are perceived as a clearly identifiable category in Ayija. All apprentices are to some extent engaged in learning, motivated by the possibility of future incomes. However, it has been noted (Little, 1977) how in contrast with the situation in East Africa, apprentices in West Africa are often used as a means of exploiting the unemployed as a source of cheap labour. Many apprentices pay for their training, but many carry out tasks in lieu of payment, and others are paid for the activities they are engaged in during their apprenticeships. In Ayija, such payments might be £6-10 per month, equivalent to some of the lowest levels of earnings for unskilled workers.

Within the 'work' category, it is useful to categorize types of work activity to carry out some analysis of their contribution to the total economy, but further problems of definition are encountered. An illustration of this is that in grouping activities the researcher is not always grouping individuals, as many workers are engaged in more than one work activity. These activities may vary at different times of day (for instance daytime work combined with night watchman duties), different days of the week (for instance salaried workers who run their own businesses at weekends) or seasonally (as with farmers who take up a different occupation during the slack periods of the agricultural year). Some of the most significant entrepreneurial activities may be undertaken by formal workers in their spare time, who might escape any enumeration as entrepreneurs (Hart, 1970).

Further, many activities are not easily categorized as they are comparatively unspecialized. Manufacturers, for example, may also be involved in repair work, they may spend a considerable proportion of their time seeking out raw materials, and in doing so they may become wholesale suppliers to other manufacturers, and they may also spend much of their time in retail marketing of their products. Here, the only means of categorization is an assessment of the main emphasis of the activity, in terms of skills used and the proportion of time spent.

A distinction which has been found useful in other studies of developing countries is that between 'formal' and 'informal' sector work activities. In the 'formal' sector, employees are paid a regular salary by an identifiable employer, and the activity becomes a 'job', with special connotations of status and security (International Labour Office, 1972; Chana and Morrison, 1975). The informal sector, by contrast, consists largely of self-employed individuals or small businesses. There are many workers who do not easily fit into either category, however. Large firms and government departments act as formal employers, but also hire casual workers, paying them by the day or week. Many small-scale enterprises are more than one-man concerns, and many engage workers for a daily, weekly or monthly payment. In any analysis, the method of payment of workers may be less important than the scale of the enterprise, or the extent to which it is based on indigenous initiatives. The view that a monthly salary confers status on the workers appears to be valid in Ayija, but it may be of limited relevance to the nature of the employing enterprise.

Section of the Ayija Population in the Formal and Informal Sectors of Work

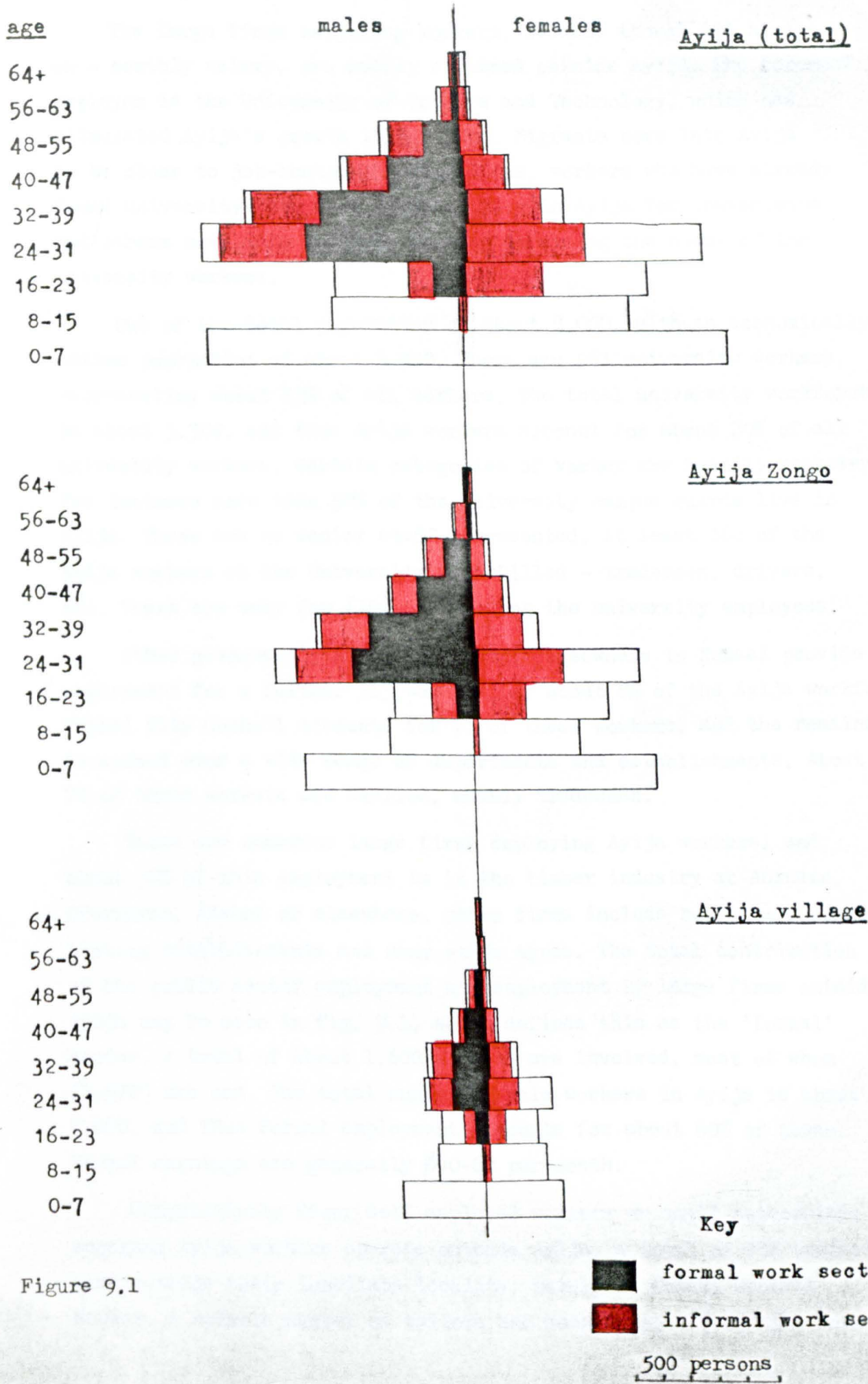


Figure 9.1

work outside Ayija

The large firms employing workers, usually though not always on a monthly salary, are mainly situated outside Ayija. The foremost employer is the University of Science and Technology, which has stimulated Ayija's growth in the past. Migrants move into Ayija to be close to job-hunting opportunities, workers who have already found university jobs seek accommodation in Ayija for convenience, and others move into Ayija to work in servicing the needs of the university workers.

Out of the total population of about 8,000, with an economically active population of about 3,900, there are 961 university workers, representing about 25% of all workers. The total university workforce is about 3,300, and thus Ayija workers account for about 29% of all university workers. Certain categories of worker are heavily represented - for instance more than 50% of the university campus guards live in Ayija. There are no senior staff represented. At least 160 of the Ayija workers at the University are skilled - tradesmen, drivers, etc. There are very few (19) women among the university employees.

Other government-funded departments elsewhere in Kumasi provide employment for a further 315 workers, or about 8% of the Ayija workforce. Kumasi City Council accounts for 71 of these workers, and the remainder is spread over a wide range of departments and establishments. About 70 of these workers are skilled, mainly tradesmen.

There are numerous large firms employing Ayija workers, and about 30% of this employment is in the timber industry at Ahinsan, Oforikrom, Amakom or elsewhere. Other firms include building contractors, trading establishments and many other types. The total contribution of the public sector employment and employment by large firms outside Ayija may be seen in fig. 9.1, which defines this as the 'formal' sector. A total of about 1,600 workers are involved, most of whom (1,570) are men. The total number of male workers in Ayija is about 2,480, and thus formal employment accounts for about 60% of these. Formal earnings are generally ₵40-60 per month.

Comparatively fewer self employed workers or small enterprises engaging Ayija workers operate outside Ayija. A total of 402 traders work outside their immediate locality, mainly at Kumasi Central Market. A notable number of tailors and seamstresses (40) also work

Section of the Ayija Population in University and Other Government

Employment

age

64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7

males

females

Ayija (total)

64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7

Ayija Zongo

64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7

Ayija village

Key



university employees



other government worker

500 persons

Figure 9.2

Section of the Ayija Population Working for Private Firms

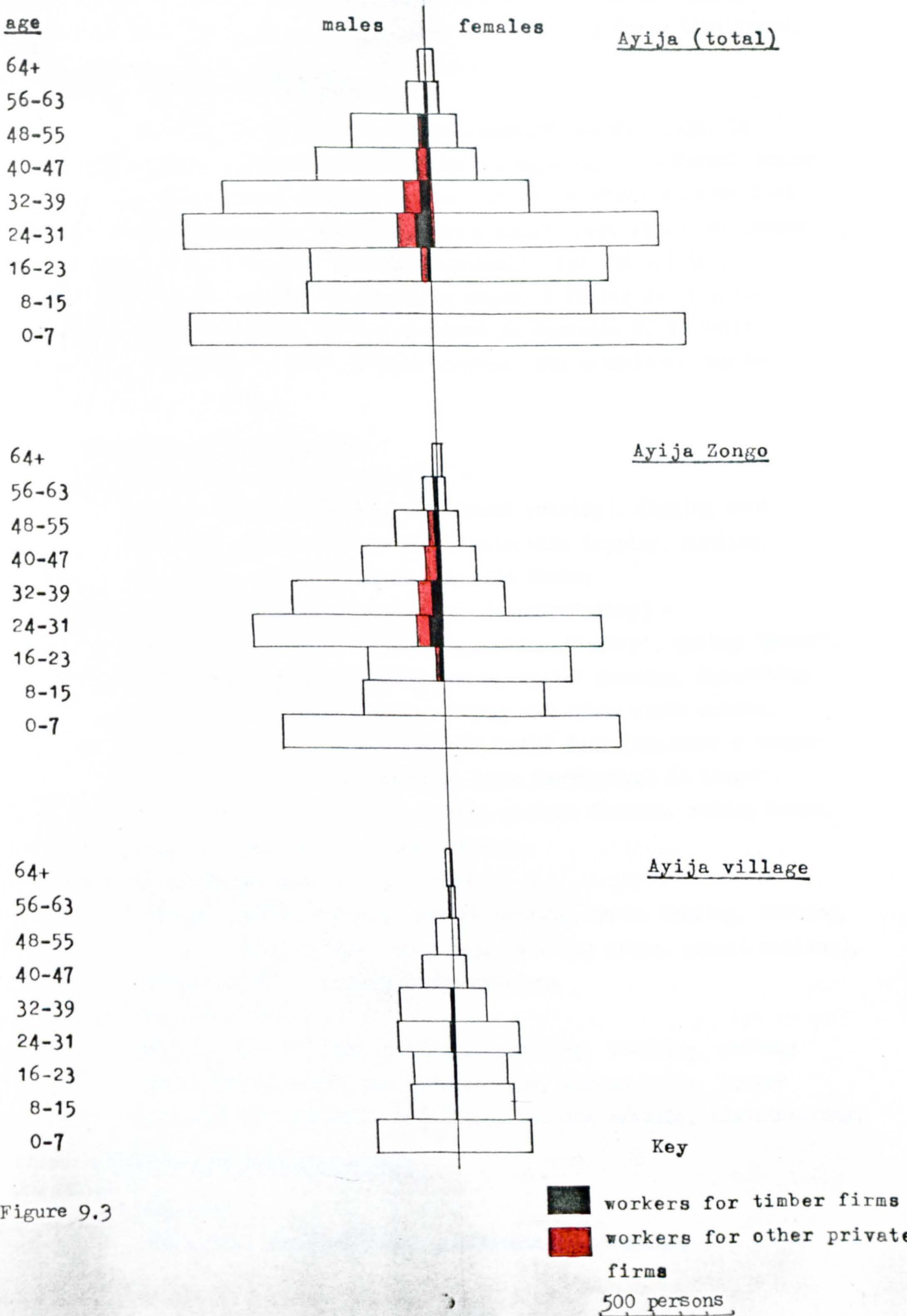


Figure 9.3

at the Central Market, and there are several (22) fitters and mechanics working in the Suame Magazine car repair area of Kumasi. About equal numbers of men and women are involved in this group of informal sector workers travelling outside Ayija for their livelihood.

work inside Ayija

In describing the work activities pursued inside Ayija, it has been found useful to relate to Hart's typology of informal sector work activities (Hart, 1972). However, it is important to note that some of the enterprises have grown to a point where it may no longer be appropriate to regard them as 'informal', and the existence of these larger firms is referred to below. A fuller description of the specific activities may be found in Appendix B, to which further reference is made in this chapter. The activities may be summarized as follows :

Legitimate Work Activities :

- (a) Primary production activities -
farming (crop production, livestock rearing), digging sand (includes larger enterprises), palm wine tapping, hunting, collecting firewood, gathering wild foods;
- (b) Secondary production activities (manufacturing) -
processing foodstuffs (milling, making 'kenkey', making 'garri', baking bread, palm oil extraction, 'pito' brewing, distilling 'akpateshie'), soap making, sewing and other cloth crafts, basketry, shoe making, woodwork, metal work (includes a larger enterprise), charcoal burning, glue manufacture (a larger enterprise), photography, making plastic flowers, making beads, sign writing, the building industry;
- (c) Distribution activities (tertiary) -
trading (market trading, street trading, house trading, hawking, stores, drinking bars, chop bars, selling water, credit selling), transportation, letting accommodation;
- (d) Other services -
banking, the lottery, healing, preaching, teaching, washing and cleaning, watching, hairdressing, circumcizing, letter writing, entertaining, repairing, running errands, administering;

Illegitimate Work Activities

- (a) Services -
smuggling, drug peddling, prostitution, abortion;

(b) Transfers -

picking pockets, burgling, livestock stealing, begging;

The informal work activity engaging most people in Ayija is trading, which involves 801 individuals, of whom most (729) are women. The other categories of work are comparatively less important numerically. However, some of the enterprises in the primary production and manufacturing sectors may be significant out of proportion to the number of people involved, as they bring a considerable amount of money into the settlement. The diagrams in Appendix B show the numerical significance of the various categories. Earnings in the informal sector are often less than in the formal sector, though highly skilled work usually earns as much or more.

morality regarding work

As has been noted above, several of the activities pursued are, strictly speaking, illegal. It is, of course, difficult to quantify precisely the number of people involved in illegal activities, though an attempt has been made for some of the work types (see Appendix B). The measure of popular approval given to the various activities does not always relate to legal approval, however. The various 'service' activities as well as begging have general approval, while there is strong opposition to all forms of stealing, for which the community imposes its own penalties. Considerable specialization with regard to illegal activities is seen, so that particular skills are developed (as noted elsewhere - Birkbeck, 1978).

Smuggling is an activity which has brought a considerable amount of wealth into the settlement. It has also made available, at certain times, goods which are not generally available in Ghana, or only obtainable at increased cost. Thus it is not surprising that smuggling as an activity is not condemned. Attitudes to smugglers as individuals vary, but smugglers often appear reserved, and spend most of their time in one another's company. This is reflected in the fact that the smugglers and their helpers have become a separate clique, attending their own mosque on the outskirts of Ayija.

Prostitution appears to be declining in Ayija, because of the increasing balance in numbers of men and women in the settlement. It has never received much disapproval as an activity. As Cohen has noted of Hausa women in Nigeria (Cohen, 1969), prostitution has traditionally served as a means of gaining economic independence,

and as an alternative to marriage; prostitutes may be publicly admired for their strength of character. This lack of public disapproval is common in other parts of Africa (Clinard, 1966), though they may suffer some discrimination, e.g. from landlords charging high rents (Patel, 1970).

Cohen also notes that begging acts as a well established form of social security in Nigeria, generating incomes equivalent to those of other work categories, and catering for individuals handicapped by age, mental or physical condition. This attitude of approval prevails in Ayija, particularly among Moslems, who are often obliged by their religion to give 'alms' to the poor - for whom beggars may be seen to have a positive service function (Ruiz-Pérez, 1979). The number of professional beggars in Ayija is small, but they are not generally treated with any hostility.

Drug peddlars are not usually regarded with disapproval, as hallucinatory drugs have been used in the past by many ethnic groups. Their activities are often secretive, however, as the police force in Kumasi often takes action against this particular form of illicit activity.

Stealing is very rarely approved, though many individuals confess to being occasionally tempted to steal. Stealing which takes place outside the settlement itself gives less cause for concern, though known thieves become socially isolated in the community. Stealing within the community is a most serious affair. A cry of "thief" immediately attracts a large crowd of chasers, and a thief who is caught receives instant physical punishment, sometimes fatal. The measure of importance given to preventing theft is indicated by the fact that the community finances its own night time 'police' force, which has been in operation for the last 15 years, providing a street patrol service. Such vigilante forces have been noted in low-income settlements elsewhere in Africa (Ross, 1973).

Many activities are not themselves illegal, but some aspects of their operation put them outside the law. For instance, non-Ghanaians are prohibited from certain categories of work in Ghana, including trading (Garlick, 1971). These prohibitions are not generally observed in Ayija, and this does not seem to cause any public disapproval. Many activities are supposed to be pursued only when licensed, and in some cases (such as 'akpateshie' distilling) the extent of licensing is deliberately limited. However, the dodging

of payment of licence fees is not generally disapproved of in Ayija.

The main standard for judging the ethical standing of any work operation in Ayija appears to be according to who benefits and who suffers. This subjective judgement has been noted elsewhere (Hart, 1975). Moreover, this judgement is related to whether the population of Ayija benefits or not, rather than any wider community. Beyond this, there appear to be few ethics relating to work activities, and interpretation of the law appears irrelevant.

skills and training

Although a considerable number of workers for large firms outside Ayija are unskilled, often working as labourers, workers in the informal sector are often more dependent for their livelihood on the development of particular skills. In some activities, such as trading, an individual may start as a novice, often operating at a loss through inexperience, and gradually become better at the activity as more time is spent at it. In many other cases, skills can best be acquired by being taught, and a separate period of training may be necessary.

Education at primary, middle and secondary schools may be viewed separately from other forms of training, and this is more fully examined in the following chapter. Generally, education beyond primary level is seen as possible preparation for a white collar job, though it is widely acknowledged in Ayija that many school leavers are unable to achieve their aspirations. (An increasing realism in assessing the future prospects of school leavers is noted by Tetteh, 1973) Other forms of training are pursued because of the immediate use seen for the skill, its potential use in the future, or in some cases the trainee has little choice in the matter of being trained.

Those who undertake training because of its immediate use are often unemployed at the time of choosing the training. This was observed in the case of basketry, where the skill is taught in a comparatively short period, and an individual is quickly able to support himself. In other cases, the individual may choose to learn a trade which appears to be particularly lucrative, or where there are apparent demands for workers. This is probably the case for the bead maker's apprentices, drivers' apprentices, and those who have recently learnt watch repairing, for example.

Training as a long term investment is more apparent in the case of young people, who are often supported by older relatives. The large number of girls in seamstresses' schools are an example of this category, and such schools are often viewed as virtual finishing schools for young girls, giving them a trade which can always be put to use at some time in the future.

Training which is imposed on the individual is less usual, but there are a few notable examples in Ayija. For instance, several workers in the informal manufacturing sector had learnt their skills while in political camps in Nigeria. The skills had not been used until a period of unemployment necessitated the taking up of an enterprise.

Not all migrants come to Ayija without any skills to offer. However, it is notable from the case studies of Zebila migrants that the majority have no useful skills except farming, and those who do have particular skills (e.g. a grinding machine operator and a block maker) are unable to use their skills in the jobs they now have in Kumasi. Those that are now skilled have been taught their skills at their workplaces. In the case of the Zebila migrants, most men are in formal sector employment.

Thus it appears that the majority of workers who have skills which have necessitated periods of training have acquired them in the urban area, though there are exceptions to this. There is a wide range of methods of training, varying from on-the-job training in formal sector employment, to apprenticeships for which a fee is charged in many informal sector industries, and apprenticeships where the trainee is paid. The high proportion of workers in unskilled activities does not necessarily reflect an absence of skills, but rather the income earning opportunities of the moment. In particular, formal employees in unskilled work may have skills which they may apply to other activities in the future, depending on the economic climate.

ethnology of work activities

A tendency for certain ethnic groups to be concentrated into certain work categories has been noted elsewhere in relation to Ghana (Hill, 1970). Some evidence of this may be found in Ayija.

Comparing southerners and northerners in the formal sector, some differences are apparent. Southerners are proportionately better represented among university employees, and among skilled workers in

all types of formal sector work. Northerners are comparatively better represented among those workers whose employment is at some distance from Ayija, particularly in the timber industry. However, the differences between northerners and southerners are less evident in relation to the informal sector, as both groups appear to have similar proportions of skilled workers. This may be explained by the greater difficulty that northerners have in securing formal sector employment, because of their lack of personal contacts, and some prejudice on the part of employers. They may also have less familiarity with urban skills, though they are well represented among drivers in the formal sector.

In the informal sector, some occupations attract particular tribal groups because of personal contacts, and others because of traditional skills. Thus, women who fry 'garri' (grated fermented cassava) are mainly Ewe, as garri is traditionally an Ewe food. Northern women extract palm nut oil and palm kernel oil, using skills they acquired in the north in relation to shea butter processing. Hausa men and women trade in kola using a traditional network of Hausa contacts. Ewe men often train as carpenters, as the Ewe have a reputation as good carpenters, so they are assured of success in this occupation (about a third of all Ghanaian carpenters being Ewe - Hill, 1970). Some Ashanti practise traditional crafts such as kente weaving and adinkra printing, which are particular expressions of their own culture.

Despite the attraction of particular occupations dominated by a potential worker's own tribe, the various occupations do not seem to be exclusive. Ethnic pride might deter an individual from practising a craft which traditionally 'belonged' to another tribe, but it is doubtful whether other workers in the industry, or potential customers, would prevent him from doing so. The exception might be with certain groups of traders who monopolize a commodity and protect their market (Lawson, 1967), and the Fanti women fish traders in Ayija might be an example of this.

growth of enterprises

Particular attention is here given to the informal sector, as most individuals become dependent on this sector at some time in their working lives, and the welfare derived from informal occupations is largely reliant on the settlement's own material and social

resources. The individual has some opportunity to improve his own lot without dependence on external resources, through the informal sector. The extent to which he may be successful in doing so depends on his initiative, skills, support from individuals around him, and a measure of luck.

Detailed study of the particular enterprises found in Ayija reveals some to be relatively stable, some new businesses forming, some reaching a point where they might grow to become large firms, and some declining in prosperity. The rapidity with which many of these enterprises rise and fall is remarkable, and considerable changes took place during the study period, and subsequently. (Drastic fluctuations in the fortunes of informal sector workers are well described elsewhere, with reference to Indonesia - Jellinek, 1976 and 1977.)

A characteristic of many one-man enterprises is a lack of specialization, both in the type of activity and the nature of products. Thus a metal worker in Ayija spends much of his time seeking out raw materials (such as second hand bandsaws for making tools) and marketing his products, and he also produces a wide range of implements. This provides some security and stability for the enterprise : the individual is relatively independent of suppliers and marketing networks, and production is flexible to meet the needs of a changing market. However, such lack of specialization places limits on the possible growth of the enterprise. This metal worker is able to hire assistants as appropriate, but it is doubtful if he could employ regular workers if he were to retain control of all aspects of the business.

To some extent, most enterprises are adversely affected by instability of supply and marketing networks, which is a consistent feature of the Ghanaian economy. It is perhaps notable that the most successful business in Ayija - the Spider Glue factory - had least problem in this regard, as it depended on raw materials which were everywhere available (cassava flour, plantain peel), and it produced for a guaranteed market through the State Publishing Corporation. Despite these advantages, however, the firm proved vulnerable in the deteriorating economic climate post-1975. Following some bad publicity about the product itself, production ceased completely.

Other enterprises, whatever the scale, can be badly hit by shortages of raw materials or gluts on the market. When aluminium

scrap cannot be obtained from Tema, the manufacture of cooking pots (an enterprise involving nine people) ceases. The women who extract oil from palm nuts and palm kernels may spend as long in seeking out supplies as they do in the extraction and sales, due to the diversion of the nuts to the export market. The bag maker and many other new manufacturers spend much of their time trying to sell their products, and their productivity could be increased several times if there were an established market. Where a market has been found it may be unstable, as with the case of the plastic flower making enterprise, where the market is reaching saturation point.

Some individuals are able to establish healthy enterprises through careful planning and saving over a considerable period. The main sand contractor in Ayija provides an example. He started out as a labourer, digging sand for a contractor in Bawku about 20 years ago. Since then, he worked as a lorry driver, earning about ₦30 per month, and putting aside ₦10 per month towards setting up his own business. When he had saved ₦200, and after migrating to Ayija, he investigated the area for sand digging possibilities, and bought a licence about ten years ago. He built up his business by offering credit to customers and so obtaining regular orders, and he was able to buy his own lorry (at a cost of ₦12,000) in 1973. The lorry is very old, and needs constant repair, so it is likely that if he did not have some skill as a mechanic this would not have been a viable proposition. Owning a lorry now gives him a great advantage over the other sand contractors in the area, who depend mainly on customers providing their own transport. He is now able to pay three clansmen as permanent assistants, and a varying number of labourers are paid piece work for digging the sand (usually a minimum of six, with up to 20 at weekends). This business was still prospering in 1979, though the contractor himself was combining daytime work with employment as a night watchman - perhaps to give himself security in case of falling demand.

This carefully planned growth may be contrasted with other, no less successful, enterprises where accident or luck appear to have played a part. The most successful local farmer went into business after a Moslem fortune teller told him to work on the land. He now farms about 12 hectares, hires labourers all year round, owns a large herd of cattle, has many wives, and has built several houses and a mosque with the proceeds of his farming, which are

estimated to be about £5,000 per year as cash, plus income as food-stuffs for his large family. The farm appears to be a continuing success in 1979, and the increasing interest in farming which is evident in the settlement may be due in part to this farmer's reputation and example.

The problem of management has been noted as an obstacle to the growth of African enterprises (Marris and Somerset, 1971), and this may be relevant in Ayija. The transition from a one-man enterprise to a firm using several workers is a difficult one, as it involves placing trust in those who have less stake in the business. A strong preference for employing relatives or close friends is apparent, as they may have some share in the stake, directly or indirectly. For casual workers, piece work rates are often used to give incentives. Nevertheless, there are many stories of enterprises that have failed due to lack of responsibility on the part of the employees. Some of these relate to the transport business, where vehicle owners who have provided capital but know little about driving or mechanics are vulnerable to unscrupulous drivers or repairers. This has been noted elsewhere (Hart, 1969).

If the various problems of materials supply, markets and management can be solved, it is sometimes necessary for some external assistance to be sought before a business can expand significantly. The organizations appropriate for giving such assistance to enterprises in Ayija are the Management Development and Productivity Institute (MDPI) which can give business loans and advice on marketing and management, and the Technology Consultancy Centre of the University (TCC), which can give technical assistance.

A business which had benefited considerably from both of these organizations was the Spider Glue Factory. An enterprise which sought this support with less success, in order to 'take off' to larger scale production, was the soap making business.

The experience of the soap maker illustrates some of the difficulties in growing from backyard-scale operations to a factory-size concern. The problem of supply of raw materials has been overcome by adapting the production technique to the types of oil available, notably by using shea butter in place of palm oil. Marketing is never difficult, as there are frequent shortages of soap on the market in Ghana, but it is relatively time-consuming. To alleviate this, the soap maker applied to register a trademark, so that he

could then supply large-scale retailers. This registration proved difficult, partly because problems were encountered with obtaining the necessary Tax Clearance Certificate, and partly because of unfamiliarity with the system.

To increase the scale of operation, a loan was applied for, to purchase a vehicle for fetching raw materials and delivering end products, and for building a small factory. Despite the evident success of the small-scale operations, such assistance was not forthcoming, however. A request was made to the TCC, but the Centre subsequently became involved in soap making on its own behalf, with no benefit being gained by the soapmaker. It is interesting that the TCC soap plant appears comparatively unsuccessful, despite the injection of capital and technology. The tank-scale operations are inflexible to changing raw materials supplies, and the product appears inferior so that marketing difficulties are encountered, and there are also managerial problems. Whether the soap maker could have made the transition to factory-scale operations is uncertain, though by 1975 his turnover was rising rapidly, with monthly profits rising from £30 per month to an estimated £300 per month in the space of a year. It seems, however, that the soap maker attempted to extend his investment too rapidly, buying land for his proposed factory, and borrowing money to increase the scale of his production from private sources. By 1979 he had become bankrupt, and had to move to Accra to escape his creditors. His wife remained in Ayija, successfully continuing with the soap manufacture on a modest scale.

use of capital

In assessing economic welfare in Ayija, it is not sufficient merely to assess the capacity for earning. Material welfare is also affected by the possibilities for investment of earnings, and the potential for borrowing funds to overcome temporary shortages.

In a developing country, it is to be expected that there is a shortage of capital. Credit facilities from banks are generally not extended to low-income individuals, and this particularly reduces the possibilities for buying or building houses. Temporary shortfalls of income over expenditure may sometimes be overcome by arranging an advance of salary, pawning possessions, or more usually obtaining a loan from an acquaintance. Goods may also be bought on credit if the funds necessary are not immediately available. In both of

the latter cases, interest of 30-50% per month may be payable, so that lending money becomes a profitable use of any surplus funds, so long as the risks of borrowers defaulting can be minimized.

In a situation where capital is so scarce, and so valuable, it is surprising to find that savings do not generally attract interest. Some wage earners have savings accounts with the bank or post office, but these appear to be in a minority. Informal sector workers find formal banking inappropriate to their requirements, and some actually pay individuals to save for them. The 'susu' men who collect regularly from women traders charge a fee equivalent to 3% per month, and those individuals taking care of the funds from an 'esusu' rotating savings group make a similar charge. Such rotating savings groups appear widespread in developing countries (Green, 1972; Lomnitz, 1977; Jellinek, 1978), though it is not known whether these also operate on a principle of 'negative interest'. Other means of saving are investment in material goods - bulk foodstuffs, building blocks, livestock, jewelry, etc. Again, these methods of saving do not always yield positive interest, and the fact that scarce capital is frozen in this way is unfortunate for the settlement's economy (King, 1977).

The situation in Ayija, poor though the investment opportunities are, appears considerably better than in rural areas such as Zebila. There, any surpluses available after the harvest are sold, when grain prices are at their seasonal lowest, and the money is invested in livestock, at a time when livestock prices are at their highest. Any shortages experienced at the leanest time of year before the harvest may only be overcome by selling livestock, at a time when the price is low, and buying grain when the price is at its peak. The price fluctuations are produced by everyone going through the same cycle of surplus and shortage simultaneously, with no opportunity for alternative action. Considerable investment potential is wasted in the process. Though less marked, similar wastages are seen in Ayija.

taxation and other transfers

Because of the nature of informal sector activities, the collection of taxes on a fair basis is very difficult. Employees in the formal sector pay an income tax to the central government, of about 75 pesewas per month from a monthly wage of ₤40. In addition, basic rates of ₤1.50 per adult male and 80 pesewas per adult female are

levied (1974) by Kumasi City Council. In theory, other workers should pay income tax too, but since most work for themselves and keep no accounts, taxation on the usual income scale is not possible. In practice, small-scale businessmen are usually only called on to pay tax if they are involved in insurance claims, loan applications, land registration or applications for state-subsidized housing. Then the amount charged is likely to be negotiated, without reference to set guidelines.

Apart from the poll tax and income tax, levies are also made in the form of property rates, licences and other fees. As receives comment later, property rates affect only the owners of houses, and only a few of these regularly make the payment demanded. Market rates are collected from traders at the market, with a charge of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ pesewas (on average) based on the produce on sale. Some traders escape payment by being absent when the collector calls, and collectors are given target amounts to be collected each day : ₵5-6 for Ayija market, reduced to ₵3 in bad weather.

Hawkers, street traders, and other informal sector workers pay a monthly, quarterly or yearly fee. Collections are made at the appropriate intervals, with periodic checks to discover licence evaders. Unlicensed workers risk having their goods confiscated. The payments called for vary from ₵1.50 per quarter for hawkers (raised to ₵3 mid-1974), to ₵5 per month for mill owners, to give examples. The scale of charges is complex, relating to specific categories of worker, and most fees were at least doubled in 1974, though some increases were not immediately put into effect (Commissioner for Local Government, 1974). The system of classification is poorly adapted to a situation where many individuals may fall into more than one category (and may therefore be charged more than one fee), and where people change frequently from one occupation to another, or practise more than one trade. The system is also open to abuse, as there is little control over the activities of the collectors.

Other charges levied by the District Council relate to emptying private toilets, licensing activities such as funerals, advertising and public drumming, and charging for burials.

The transfers taking place into and out of the settlement also affect the material welfare of the inhabitants. Pensions are paid to formal sector employees at the age of 55, either as a lump sum

or a regular payment, or both. A typical pension might be ₦1,000 plus ₦20 per month. Many individuals return to the rural areas on retirement, but there are an estimated 25 pensioners who have remained in Ayija, most of them ex-policemen or railway workers. A complication in obtaining a pension is that many individuals have no evidence of when they were born, and are therefore unable to prove eligibility, and others have deliberately underestimated their ages in the past in order to obtain work.

Transfers between the rural areas and Ayija are common, but appear to be more-or-less reciprocal (as noted, for instance, by Rempel and Lobdell, 1978), contrary to what has been assumed elsewhere (e.g. Abloh, 1969). This may reflect the particular timing of the survey, in a period when the cost of living in the city has begun to outweigh the advantages, with rising prices for foodstuffs and increased rural incomes. Transfers from the rural areas are usually in the form of goods, such as rice, millet, eggs, groundnuts, and vegetables. Transfers from the city include cloth, money, furniture and machinery (the latter two categories often intended for the sender's own eventual use). Often traders travelling to the rural areas on business act as carriers between relatives in both directions. Of the sample of ten migrants from Zebila, four were not involved in sending or receiving remittances, two sent money to Zebila but received nothing in return, and the rest were involved in reciprocal arrangements.

the total economy

The flow of money through Ayija has been estimated from the survey data, though exact totals should be regarded as approximations, indicative of scale rather than exact amounts. This is shown in fig. 9.4.

It is apparent that the inflow of money from formal employment generates a substantial amount of service industry, which acts as a redistribution system for formal incomes. Probably the work activities which bring money into the settlement, i.e. formal sector jobs, and some informal primary and manufacturing activity as well as informal service work outside Ayija, create the demand for at least as many service workers in the settlement itself. However, it must be noted that workers in the latter sector are often lower earners, often working for shorter hours than the formal sector workers and informal sector manufacturers.

The Flow of Money through Ayija (figures indicate monthly amounts)

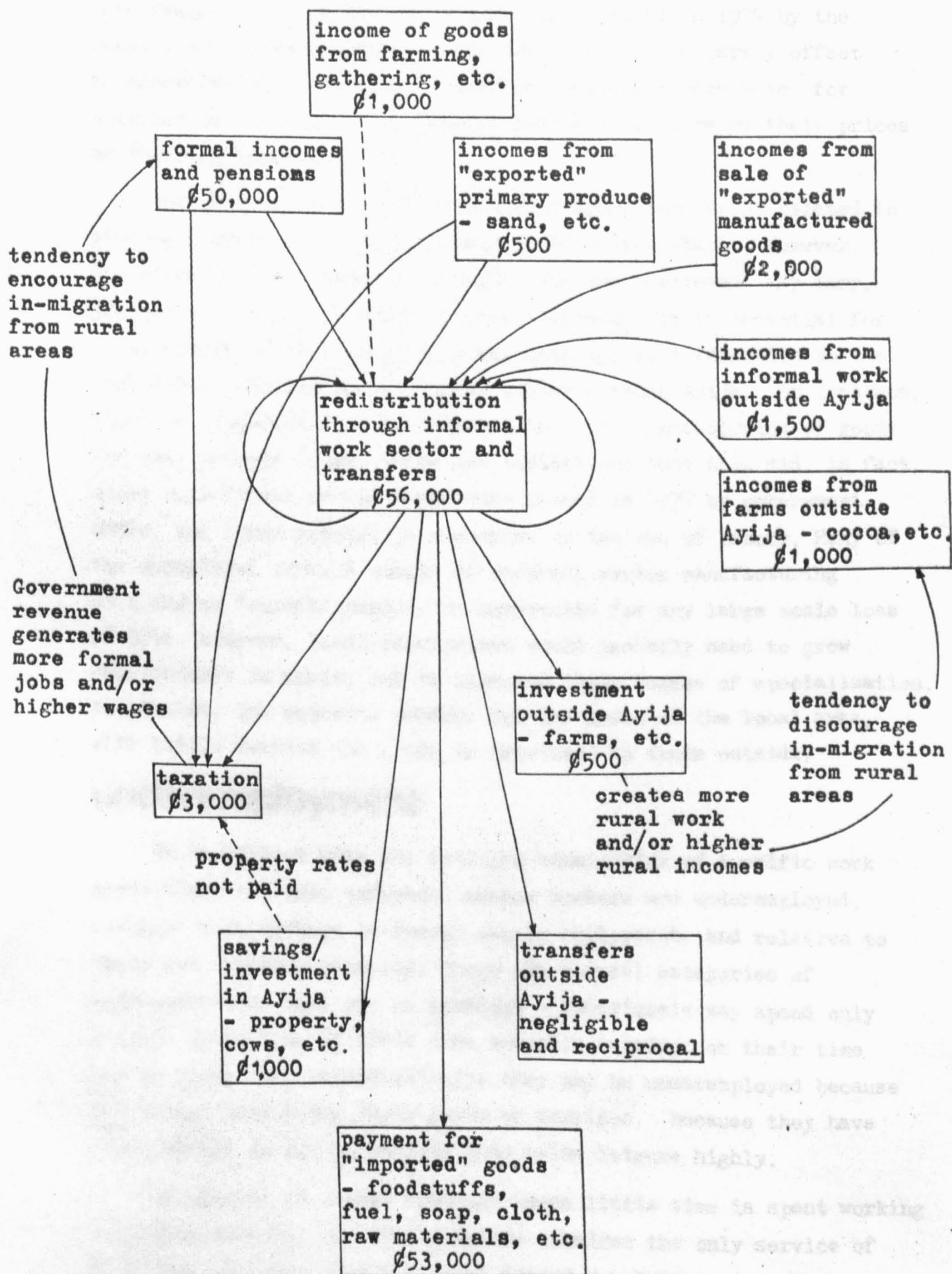


Figure 9.4

Increases in the flow of money into the settlement through formal sector wage increases are likely to raise the incomes of those in the service sector as well as the formal sector employees. In this respect, the increased licence fees imposed in 1974 by the Council on informal sector workers are likely to be partly offset by increased wages to Council workers, producing more money for circulation in Ayija. Thus traders may be able to raise their prices or increase turnovers, etc.

The proportion of workers bringing money into Ayija related to service workers in Ayija is likely to be fairly stable. However, the means by which money is brought into the settlement may vary. For the settlement to retain a viable economy, it is essential for it to retain workers bringing money into Ayija. A reduction in the work force employed in the formal sector outside Ayija, for instance, might be compensated by an increase in local manufacturing of goods for sale outside Ayija. There are indications that this did, in fact, occur when formal sector wages were raised in 1974 by government order, and firms started to economize on the use of labour. Many of the unemployed workers turned to informal sector manufacturing work for an 'export' market. To compensate for any large scale loss of jobs, however, local enterprises would probably need to grow considerably in scale, and to increase their degree of specialization. At present, the majority produce for the needs of the local area, with little surplus (in goods or services) to trade outside.

underemployment

It is evident from the detailed examination of specific work activities that many informal sector workers are underemployed, compared with workers in formal sector employment, and relative to their own economic capacity. There are several categories of underemployment that can be examined : individuals may spend only a small proportion of their time actually working, or their time may be spent very unproductively; they may be underemployed because of lack of demand for their goods or services, because they have other things to do, or because they value leisure highly.

An example of a work category where little time is spent working is letter writing. One letter writer provides the only service of this type in Ayija, but the total demand for letters is only about ten per week. Since the demand is largely determined by circumstances

beyond the influence of the letter writer, there is little he can do to stimulate the market. However, he is in a position of monopolizing the service, and so is able to ensure that he earns sufficient from ten letters per week to support himself.

A different kind of underemployment may be illustrated by many traders. Some of these are underemployed in relation to the amount of time actually spent working, but even the time spent trading may be unproductive. The competition from other traders is limiting, so that many local traders deal in very small quantities of goods. Transport charges are relatively high for these quantities, and the eventual profits may be small at best. Most of the trader's time may be spent waiting for customers, while at the same time socializing with other traders and with passers by. This aspect of trading suggests a combination with leisure. The large number of traders dealing in moderate quantities of various bulk-bought goods, and then selling to one another, is also suggestive of 'co-operative shopping' rather than commerce. Some traders are obviously not operating at this unproductive scale, but a majority would seem to be underemployed to some extent.

Some of the women workers in Ayija appear to limit their working hours so that they are able to carry out other activities, such as housework and child-minding. This may be viewed as underemployment through choice. Many informal sector activities are well adapted to the needs of working women, as working hours can be precisely adjusted to suit particular routines. Some activities, such as 'pito' brewing and 'garri' frying, may be carried out intermittently, occupying only a few days at a time. Other activities, particularly trading, may occupy only a few hours every day.

It is difficult to estimate which individuals are underemployed due to the high value placed on leisure, i.e. again through choice. In a situation where sufficient income can be gained from limited work activity, most individuals enjoy their leisure, but whether they would have ideally preferred to extend their work activities is impossible to determine. Some cocoa farmers seem very content with the seasonal distribution of their work activity, allowing for long periods of leisure time. The comparatively high incomes of cocoa farmers gives considerable security for this way of life. However, some still engage in work activity out of season, to supplement their incomes.

Overall, though, it seems that the demand for work in Ayija exceeds the supply of opportunities. Any form of casual work attracts candidates - such as labouring, for instance. Some paid apprenticeships may be taken up in lieu of work opportunities, to provide at least some income. Most demands in the settlement are adequately met, due to the rapid establishment of enterprises whenever demand is apparent. The exceptions are those demands which can only be met with special skills or resources which are scarce in the settlement.

The residents of Ayija survive, despite the competition for work opportunities. This suggests, in a situation where state-provided payments are not available (except in the case of pensions) that everyone is able either to gain sufficient income to support himself, or to find someone else willing to support him. Everyone is a worker or a dependant, or sometimes a combination of the two. The concept of 'unemployment' (as opposed to 'underemployment') does not seem appropriate in this context. This is reinforced by the fact that work opportunities are rarely sought out in a deliberate way, so that those who are 'in search of work' (Ghana Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1970) would be hard to identify. Formal sector work may be found through personal contacts or using personal influence, or informal sector activity may be commenced as an alternative.

The large amount of underemployment in the settlement is well evident, however. This leaves most of the residents with a considerable amount of time to spend on activities other than work. Some of these non-work activities are examine in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TEN

NON-WORK ACTIVITIES

This chapter examines certain important aspects of life in Ayija, relating to activities not included under the category of 'work'. These are education, religion and entertainment. Participation in education is an activity often undertaken with future economic gain in mind, but it does not bring immediate rewards. Religious activities are often pursued out of a sense of obligation, perhaps motivated by a desire for indirect rewards in this life or the next. Only activities relating to entertainment may be regarded wholly as 'leisure' time pursuits.

The emphasis in this chapter is on the provision of opportunities to the individual, through available amenities rather than through personal choice. As has been explained, the migrant settlement contains a wide variety of lifestyles, reflecting diversity of cultural background, and much scope for individual choice to cater for personal preference. It would be possible to examine leisure time pursuits through household activity, and involvement in various social groups, but the wide range of lifestyles creates difficulties. It is thought to be more useful to concentrate the present study on those aspects of lifestyle which are limited and regulated by the opportunities available, rather than those which seem to be largely controlled by the individual himself.

Some activities have already been described briefly in the previous chapter, as part of the examination of workers in various categories of services. The appendix provides further details of the service activities and the workers involved. The present chapter is concerned with the particular activities described from the point of view of the consumer, though there is obviously some overlap in the presentation of data.

education

The educational facilities for children living in Ayija consist of government-run schools, privately run institutions, and religious (Moslem) schools.

(i) Government-run schools :

The government-run school situated north-east of Ayija Zongo caters for 406 children, with nine teachers (including the headmaster), at Primary level. There are also 98 children with two teachers at Middle level (for an explanation of the various grades and levels in Ghanaian education, see French and Boyd, 1971). The buildings are inadequate for these numbers, so that a 'shift' system has to operate, with two shifts per day. Even with this doubling up, many children have to be turned away from the school, mainly because of the lack of space, although other reasons are usually cited : inability to produce a birth certificate, or having an Arabic-influenced tendency to write from right to left, are thought to be adequate grounds for refusal. By 1979 the overcrowding in the school appears to have worsened, with about 150 children per class, and a temporary structure having been built as an extension, using contributions from Ayija residents.

The teachers are paid by the local authority, but some public income is gained from school fees, which range from ₵3.20 to ₵5.30 per child per year, depending on the class reached, i.e. a total of about ₵2,000 per year. Only twelve of the children come from outside Ayija, and two of the teachers are themselves resident in Ayija. The school seems to have been built specifically to serve Ayija's needs, but without any realistic appraisal of the extent of these needs. It is likely that the lack of official information on the size of the settlement has contributed to an underestimation of what these needs are.

From data obtained through the small sample of houses for the activities study, it appears that more than half of the schoolchildren in Ayija attend government schools outside Ayija itself - at Weweso, Boadi, Asakore-Mampong, the University Primary and Middle schools, and others. A few older children go into Kumasi to attend Middle or Secondary schools, though the numbers are very small.

The inadequate provision of government schools in Ayija is made more striking by comparing the situation with that found in Zebila, the village in north-east Ghana. Zebila, with its population of about 1,000 residents, has a Primary School run by ten teachers for about 250 children, and a Middle School run by four teachers for about 100 children. The teacher-pupil ratio of about 1:25 is about double that found in Ayija. Children are taken from a radius of about three miles, and nearby villages are similarly well provided with

schools. For Secondary education, Zebila children have to attend school in Bolgatanga or Bawku, but good boarding facilities are available.

Even with a particularly fertile population, with low life expectancy, it might seem surprising that a population of about 1,000 could support a school for 350 children. However, it is evident from the studies of Ayija and Zebila that a large number of migrants in the urban areas send their children back to the villages to go to school, to be looked after by relatives. Thus the 350 schoolchildren might be derived from a total population of 2,000 or more.

There are several reasons for this return of children to the villages, which has been noted in other studies (Remi-Clignet, 1967; Hart, 1969). First, it is often economically advantageous for adults to live as migrants without the burden of dependants : it allows them to maximize their urban wages (since husband and wife may devote more time to making a living) and it is cheaper to support children in the rural areas (because of cheaper or free food, lodgings, etc.). Also it safeguards against detribalization of the children in the urban area, which migrant parents may fear (Hart, 1969). The return of children to the rural areas is not only the result of selfishness on the part of the parents, however : there are distinct benefits perceived for the children. The quality and availability of schooling is often better in the villages, due not only to the higher teacher-pupil ratio, but also to a historical tradition of high educational standards (particularly in the north of Ghana) originating in the mission schools. These rural advantages contrast with some other parts of West Africa, where despite heavy government investment, rural education is seen as vastly inferior to that provided by urban schools (Gregory, 1974), and in parts of Ghana the lack of commitment of teachers in rural areas has sometimes been criticized (Roberts, 1975). Access to the rural schools is less restricted than in Ayija, because of the more generous provision of school places, giving added advantages. There is also the view that the city is not a good environment for children to be in, because of the lack of space, and comparative lack of security.

There is some evidence of children from rural families being sent to lodge in Ayija, while attending schools in or near Kumasi. This phenomenon relates particularly to Secondary or Tertiary students,

but the numbers involved are small. There seems no doubt that the predominant movement for educational purposes is from the urban area back to the rural areas, even for Secondary education. It is only at Tertiary level that the urban centres in the south of Ghana offer distinct advantages.

Precise figures for the numbers of Ayija children in Secondary and Tertiary education are not available. It is apparent, however, that access to these levels of education is even more restricted than for the Primary and Middle levels. The fees for Secondary education are particularly high, limiting opportunities for the children of poorer families. A regional and class bias in the intake of University students is probably illustrative of the general bias in all types of Secondary and Tertiary education (O'Connell and Beckett, 1975).

(ii) Private schools :

It is difficult to determine the exact number of children who go to school. Parents are much more likely to say "yes" than "no" if asked whether their children are schoolgoers. In the full survey of houses, parents claimed that about half the number of resident children between five and fifteen years of age attended school, and the proportion is higher for boys than for girls. A considerable number of those over fifteen pursued studies of some sort. Thus a 'market' of about 1,500 children exists in Ayija, for whom teaching services are provided.

The inadequate provision of places in state schools has left a gap which is partially filled by private schools, which profit from the high level of demand. Some of these schools operate in nearby suburbs, but one is run in Ayija itself : the "English Private School". Children who have been turned away from the state school are often sent there, in the hope that after a few years, admittance to the state school might be possible.

The English Private School has a staff of three pupil teachers (i.e. unqualified), two of whom are resident in Ayija. The owner of the school, who lives adjacent to it, also does some teaching. Pupils number 120, ranging from six to 14 years of age, and almost all coming from Ayija. Tuition is given for a total of six hours a day, with the children arranged in four groups, according to age and standard achieved. The fees are high, compared with government schools,

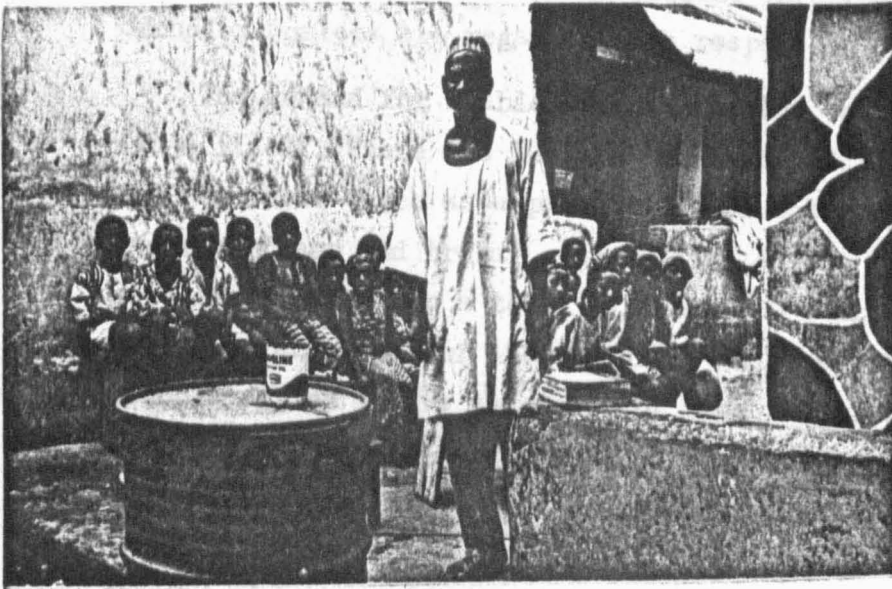
at 50 pesewas per month per child. Yet some parents claim that it is easier to raise this amount every month than to have to save ₵4 or so for a yearly payment to the government school, even though the total payment is higher. The system of teaching is dictated by the owner of the school, and there is no connection with other educational bodies. The school seems to have some success in giving pupils sufficient education to gain admittance to the state schools - students who have completed Class Four in the private school often enter at Class Five level.

More vocational education is given through apprenticeships and vocational schools. As explained previously, most apprentices in Ayija appear to receive some monetary reward for their labour, so their activities may be considered as 'work'. A particular type of vocational school is found in Ayija where the students do not receive payment, but rather pay for their tuition : this concerns the teaching of sewing to young girls. Two schools operate in Ayija, each with about ten pupils. Trainees might pay ₵2 per month for a course lasting up to two years, so that this sort of training is often only possible for children of relatively affluent families. The training itself may be sought as something of an investment, providing a skill which may be used in the future if economic circumstances warrant it; however, not all the girls intend to be seamstresses, and some advantage is seen in possessing the skill for purely domestic use (Peil, 1977).

The accommodation provided by the teacher is a room with verandah access, several tables and chairs, and pattern books. Pupils provide old cement paper bags for sewing and pattern cutting practice, together with pins, needles, thread and scissors. More advanced students may use real cloth to make clothes for themselves or for customers.

(iii) Religious schools :

Parents appear to view education at the government and private schools as vocation-oriented, equipping their children with skills that may be used when they eventually seek employment. English and Mathematics are important subjects on the curriculum. Some parents choose the less vocation-oriented 'Arabic' schools for their children, where the emphasis is on religious education. While some of the demand for these religious schools may be explained by the shortage of other forms of educational establishments, it is likely that for some, this form of education is preferable in terms of their



Arabic schools in Ayija

religion

Figure 10.1

The fact that many Ayija migrants find their traditional religious beliefs ill-adapted for urban life adds to their uncertainty in life, and the fluid pattern of their lifestyles. Individuals tend to seek alternative value systems, and they often find that a change in religious affiliation assists their adaptation.

own aspirations and values (Schildkrout, 1975). Even many southerners and non-Moslem parents regard this form of education as valuable, because of the discipline involved, and because orthodox Moslems are regarded with respect in the urban community.

The demand for Arabic education seems to be satisfied within Ayija itself. There are 14 Ayija residents fully engaged in teaching, and four more teach as a part-time work activity, representing a variety of age and tribal groups. Five Arabic schools in the settlement cater for a total of about 400 children, the largest having an enrolment of 120 children, and the smallest 30. These schools employ twelve teachers, of whom two live outside Ayija. Fees are between 10 and 30 pesewas per child per month. As well as the Arabic schools, various individuals take private classes in their homes or in the streets; it is not possible to accurately estimate how many children receive tuition in this way, but it is likely to be in the region of 100.

All Arabic tuition comes ultimately under the directorship of one man, who is the elected administrative head of the Moslem community in Ayija. Arabic education, particularly in the schools, is subsidized by the rich members of Ayija's Moslem community, who often run the schools personally, and derive prestige from doing so. The education provided consists mainly of studying the Koran and learning Arabic. It is likely that some social education is obtained as well, simply by membership of a disciplined group. Dancing may also be taught, based on Hausa tradition rather than Middle Eastern culture.

The vocational opportunities arising out of an Arabic education are virtually limited to teaching in Arabic schools. But education is not clearly separated from religious practice at the schools, and it seems to be valued for this reason. The children are given a strong moral code which is well adapted for urban life.

religion

The fact that many Ayija migrants find their traditional religious beliefs ill-adapted for urban life adds to their uncertainty in life, and the fluid pattern of their lifestyles. Individuals tend to seek alternative value systems, and they often find that a change in religious affiliation assists their adaptation.

There are many types of traditional religion, originating in the rural areas. Two forms of traditional belief maintained to varying extent in Ayija are the Ashanti beliefs as practised by the fetish priests, and the earth cult of northeastern Ghana as promoted by the soothsayers. There is generally a movement from these traditional religions to the more 'modern' faiths of Christianity and Islam, as part of urban adaptation, though some villagers may have already been converted before their migration. Northerners are more inclined to become Moslem, and southerners are more often converted to Christianity, but alternative patterns of adaptation (northerners becoming Christians, southerners becoming Moslems) are not uncommon. Often the traditional religious beliefs are maintained in conjunction with the new creeds, sometimes becoming virtually assimilated into them (Goody, 1975). There is little conflict between the various religious groups, and they may all be perceived as mutually compatible. This is shown particularly by the way in which individuals may 'shop around' for advice on spiritual matters from religious practitioners of any and all faiths.

(i) Ashanti traditions :

Two fetish priests practise in Ayija. These are 'okomfo', i.e. men who are possessed by and devoted to particular 'abosom' or capricious lesser gods (McLeod, 1975). Their devotion involves various secret practices, some of which take place in selected areas such as the fetish grove - a patch of dense vegetation. The priest is able to administer his religion by means of various charms and medicines, and he may also seek to regulate the activities of his followers through taboos and commandments. As the allegiance to a particular god depends on the inclination of both priest and the spirit, the situation is capable of considerable change. Different priests possessed by various gods may also compete for followers. Thus specific cults may be subject to dramatic fluctuations in popularity.

The main fetish priest in Ayija has a particularly fearsome reputation, and his prestige is considerable as he has links with the Asantehene's household. He is greatly sought after for consultations, but he is also regarded with awe, and he does much to maintain the mystique that surrounds him. He has his own bodyguard, and a spokesman (so that he may avoid speaking directly to clients). He makes frequent sacrifices, and does little to quash the horrific rumours that human sacrifices are sometimes made.

As well as providing medicines and charms to cure physical ailments, the fetish priest provides consultation over spiritual matters. Sometimes customers want magic performed to enable them to get a job, find a wife, and so on. Sometimes they have more sinister motives for seeking the priest's help - to take vengeance on someone, or even to get rid of a rival. There is also a great deal of consultation over witchcraft.

It has been suggested that belief in witchcraft has increased since the introduction of a money economy in Ghana (Debrunner, 1959) and that when economic rationale cannot be understood, cause and effect are explained by magic generally ('juju'). There is some evidence that witchcraft beliefs are not significantly diminished by education (Fiawoo in Little, 1970) and that they may be resilient in the urban environment. In Ayija, there are stories of men who got rich by trading their children with witches, acquiring such tools as magic snakes that vomit money during the night. Even the business success of some traders is attributed to magic, with their wristwatches having special properties. Success in education may be perceived in similar terms, and there are stories of young men being fed the brains of their brothers and becoming bright enough to go to university. Fear of witches (swirling bright lights) at night, and belief that witches are responsible for many deaths, are of long standing with most ethnic groups. The belief in money- and education-witchcraft appears to be of more recent origin, however, produced by feelings of insecurity.

Fear of witches and spirits affects people's lives in various ways. The Ashanti prefer to keep the settlement clear of weeds, as it is believed that bushes harbour evil spirits. They may also avoid going out at night, in case witches are around. If a death occurs, evil forces rather than natural causes may be blamed. Women may be particularly careful to avoid any activities which may lead to suspicions of witchcraft, or they may experience feelings of self-doubt or guilt in case they have come under evil influence (Field, 1960).

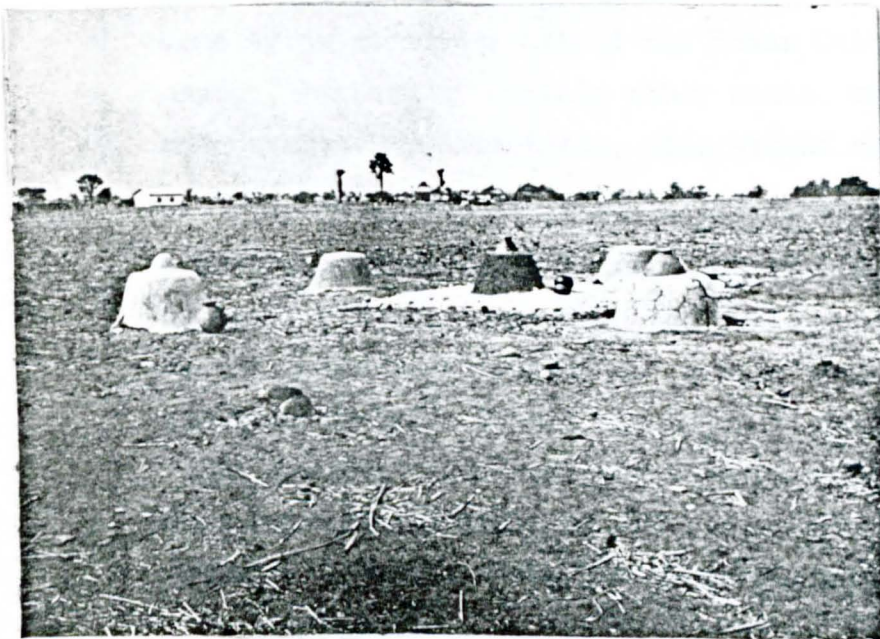
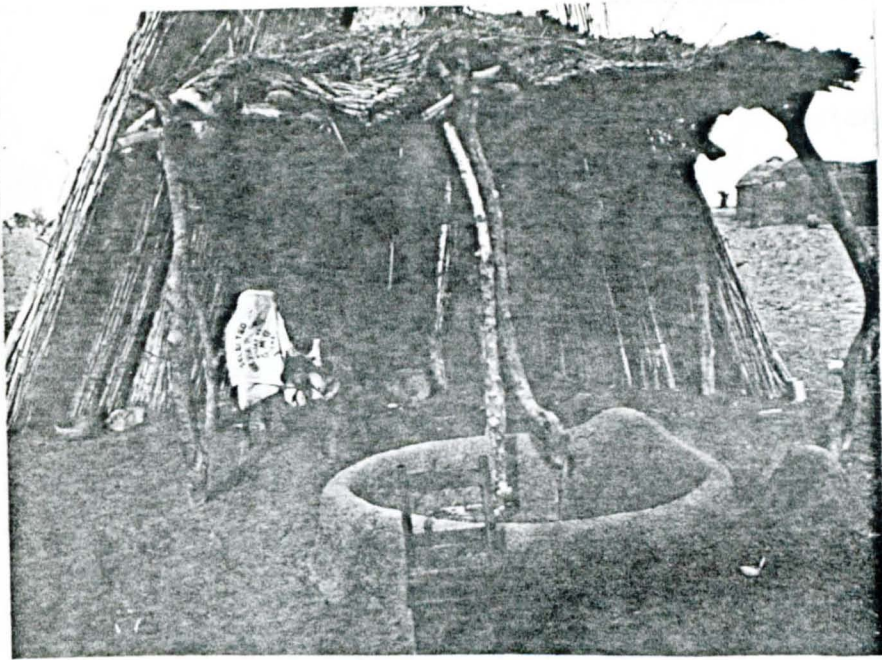
Veneration of the ancestors is an important ingredient of Ashanti traditional beliefs, but this seems to be related to physical location. Thus the original Ashanti villagers may be able to worship their ancestors effectively in Ayija, since this is their physical home. Other Ashantis may restrict such practices to occasions when they return to their villages of origin.

(ii) The northerners' earth cult :

Many of the tribes of north-eastern Ghana have broadly similar traditional beliefs (Prussin, 1969), and the religion of the Kusasi in Zebila may be seen as typical in many ways. An earth priest is appointed as 'tendana' or custodian of the land, which is the ultimate ancestor. A chief was not appointed as administrator over the village until colonial times (Rattray, 1932). The tendana safeguards the land from exploitation, and makes decisions with reference to the needs of the land. The chief is the administrator of the people, answerable to his superiors (e.g. the paramount chief) rather than to the ancestors. In Zebila, where the two systems of administration have not been democratically approved, the conflicts between religious and secular leadership is often open and hostile.

According to traditional beliefs, the original ancestors of Zebila people came out of the ground. This myth is similar to the traditional origins of other earth cult groups, and it probably functions to establish territorial rights. The belief that the land produced one's ancestors is likely to lead to a close identification with the settlement, assisting resistance to invasion, and possibly having implications for migration. Shrines to the earth spirits are constructed outside every dwelling, and shrines to the ancestors become integral parts of the compound and its surroundings, with sacrifices at these shrines being made regularly. The tendana provides guidance on the appropriate rites. On death, the body is ceremonially returned to the land.

Since much of the traditional religion is tied to its physical origin, migrants to the city are unable to maintain observance. There are no tendana in the urban area to guide them. The religious men who are found in the city are soothsayers, who lack the authority of the tendana, though they have certain magic powers. Shrines are not constructed by the migrants in Ayija, though some individuals keep with them the 'portable' shrines of their immediate ancestors that may be contained in metal objects. The fact that there are strong spiritual ties with the home village becomes evident on the death of a migrant, when the dead person's clothes are dispatched back to Zebila for ceremonial burial. Shrines are then made to the dead man's spirit, in Zebila itself.



the northerners' earth cult

- compound shrines
- field graves
- a funeral ceremony



Figure 10.2

The soothsayers that operate in Ayija are on friendly terms with the migrants who share their religion, but they draw customers from other cultural groups as well. The Ashanti, particularly, seem to regard the 'juju' of northerners with especial respect. Some southerners appear to believe that the north is free of witchcraft, due to the strong magic powers of the northern priests (McLeod, 1975) - though in fact witchcraft beliefs are common in the north as well as the south. The northerner priests are able to exploit this misconception of their powers.

(iii) Christianity :

There are four churches in Ayija, representing different sects : the Church of Twelve Apostles, the Christian Divine Church, the Christ Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost. In addition, some Ayija residents attend the Roman Catholic Church on the University campus. Members of certain other sects, such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists, also attend churches outside Ayija.

The diversity of sects is partly explained by the intense activity of missionaries, particularly from North America, which is still evident today. Many of these compete for followers, and it is often the most 'extremist' groups that are best represented. The churches in Ayija itself are typical of many which are termed 'spiritualist' churches, where services are constructed to accommodate long sessions of drumming and ritual chanting, leading to a particular sense of euphoria among the congregation.

The Church of Twelve Apostles has a resident nucleus community, which separates itself from the rest of Ayija community life. There are daily prayer meetings, and long services on Fridays and Sundays. Regular attendance is said to consist of about 80 people, but this may swell to about 200 on special occasions. The headquarters of the movement are at Kwamanteng. The Christian Divine Church has Sunday services only. Regular attendance consists of about 60 people, but about 300 may come for special occasions. The mother church is at Tarkwa. The Christ Apostolic Church and Church of Pentecost have similar Sunday services. They relate to mother churches at Bantama (Kumasi) and Accra respectively, and have average attendances of 50 and 100 people, swelling to 250 and 300 people for special occasions.

The church leaders recognize an existence of common belief between them which should encourage co-operation, but each church acts in practice independently of the others, under the direction

Distribution of Religious Facilities in Ayija

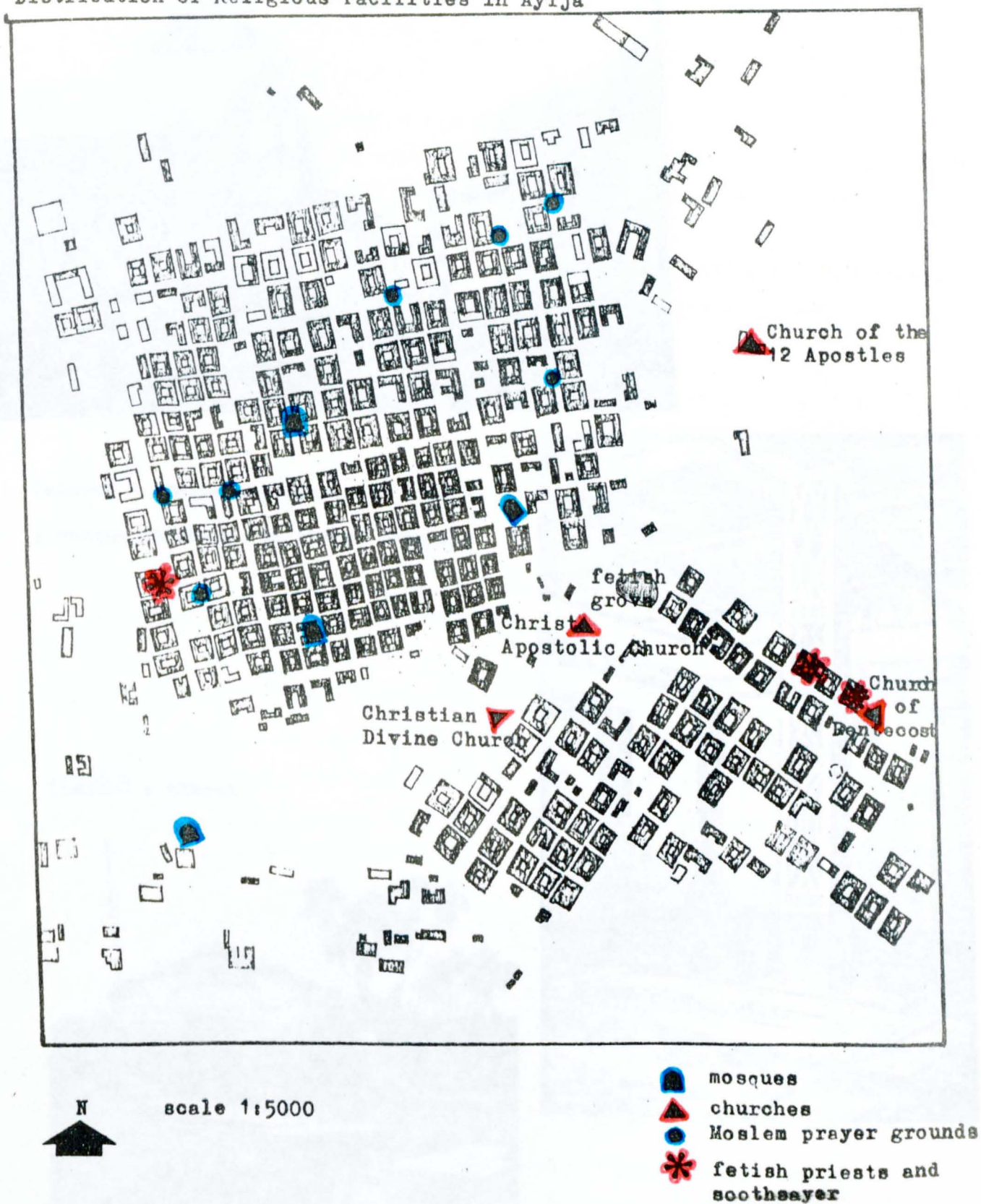
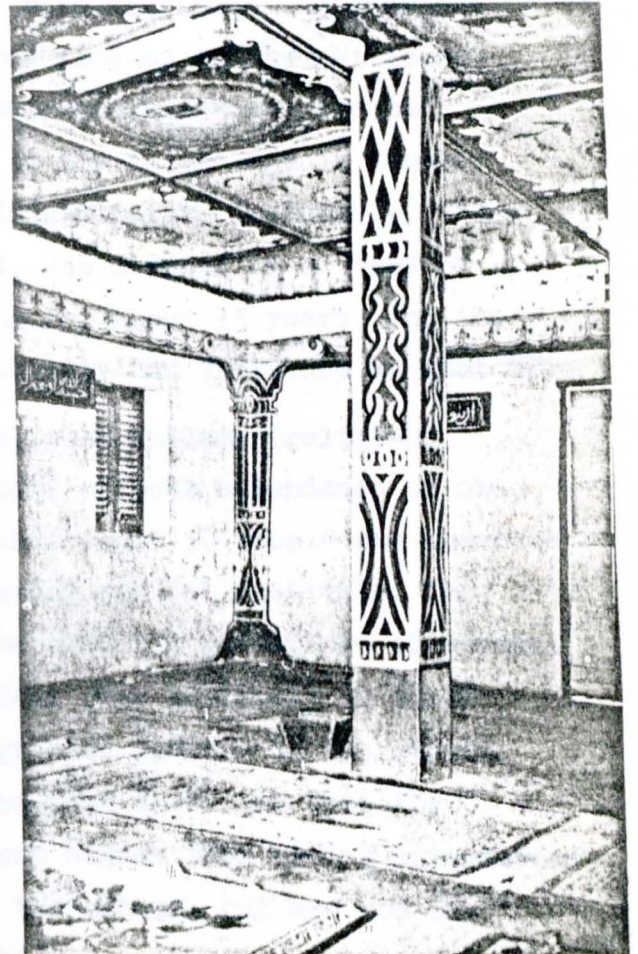


Figure 10.3



(above) a mosque exterior, and (right)
a mosque interior (different mosques)



(below) a church

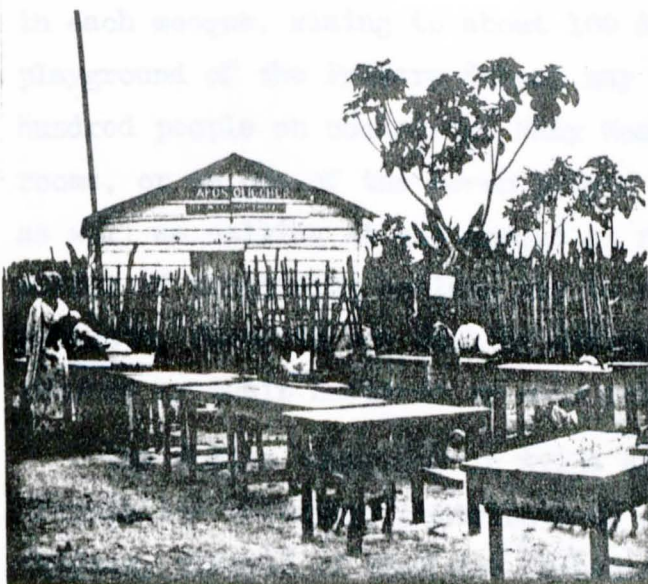


Figure 10.4

of its mother church. Preachers, who are mainly (except for those at the Church of Twelve Apostles) resident outside Ayija, receive incomes from the church, and collections of money are sent to church headquarters. Thus the net economic impact of the churches may be an outflow of money from Ayija.

Christianity provides a set of rules and values which encompasses daily life, and which is universally applicable. There is sufficient flexibility within the religion for the incorporation of various traditional practices (such as drumming and dancing) to give it added appeal. The divisions within the church might seem to be a disadvantage, but it is possible that this adds an element of choice and even competition which is welcomed by some followers.

(iv) Islam :

The Moslem community, in contrast with the Christian churches, is completely united in Ayija. The three mosques in the settlement and one mosque in West Ayija are co-ordinated under one elected religious head, and he is responsible to the chief Imam in Kumasi, and ultimately to Accra. Apart from administrative leadership, there is also an elected 'intellectual' head, who directs in matters of religion. Both leaders have been acting for about 15 years, and the Moslem community has achieved much stability and influence in that time.

The mosques are open at all times, with Mallams (religious teachers) usually in attendance. The time of peak attendance at the mosque is Friday evenings at 6 p.m., when about 50 people may assemble in each mosque, rising to about 100 during special festivals. The playground of the Primary School may be used for gatherings of several hundred people on occasions. Many Moslems pray privately in their rooms, or in one of the seven prayer grounds located in the street, as well as calling at the mosque at non-peak times, so that the number of practising Moslems may be much higher than Friday attendances indicate. Women do not usually attend the mosque, but are led in prayers by their husbands or male relatives.

The Moslem community in Ayija appears to be self-financing, through the voluntary contributions of the more wealthy Moslem leaders, several of whom are 'Alhaji' (i.e. have made the pilgrimage to Mecca). Money does not normally go outside Ayija as Moslems are instructed to give alms directly to the poor, and collections of money are not an integral part of religious services. The building of mosques is directly sponsored by wealthy individuals within the

community, who enhance their prestige through their generosity.

Islam is similar to Christianity in its provision of a universal code for living. Many of the traditions and values are similar. The Moslem code seems to be stricter in relation to ritual observance, and this may have particular appeal for some individuals. The call to daily prayers at dawn and dusk is a constant reminder of the rules of the faith, necessitating considerable discipline on the part of believers. For many of the migrants in Ayija, who find their traditional beliefs inappropriate to their new circumstances, such discipline may be welcomed, and may reinforce the sense of security achieved through the new faith and through membership of the new community. It has also been pointed out that some individuals may use the adoption of a new creed like Islam as an excuse for the avoidance of traditional behaviour. This is seen with entrepreneurs who wish to withdraw from their social obligations so as to be able to save capital, though they may ultimately 'buy' their way back into their traditional cultures once they have achieved success. (Hart, 1969).

entertainment

Many of the entertainment facilities available in Ayija result from the spontaneous activities of informal social groups - drumming, dancing and singing, for example. The amenities examined here are those provided on a commercial basis, and they include provision for drinking, sex (through prostitution) and gambling.

(i) Drinking :

Several other studies of migrant settlements have noted the importance of drinking, both in stimulating informal business activity (Ross, 1973) and in ritualizing social behaviour (Lomnitz, 1977). However, it is important also to note that widespread drinking is not merely an urban phenomenon, and alcohol consumption may in fact be more restrained by the migrant than in the rural areas (Butterworth, 1970).

The main alcoholic drinks consumed in Ayija are palm wine, and akpateshie. Palm wine is tapped from raffia and oil palm in areas of bush near to Ayija, and akpateshie is distilled from stale palm wine. Pito is also made locally and sold by two women, brewed from millet brought from northern Ghana. In addition there is one night club in Ayija village, employing five people on a permanent basis, where other (European-type) beers and spirits are sold in some

Distribution of Drinking Facilities in Ayija

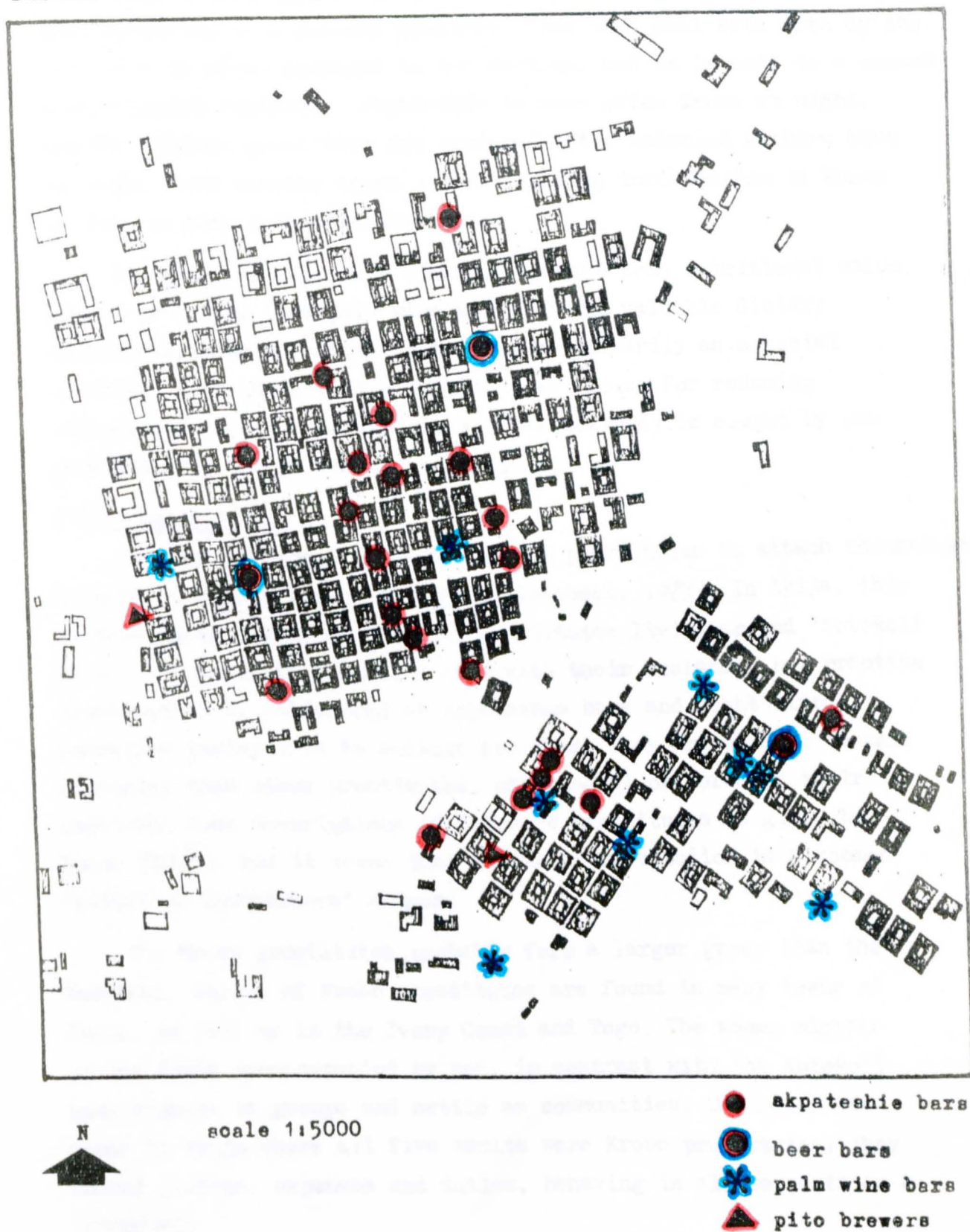


Figure 10.5

quantity. Two other bars have smaller quantities of these more expensive drinks available.

There are 23 akpateshie bars in Ayija, and ten palm wine bars, most operating as a one-man business. Some bars deal with both drinks. Palm wine is often consumed in the daytime, and it is said to suppress hunger around lunchtime. Akpateshie is more often drunk at night, and the largest quantities are consumed after salaried workers have received their monthly wages : the resulting intoxication is known to lead to some fights at this time.

All types of alcoholic consumption have some nutritional value, and it is likely that palm wine and pito are valuable dietary components. However, drinking is pursued primarily as a social activity, with intoxication providing an excuse for reducing inhibitions within a chosen group. This activity is sought by men particularly, though not exclusively.

(ii) Prostitution :

In some cultures, it is common for prostitutes to attach themselves to bars to seek out male customers (Jacobson, 1973). In Ayija, this is true particularly of Kotokoli prostitutes living around 'Kotokoli Line'. The Kotokoli generally live with their husbands, but practise prostitution by soliciting at akpateshie bars and night clubs, sometimes paying boys to solicit for them. They are said to be more expensive than other prostitutes, charging ₵1 or more for their services. Some descriptions of Kotokoli prostitutes is given by Rouch (1954), and it seems that Kotokoli prostitution is a common feature of northerners' zongos.

The Krobo prostitutes probably form a larger group than the Kotokoli. Groups of Krobo prostitutes are found in many towns of Ghana, as well as in the Ivory Coast and Togo. The women migrate to the towns unaccompanied by men, in contrast with the Kotokoli. Some migrate as groups and settle as communities. One house was found in Ayija where all five adults were Krobo prostitutes; they shared profits, expenses and duties, behaving in all respects as a 'commune'.

Apart from the Kotokoli, most prostitutes seem to charge a standard fee of 40 pesewas. Not many customers are expected during the daytime, as only working men would be likely to afford the fee. Usually business starts around 5 p.m., and the women sit on benches

outside their rooms, dressed in their best clothes. Some well known prostitutes wait for custom inside their rooms. Prostitutes' rooms are often identifiable by the construction of a screening wall around the doorway, This is a recognized sign with Ayija people, but it sometimes causes confusion for recent migrants. One man had unwittingly rented a room previously owned by a prostitute, and his wife was approached so often that he had to move again.

Altogether 39 prostitutes were enumerated, of whom nine were part time operators, combining the activity with daytime trading. This estimate does not include any of the Kotokoli, who did not reveal their involvement during interviews, and some others are likely to have escaped enumeration. The ages of prostitutes vary considerably. Some seem to practise even at an advanced age - a fact that was remarked on with horror by the interviewers. This seems to suggest that once having practised prostitution, women continue to do so through their lives, and it does not merely represent an occupation pursued temporarily during youth. It may be that some women commence prostitution late in life, if they have been separated from their husbands. The business appears to be more formalized than that noticed by Cohen (1969) in Nigeria or Nelson (1979) in Kenya. It would appear likely that men seek prostitutes for the services commercially provided, rather than with any longer term relationship in mind.

(iii) Gambling :

The National Lottery provides the major outlet for gambling in Ayija. It is likely that many diverse forms of gambling were in evidence in previous years, but the 'lotto' has now excluded most other forms. Awareness of the possibility of becoming rich overnight pervades many aspects of life in Ayija, and it probably constitutes a necessary element of mental escapism. Most lotto ticket sellers have stories of regular winnings, but these may be exaggerated to boost sales. Some big winners are known - such as the owner of an abandoned charcoal burning site, who had disappeared with his fortune.

There are 25 lotto kiosks in Ayija, some open for ticket selling all day, and others manned only as a part time activity. This total includes some kiosks at Ayija Junction, which draw customers from outside Ayija, but most sales are to Ayija residents.

In addition to the business of selling tickets, the preoccupation with this form of gambling stimulates another service - predicting

the winning numbers. Many of the fortune tellers (including the Mallams, soothsayers, etc.) are regularly consulted on this subject. Other individuals set themselves up as specialists in predicting the winning lotto numbers, each claiming an unfailing 'system', and some set up their own stalls beside the lotto kiosks. Everyone, including the layman, is in search of a good system, and there seems to be the idea that a secret formula for success must exist, if only it can be found. Car registration numbers and birth dates are used, and the author's attempt to number houses in Ayija for interview purposes was interpreted by at least one resident as a systematic search for the winning lotto number.

Expenditure on drink, women and gambling tends to be a great social equalizer, attracting any surplus funds that might raise living standards above the barest minimum (Robbin and Thompson, 1974). Self improvement through saving and investment is only possible by avoiding these temptations to some extent, which may be socially unpopular (Lomnitz, 1977). Gambling has the particular attraction that it allows participation in a socially stimulating activity, but also offers the chance of a dramatic increase in wealth. It perhaps epitomizes the attraction of urban life in general, i.e. it is the chance (however remote) of success rather than the statistical probability of success that is appealing (Gugler and Flanagan, 1978). Gambling may also represent a retreat into fantasy resulting from a failure to achieve unrealistic goals in the city (Lloyd, 1974).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SECURITY OF TENURE

The level of authorization of development in Ayija is a major expression of relations between the city authorities and the local community. It has important effects on the level of services provided to the settlement, and it may have less direct effects in discouraging investment and improvement in the physical environment in Ayija, as well as on other aspects of welfare. When compared with the adjacent high-income settlement of West Ayija, some useful conclusions may be reached about the distribution of public resources in the city, with the level of authorization being used to justify discrimination against the low income settlement.

The security of tenure in the settlement is examined by looking first at the development control system operating in Kumasi, as it affects Ayija. Development in Ayija is then assessed for its conformity with the various regulations, to judge the degree of authorization that it has. Having found that there are ways in which development in Ayija is unauthorized, the control system is examined to discover why this is so : to what extent would developers in Ayija be able to gain authorization if they wanted to do so ? The situation is compared with that operating in West Ayija, which appears to be classified as an authorized settlement, to see how development there is better able to conform with the regulations, and what the effects of this conformity are.

the development control system

There is no system for controlling development in rural areas of Ghana. Urban development, however, is subject to control in the form of planning regulations, building regulations, and land registration procedures. The city boundary of Kumasi was first extended to include Ayija in 1953, and since this time development there has been subject to these various forms of control.






The Town and Country Planning Act of 1945 (No. 13), with subsequent amendments, lays down the guidelines for the preparation of Development Plans for urban areas, including the payment of

compensation to those adversely affected by planning (as well as the claiming of betterment from those who benefit). The Kumasi Outline Town Planning Scheme of 1962 identifies broad zones within Kumasi, to guide development. Of particular relevance to Ayija is the establishment of Nature Reserves in the valleys and low lying areas, within which no building may take place, the creation of three categories of residential zoning, each with its own complex set of regulations, and the plan to move part of the main railway station of Kumasi to Ayija. The latter scheme has received approval from all government departments concerned, but funds for the new station have yet to be found (see fig. 11.1).

The latest Development Plan for Ayija and West Ayija was prepared in 1967. The area is subdivided into plots mainly subject to Residential Zone B regulations, which specify low-density, high quality housing with a maximum site coverage of 30% for main buildings. It is significant that Ayija village does not fall into Residential Zone C, which is reserved for original villages, and which is better adapted for high density courtyard development, and the use of traditional building materials, in common with other forms of village zoning seen elsewhere in Africa (Stren, 1978).

A prospective developer must first seek permission to use a plot from the traditional 'Caretaker Chief', or in the case of Ayija the Atoprehene's deputy. The usufruct rights to a plot are allocated on payment of what used to be a nominal amount of 'drink money', but sums of £150-300 are now common in Ayija. The chief is then supposed to issue an Allocation Note, describing the plot in relation to the Development Plan for the area. The Allocation Note is endorsed by the Asantehene, who receives a proportion of the fee paid. This method of plot allocation is common to all land still under Caretaker Chiefs in Kumasi (fig. 11.2), and West Ayija is included under the Atoprehene's Caretaker Chieftaincy.

In order to register a plot, the Allocation Note must be brought to the Lands Department, and application for a lease is made, taking into consideration the money already paid for the plot. This is a 99 year lease in the case of Ghanaians, but less for non-Ghanaians. The lease is sent to Accra for the concurrence of the Chairman of the Lands Commission, and is then returned to Kumasi, and the applicant is informed. The lease is stamped, for a fee relating to the rentable value (a minimum of £8), and registered for a fee of £10 on production

-  nature reserve
-  agricultural zone
-  major roads
-  railway
-  proposed railway

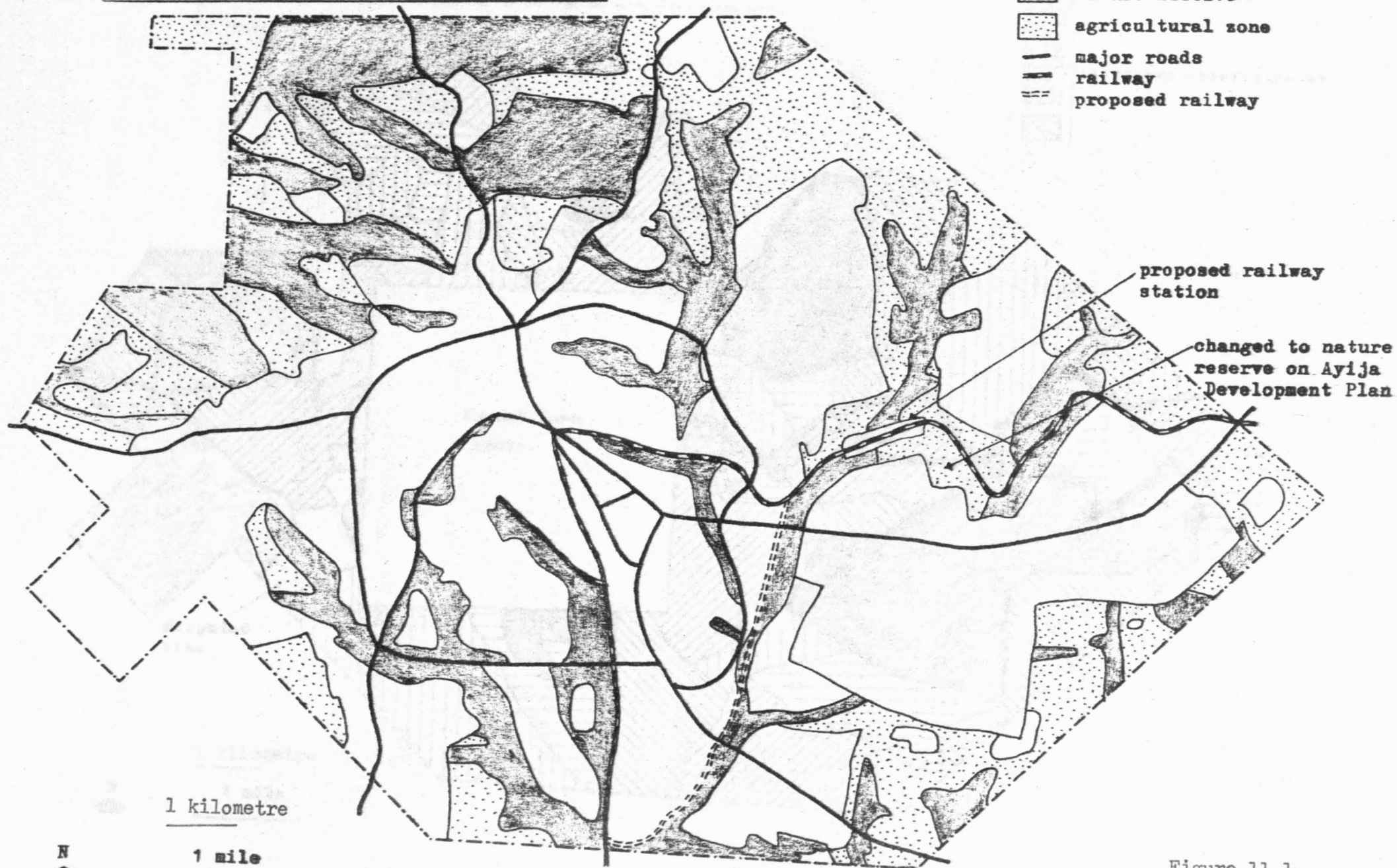


Figure 11.1

Caretaker Chieftaincies in Kumasi

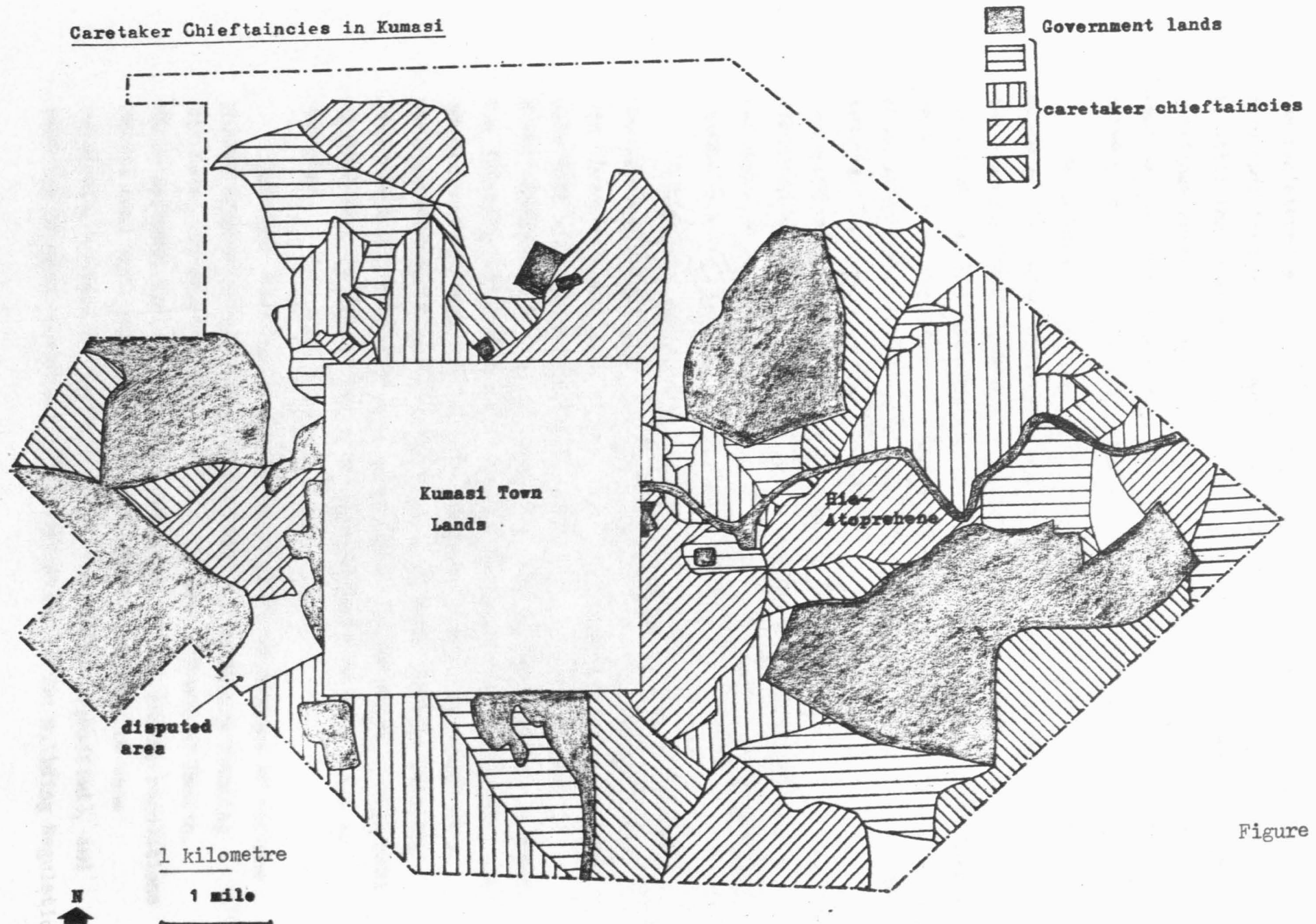


Figure 11.2

of a Tax Clearance Certificate. The plot is filed according to the instruments (i.e. documents relating to the plot) and title, and the registered plot is also marked on a diagram of the area. The developer then has the right to use the land, though the Asantehene is still the ultimate custodian of it, through the Atoprehene. The buildings erected become the developer's personal property. Ground rent is collected annually by the Lands Department, and divided between the State, the City Council and the Caretaker Chief.

To transfer a plot of land, the person with the title must write to the Lands Department with a draft deed, for consent to the transfer. This consent is forwarded to the Caretaker Chief, with a fee of ₵4 being charged to the purchaser. The purchaser also pays a fee to the chief to sign the deed, which is returned to the Lands Department, and sent to Accra for approval. When it is returned, and when tax clearance has been proved by the purchaser, the documents are stamped for the same fees as in the case of the original registration. In the case of any unregistered transactions, which are regarded as legally void, the land should revert to the previous lessee or to the chief.

In order to erect a house on the plot, or to use it for any non-residential purpose, the developer must seek permission from the Planning Department. In the case of a building, plans must be submitted with the Development Application. The application is first checked with the Lands Registry, and if the title is in order, the Planning Department makes its own recommendations regarding the proposed development, and the application is then considered at a monthly meeting of the Town Planning Committee. Outline planning permission may be sought as a preliminary to the formal Development Application, in which case it is not necessary to have title to the plot.

The Town Planning Committee is composed of members of various bodies responsible for development control, including Planning Officers, the City Engineer, and the Medical Officer of Health. Their criteria for approval are conformity to the zoning regulations (which they have some power to reinterpret), as well as some subjective aesthetic standards (which are nowhere specified), and some preliminary consideration of conformity to the Building Regulations.

If approved by the Town Planning Committee, the Statutory Fee is paid (proportional to the estimated value of the proposed development, commonly £50-100). If the application is subsequently rejected, there may be a refund. The application is forwarded to the City Engineer for checking against the Building Regulations. A surveyor also visits the site (at the developer's cost) to check the plot demarcation. If the scheme is approved, the plans are signed by the Senior Building Inspector and the Deputy City Engineer. They are then checked by the Medical Officer of Health against public health standards, and he also signs when he is satisfied.

The regulations that the application is checked against are fairly complex, a situation apparently common in other parts of West Africa (Mabogunje et al, 1978; Okpak, 1978), and it is unclear which regulations are in force at a particular time. At the time of study, for instance, it appeared that some past legislation had been inadvertently repealed before new legislation was passed (according to L.A.R.C., 1975). The Building Regulations in current use are the 1971 draft regulations, but the City Engineer is able to use his discretion in interpreting them. The rules set standards for internal space and methods of construction, and are based upon British models. The other regulations in use include various British Standard Codes of Practice (for structural standards), the Electricity Act of 1971, the Waterworks Ordinance, and the Mosquitoes Ordinance.

If the application is approved in relation to these regulations, the developer's tax clearance is checked, and the City Engineer signs his approval. The application is then passed to the Executive Chairman of the City Council for signing, and for the issue of a Building Permit.

Once a Building Permit has been granted, development work may begin, provided that the City Engineer is given two days' notice of the date when work will commence, and also the dates when various stages of construction will be ready for inspection. There are seven stages where inspection is required, and a final inspection is needed before occupation, for which a certificate is given. Inspection may also take place at other times during the building's construction if required by the City Engineer.

If development has not been completed within two years of the Building Permit being granted, the permit must be renewed by

application to the Planning Committee. If renewal is approved, it is passed to the City Engineer for signing, with no additional payment being necessary. Minor changes in the plans are often acceptable. If the permit is not renewed within two years, or if major changes to the plans are proposed, then a completely new Development Application must be submitted. In parallel with this aspect of control, the traditional system stipulates that development must commence within a two year period after the original plot allocation, or the land will be confiscated. There is no maximum period for completion of a building according to the traditional system, however.

If any development takes place which has not received permission from the city authorities, this should be detected by the daily inspections of various Building Inspectors, who are employed on an area basis. A Notice is then served on the developer, requiring him to show (in writing to the Council) why his structure should not be demolished within a given period, usually seven days. The Council may recommend that the developer regularize his position, by submitting a Development Application. If no move is made towards regularization or removal of the structure, then the City Engineer may order demolition. This is at his discretion.

unauthorized development in Ayija

There are considerable difficulties in distinguishing between authorized and unauthorized development in Ayija. As the settlement only became subject to development control in 1953, and as there is no record of the extent of development at that time, it would be difficult to claim with any certainty that particular properties are unauthorized. It is probable that Ayija village had expanded almost to its present size by 1953, although development might not have started in the zongo by that time.

The regular Building Inspectors' reports are supposed to identify new unauthorized structures, but appear not to do this. Only seven houses in Ayija appeared in these reports (up to October 1974), and no action was taken subsequent to Notices being served on the developers. All of these houses are in the zongo.

Although it is difficult to identify all the individual properties concerned, it is certain that much of Ayija has been developed since 1953, and that the type of development does not

conform with the regulations. Very few plots conform to the subdivisions shown on the Development Plan, the type of housing contravenes the Residential Zone B regulations, and the type of construction does not generally comply with the Building Regulations. About five plots in the existing settlement have been entered in the Lands Registry, and a few Building Permits have been issued or applied for, but in most cases there has been no compliance with any part of the approval procedures.

Despite this lack of conformity with the regulations administered by Kumasi City Council, there is general conformity with the traditional rules governing development control. Plots are allocated by the Caretaker Chief on payment of a fee, and building work usually commences within the two year specified period. Also, development is generally within the area specified for residential use by the Development Plan, and there has been little intrusion into the Nature Zones.

The trend of development in Ayija is to conform more and more closely with the spirit of the regulations, if not the detail of the procedures. The 'masons' employed by developers have acquired construction expertise, and they act to ensure that a good standard of workmanship is achieved. There is comparatively little new building in temporary materials, such as swish. Tenants are increasingly prepared to pay higher rents for better amenities, and this demand encourages the provision of toilets, bathing and cooking areas, as well as structurally sound buildings. Much of the development still falls far short of the high standards set by the regulations, but a few recent buildings might even meet most of these, except for the restrictions on site coverage.

A further ambiguity over the legal status of development in Ayija is introduced by the system of rates collection. In Kumasi, rates are charged to house-owners rather than occupiers. Developers in Ayija are charged these rates, which would seem to imply that they are regarded as the rightful owners. Presumably if this were not the case, the ownership would revert to the chief, who would be taxed on this basis.

Despite the ambiguities, however, it is quite clear that Kumasi City Council regards Ayija as an unauthorized settlement. Individuals in the Planning Department express a preference for clearance and redevelopment as a high-income suburb, as an extension of West Ayija.

Maps that are prepared of the area for planning purposes omit to show the existing housing, except for part of the original village area. On the basis of this, few services are provided in Ayija, and plans are made which completely ignore the settlement's existence.

This is clearly shown by the siting of the Volta electricity supply cable, referred to earlier. There has been no attempt to relocate residents living beneath the cable, or to pay compensation to property owners affected by it. There seems to be no suggestion that this is considered a serious issue by the authorities in relation to Ayija. The fact that the new market has been relocated directly beneath the cable, in approximate accordance with the Development Plan, is difficult to understand in the context of the possible hazards.

The Development Plan has implications for the future, even though it may not pose an immediate threat to the settlement. If it were put into effect, it is likely that much of Ayija would be redeveloped, particularly to serve the needs of the proposed new railway station.

possibilities for authorization

In view of this ultimate threat, there is some incentive for developers in Ayija to regularize their position. By conforming more strictly to the City Council's regulations, their legitimate presence would have to be acknowledged, and demolition would be more difficult in the future. It might also be difficult to ignore the need for public services in Ayija, if it became recognized as an authorized settlement.

However, in the present situation, it would be impossible for the development in Ayija to become fully authorized. Because the existing buildings have not been taken account of in the preparation of the Plan, land plots rarely relate to the existing state of affairs, even when the chief's own surveyor-demarcated area is overlain (see figs. 11.3 and 11.4). Proposed plot boundaries may cut across existing plots in several directions, and may also cut into existing roads. So it is impossible to register existing plots, and it is also impossible to change plot boundaries to conform with the Plan within the constraints of the existing settlement. The chief, faced with this dilemma, has little option but to allocate the old plots, and the developer is in no way to blame for the fact that they cannot then be registered.

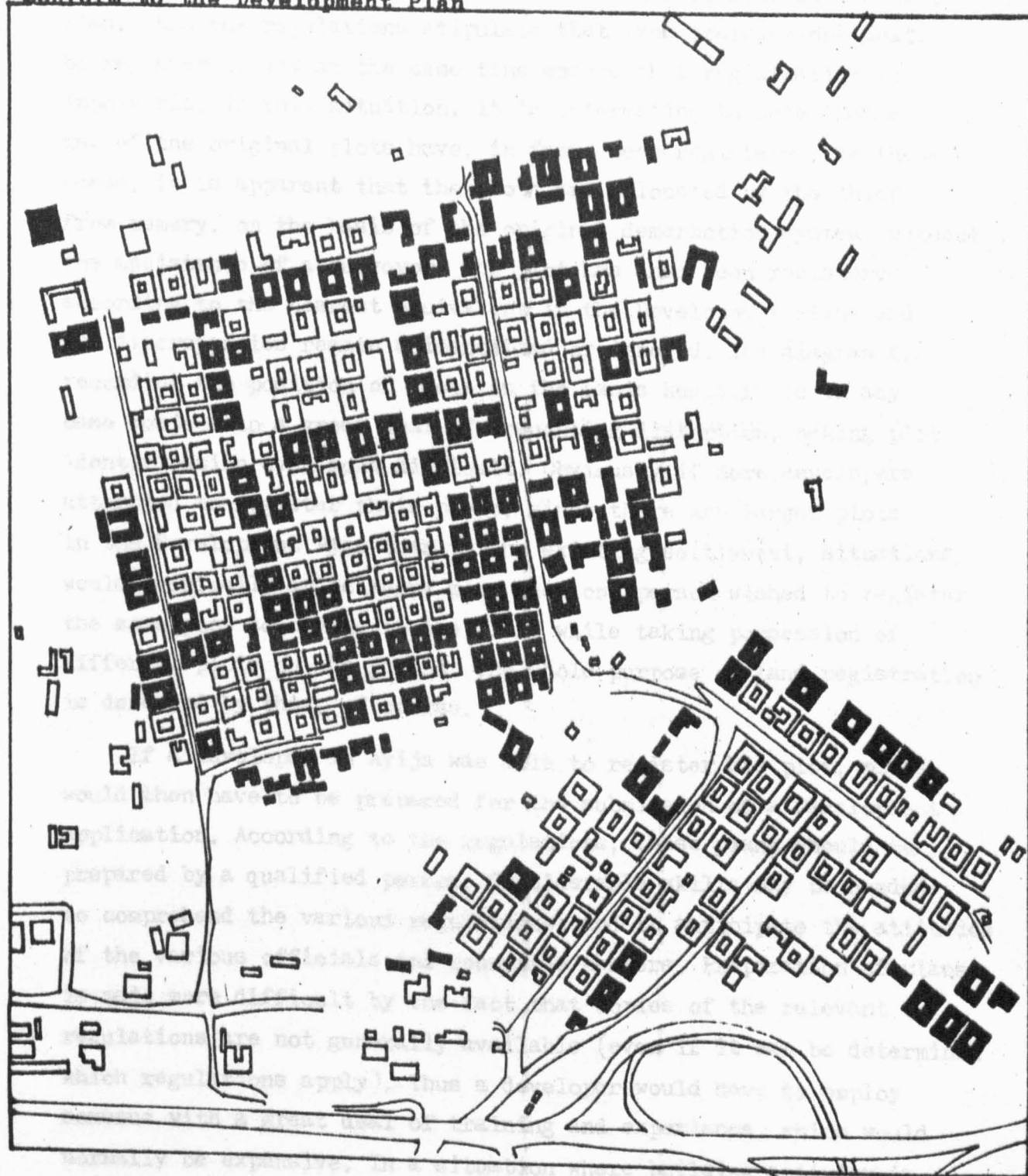
Development Plan Superimposed over the Existing Buildings in Ayija



scale 1:5000

Figure 11.3

**Buildings Which Cannot (even with a certain amount of map distortion)
Conform to the Development Plan**



N

scale 1:5000

Figure 11.4

In strictly complying with the regulations themselves, a developer would have to depart from the usual form of housing in Ayija. The most difficult requirements to meet are those restricting site coverage to 30%, and stipulating minimum setbacks of 6-7 metres.

This is despite the fact that plots in existence before the Development Plan was prepared should be capable of registration. The process of registration does not seem to take this into account, since plots are only described in terms of the present Development Plan. Thus the regulations stipulate that land transactions must be registered, and at the same time ensure that registration is impossible. In this situation, it is interesting to note that a few of the original plots have, in fact, been registered. In these cases, it is apparent that the plots are allocated by the chief from memory, on the basis of the original demarcation system, without the assistance of a surveyor. The plot has then been registered according to the nearest equivalent in the Development Plan, and the discrepancies remain unidentified or ignored. The diagram for recording the position of plots in the Lands Registry is in any case subject to a great deal of draughting distortion, making plot identification even more difficult. Obviously if more developers attempted to register their plots, since there are larger plots in the Development Plan than in the existing settlement, situations would eventually arise where more than one person wished to register the same plot according to the Plan, while taking possession of different plots on the ground. The whole purpose of land registration is defeated by this, of course.

If a developer in Ayija was able to register his plot, plans would then have to be prepared for the submission of a Development Application. According to the regulations, these plans should be prepared by a qualified person. Considerable skills may be needed to comprehend the various regulations, and to anticipate the attitudes of the various officials and committee members. Preparation of plans is made more difficult by the fact that copies of the relevant regulations are not generally available (even if it can be determined which regulations apply). Thus a developer would have to employ someone with a great deal of training and experience, which would normally be expensive. In a situation where building activity is severely limited by shortage of funds or credit facilities, this extra expense might be prohibitive.

In strictly complying with the regulations themselves, a developer would have to depart from the usual form of housing in Ayija. The most difficult requirements to meet are those restricting site coverage to 30%, and stipulating minimum setbacks of 6-7 metres.

This would seriously limit the number of rooms that could be provided on a plot, even if the building was constructed with two storeys. More important than this, the form of house resulting would be generally unacceptable to prospective tenants in Ayija. The present courtyard system of single storey housing is well adapted to the space needs of the low-income residents, and it is also comparatively secure from theft or intrusion. Here it is relevant to note that in West Ayija, where single or two-storey housing of the type required by the regulations is common, there is a considerable security problem. The peripheral yard is particularly vulnerable to theft of livestock, poultry and goats being common even in the high income settlement.

The implications of this sort of development would be higher rents, even allowing for any higher level of amenity that might be provided (Kumah, 1975). For a single storey building, land costs per room would be higher; for a two storey building, higher construction costs would be incurred. The cost of development is not simply related to rents, however, and the market demand may be a more important determinant of rent levels. In view of the many disadvantages, it is likely that this sort of development would be unmarketable in Ayija, so long as alternatives are available. Most development in Ayija is motivated by a desire for economic return through rentals, and the regulations appear to discourage this type of investment as suited to the low income area.

If a Development Application was prepared in accordance with the requirements, the developer would face difficulties caused by the time consuming bureaucracy surrounding the processing of applications. If the developer is in funds, he needs to proceed with construction as quickly as possible, to protect his capital. Moreover, if he does not begin to construct within two years of being allocated the plot, the chief has the right to confiscate it for reallocation. If the developer proceeds according to the rules, and waits for all formalities to be completed before starting to build, a considerable amount of time may elapse. It may take six months or more to register a plot, and a year or so to process a Development Application through to the Planning Committee stage. A further year may be necessary to secure a Building Permit. Once construction has been authorized, further delays may be caused by the required periodic inspections (where these are actually carried out.).

The form of Development Application also discriminates against incremental investment in building work. In Ayija, it is most common for a house to be built gradually in phases over a period of ten years or more. This is well suited to the investment capacity of the developer, who is able to make best use of any capital available at a particular time (Koll, 1972). Building construction may be an activity which never reaches finalization, as the building 'evolves' to meet the changing needs of its occupants, and it may be steadily upgraded as capital for investment is acquired from rents and other sources. However, in order to obtain a Building Permit, the developer must submit plans for his completed house, and he should aim for completion within two years. Proposed amendments or additions necessitate further applications, involving more delays and costs. Thus the administration is geared to a situation where a developer can accumulate a large amount of capital (or has access to credit) and wishes to make a once-and-for-all investment in a comparatively short period of time.

Developers in Ayija are generally unfamiliar with the necessary procedures for authorized development. They may be unaware of the official administrative system, assuming (understandably) that compliance with the traditional system operating through the Caretaker Chief signifies authorization. Others may be aware of the official requirements, but have found that it is impossible to register a plot or process a Development Application, and so give up the attempt. If the regulations were made easier to comply with, however, there would still be considerable difficulties caused by the developers' unfamiliarity with the system. Ashanti developers in Ayija might have access to a network of personal contacts and friends in the city who might help to explain the system, and to smooth the way of an application. Migrant developers from other tribes usually lack such a personal network, and may also find their applications obstructed by tribal prejudice. The complexity of the administration system also facilitates favouritism by the bureaucrats involved, and the less affluent developers may find that the costs of bribery are considerable. Even if bribes are not demanded, the developer may feel that a voluntary payment of 'dash' will assist his application.

A further difficulty may arise in the obtaining of a Tax Clearance Certificate. For those in wage employment, this may amount to mere inconvenience in terms of cost and delays, as there are clear records

of income and taxes paid. Developers are often self-employed, however, and the necessary records may be lacking.

Thus the administrative system for authorizing development is generally inaccessible to the prospective developer in Ayija, for a variety of reasons. In comparison with more affluent developers in high income suburbs, they may be at a serious disadvantage, because of their less secure capital, their particular investment needs in terms of accommodation, the Planning Department's demarcation of plots in Ayija, and unfamiliarity with the urban scene. Some of the difficulties they face are also faced by developers in high income suburbs, however - in particular the bureaucratic delays in obtaining authorization.

development control in West Ayija

West Ayija provides a good example of a high income suburb, which is regarded as an 'authorized' settlement by the city authorities. A brief examination of the way in which developers obtain authorization is relevant here, as an analysis of the administrative system has shown that it would be difficult for any developer to comply fully with the regulations in operation. Are developers in West Ayija really so different from those in Ayija in being able to manipulate the system?

An investigation of the records on development in West Ayija yields some clues. There is a total of 434 demarcated plots in the Development Plan. Current development consists of 104 completed buildings, 51 buildings under active construction, and seven where the structure is incomplete but where building activity has ceased for some time. Of these structures, there are 14 non-residential buildings. Thus there is a total of 162 plots where one would expect registration and the issue of Building Permits to have been recorded, if the development is fully authorized.

There is a total of 134 plots registered, and registration has been sought but not yet granted for a further 77 plots. However, of the 162 plots where some development has occurred, only 83 are registered, and 26 plots are awaiting registration. Thus it would appear that about half of the existing development has occurred where there is no legal title to the land (see fig. 11.5).

Land Registration in Ayija and West Ayija

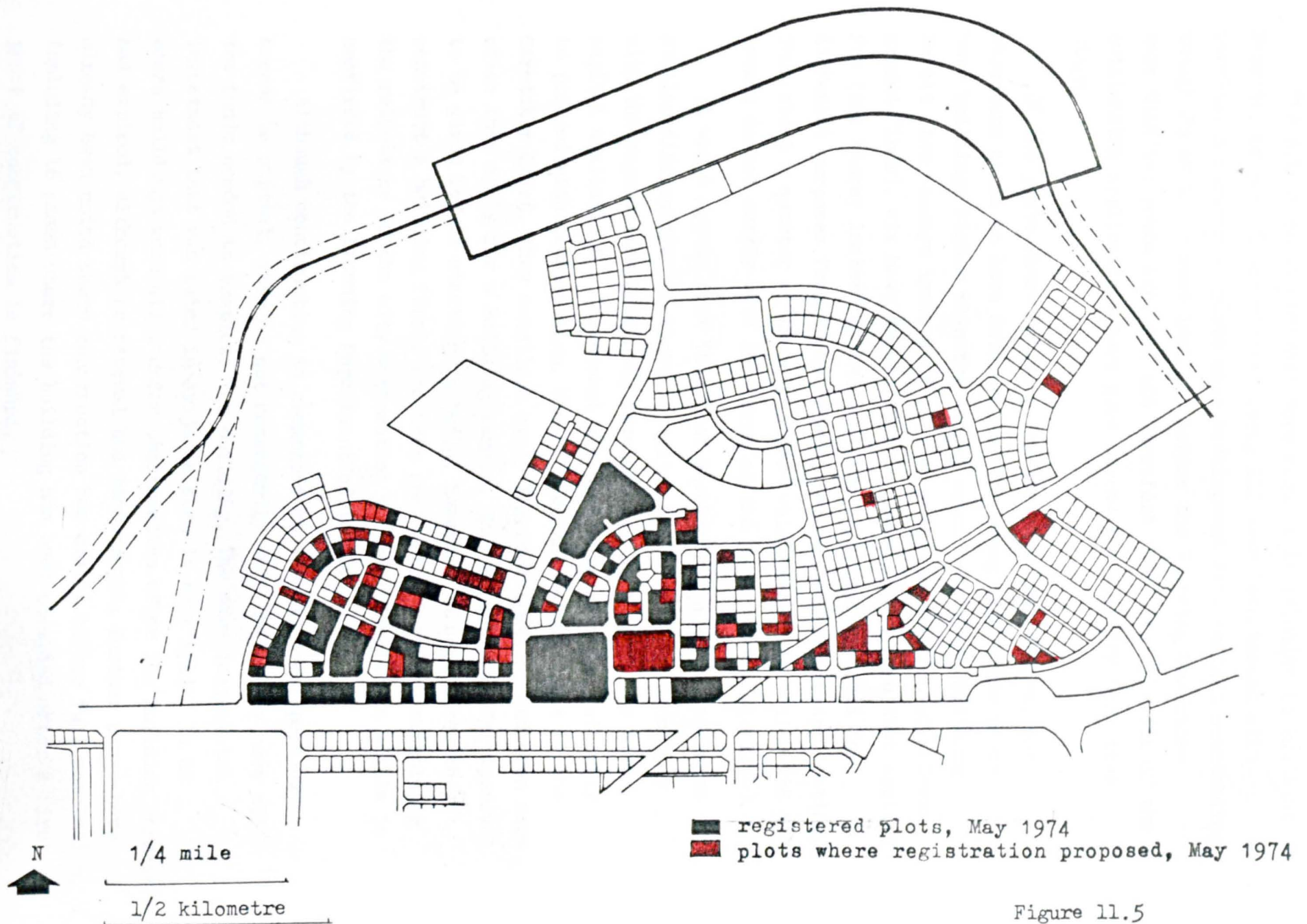


Figure 11.5

The situation is somewhat more regular in relation to Building Permits. Of the 162 developed plots, 110 have been issued with permits. A further 43 plots have Development Applications outstanding, though 28 of these were last put before the Planning Committee more than two years ago, and are therefore obsolete. Only six of the outstanding applications have gone beyond the Planning Committee stage.

Of the plots where Building Permits have been issued, one structure seems to have developed on the wrong plot, five plots have buildings higher than the height specified in the Building Permit (two storeys instead of one, or with the addition of a lower ground floor), six have developed to a lower height than that applied for (one storey instead of two) and two buildings are used for different purposes from those entered in the Development Application. Thus about a quarter of the structures which have been built with a permit do not comply with the terms of the permit (see fig. 11.6).

It would appear from this that developers in Ayija face some similar difficulties to those in Ayija, and are unable to comply with the regulations governing development. Developers who have capital available for investment are unable to wait for authority to proceed with construction. Having been allocated a plot by the Caretaker Chief, they sometimes apply for registration, and even more often they apply for a Building Permit. They do not wait for approval to be given before starting to build, however. In some cases they construct a building first, and then seek authorization, exploiting the reluctance of the city authorities to order demolition - this is confirmed by the Planning Department officials.

Although construction is commenced as soon as developers have access to capital, they do not necessarily wait until they have all the funds needed to complete the building. The same incremental investment that was noted in Ayija is seen in West Ayija. In 22 cases buildings were still under construction after the Building Permits had expired, although no renewal had been sought; further cases have already been noted where construction has ceased before full completion, including 16 cases where the building has been occupied after a first phase of construction is finished.

As in Ayija, much of the development is for part-owner/occupation and part-rental. Some typical plans are shown (fig. 11.7). As might be expected, the type of accommodation offered for rental is different

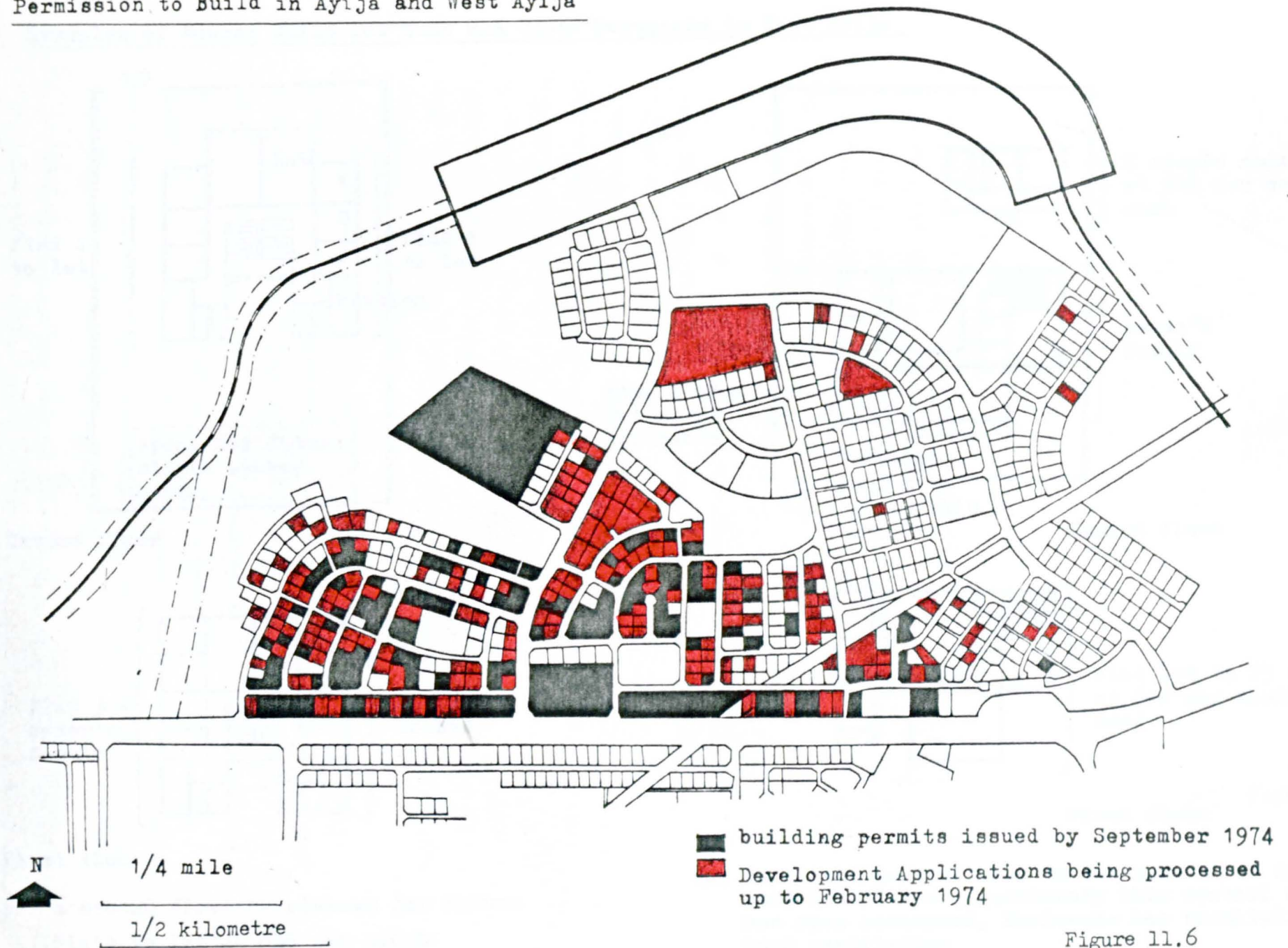


Figure 11.6

Examples of Houses Built for Rent and Owner Occupancy in West Ayija

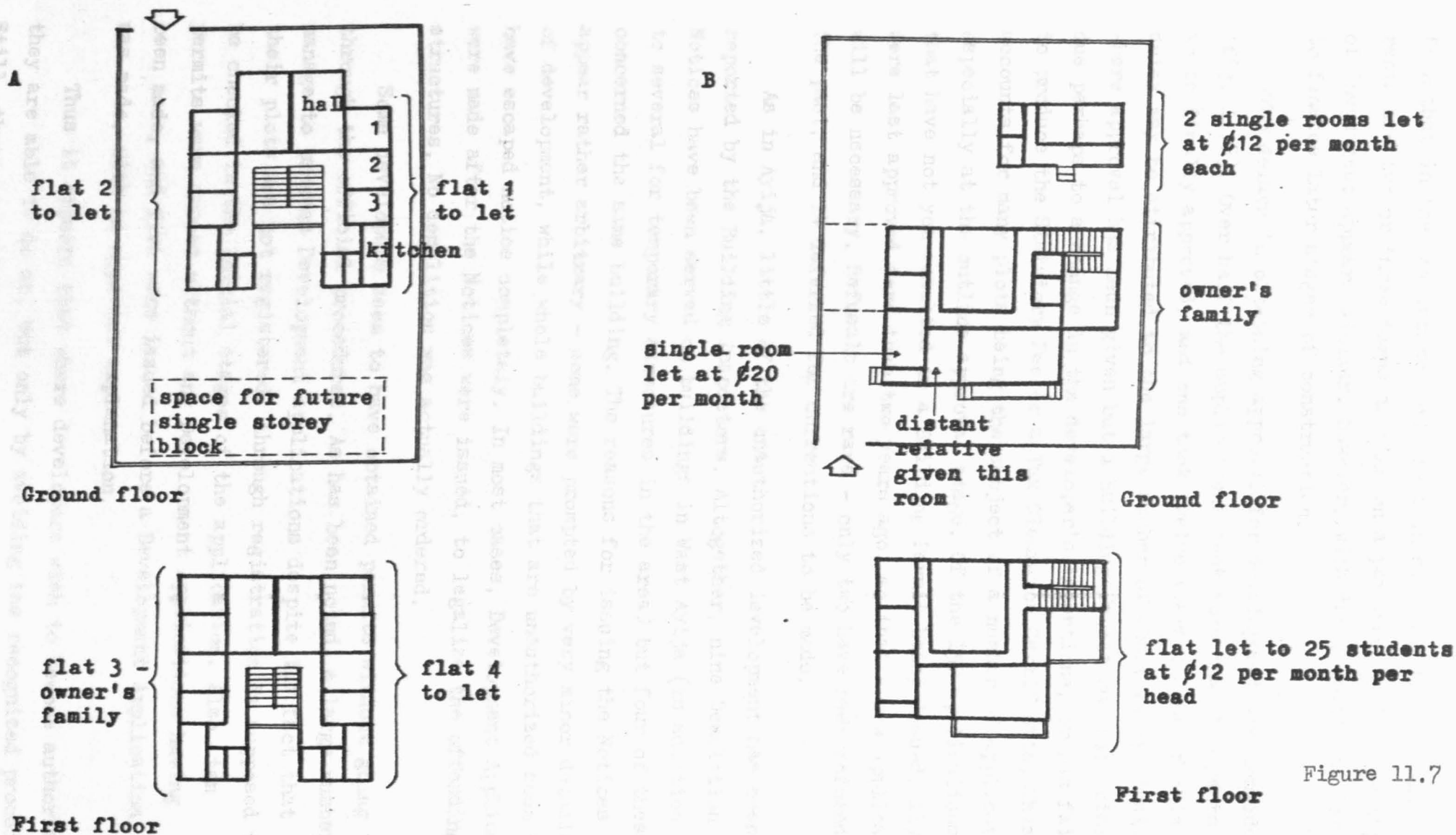


Figure 11.7

NB. a second floor is planned for future
Flats to let at ₦35 per month

NB. the large central room in the main block is a recent addition - previously this central space was open courtyard. Enclosure has resulted in poor ventilation

from that in the low income settlement in size and layout, and rents are two or three times as high on a per room basis. The type of investment appears similar, however, with the possibility for rents to finance later stages of construction.

The delays in obtaining approval for development are considerable (fig. 11.8). Over half the applications took more than two years to be finally approved, and one took twelve years ! Some of this delay may be attributed to the large number of abortive applications, where approval has been given but a Building Permit was not obtained, due perhaps to a change in the developer's intentions, or his failure to produce the Statutory Fee or a Tax Clearance Certificate. This accounts for many plots being the subject of a number of applications, especially at the outline approval stage. Of the 150 applications that have not yet resulted in a Building Permit being issued, 119 were last approved more than two years ago, so that a new application will be necessary. Refusals are rare - only two have been refused in the past, and 14 deferred for corrections to be made.

As in Ayija, little of the unauthorized development has been reported by the Building Inspectors. Altogether, nine Demolition Notices have been served on buildings in West Ayija (in addition to several for temporary structures in the area,) but four of these concerned the same building. The reasons for issuing the Notices appear rather arbitrary - some were prompted by very minor details of development, while whole buildings that are unauthorized seem to have escaped notice completely. In most cases, Development Applications were made after the Notices were issued, to legalize the offending structures. No demolition was actually ordered.

Some developers seem to have obtained permits without going through the official procedures. As has been noted, a large number manage to process Development Applications despite the fact that their plots are not registered, though registration is supposed to be checked in the initial stages of the application. Also, ten permits were issued without any Development Applications having been made, and five were issued before a Development Application was made, with no apparent explanation.

Thus it appears that where developers wish to become authorized, they are able to do so, but only by avoiding the recognized procedures. Still, there are others who have not attempted to obtain authorization, with little objection from the city authorities.

Time Taken to Process Development Application before Obtaining Building Permit

<u>no. of Development Applications</u>	<u>time taken</u>
5	Building Permit issued before Development Application made
10	no Development Application made
18	< 1 year
37	1 year
29	2 years
12	3 years
9	4 years
5	5 years
5	6 years
5	7 years
4	> 7 years
<u>139 total</u>	

Number of Times Same Plots Brought before Town Planning Committee

<u>no. of plots</u>	<u>no. of times</u>
96	once
83	twice
44	3 times
44	4 times
17	5 times
6	6 times
5	7 times
1	11 times
<u>296 total</u>	

NB. some plots had Building Permits issued where no Development Application was made, and some had Building Permits issued to a different applicant from the prospective developer in the Development Application. Thus the total numbers of plots do not tally.

Figure 11.8

Rates Payable and Paid in Ayija and West Ayija

	Ayija village	Ayija Zongo	Ayija (total)	West Ayija
total no. houses	86	232	318	104
no. houses valued	75	173	248	69
ave. rateable value per house	₦1608.59	₦1339.59*	₦1420.92	₦7104.58
total rateable value of the area	₦120644	₦231744	₦352388	₦490216
no. houses rated at old rate	74	173	247	69
ave. rates charged per house, old rate	₦12.87	₦10.72	₦11.36	₦105.36
total rates due from the area, old rate	₦952.29	₦1854.70	₦2806.99	₦7270.09
no. houses rated at new rate	74	173	247	68
ave. rates charged per house, new rate	₦12.87	₦5.33	₦7.59	₦86.28
total rates due from the area, new rate	₦952.29	₦921.42	₦1873.71	₦5867.29**
no. houses for which arrears have been computed***	77	140	217	52
ave. arrears per house	₦124.77	₦71.41	₦90.35	₦338.22
total arrears computed for the area	₦9607.05	₦9998.02	₦19605.07	₦17587.59

* many of the newer houses in Ayija Zongo, not yet valued, are likely to have a high rateable value, and raise this average

** it is not clear how the new rates for West Ayija have been calculated

*** this task has not yet been completed, and there are gaps in the records elsewhere

Figure 11.9

As in Ayija, property developers at all levels of authorization are charged rates in West Ayija, which seems to give some recognition to their status. In both settlements, however, the city authorities have difficulty in making collections. The arrears situation has been tabulated, relating to a situation where a new rate poundage had just been introduced (fig. 11.9). It may be seen that the level of arrears is high in both settlements, with about two thirds of owners in Ayija and half of the owners in West Ayija in arrears. Thus the residents of both areas are bad payers as far as the authorities are concerned, in common with many other parts of the city.

In view of the general lack of compliance with the regulations in West Ayija, it is perhaps surprising that West Ayija is recognized as an authorized settlement. This recognition gives it certain advantages in the allocation of resources by the City Council, despite the fact that rates are collected from both settlements. A good example of this discrimination is in the provision of water supply. Water mains have been laid in many streets in West Ayija, with its comparatively small population, whereas none have been provided in Ayija (fig. 11.10). Private water connections may be made in West Ayija for about 1/20th of the cost involved in Ayija Zongo (e.g. $\text{£}50$ compared with over $\text{£}1,000$). It is perhaps surprising that rates arrears in Ayija are not higher, considering how little value is received in return.

perceptions of security

Ayija is unauthorized, for whatever reasons. It is important to assess how developers in Ayija perceive their situation, and to what extent welfare in the settlement is affected by it.

Generally developers are little affected by their lack of authorization, at least in the short term. There is a great deal of cynicism about the attitude of the city authorities, and it is likely that the lack of servicing in Ayija is blamed as much on tribal or class prejudice as on the legal standing of the settlement. Explicit antagonism towards the planners, seen elsewhere in West Africa, is not evident (Green, 1972). For those who do understand the legal situation, the lack of authorization given to Ayija must act as a disincentive for long term property investment, but there are few signs that this affects development to any great extent.

Position of Water Mains in West Ayija (there are none in Ayija)

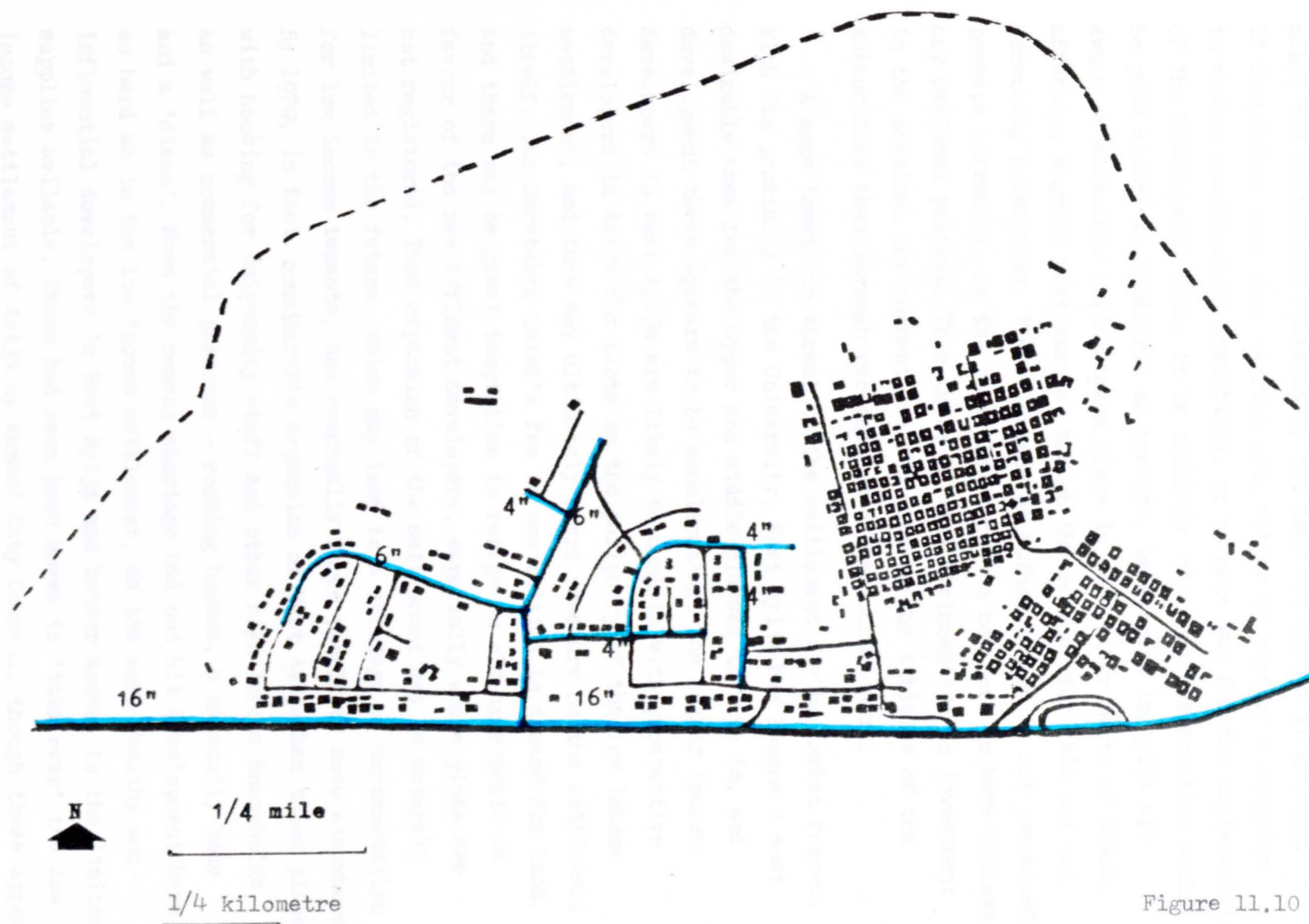


Figure 11.10

The lack of security in the settlement represents more of a potential future threat, of which most residents are unaware. It makes the settlement vulnerable, but does not change it greatly. If demolition were ever carried out, either as part of a campaign to remove unauthorized structures, or to make way for the implementation of the Development Plan, it is unlikely that any compensation would be paid either to landlords or tenants. Developers in Ayija are aware of clearance having taken place in some other parts of Ghana, affecting migrant settlements, though the reasons for this are not generally understood. The relevance of authorization is not perceived, perhaps correctly, as the past clearances do not seem to have followed any rational pattern. Thus there is some disincentive to investment in the physical environment, caused more by the attitude of the authorities than through recognition of insecure tenure.

A more immediate threat to the settlement may be market forces. With its proximity to the University, West Ayija has become a most desirable area for the upper and middle classes to live in, and development there appears to be accelerating. The higher income developers in West Ayija are likely to compete with prospective developers in Ayija for plots on the periphery of the low income settlement, and they may ultimately exert pressure on the settlement itself. The Caretaker Chief's fee is now related to demand for land, and there may be great temptation to renege on old agreements in favour of the new affluent developers, especially where plots are not registered. Thus expansion of the settlement may be severely limited in the future, which may lead to a shortage of accommodation for low income tenants, and eventually force people to move elsewhere. By 1979, in fact, considerable expansion of West Ayija had taken place, with housing for University staff and other high income households, as well as commercial premises - rooming houses, a maternity home and a 'disco'. Even the cement shortage had not hit development here so hard as in the low income settlement, as the more wealthy and influential developers in West Ayija had better access to the limited supplies available. There had even been moves to 'take over' the low income settlement of Ayija by Kumasi City Council, though these appear to have been successfully resisted.

Any demolition or eviction would be disastrous for the welfare of the residents involved, as has been shown by the experience in Nima. Resources are scarce, and many are lost by disruption. Informal

sector workers lose their sources of supply and their markets, networks of friends and relatives who are able to share resources to some extent are broken up, and substantial costs are incurred by moving house and re-establishing a base. The substantial investment in the property itself is lost, and the housing situation for the poor is worsened on a city-wide basis. Thus the vulnerability of the low income settlement, which is at least partly due to its lack of authorization, is of great concern.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSIONS

present welfare in Ayija

The various aspects of welfare have been examined descriptively in relation to Ayija. It is possible to make some analysis of the welfare provided in Ayija, using Erikson's definitions, which focus on access to resources (Erikson, 1974). It may be recalled that the welfare concept was examined for various components : individual-bound resources, social determinants and physical determinants. These categories are not always clear-cut in practice, but they are useful in suggesting different policy approaches where change is desirable. The summary presented here gives a brief description of the consequences of present policies. As may be seen, much of the welfare found in Ayija is independent of external policies, or results from an absence of policy, or acts as an unintended result of policies with other goals.

First, some of the characteristics of the migrant society may be examined to identify possible opportunities and constraints within these various categories. In distinguishing between categories, individual-bound resources have been defined from the point of view of the actor, social resources are those determined by society as a whole, and physical resources include resources connected with distances, markets, prices, etc. as well as the physical environment.

MIGRANT SOCIETY

Individual-bound resources - opportunities :

- diverse value systems allow for much personal choice of lifestyle;
- status and opportunity are given to the individual irrespective of age and family background;
- there are opportunities for privacy, territoriality and personal possessiveness;
- there is flexibility as regards family composition and roles;

- a high level of tolerance to living conditions is produced by the perception of the urban environment as merely a temporary one;
- a high level of tolerance is also produced by the perception that the chances of success are more important than the probability of success in the urban environment;
- the lack of dependants, or clear dependency relationships, may be welcomed;

Individual-bound resources - constraints :

- the impersonal environment inhibits cultural self-expression;
- the lack of clear value systems may produce uncertainty;

Social determinants - opportunities :

- tribal and other informal groups act as replacements for extended family networks;

Social determinants - constraints :

- prejudice on the part of the host society limits urban opportunities;
- inter-group hostilities limit co-operation;
- the lack of a clear authority system causes uncertainty;

Physical determinants - opportunities :

- proximity to higher income areas increases the sense of community solidarity through introversion;

Physical determinants - constraints :

- competition for available housing limits choice regarding physical proximity to friends, relatives, etc.
- separation from other low income areas increases social isolation;
- proximity to higher income areas increases sense of inequity;

It may be seen that some characteristics of society have both positive and negative effects for the individual, or sometimes positive effects for some individuals and negative effects for others. This may also be seen in relation to the various aspects of welfare which are now examined, i.e. the housing environment, environmental health, work activities, non-work activities and security of tenure.

THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT

Individual-bound resources - opportunities :

- there is choice in the levels of personal interaction produced by spatial provision flexible enough to meet individual needs;

- there are opportunities for minimizing expenditure on accommodation;

Individual-bound resources - constraints :

- high density living acts as a constraint on flexibility;
- there is a lack of identity with the urban residence as 'home';

Social determinants - opportunities :

- landlords are responding to social demands for upgrading housing, to some extent;
- security and social cohesion are promoted by the courtyard housing type;
- within the migrant society itself, there are available skills for building activity;

Social determinants - constraints :

- the high level of housing demand acts to limit choice;
- increasing demand may raise housing costs;
- capital investment in housing is insufficient to meet demand;
- there is too much competition for available resources from the natural environment, leading to resource depletion;
- farmers, livestock owners and the rest of the public find themselves at odds because of the incompatibility of agriculture and high density urban living;

Physical determinants - opportunities :

- the site is well drained;
- there is some access to farming land and other natural resources;
- there is some available natural water - rivers and rainfall;
- there are available building materials - mud, sand;
- the hierarchy of spaces provides for a variety of needs and uses;

Physical determinants - constraints :

- heavy rainfall causes severe gullying;
- competition for space limits space provision overall;
- climate places some limits on farming unirrigated land;
- there are difficulties in obtaining some building materials - cement, roofing sheets;

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

Individual-bound resources - opportunities :

- there is an adaptable attitude to diet;
- a wide variety of foodstuffs is made use of, in cooked, processed and natural form;

Individual-bound resources - constraints :

- there is competition in the budget from other items, e.g. consumer durables;
- there is a tendency for food allocation within the family to result in inadequate nutrition for women and children;
- bulk cooking of food may reduce nutritional quality;
- tolerance of poor living conditions may increase malnutrition and illhealth;
- there is a lack of understanding about the causes of illhealth;

Social determinants - opportunities :

- a choice of traditional healers is available;
- there are enterprises providing recycling opportunities for waste products;

Social determinants - constraints :

- traditional customs affecting health, e.g. fasts, taboos, superstitions. may not be beneficial;

Physical determinants - opportunities :

- there is an effective distribution system ensuring minimum shopping distances for food;
- the University Hospital is nearby;
- there is some availability of free foodstuffs or opportunities for food production in the surrounding area;

Physical determinants - constraints :

- the price structure affects nutrition, and this fluctuates seasonally;
- there are market shortages apart from seasonal fluctuations;
- lack of storage space limits opportunities for bulk buying;
- environmental conditions increase the incidence of disease;
- the price of tap water encourages economies, and the use of inferior sources;

- municipal services are lacking, and private services are taxed;

WORK ACTIVITIES

Individual-based resources - opportunities :

- individuals may possess a wide range of skills, giving an element of choice in the economic activities pursued;
- there is initiative in perceiving opportunities for work;
- there is an incentive for maximizing urban incomes;
- work activity can be adapted to individual lifestyles;

Individual-bound resources - constraints :

- the need to minimize risks inhibits specialization;

Social determinants - opportunities :

- tribal specialization and co-operation assists in finding work;
- there is a general tolerance of ethics as regards work;

Social determinants - constraints :

- cultural prejudice by the host community affects job allocations;
- there are insufficient informal sector work opportunities to meet demand;
- licensing for some activities is prohibitive or restrictive;
- there is a lack of capital or investment opportunities;

Physical determinants - opportunities :

- the University is nearby, providing wage employment;
- there are available resources and markets for informal sector work;

Physical determinants - constraints :

- access to formal sector employment opportunities is inadequate;
- market conditions are unstable in relation to both supply and demand;

NON-WORK ACTIVITIES

Individual-based resources - opportunities :

- there is value placed on education;
- the search for new value systems creates a demand for religion;
- the desire for chances to get rich quickly provides an incentive for gambling;

Individual-based resources - constraints :

- the desire for savings limits expenditure on entertainment;
- temptations for expenditure on entertainment may limit other opportunities;

Social determinants - opportunities :

- there is a wide choice of religious creeds;
- entertainment facilities are available;
- there is social approval of drinking, commercial sex and gambling;

Social determinants - constraints :

- selection for Secondary and Tertiary education does not favour Ayija residents;

Physical determinants - opportunities :

- mosques and churches are available;
- there are Arabic schools and other accessible schools;
- there is some possibility for using educational facilities elsewhere (i.e. the rural areas);

Physical determinants - constraints :

- there is a lack of opportunity for traditional home-based religious practice;
- there is insufficient provision of secular educational facilities;

SECURITY OF TENURE

Individual-bound resources - opportunities :

- plots are available from the Caretaker Chief to potential investors;

Individual-bound resources - constraints :

- the need for incremental investment is incompatible with authorized development procedures;
- there is substantial cost and time delay in obtaining the relevant approvals;
- there is a lack of familiarity with the system of obtaining approval;

Social determinants - opportunities :

- development which infringes the regulations is (at present) ignored by the authorities;
- the levy of rates from property owners implies authorization;

Social determinants - constraints :

- the system of authorization is inaccessible to potential developers;
- there is underlying prejudice and hostility from the urban authorities, which threatens the settlement's security, whatever the level of authorization achieved;

Physical determinants - opportunities :

- plot location is not accurately checked in relation to registration and the authorization of development;
- there is a lack of evidence as to which dwellings are unauthorized, i.e. which were not already in existence before the city boundary extension;
- inspectors' reports have not identified many dwellings as unauthorized, and few Demolition Notices have been served;

Physical determinants - constraints :

- density and plot layout is incompatible with the Development Plan;
- the location of the Volta Cable threatens the settlement's existence;
- the proposal for relocating the railway station also poses a threat;
- competition for land from high income developers as an extension of West Ayija presents an even more immediate danger.

These observations relate to the various factors which may influence the welfare of the individual. The actual level of welfare, termed 'wellbeing' by Erikson, is a subjective affair. The weighting of the various influences will be different for each person. In some cases, the situation found in Ayija may have positive value for some, and negative value for others : for instance the lack of a clear value system provides opportunities for some and may produce a sense of insecurity for others. Tribalism has positive effects in promoting co-operation within the group and mutual support, and negative effects in encouraging inter-group conflict. The provision of gambling facilities may be seen as a positive influence on welfare by those who value gambling opportunities, while it may be seen as a source of undesirable temptation by those who would rather use their money in other ways.

The observations listed present a generalized picture of the welfare of Ayija residents as a group. Within the group there may be conflicts of interest, which it may be particularly important to consider if changes are proposed. Thus while general welfare might be

promoted by making best use of the resources and seeking to minimize the constraints as listed, not all sections of the community will find this advantageous. Landlords are obviously benefiting from the shortage of accommodation in Ayija, and their particular interests would not be served (at least in the short term) by an increase in the housing stock. Permanent settlers, including landlords, may have different interests from temporary migrants. Dealers in all types of commodities make substantial profits in times of commodity shortages, and these profits would be cut if the shortages were eliminated. Water sellers are a particular example of this, where the profits have been made possible only after an enormous investment of savings.

In some areas, there is competition for the same resources, and it is not possible to increase the welfare of one group unless this is at the expense of another. The competition for use of land for building, agriculture, livestock raising, industry and exploitation of natural resources is an example of this.

Thus while absolute measurements of welfare would be useful, they cannot be given. It is possible, however, to compare between one area and another with regard to the opportunities and constraints apparent, and to make some deductions about comparative levels of welfare.

rural-urban comparisons

Various comparisons have been made throughout the study between the situations found in Ayija and Zebila, which was chosen as a sample village of migrant origin. While such comparisons may not always be representative of rural-urban contrasts, the case study of Zebila does provide examples of possible contrasts, which are likely to be relevant for a large number of migrants. The following summary notes the differences between Zebila and Ayija in the opportunities offered and the constraints on welfare. Again, these will be valued in various ways by different individuals, and what may be perceived as an opportunity by one individual may in some cases act as a constraint on another. The comments appear as generalizations, relating to the comparative situation between Ayija and Zebila, in describing the welfare of the inhabitants of Zebila.

Welfare in Zebila, Compared with Ayija

(a) the social environment - opportunities and constraints :

- a single value system operates;
- age confers respect;
- there is an established system of authority (though in Zebila the conflict between chief and tendana undermines this to some extent);
- there are fixed family roles and dependency relationships;
- there is emotional attachment to the settlement as 'home';
- cultural traditions are openly expressed;
- there are clearly established social networks;
- there is a lack of inter-group hostilities;

(b) the housing environment - opportunities and constraints :

- space is more readily available, for all uses;
- expenditure is not a constraint on traditional housing;
- the available housing meets rural rather than urban aspirations;
- there is available land for farming;
- climate acts to limit farming activity, particularly in the dry season;
- skills and materials for traditional house building are readily available;

(c) environmental health - opportunities and constraints :

- there is less diversity in food resources;
- food is cheaper, but availability fluctuates seasonally;
- nutrition appears very poor in the hungry part of the year;
- there is a lack of understanding about the causes of illhealth;
- environment-related diseases are prevalent;
- access to scientific medicine is probably more difficult;
- there is less of a problem with waste disposal;
- there is better provision of services - water supply and waste disposal;

(d) work activities - opportunities and constraints :

- there are farming and other skills available;
- income opportunities are limited, with little choice;
- the lack of capital and investment opportunity is even more serious than in Ayija;
- lack of forward planning by the individual has serious consequences, due to seasonal variation;
- there are seasonal shortages of work of any description;

amenities in Zebila :

(top left) public taps in Zebila

(below centre) Zebila Primary
school

(bottom) Zebila market place

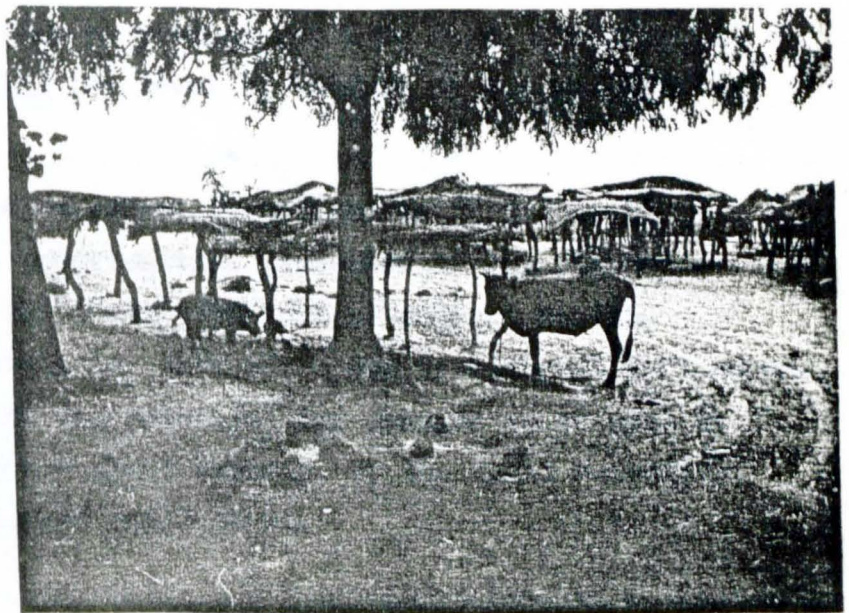
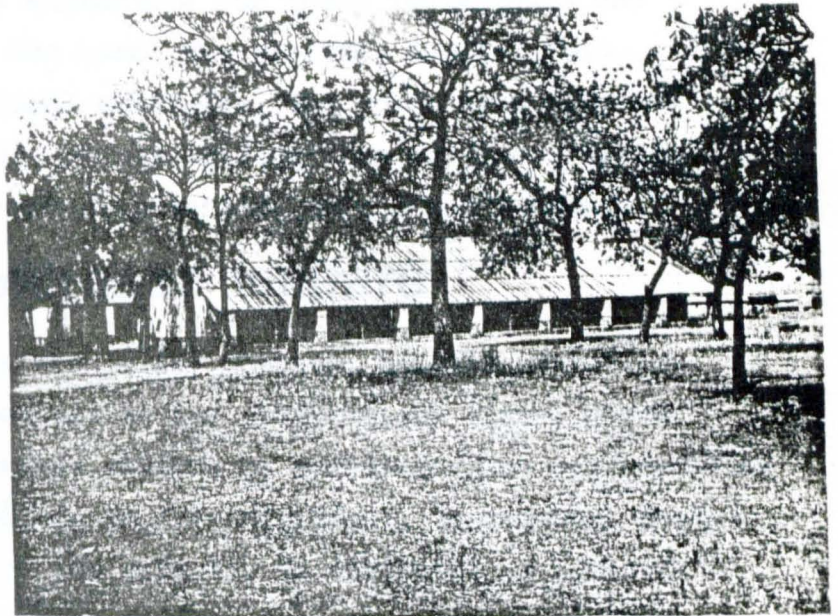
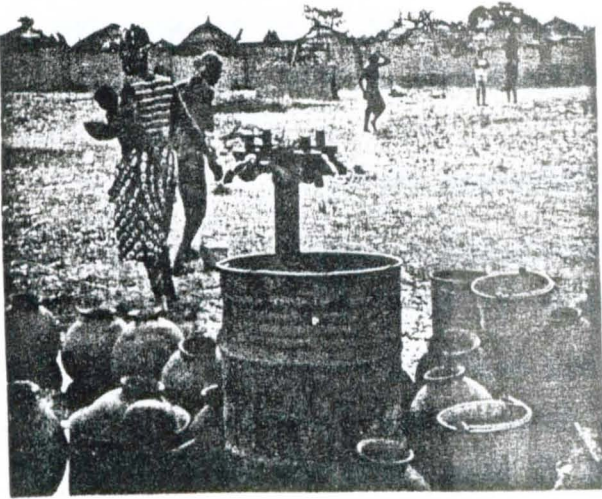


Figure 12.1

- (e) non-work activities - opportunities and constraints :
- there is less choice as regards religion;
 - there are better education facilities for Primary and Middle schooling;
 - there is a lack of commercial entertainment facilities;
- (f) security of tenure - opportunities and constraints :
- residents have security of tenure;

It may be seen that there are many ways in which the rural area appears to provide a better level of welfare for the majority of its residents than the urban area is able to provide. However, the urban area appears as relatively attractive for those individuals who do not readily conform to the rural way of life, due to urban aspirations or non-traditional attitudes. The urban area also has certain economic advantages, mainly arising from the less drastic seasonal fluctuations of work opportunity, prices and incomes.

intervention to increase welfare

When making proposals for policy changes, certain guidelines are appropriate. With reference to the observations listed above, it may be possible to increase welfare by maximizing the opportunities and minimizing the constraints on the individual. Incremental change, with constant evaluation of the effects, is desirable to identify unforeseen results, and resolve difficulties that may arise from the conflicting needs of different groups. Certain safeguards may also have to be applied, such as producing a more equal distribution of resources, and protecting the level of welfare of the poorest individuals.

Examining the welfare resources identified in Ayija, it is apparent that most of the opportunities presented to the migrant are those resulting from the characteristics of migrant society itself, while the constraints are more often due to external influences. It is necessary to evaluate the potential for changes to be made at various levels - within the migrant society, by the local authority, and at a national (or international) level.

(a) migrant society :

It would appear that individuals within Ayija create their own welfare opportunities to a large extent. However, the opportunities presented are often over-exploited, to the point

where further opportunities can only be created at the expense of some sections of society. The potential for 'self-help' is limited, especially when the constraints imposed by external influences, discussed below, are taken into account.

The most limiting aspect of welfare arising from the migrant society itself is its size and density. While work and social opportunities may increase as population increases, this is balanced against sacrifices in other aspects of welfare - housing density, access to natural resources, health levels, etc. It seems likely that Ayija has grown to a point where further growth will produce a net loss of welfare for the present inhabitants.

One aspect of migrant society where changes would be of general benefit is the system of internal administration in the settlement. It would seem that there is some potential for giving clearer leadership within Ayija, to promote inter-tribal harmony, communal efforts in improving the settlement, and also to give the settlement a political voice in dealing with the urban administration.

Welfare generally suffers from the lack of identity of the residents with Ayija as a permanent home. While some may perceive themselves as permanent settlers, and others may find themselves staying in the settlement for good, the vast majority regard their settlements of origin as the ultimate 'home'. This results in a lack of commitment to Ayija, and a lack of incentive for improving living conditions there. However, any proposal to increase the sense of commitment to Ayija, even if feasible, might not necessarily increase the eventual welfare of those who intend to return to the rural areas. Their rural commitment may be the result of a realistic evaluation of what is in their best interest, providing for optimum welfare in the long run.

(b) the local authority :

Many of the constraints on welfare in Ayija arise from the attitudes of the local authority, evident in discriminatory policies against the settlement. These attitudes are thought to be caused by underlying prejudices against migrants as a group, and northerners in particular, though the expression of this discrimination is indirect, and is rationalized in various ways. A change in attitude would be difficult to achieve, of course. Direct intervention to increase the level of welfare in Ayija would have to be directed at the symptoms of discrimination rather than the cause.

A possible area for intervention of this sort would be the development control system, which at present is used with discretion to disqualify Ayija from receiving a fair allocation of local authority expenditure, and which also threatens the future security of the settlement. A simplified and more accessible system would be easy to devise, taking account of the present existence of the settlement. Any approval system should be cheap and fast, and should make it possible for phased development according to traditional building forms (if not materials) to receive authorization. An emphasis on land registration at the expense of the details of building control would appear well justified. The Caretaker Chief's co-operation in advising prospective developers of the appropriate procedures appears to be an essential prerequisite for any measure of successful development control. Such control would seem to be necessary so that authorization may be given, protecting the settlement against pressures for redevelopment in the future. So long as the continued existence of the settlement relies on ambiguity, or on the inaction of the controlling authorities, it is extremely vulnerable. Authorization would also place greater demands on the local authority for the provision of services, especially water supply and waste disposal, and also educational facilities.

Another aspect of local authority control is the licensing and taxing of informal sector enterprises. The scale of fees appears to be prohibitive for many small or newly forming businesses. The method of collection, being open to much abuse, adds to business insecurity, and may lead to even greater costs for some workers. A fairer and more lenient system might ultimately generate more productivity and income for the city as a whole.

The lack of planning provision for low income settlement in Kumasi as a whole is partly to blame for Ayija's increasing problems of crowding. There is no effective system of preparing in advance for urban expansion through in-migration, perhaps because of a fear that to do so would further increase in-migration, while to keep migrant welfare at a minimum may discourage potential migrants.

(c) national problems :

Many aspects of welfare in Ayija are determined by factors completely removed from the settlement itself. In particular, the general market conditions in the country have serious detrimental effects on welfare. The scarce capital resources within the settlement

are wasted through the lack of investment opportunity, and instability of supplies and markets.

It is apparent that investment opportunities are eagerly sought, but found lacking, so that capital has to be saved by 'freezing' in some form, where it often depreciates in value. It would not be difficult to devise attractive schemes for investment by the large scale saver (e.g. potential property investors) and the small scale saver (e.g. traders, other informal sector workers, migrants generally). The possible use of investment in shares would be of benefit to local businesses, though this might require the stabilization of market conditions generally, to minimize financial risks.

Market conditions in Ghana are unstable in various ways. There are extreme seasonal variations in the availability and prices of goods, due to lack of storage facilities and erratic forward planning, aggravated by profiteering by those in control of supplies. In addition, there are less predictable non-seasonal variations in price, due to government controls, changing costs of imported goods, or availability. At certain times, some goods become completely unavailable, at whatever price, due to government intervention, bad planning, or diversion of supplies. At other times, unexpected supplies may appear, due to smuggling activity or the opening up of legitimate trade. All these variations in the supply of commodities contributes to a situation where investors depend on a great deal of luck rather than judgement, and the growth of enterprises is hampered. If goods are unavailable, enterprises may cease to function altogether. The insecurity of the situation, however, discourages entrepreneurs from reaching this vulnerable position, and they minimize their risks by remaining unspecialized and curtailing the growth of their businesses.

Markets for goods produced are also unstable. Home produced goods may suddenly find themselves in unexpected competition with a flood of cheap imported (or donated) goods. Government controls on marketing may prevent goods from reaching their best outlets. The distribution system may be disrupted by fuel shortages, controls or unexpected price increases. Enterprises may understandably keep their productivity to a scale which reduces their dependence on distant markets.

Regulation by national government is necessary to improve the market situation. Currency stability, greater or more consistent availability of import licences (to achieve greater price stability

than that produced by smuggling), steady policies and better forward planning are all needed, and accepting foreign aid in the form of donations of cheap or free goods may be undesirable because of the disruptive market effects (Phillips, 1975).

Health is another aspect of welfare which requires intervention at a national or regional level. While much illhealth may be attributed to poor servicing of the settlement by the local authority, such disorders as bilharzia and malaria will only be eradicated through efforts at the broader geographical level. Health education would be an essential part of any eradication programme, necessary in the rural and urban areas.

costs of intervention

It may be seen that welfare resources affecting Ayija could be increased without any great expenditures. A more helpful attitude on the part of the local authority, particularly, might release resources which are underused at present. For instance, giving greater security to the settlement might encourage private investment in housing, and accelerate the physical upgrading of the settlement (a process which is apparent despite the present disincentives). Similarly, at a national level, the stabilization of market conditions and provision of investment opportunities might make for much better use of the capital available in Ghanaian society as a whole, resulting in net profits rather than costs to the administration.

In some respects, welfare in Ayija may only be raised by some input of additional resources, though this might result from a reallocation of resources from elsewhere. For instance, the local authority's discriminatory allocation of resources away from low income areas like Ayija, towards high income areas like West Ayija, might be corrected with no net increase in total expenditure. The funds available, having been raised through taxing the whole urban population, might merely be allocated more fairly, or even with a positive bias towards helping rather than depriving the low income settlement. It would appear that municipal services and educational facilities would be the priorities for additional expenditure being diverted towards Ayija.

The most costly form of intervention to assist Ayija residents would be at the national or regional level in the eradication of disease, and improvement of health education. While representing a

worthwhile investment in human capital, it is unlikely that the costs of an eradication programme could be supported without external assistance through foreign aid. An assessment of the subjectively perceived needs of Ayija residents might not reveal this as a priority area for expenditure, but consideration of survival needs, and the welfare of the next generation, justify the increase in resources.

An important factor in any allocation of resources must be the needs of rural areas. Attempts to increase welfare in specific urban settlements may ultimately worsen the situation of urban bias in investment, which is partly responsible for in-migration (Bryant, 1980). However, it may be seen that increasing welfare in Ayija need not be at the expense of the rural areas. Some aspects of welfare may be increased at no expense at all, and where expenditure is necessary, it should be diverted from high income urban areas which at present are subsidized by low income settlements like Ayija. Some national-scale interventions, such as the stabilization of markets and the eradication of diseases, would have benefits for rural areas as well as the cities, perhaps producing an even more marked improvement in welfare.

Ayija in the West African context

The earlier description (Chapter Four) of migrant settlements in West Africa pointed to much similarity in the characteristics found in various parts of the region. Migration generally occurs from the arid interior towards the coast, and there are cultural similarities between the savannah peoples as the main migrant group and the coastal peoples as the dominant urban group, as well as environmental similarities between migrant source areas and between migrant destination points. Even the settlement forms are often remarkably alike. Ayija is thus typical in many ways of migrant settlements formed in cities in the coastal zone, by migration predominantly from the savannah areas. Migration formed by in-migration to savannah towns, or produced by migration from non-savannah areas, may show less similarity with Ayija, but these play a relatively minor part in West African rural-urban migration.

Some of the characteristics of Ayija which help to determine the welfare obtainable in the settlement may be common to most migrant settlements in the region. For instance, there is a marked

tendency for migration to be temporary, but with some urban adaptations being made by many migrants. Tribal and other associations are formed, and there is often a strong Moslem influence on the developing 'urban' culture, regardless of the religion of the dominant urban group. There is often some hostility evident between the host group and migrants as a group, as well as between some of the migrant groups themselves. Settlements vary in their degree of dependence on formal sector employment for their economic viability, but many have a strong informal sector, and there is often some economic specialization within the migrant community.

Despite the broad similarities between many of the migrant settlements, important differences are apparent, which may have implications for welfare. Centrally located settlements and older established settlements may have more permanent residents, and a distinctive urban culture may have emerged, minimizing inter-group friction within the migrant community. Friction with the host community does not generally seem to diminish with time, however, and this is reflected in the lack of security given even to long established settlements. The population balance of the settlements may vary, with more or less women and dependants in relation to the adult male population, and this may affect the social life found in the settlement, and the economic activities pursued. The general pattern appears to be for either a balanced male-female population, as in Ayija, or a predominance of males in the population, with relatively few dependants in either case.

Some settlements have less access than Ayija to undeveloped space for farming and other uses, and these include the more central as well as the larger settlements, Nima being the prime Ghanaian example. Others are at a much earlier phase of development than Ayija, such as Moshie Zongo in Kumasi, where there appears to be no shortage of accommodation, and so much surrounding bushland that the settlement is relatively isolated from the rest of the city. A balance between the advantages of a large population (for markets, service activities, etc.) and the advantages of adequate available housing and access to natural resources is sought for optimum welfare in a migrant settlement. Access to farming land appears to be a common feature of many migrant settlements in West Africa (Gugler and Flanagan, 1978), and explains the predominant pattern of peripheral settlement.

Thus the main points made in this thesis about welfare in Ayija would seem to have relevance for other migrant settlements in West Africa. There is a need for better use of available capital, greater stability of markets, better provision of services and improved security of tenure, in order to release the considerable human resources found in migrant settlements throughout the region.

Ayija in the world context

More care must be taken in extending the conclusions of this study beyond the regional context. There is much diversity in the characteristics of migrant settlements elsewhere in developing countries, and these may imply different considerations in relation to optimizing welfare.

In comparing with migrant settlements elsewhere, Ayija appears to have better welfare resources than many settlements, particularly in relation to the following characteristics :

- (i) the natural environment (climate, building materials, space, other natural resources);
- (ii) population balance (high proportion of economically active individuals, complementary social needs);
- (iii) work opportunities (though these are often generated from within the settlement itself, involving low incomes);
- (iv) direction of change (gradual upgrading of housing);

At the same time, it also has some comparative disadvantages :

- (v) temporary residents, less committed to the urban area, less willing to invest in their environment;
- (vi) hostility between groups, both within the settlement, and in its relationships with the urban community;
- (vii) poor services, at even the most basic level;

In common with other migrant settlements it also has the disadvantage of :

- (viii) insecure tenure.

At the various levels of intervention proposed, the opportunities generated within the settlement are probably comparatively good, while the constraints on welfare resulting from the attitude of the local authority may be especially bad for welfare. Those problems perceived as having national rather than local causes may well be common to most other areas of the third world : unstable markets, and endemic debilitating diseases.

A major finding of this study is that welfare in the migrant settlement is not so much limited by lack of resources, as by poor use of them, with local authority policies being responsible for much of the evident hardship. It would be useful to discover whether this conclusion would be reached by an assessment of welfare in other parts of the third world, though the available data does not permit such a generalization at this stage.

APPENDIX A

Methodology for Studies of Spatial Use

Location of Spaces Chosen for Activity Studies

scale 1:500



1 a courtyard

2 a minor street

3 a major road

4 Ayija Zongo market

5 Ayija village market

6 the new Ayija market

7 Ayija Junction



Site Plan of Ayija Zongo Market

approx. scale
1"=10'

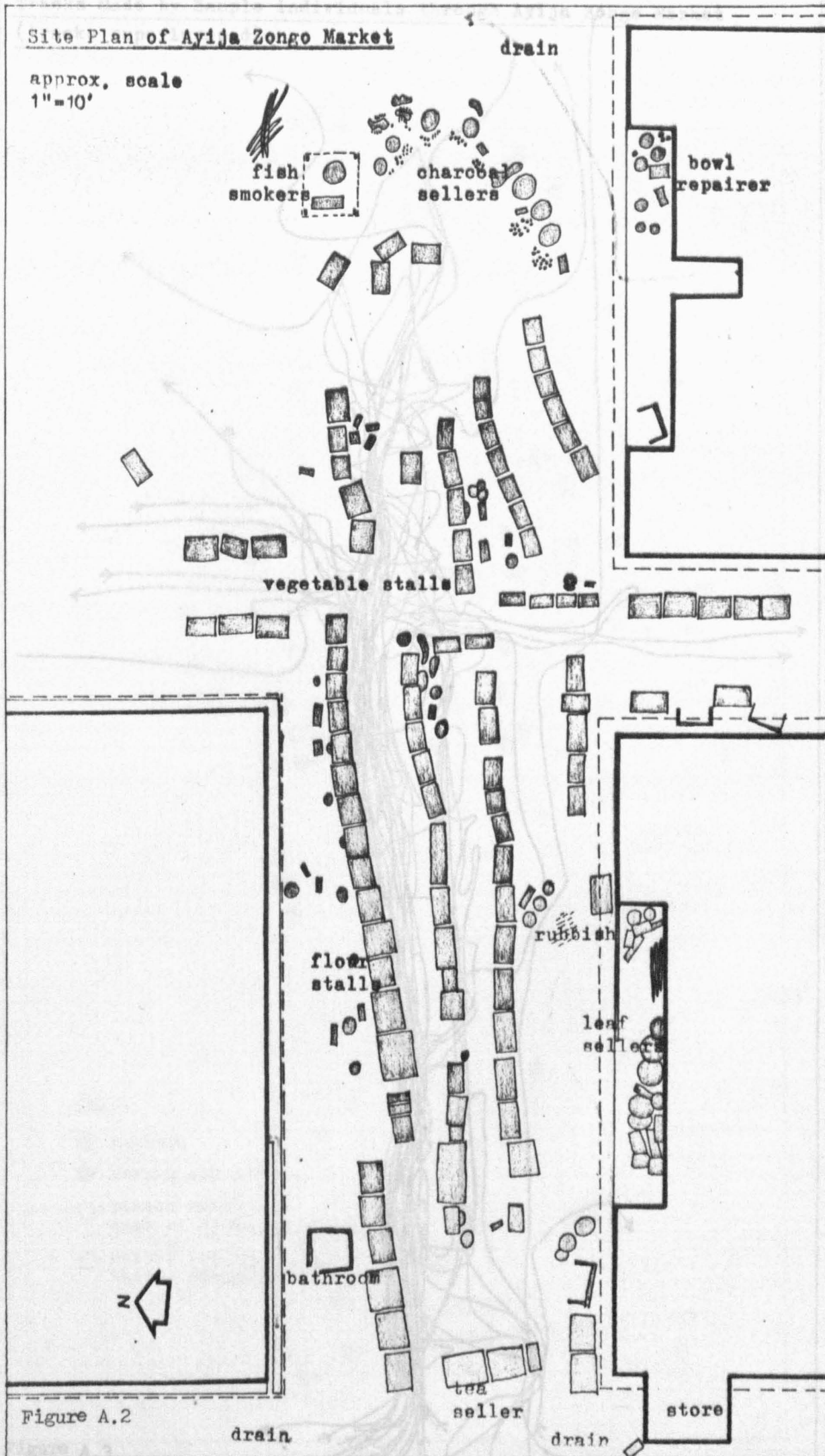


Figure A.2

Tracks Made by Sample Individuals through Ayija Zongo Market
 (tracks superimposed)

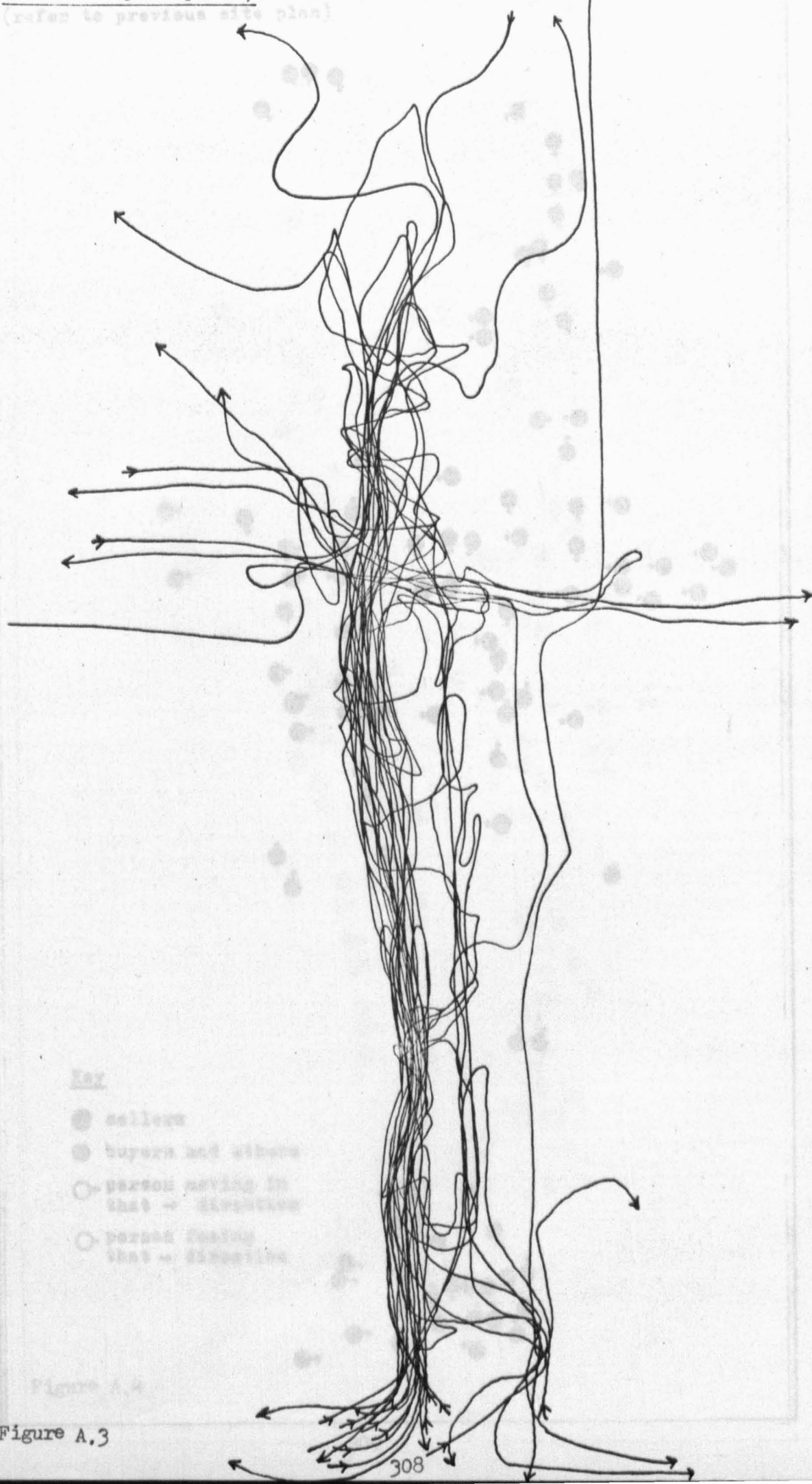


Figure A.3

(refer to previous site plan)

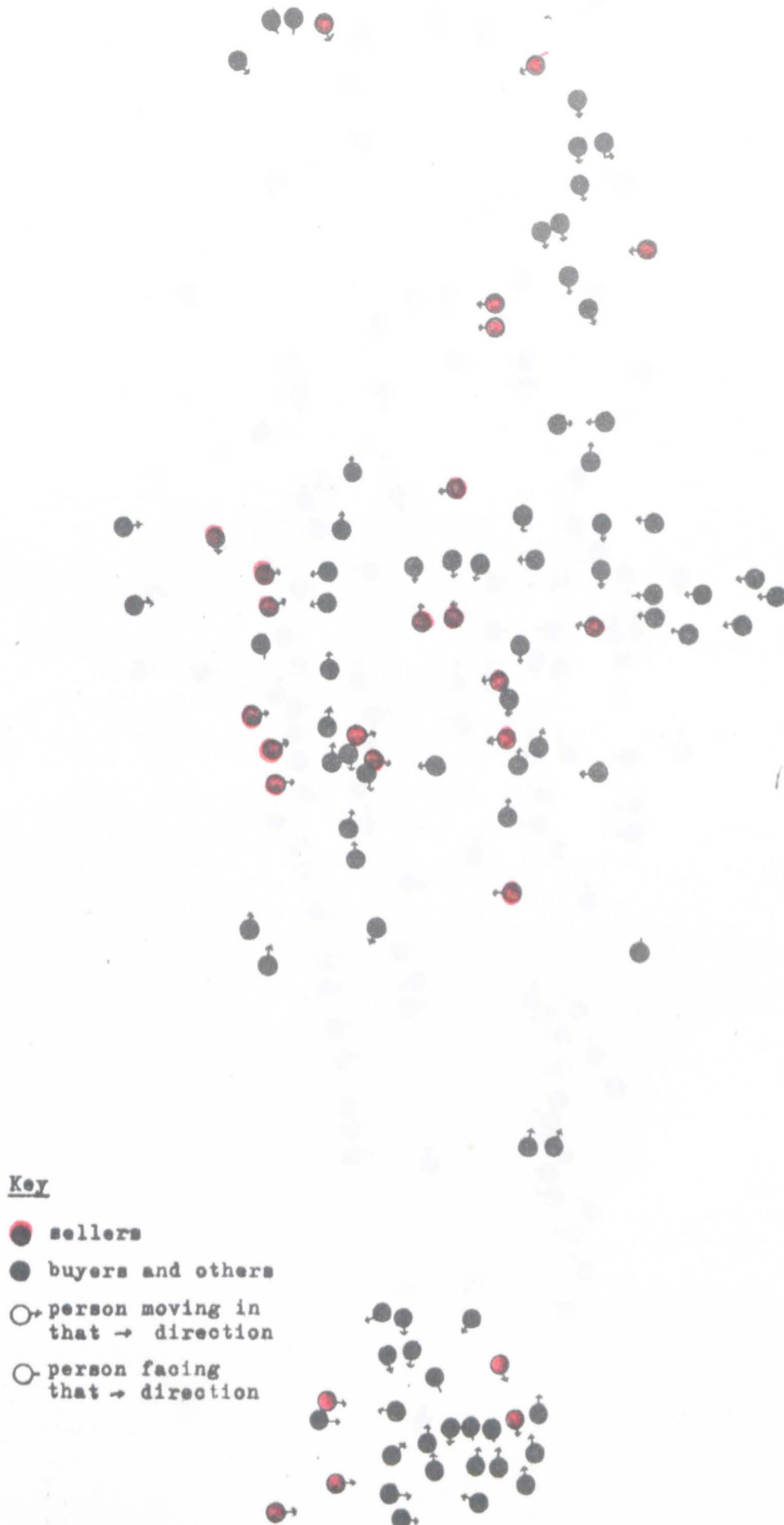


Figure A.4

Position and Movement of People at 8 a.m.

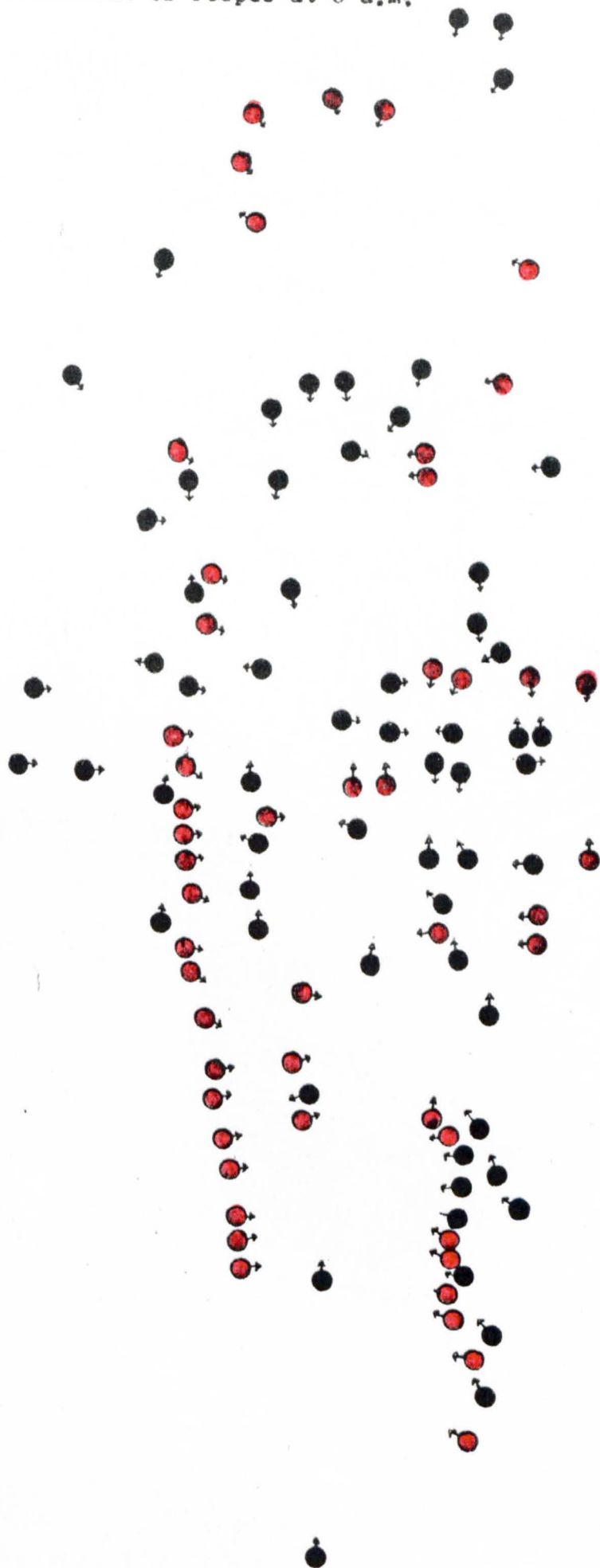


Figure A.5



Figure A.6

Position and Movement of People at 10 a.m.



Figure A.7

Position and Movement of People at 11 a.m.

NB a rainstorm at this time caused people to seek shelter in verandahs and under roof overhangs. It was not possible to distinguish between sellers and buyers at this time.



Figure A.8

Position and Movement of People at 12 noon

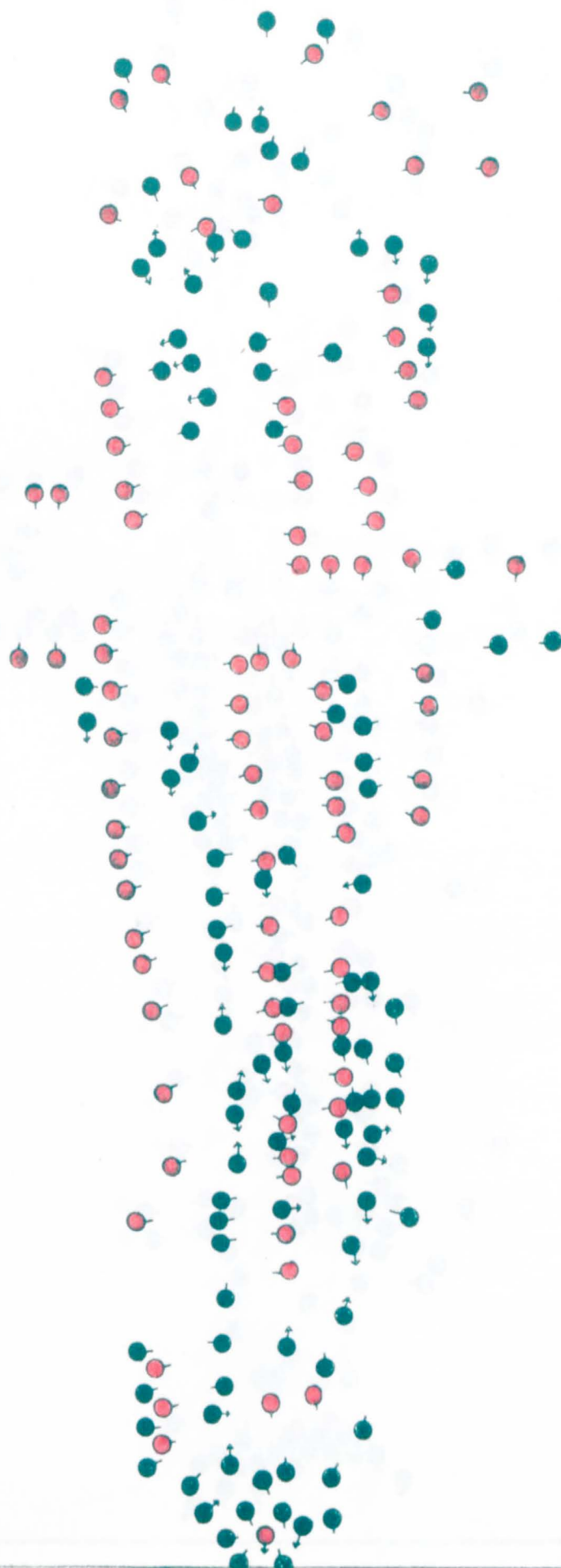


Figure A.9

Position and Movement of People at 1 p.m.

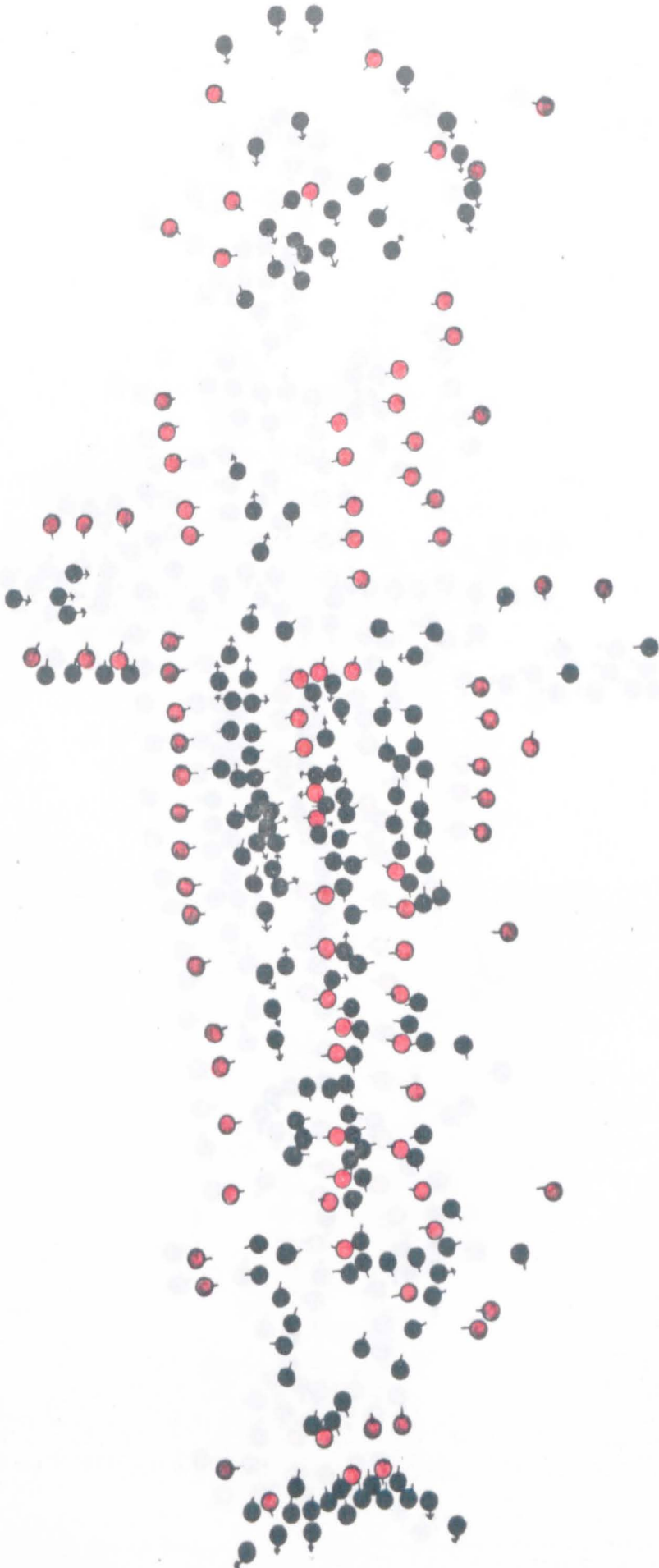


Figure A.10

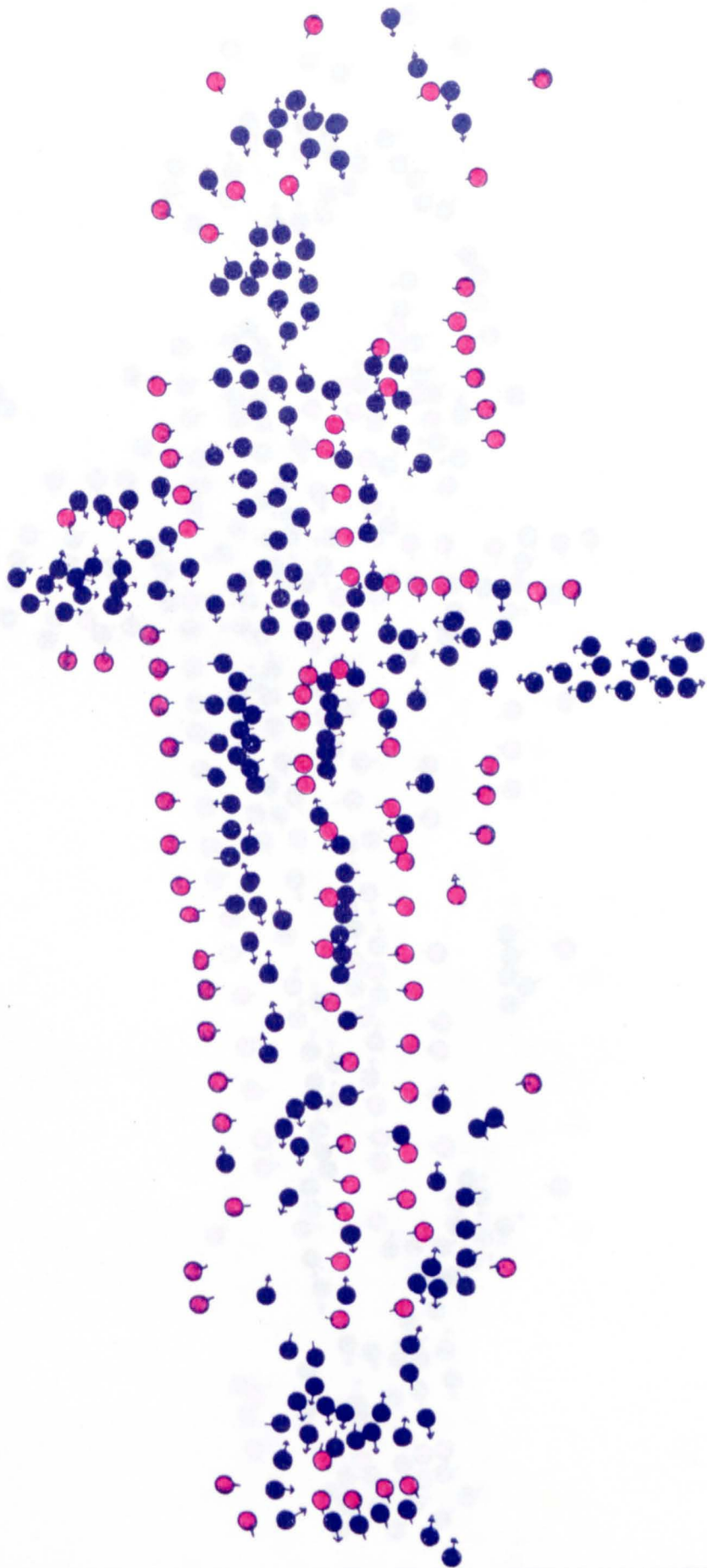




Figure A.12

Position and Movement of People at 4 p.m.

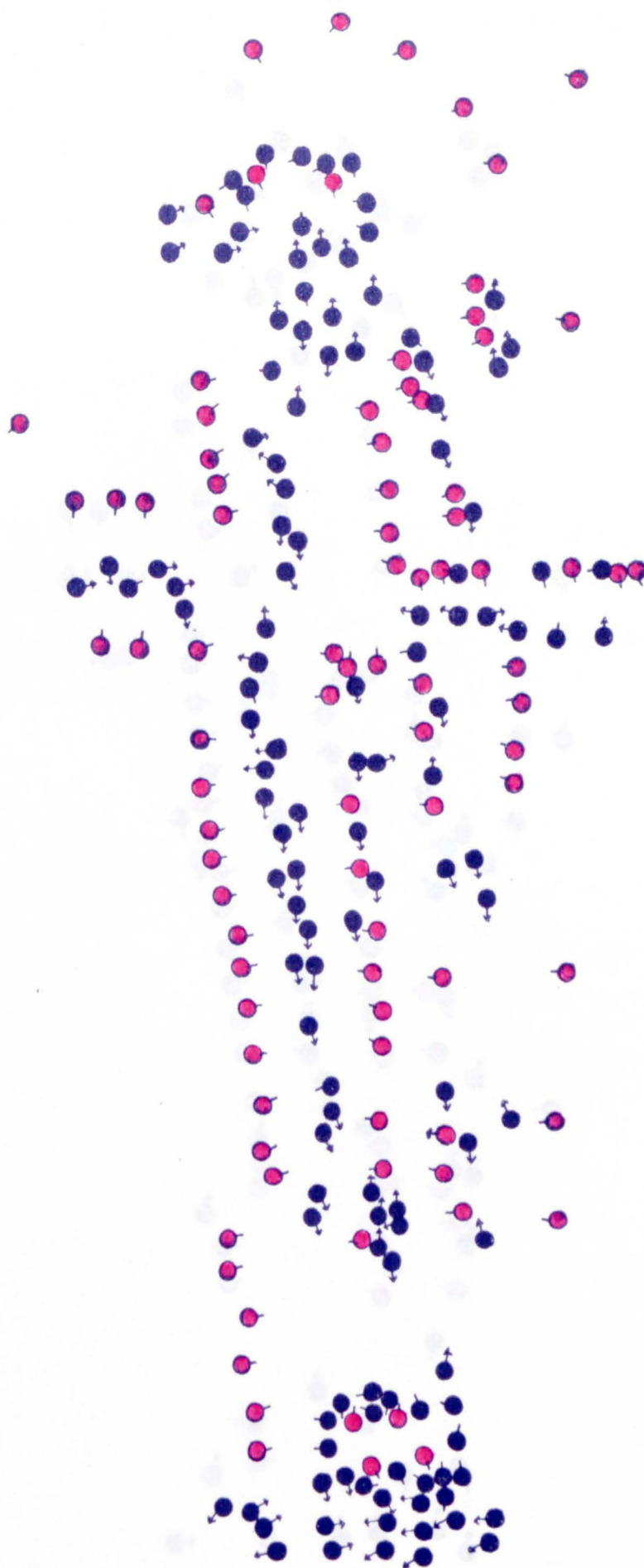


Figure A.13

Position and Movement of People at 5 p.m.



Figure A.14

Position and Movement of People at 6 p.m.

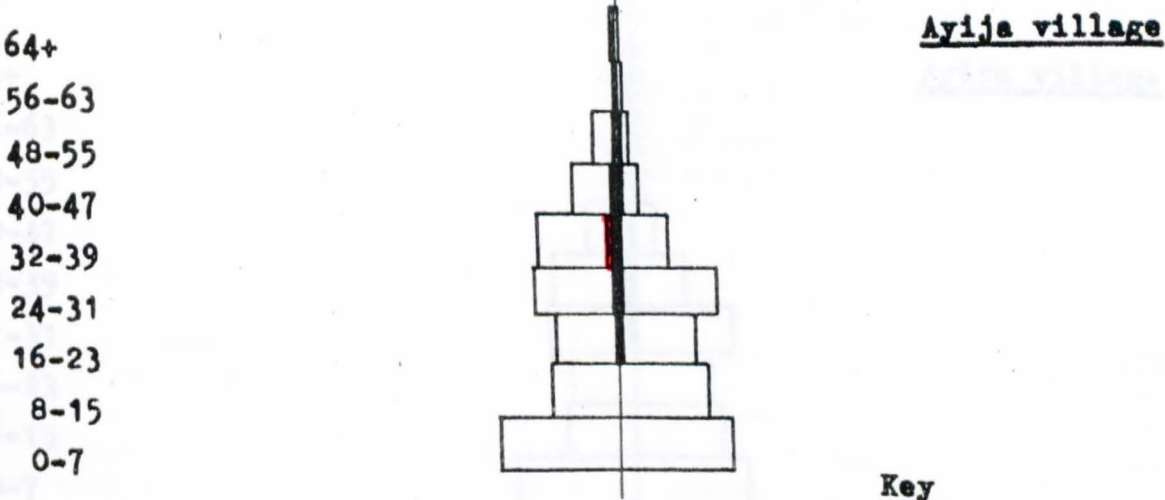
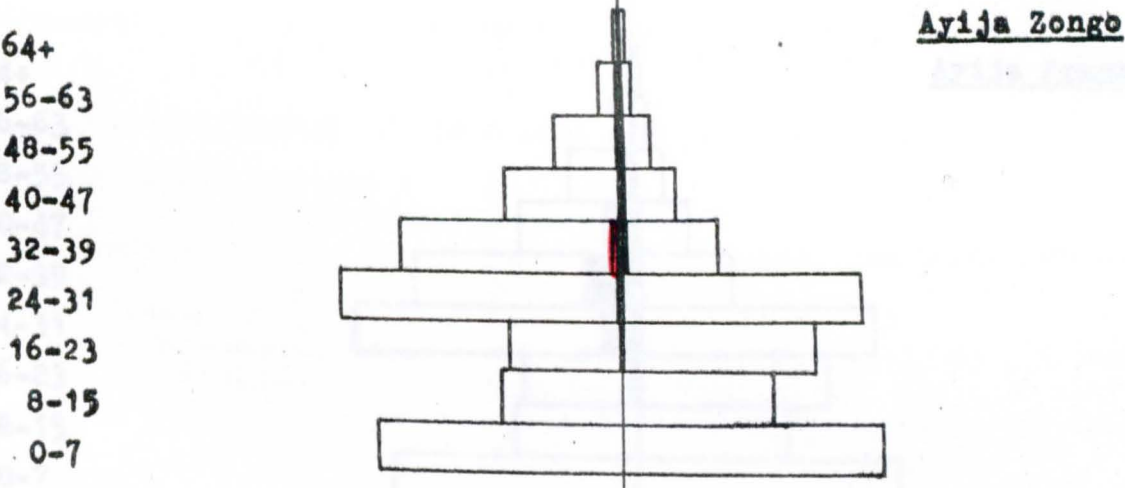
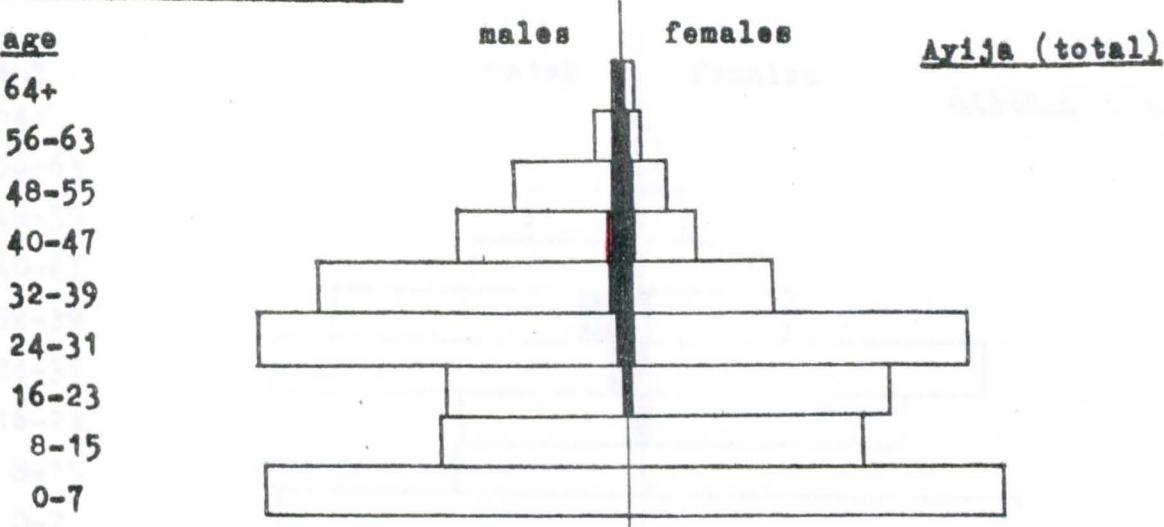


Figure A.15

APPENDIX B

Work Activities Pursued in Ayija

Ayiya Workers Involved in Primary Production Activities (full+time)
in the Informal Sector



Key

farmers

other primary producers
(NB does not include casual labourers)

500 persons

Figure B.1

Workers with a Second (part-time) Work Activity

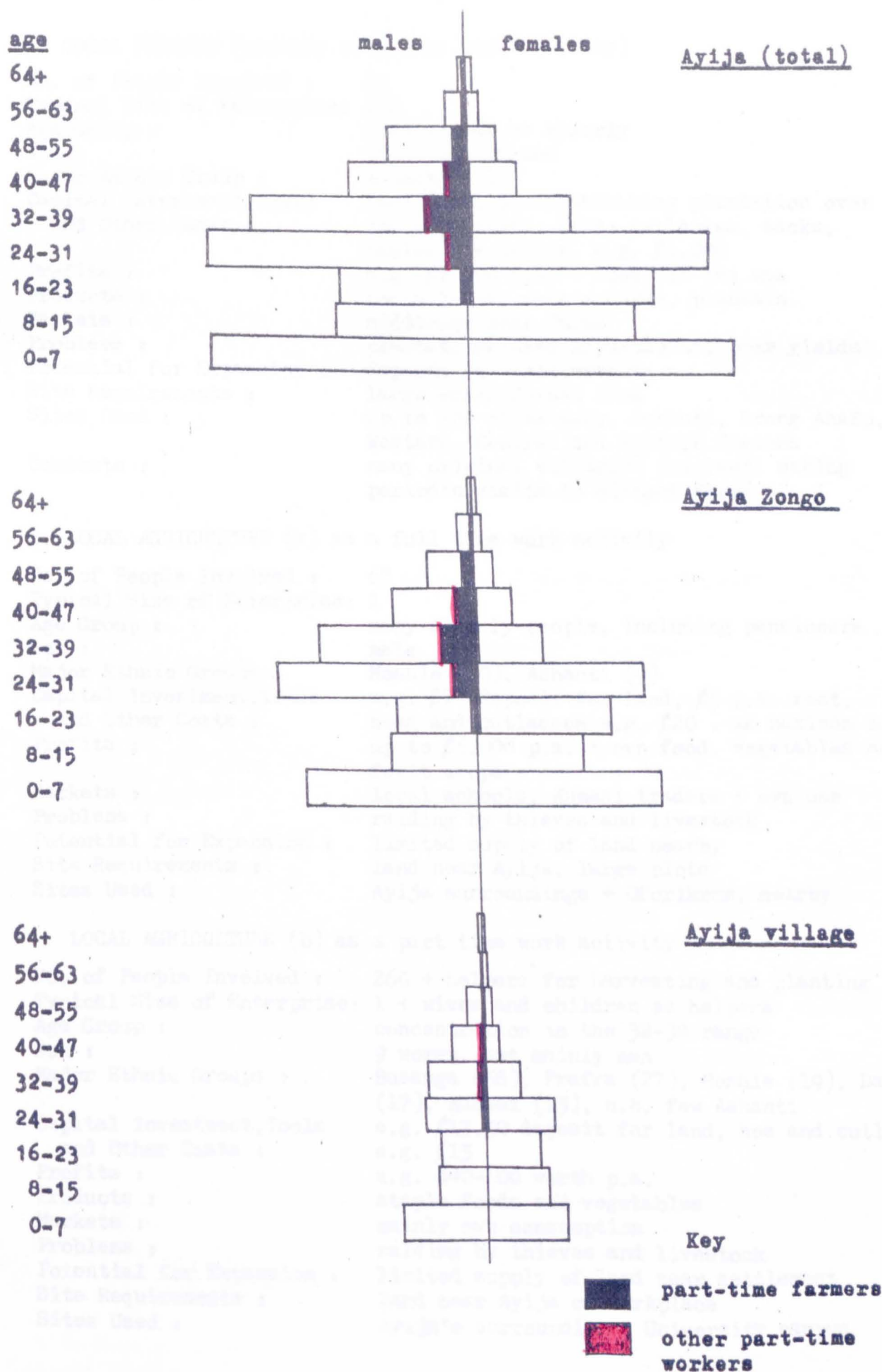


Figure B.2

primary production activities

1. COCOA FARMING (usually as a sole work activity)

No. of People Involved : 80
 Typical Size of Enterprise: 1-2
 Age Group : middle aged or elderly
 Sex : 30 women, 50 men
 Major Ethnic Group : Ashanti (73)
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : land, cost of establishing plantation over about 10 years, hoes, cutlasses, sacks, tables for drying, e.g. £1,000
 Profits : e.g. £1,000 p.a. + food for own use
 Products : cocoa beans, some cocoyam, plantain
 Markets : middlemen near farms
 Problems : plantations need replacement, poor yields
 Potential for Expansion : depends on world markets
 Site Requirements : large areas forest land
 Sites Used : up to 100 miles away, Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Western, Central and Eastern Regions
 Comments : many original villagers involved, making periodic visits to distant farms

2. LOCAL AGRICULTURE (a) as a full time work activity

No. of People Involved : 62
 Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
 Age Group : many elderly people, including pensioners
 Sex : male
 Major Ethnic Groups : Moshie (10), Ashanti (9)
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : e.g. £72 deposit for land, £5 p.a. rent, hoes and cutlasses e.g. £20, as maximum costs
 Profits : up to £5,000 p.a. + own food, vegetables and fruit crops
 Markets : local schools, Kumasi traders + own use
 Problems : raiding by thieves and livestock
 Potential for Expansion : limited supply of land nearby
 Site Requirements : land near Ayija, large plots
 Sites Used : Ayija surroundings + Oforikrom, nearby

LOCAL AGRICULTURE (b) as a part time work activity

No. of People Involved : 260 + helpers for harvesting and planting
 Typical Size of Enterprise: 1 + wives and children as helpers
 Age Group : concentration in the 32-39 range
 Sex : 9 women, but mainly men
 Major Ethnic Groups : Busanga (56), Frafra (27), Moshie (19), Dagarti (17), Kusasi (15), n.b. few Ashanti
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : e.g. £13.50 deposit for land, hoe and cutlass e.g. £15
 Profits : e.g. £40-100 worth p.a.
 Products : staple foods and vegetables
 Markets : mainly own consumption
 Problems : raiding by thieves and livestock
 Potential for Expansion : limited supply of land near settlement
 Site Requirements : land near Ayija or workplace
 Sites Used : Ayija's surroundings, University campus

3. LIVESTOCK REARING (a) as a full time work activity

No. of People Involved : 4 herdsmen, 3 owners
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1-2
Age Group 15-25
Sex : male
Major Ethnic Group Fulani
Capital Investment, Tools investment of e.g. £5,000 by owner for stock,
and Other Costs : and cost of kraal e.g. £200. plus tax of
50 pesewas p.a. on stock
Profits : appreciation of stock to owner, e.g. £1,000 p.a.
less wages £30 per month to herdsmen, milk for
domestic use by herdsmen and owners
Products : milk, rare use for meat, carcasses for sale or
own use, livestock occasionally sold
Markets : Kumasi livestock markets
Problems : sickness e.g. tsetse fly, overstocking
Potential for Expansion : limited pastures
Site Requirements : bushland, access to water, secure housing at
night
Sites Used : Ayija's surrounding bush, refuse tip for
scavenging
Comments : mainly a non-commercial activity

LIVESTOCK REARING (b) as a part time work activity

No. of People Involved : 16 as a major activity, more with some stock
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Age Group : varied
Sex : men and women both involved
Major Ethnic Groups : all tribes involved
Capital Investment, Tools e.g. £10-100 for stock, tax may be avoided but
and Other Costs : chargeable per head of stock
Profits : e.g. £25-100 worth per year
Products : sheep, goats, poultry, rabbits, pigs
Markets : mainly own consumption
Problems : theft, sickness and accident
Potential for Expansion : very limited
Site Requirements : secure housing at night
Sites Used : rooms in houses, fenced compounds, feeding in
streets and bush

4. SAND DIGGING

No. of People Involved : 7 contractors, helpers + part time workers
Typical Size of Enterprise: 3-4 + up to 20 part time workers
Age Group : 30-40 + younger helpers and diggers
Sex : male
Major Ethnic Group : Moshie (4 contractors)
Capital Investment, Tools e.g. lorry £12,000 + £70 per day running, £30
and Other Costs : per month licence, shovels e.g. £50
Profits : up to £100 per day for contractor, £30 per month
for permanent assistants
Products : sand of various grades, gravel
Markets : Central Hospital, Ahinsan sawmills, University,
local builders
Problems : environmental impact
Potential for Expansion : moderate
Site Requirements : sand deposits, water for washing sand
Sites Used : mainly river banks to north of Ayija

5. PALM WINE TAPPING

No. of People Involved : 11
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Age Group : varied (17-78)
Sex : male
Major Ethnic Group : Ashanti
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : pot, knife, e.g. £25
Profits : e.g. £2.50 per half day
Products : palm wine 'adorka' and 'adoka'
Markets : Ayija palm wine bars
Problems : shortage of nearby trees, being killed by tapping
Potential for Expansion : probably none
Site Requirements : bush with wild oil palms or raffia palms
Sites Used : bush near to Ayija
Comments : underemployment

6. HUNTING (a) as a full time work activity

No. of People Involved : 2
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Sex : male
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : e.g. £40 for gun, £2 p.a. for gun licence, £10 for flashlight
Profits : varied, e.g. £16 for a good night
Products : grasscutters, deer, monkeys
Markets : Ayija traders
Problems : game being exterminated around urban area
Potential for Expansion : probably none
Site Requirements : thick undisturbed bush
Sites Used : areas nearby, e.g. around Amuna and Ayeduase

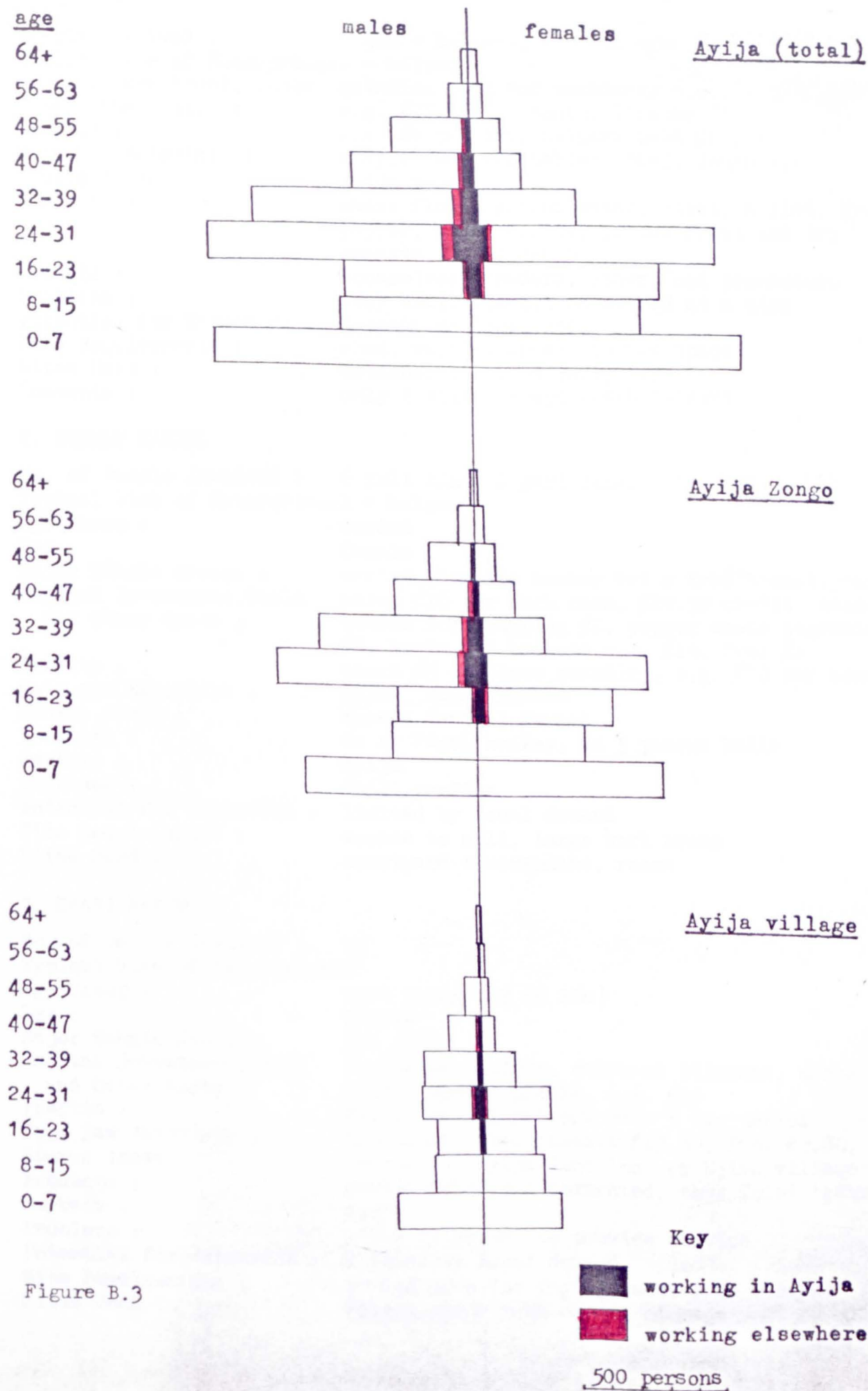
HUNTING (b) as a part time work activity

No. of People Involved : varied
Typical Size of Enterprise: up to 20
Age Group : early 20s
Sex : male
Major Ethnic Group : Busanga
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : transport and weapons, e.g. £30 per head per trip
Profits : more ritual than profit motive, perhaps £5 per head per trip
Site Requirements : savannah bush territory
Sites Used : northern Ghana
Comments : a chief organizer of expeditions lives in Asawasi Kumasi, and makes transport arrangements

7. Other Primary Work Activities (mainly part time)

- (a) firewood collection
- (b) collecting wild foods

Ayija Workers Involved in Informal Manufacturing Activities



manufacturing activities (secondary)

1. MILLING

People Involved : 5 men + helpers, various ages and tribes
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1 + helpers
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : grinding shed and machinery e.g. ₦1,600, blades e.g. ₦20-30 per month, licence ₦5 per month
Profits : e.g. ₦4 per day, helpers paid ₦6 per month
Main Raw Materials : staples and vegetables (raw), dough mix
Source Areas : Ayija women
Products : maize flour, ground beans, yeast, millet, ginger, pepper, palm kernels, grated fresh and dry cassava, bread dough
Markets : housewives, traders, other food processors
Problems : very small quantities milled at a time
Potential for Expansion : depends on local need
Site Requirements : shed, waiting area, storage space
Sites Used : detached sheds on periphery
Comments : only 2 mills accept fresh cassava

2. KENKEY MAKING

No. of People Involved : 6 full time, 1 part time, + helpers
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1 + helper
Age Group : varied
Sex : female
Major Ethnic Groups : varied (despite kenkey being traditionally 'southern')
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : maize ₦16 per sack cash, ₦19.50 credit, maize leaves for wrapping ₦2, pepper sauce ingredients ₦8, bowls and baskets e.g. ₦10, fuel ₦1 about ₦5 on above quantity, e.g. ₦10 per month
Profits : maize, maize leaves
Main Raw Materials : Kumasi Central Market
Source Areas : Ga or Fanti kenkey, in 5 pesewa balls
Products : Ayija
Markets : small profits
Problems : limited by local demand
Potential for Expansion : access to mill, large work areas
Site Requirements : courtyard + verandahs, rooms
Sites Used :

3. GARRI MAKING

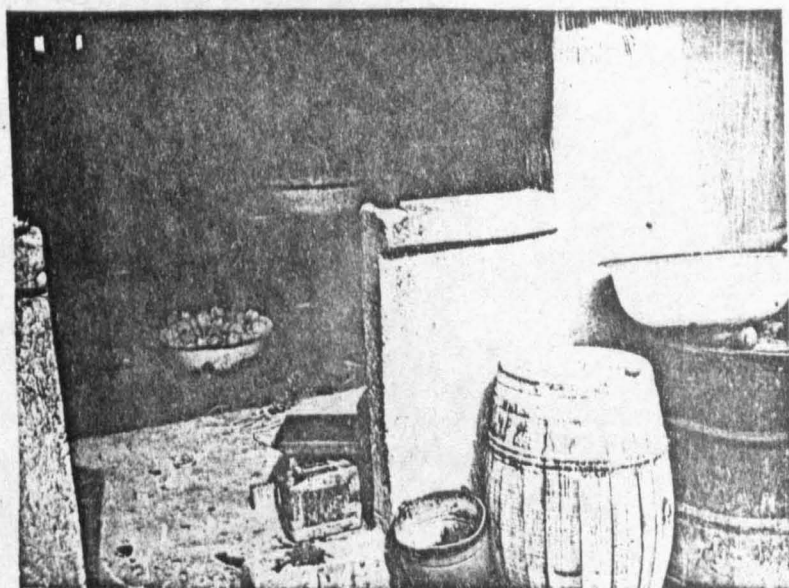
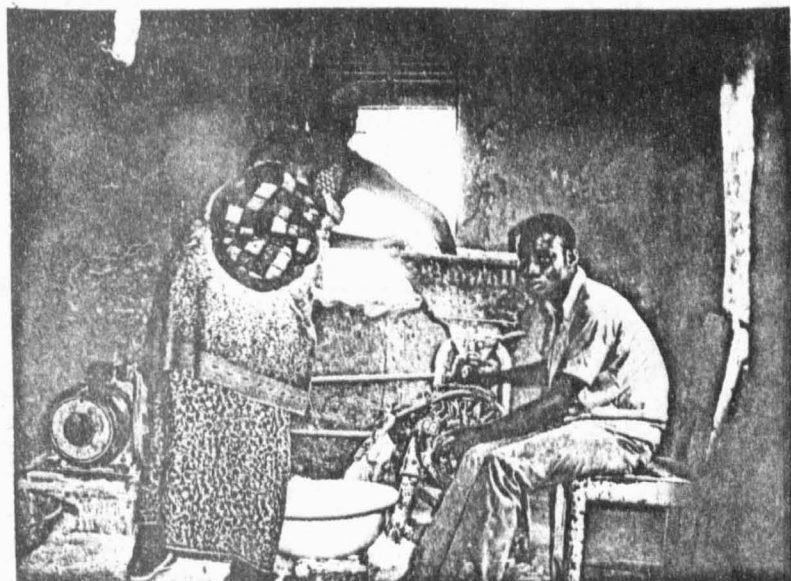
No. of People Involved : 16
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Age Group : most young (13 in 20s)
Sex : female
Major Ethnic Group : Ewe (13)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : frying pan, sieve, calabash stirrers, cocoa sacks, rocks, wooden planks, e.g. ₦30
Profits : ₦1.20 for 2 days' work over 5 day period
Main Raw Materials : truckload fresh cassava ₦13.50, fuel ₦0.80, oil ₦0.10
Source Areas : lorries at Ayija Junction, or Ejisu village
Products : grated dried and fermented, then fried 'garri'
Markets : Ayija
Problems : mills reluctant to provide service
Potential for Expansion : limited by local demand
Site Requirements : shaded area for frying, access to storage
Sites Used : street space with shade, storage next to mills

(right) grinding maize
at a mill

(below) maize stacked to
ferment for kenkey making

(bottom left) selling
kenkey from a kenkey-
maker's house

(bottom right) a kenkey-
maker's workspace



not to scale

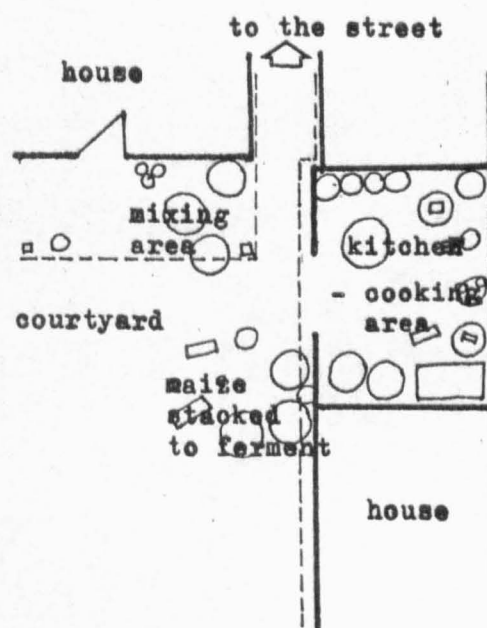
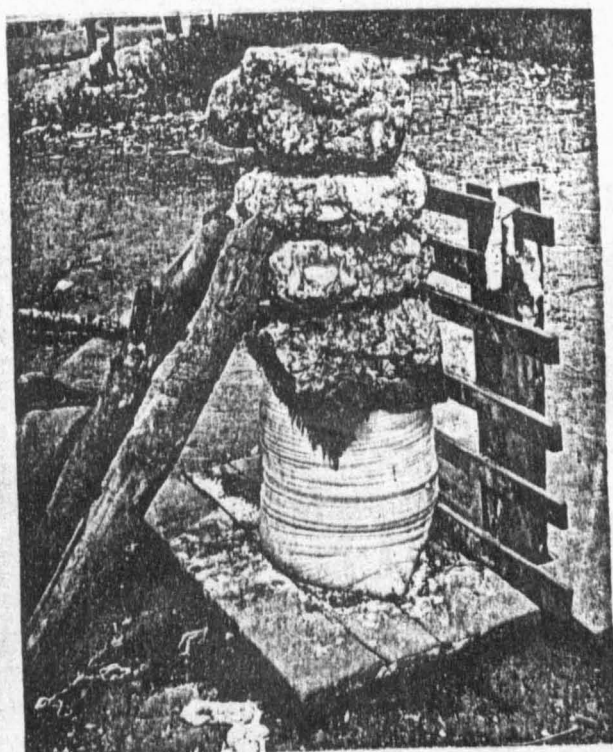


Figure B.4



(above) frying garri

(left) grated cassava stacked to ferment for garri

(bottom) baking bread



Figure B.5

4. BREAD BAKING

No. of People Involved : 10
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Age Group : varied
Sex : female
Major Ethnic Groups : Fanti (7), Ashanti(3)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : mud-built domed oven, roof, long wooden shovel, iron hook, baking trays, bowls £50, licence £10p.a.
Profits : £2 every 2 days
Main Raw Materials : £28 sack flour, water, $\frac{1}{2}$ tabsp. yeast, salt, baking powder, sugar £3, firewood £2, transport £0.40
Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
Products : loaves in various sizes
Markets : Ayija traders for local sales, Ayija Junction
Problems : periodic shortages of wheat flour
Potential for Expansion : some potential to satisfy local demand
Site Requirements : space for rising, baking, storage
Sites Used : room (rising, storage), street (baking)

5. PALM OIL EXTRACTION

No. of People Involved : 23
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Age Group : varied
Sex : female
Major Ethnic Groups : Busangas (11) and other northerners
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : cooking pot hire £0.70 per month, strainer, containers, e.g. £15
Profits : £30 for 3 days' work
Main Raw Materials : kernels £20, + transport £1.70, oil £2, grinding £3.40 (e.g. for kernel oil)
Source Areas : various - much competition for supplies
Products : palm oil and palm kernel oil, e.g. 3 kerosene tins
Markets : Ayija and nearby schools
Problems : shortage of raw materials
Potential for Expansion : limited by above
Comments : skills learnt by northerners re shea butter
Site Requirements : storage, frying and boiling space, access to mill
Sites Used : room (storage) and street (cooking)

6. PITO BREWING

No. of People Involved : 8 (only 3 regular)
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
Age Group : varied
Sex : female
Major Ethnic Groups : Frafra, Tallensi, Dagarti (all from Upper Region)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : pots, bottles, calabashes e.g. £30, licence if caught
Profits : £2-3 for 4 days' work
Main Raw Materials : millet £28 sack, transport £1.60, grinding £1.60, firewood £4, fresh okro stalks, yeast
Source Areas : Aboabo
Products : 'pito' in 10 pesewa bottles, calabashes, credit sales
Markets : Ayija northerners (retail)
Problems : Moslem leaders discourage drinking
Potential for Expansion : moderate, demand exceeds supply
Site Requirements : storage space, cooking area, drinking area
Sites Used : room, courtyard or street space



(above) Stages in palm kernel oil extraction :

(left) draining the fried kernels

(right) stacking the charred husks to be sold as fuel

(below) drinking pito outside a pito brewer's house



Figure B.6

7. AKPATESHIE DISTILLING

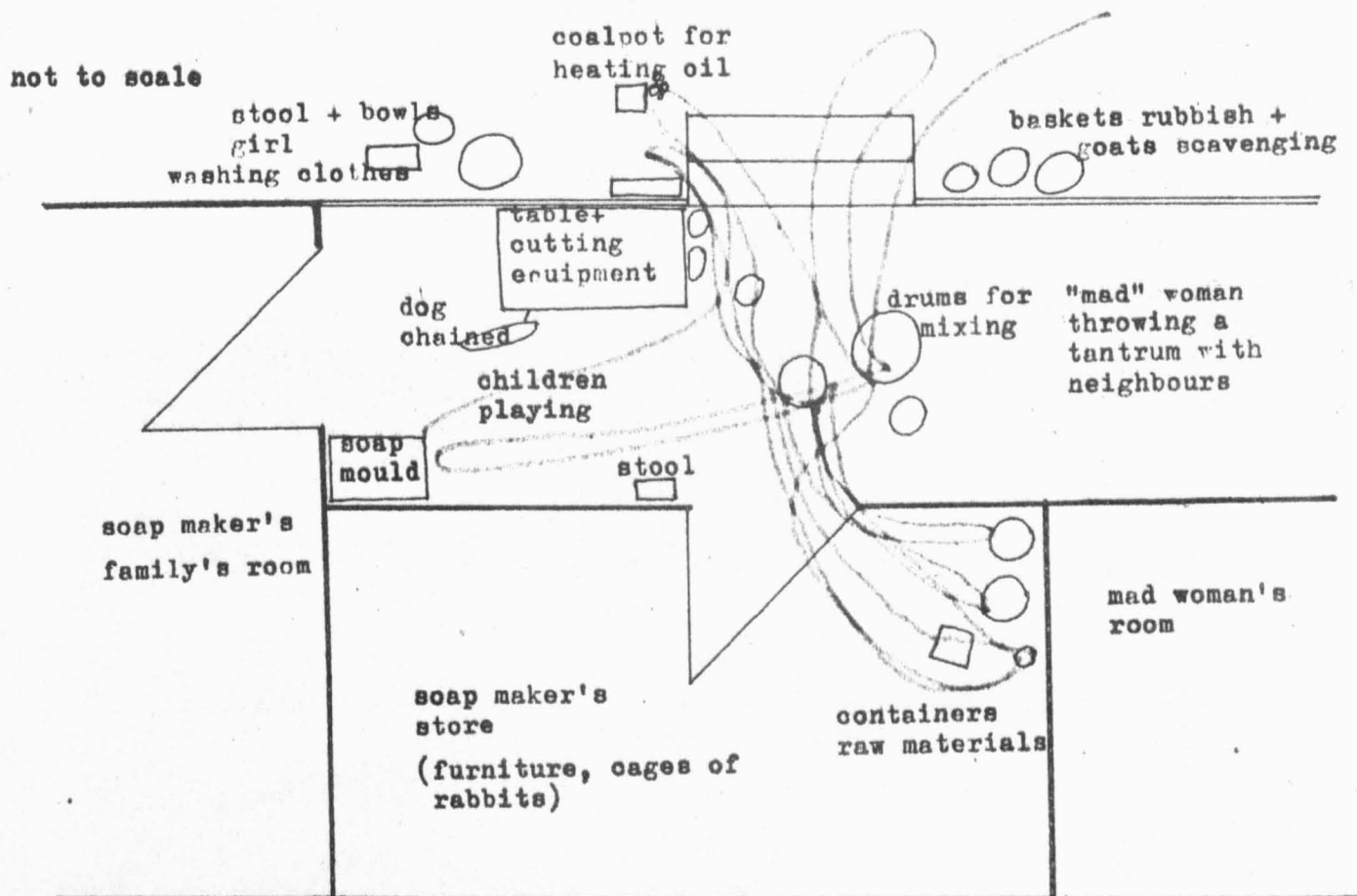
People Involved :	1 part time man (also works as a tapper)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	still made of oil drum, plastic tube, kerosene tins, e.g. £20
Profits :	£22 per month
Main Raw Materials :	stale palm wine
Source Areas :	Ayija palm wine bars
Products :	3-4 kerosene tins per month
Markets :	Ayija bar keepers
Problems :	activities controlled, licensed, or illicit
Potential for Expansion :	demand exceeds local supply
Sites Required :	distilling area
Site Used :	room
Comments :	distilling makes use of otherwise unusable goods

8. CHARCOAL BURNING

No. of People involved :	2 + helpers
Typical Size of Enterprise:	1 + helpers
Age Group :	varied
Sex :	male
Major Ethnic Groups :	traditionally Sisala and Busanga, but Gonja in Ayija
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	labour to dig pit e.g. £30
Profits :	£300 per stack, 1-2 stacks per month labourers paid £12 per stack
Main Raw Materials :	timber offcuts £400 per stack delivered
Source Areas :	Ahinsan sawmills
Products :	charcoal sold in small quantities
Markets :	Ayija (retail)
Problems :	City seeks to control activity " pollution
Potential for Expansion :	moderate
Site Requirements :	large water supply, area away from houses, vehicular access
Sites Used :	area East of Ayija near Wiwi stream
Comments :	profits (e.g. £60 per month) partly invested in rural house building, traders fetch cheaper wholesale supplies of charcoal from Ahinsan, Aboabo

9. SOAP MAKING

People Involved :	Akwapim man, wife + 2 apprentices
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	buckets, oildrums, wooden moulds, wire cutter, £30, hire of extra room £2 per month,
Profits :	£30-300 per month
Main Raw Materials :	1 bucket shea butter £10, 1 gallon palm kernel oil £4.90, 5 tins caustic soda £6, charcoal as fuel £0.10, 1 batch per 3 days
Source Areas :	Kumasi Central Market and other areas, northern Ghana (occasional trips)
Products :	soap in bars and blocks, wholesale and retail
Markets :	Ayija and Asafo Market (Kumasi)
Problems :	supply of raw materials
Potential for Expansion :	considerable, but capital needed
Site Requirements :	areas for storage, mixing, moulding, drying
Sites Used :	storage room and verandah



(above) space used in the manufacture of soap

(below) cutting the soap with a home-made wire cutter

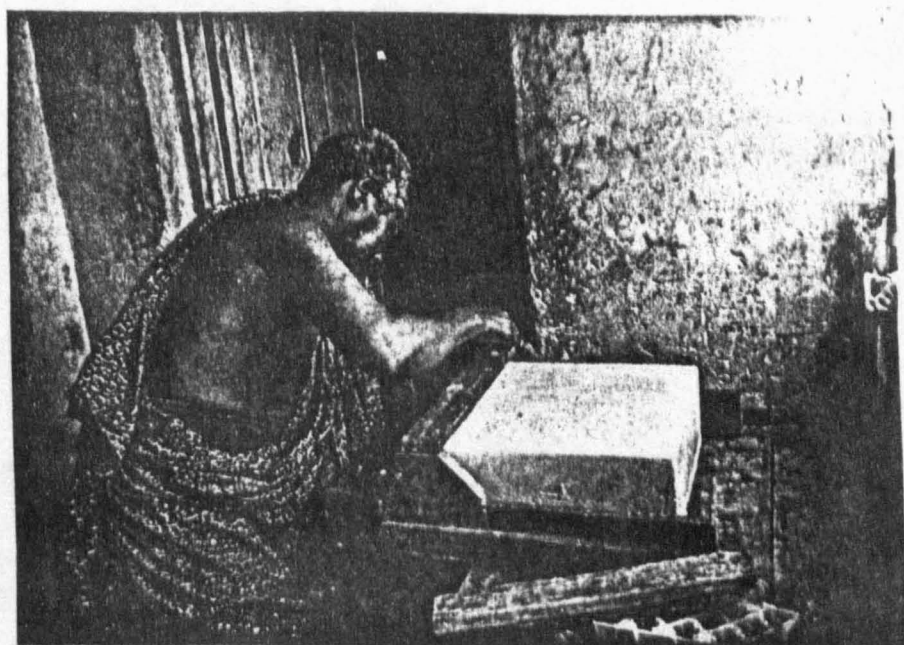


Figure B.7

10. SEWING (a) clothes

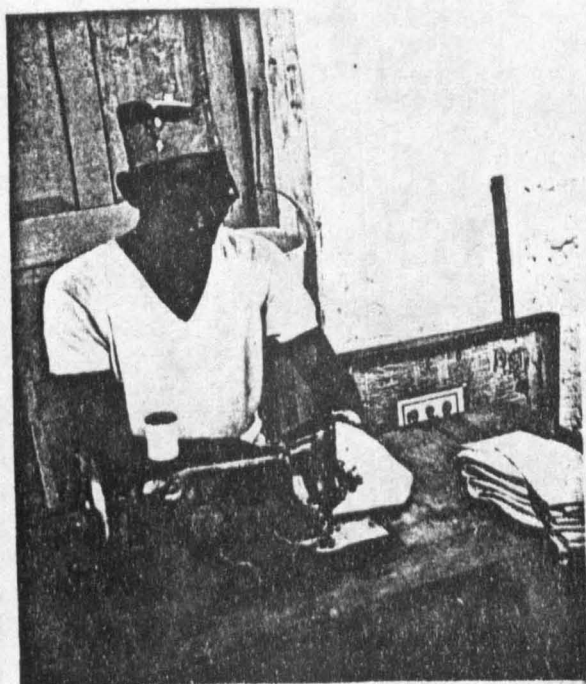
No. of People Involved : 132 (including 7 part time, 19 apprentices)
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1 (hawker), 3-4 (sedentary)
Age Group : varied
Sex : male (tailors) and female (seamstresses)
Major Ethnic Groups : most groups involved
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : sewing machine, iron, scissors, needles, pins, shed etc. as workspace, e.g. £100-200
Profits : £0.40-1.50 per day (hawker), £2-3 per day (others)
Main Raw Materials : cloth, thread
Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
Products : men's and women's clothing, traditional styles, and clothing repairs
Markets : Ayija (retail, on order)
Problems : competition from imported European and American second hand clothing (charitable donations)
Potential for Expansion : increasingly limited, after recent expansion
Site Requirements : space for cutting, fitting, ironing, (no workspace requirements for hawkers)
Sites Used : verandahs, separate sheds
Comments : comparatively lucrative business, reflected in large number of apprentices

SEWING (b) hats

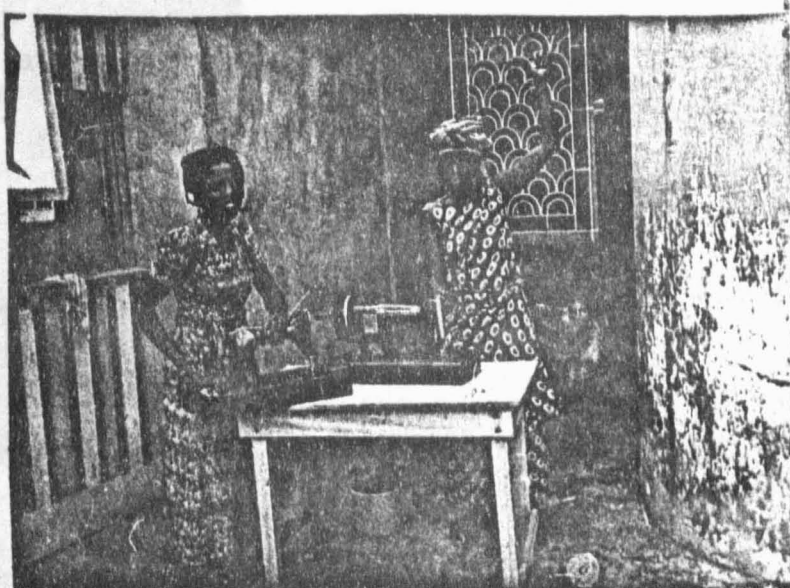
People Involved : 3 northern men (including 2 part time)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : sewing machine, scissors, needles, e.g. £100
Profits : £2 per day
Main Raw Materials : cloth e.g. from second hand clothes, beads, thread
Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
Products : beaded Moslem caps
Markets : Ayija (retail)
Problems : supply of imported beads irregular
Potential for Expansion : depends on local demand at present
Site Requirements : small sewing space
Sites Used : verandahs

11. MAKING MATTRESSES

People Involved : 1 man (part time)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : strong needles, e.g. £3
Profits : £3 for 3 days' work
Main Raw Materials : 5 cocoa sacks £1.30 each, grass cut and dried, string £1 per mattress
Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market, local traders
Markets : Ayija (retail)
Problems : none
Potential for Expansion : local demand exceeds supply
Site Requirements : open space
Site Used : courtyard



(above) hat maker working on a verandah



(right) street seamstresses and tailors

(below) plan of a tailor's shop

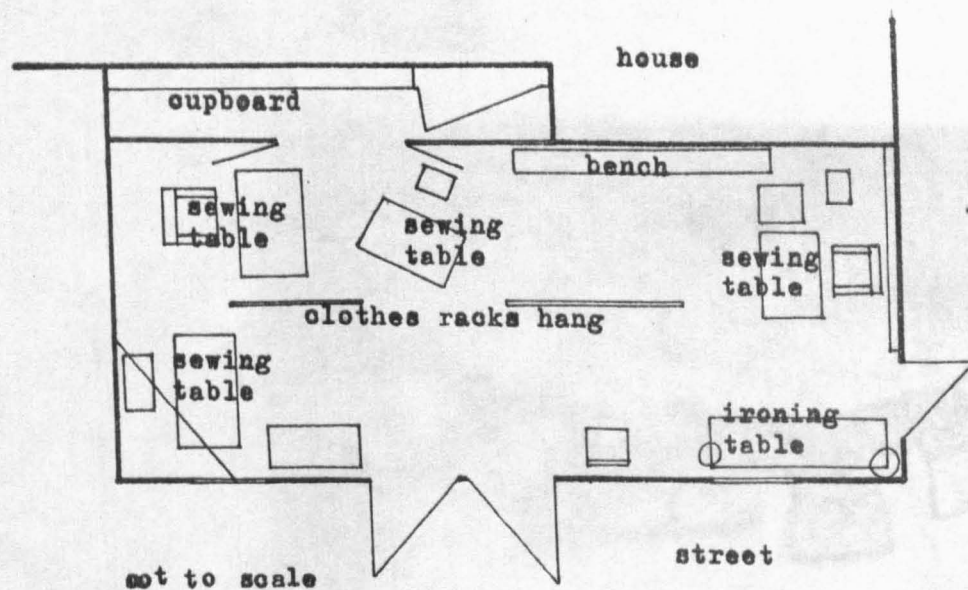
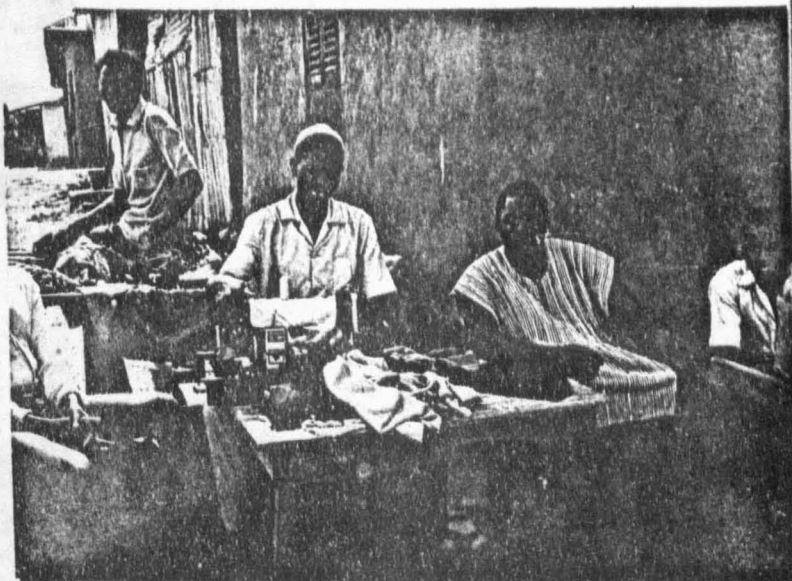
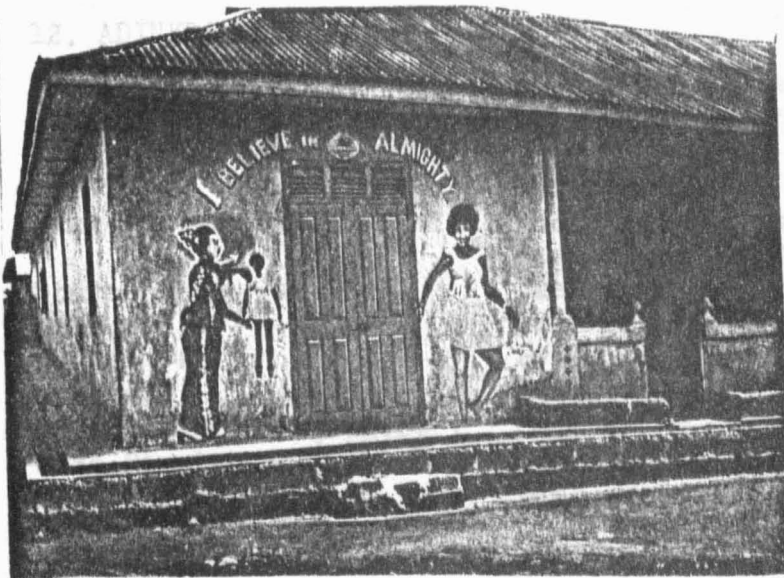


Figure B.8



People Involved :
Capital Investment, Tools
and Other Costs :

Profits :

Main Raw Materials :



(above and left) signs advertising
tailors' and seamstresses' shops

(below) a row of cement paper dress
patterns advertises a seamstresses'
school

15. BASKETRY (a) from

People Involved :
Capital Investment, Tools
and Other Costs :
Profits :
Main Raw Materials :

Source Areas :
Products :
Problems :
Potential for Expansion :
Site Requirements :
Site Used :



Figure B.9

12. ADINKRA PRINTING

People Involved :	1 southern Ghanaian man
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	oil drums, calabashes for stamps, e.g. £10
Profits :	£40 per month
Main Raw Materials :	roots and bark gathered, water and firewood e.g. £3 per cloth, cloth varying costs
Source Areas :	bush near Ayija, local traders, Central Market
Products :	Adinkra cloth sold £6 above unprinted cost
Markets :	Ayija (retail)
Problems :	luxury item, unreliable demand
Potential for Expansion :	depends on demand from outside Ayija
Site Requirements :	space for boiling dyes, laying out cloth
Sites Used :	open space near periphery

13. KENTE WEAVING

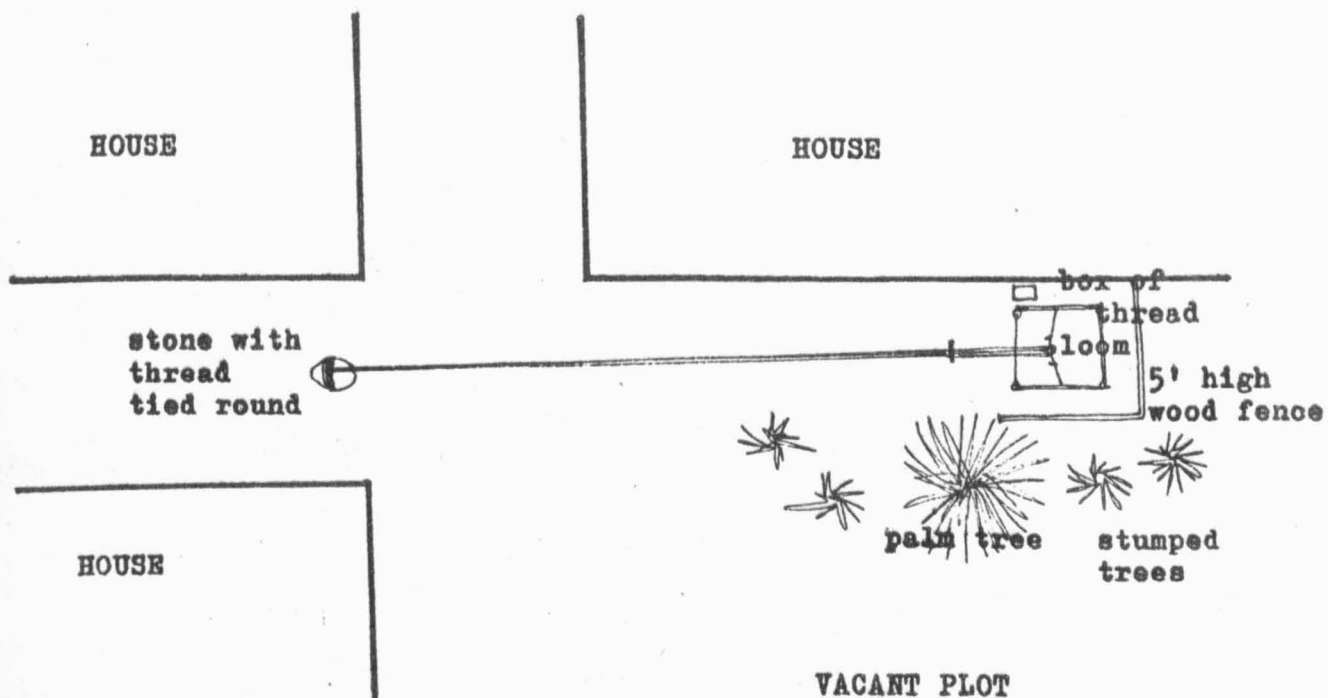
People Involved :	6 southern Ghanaian men, Ashanti (4), Ewe (2)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	wood for loom e.g. £10
Profits :	£30 for 2 weeks' work
Main Raw Materials :	imported cotton coloured thread
Source Areas :	Kumasi Central Market
Problems :	shortage of thread
Potential for Expansion :	increasing demand from tourists
Sites Required :	long narrow space for trailing thread, shade
Sites Used :	street space with trees, or screens erected

14. RAFFIA AND GRASS WEAVING

People Involved :	1 Ashanti (full time), 1 Nigerian (part time), men
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	wood for loom e.g. £3
Profits :	e.g. £2 per day
Main Raw Materials :	raffia and grasses from bush, dyes £1.80 per month
Source Areas :	bush near Ayija, Kumasi Central Market
Products :	purses, bags, sleeping mats
Markets :	Ayija (retail)
Problems :	new products, difficult to establish market
Potential for Expansion :	output could be trebled if marketing easier
Site Requirements :	small shaded area
Sites Used :	courtyard space

15. BASKETRY (a) from nylon

People Involved :	1 Nigerian man + apprentices
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	knife e.g. £3
Profits :	£2 per day, e.g. from one chair
Main Raw Materials :	nylon thread £13 per chair, including cost of metal frames, candle wax
Source Areas :	Kumasi Central Market
Products :	chairs £15 each, baskets, some cane products
Problems :	new product, luxury quality
Potential for Expansion :	depends on fashion
Site Requirements :	weaving space
Site Used :	courtyard



(above) plan of a kente weaver's workspace -
note the importance of shade
(not to scale)

(below) a home-made loom used for weaving raffia

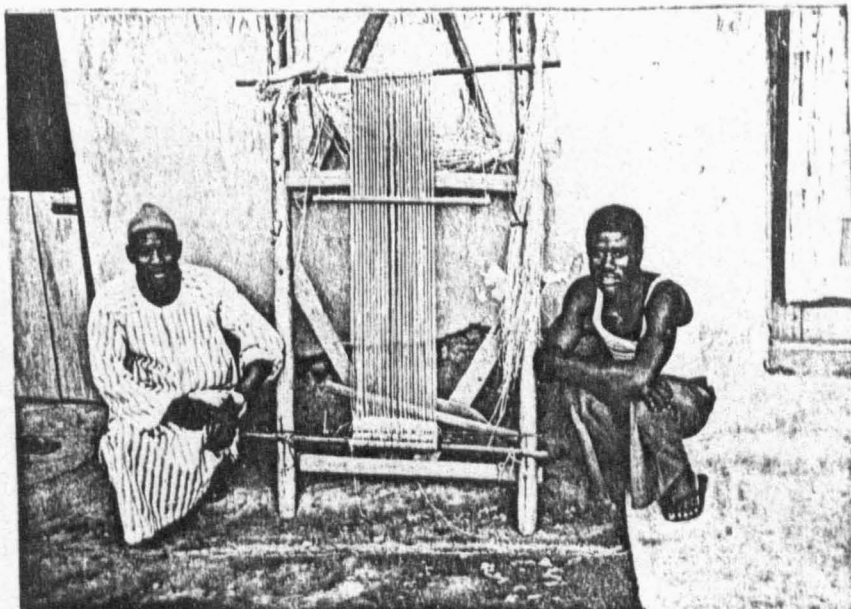
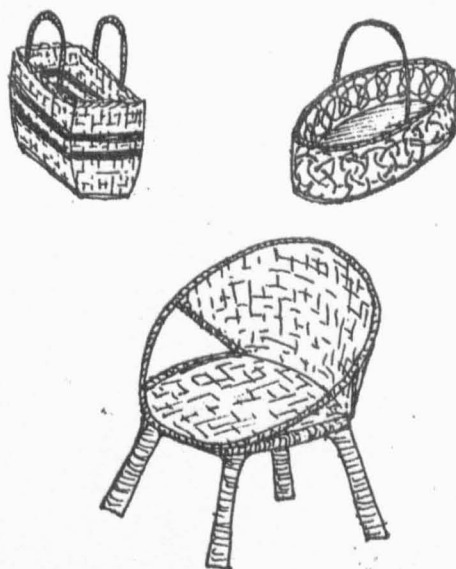
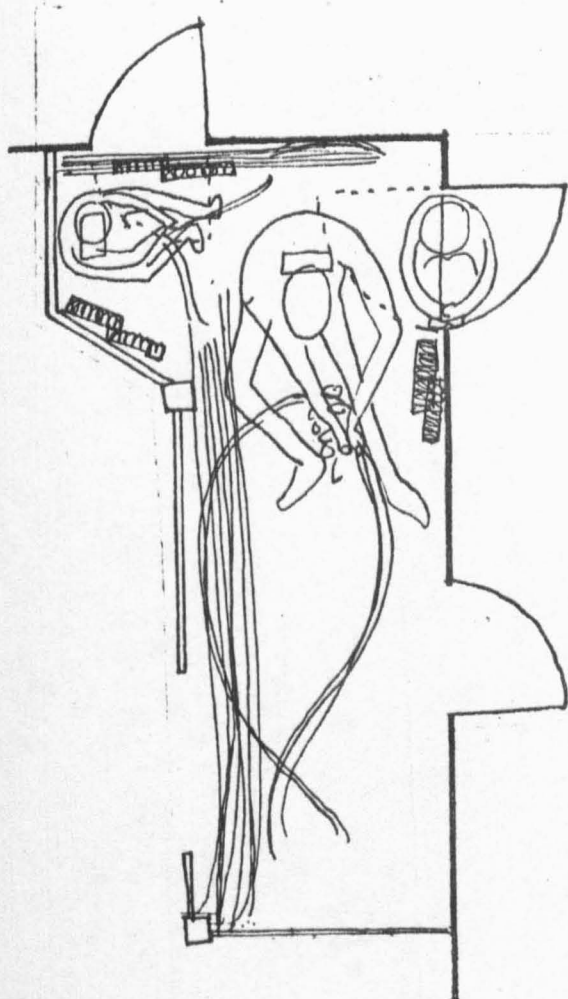
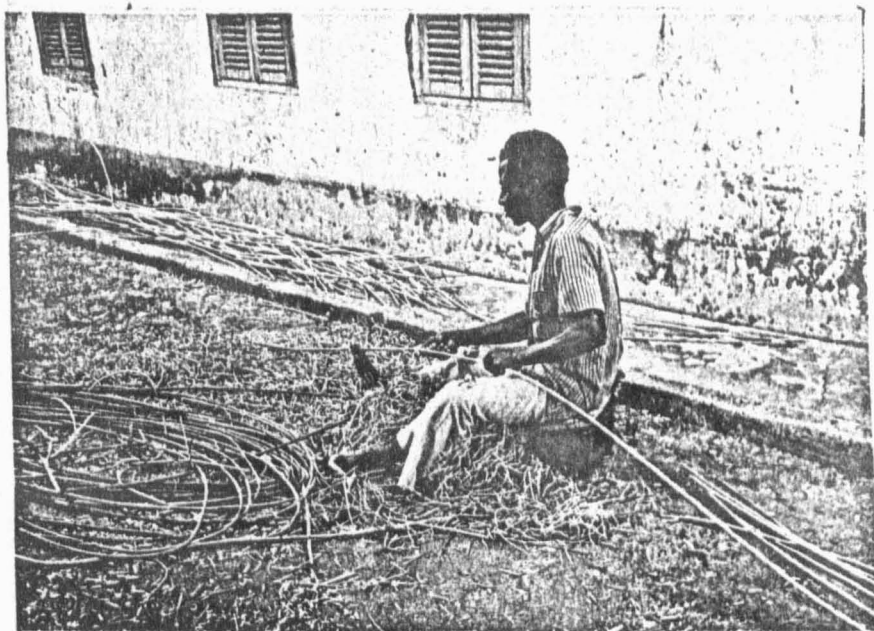


Figure B.10

(right) splitting the
cane and removing the
pith

(below) plan of a
verandah used as a
cane weaver's work-
space (not to scale)



(above) some of the items
commonly made in Ayija

Figure B.11

BASKETRY (b) from cane

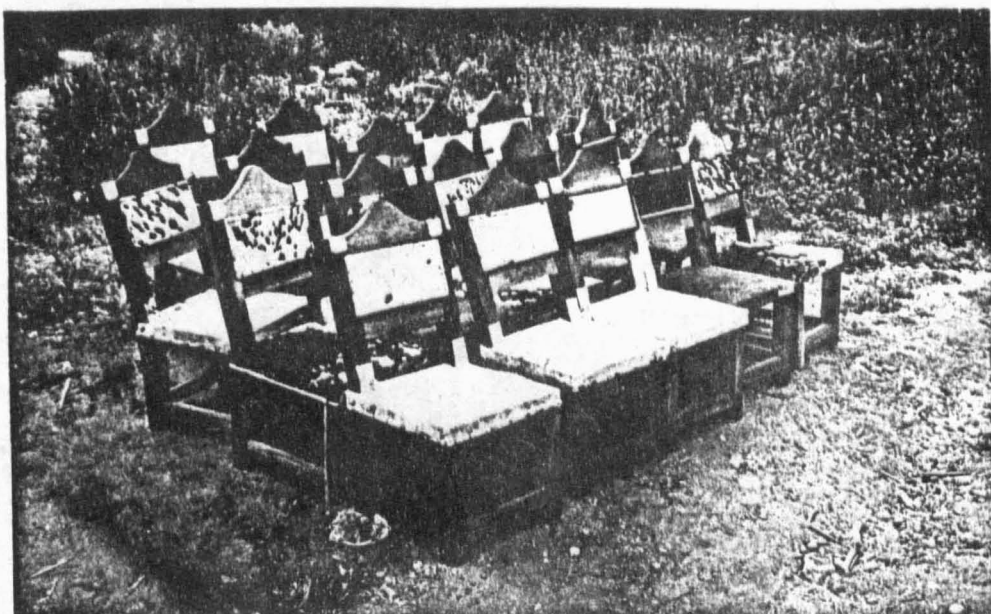
No. of People Involved : 11
 Typical Size of Enterprise: 1
 Age Group : 23-38
 Sex : male
 Major Ethnic Groups : most southern Ghanaian (8)
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : knife for splitting cane e.g. ₵3
 Profits : ₵5-8 per week
 Main Raw Materials : cane ₵4 per 100 lengths, ₵0.60 transport, plywood boxes, timber offcuts, ½" nails, varnishes and dyes
 Source Areas : Fante New Town (cane), bush or Awunaga (wood), Kumasi Central Market (boxes, nails, etc.)
 Products : baskets, chairs, e.g. 10 baskets per week
 Markets : Ayija (retail), Central Market traders, middle men from Accra
 Problems : none
 Potential for Expansion : depends on external demand
 Site Requirements : space for splitting cane, manoeuvring cane, storage room + street space, verandahs, courtyards
 Sites Used :
 Comments : skills easily passed on between residents of the same house, in periods of unemployment

16. LEATHER WORK (a) making shoes

People Involved : 8 men, mainly northerners (also shoe repairers)
 Capital Investment : cutting tools e.g. ₵5
 Profits : ₵10 per week
 Main Raw Materials : leather, thread, rubber, plastic, e.g. ₵2.50 a pair
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
 Products : 'native' sandals, ₵5.50-₵7 a pair
 Markets : middle men from as far away as Ivory Coast
 Problems : none have stitching machines, so take to Central Market for stitching
 Potential for Expansion : depends on external demand, and materials supply
 Site Requirements : space for storage, cutting, hand stitching, nailing
 Sites Used : room + verandah

LEATHER WORK (b) making bags

People Involved : 1 young man
 Capital Investment : training cost ₵25, hire of sewing machine
 Profits : ₵2-5 per day
 Main Raw Materials : leather, cushioning, thread, lining, ₵3 per bag
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
 Products : e.g. 1 bag per day sold for ₵8
 Markets : Ayija and surroundings (retail)
 Problems : new product, luxury quality
 Potential for Expansion : depends on fashion or external market
 Site Requirements : cutting and sewing areas, storage
 Site Used : room and courtyard
 Comments : trade taken up when formal job lost, but now found more profitable than formal job, intends to invest in sewing machine



(above) chiefs' chairs displayed on a street in Ayija
 (below) sandal-makers at work on a verandah



Figure B.12

17. WOODWORK

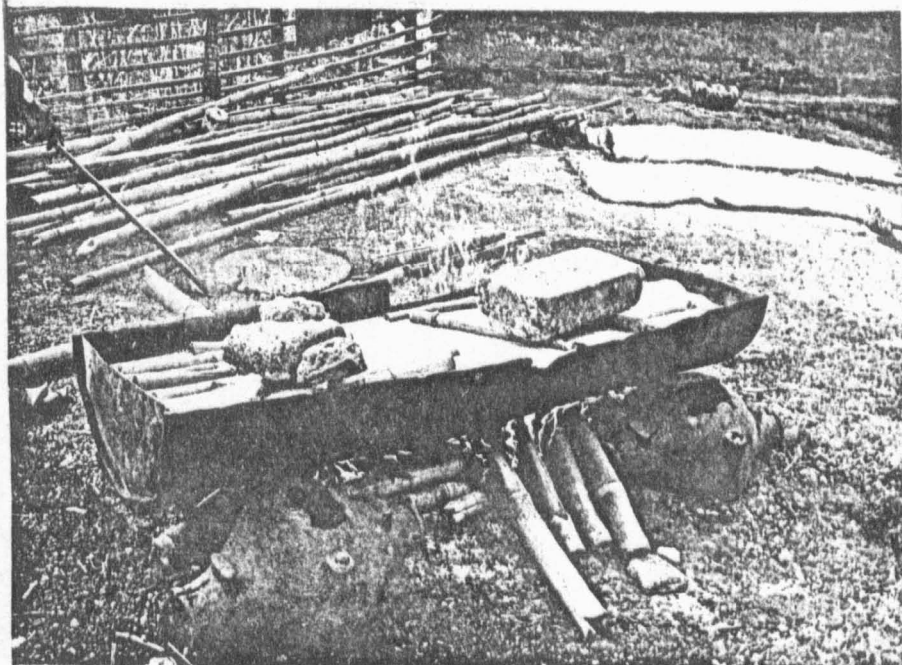
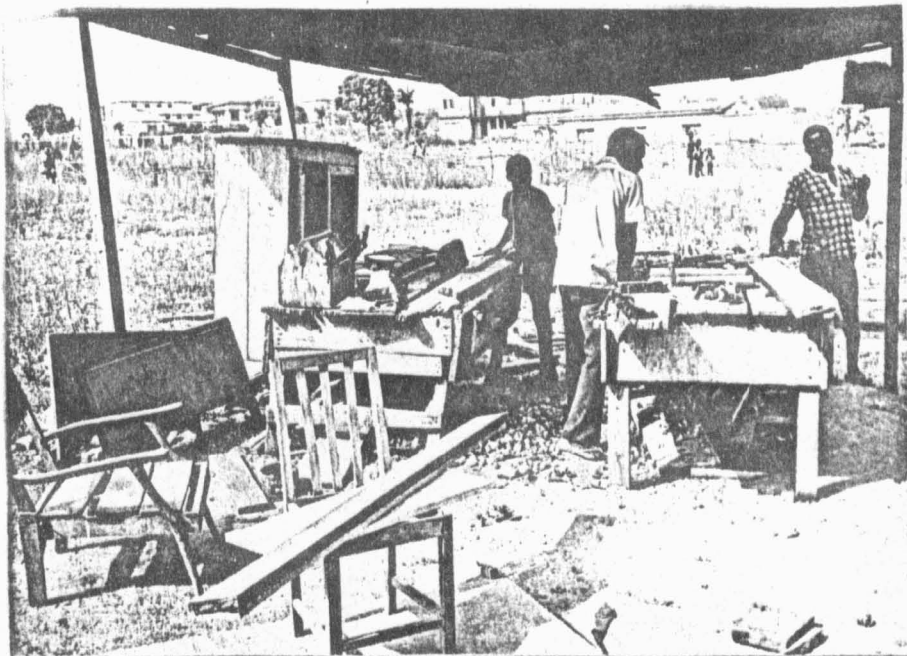
No. of People Involved : 27 + apprentices (9 part time)
 Typical Size of Enterprise: 3-4
 Age Group : 30+, apprentices 13+
 Sex : male
 Major Ethnic Groups : traditionally Ewe (10), also Fante (12), Ashanti (5)
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : planes, saws, hammers, chisels, clamps, rules, e.g. £100
 Profits : up to £3 per day (50% of materials cost)
 Main Raw Materials : sawn timber, plywood, formica, nails, polish, glue
 Source Areas : Awunaga and Kumasi stores
 Products : furniture as ordered, some building work
 Markets : Ayija (retail) - items ordered on deposit
 Problems : none
 Potential for Expansion : moderate
 Sites Required : large and noisy, dusty workspace, shade
 Sites Used : spaces on periphery, shades erected
 Comments : some enterprises specialize, e.g. hide-covered chiefs' chairs for export to Ivory Coast £100 each, fretwork for signs

18. METAL WORK (a) making cooking pots

People Involved : 1 manager, 2 sons, 6 labourers, northerners
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : petrol operated bellows, shed, moulds, e.g. £300
 Profits : e.g. £20 per day for whole enterprise during production
 Main Raw Materials : aluminium scrap £980 per ton delivered, charcoal
 Source Areas : Tema (scrap), Aboabo (charcoal)
 Products : aluminium cooking pots, various sizes, £3 upwards, 30 pots/ton/10 days
 Markets : Ayija (retail), middle men from Accra
 Problems : irregular supplies of scrap
 Potential for Expansion : depends on scrap supplies
 Site Requirements : space for smelting, moulding, storage
 Site Used : walled courtyard, shed, bush at periphery

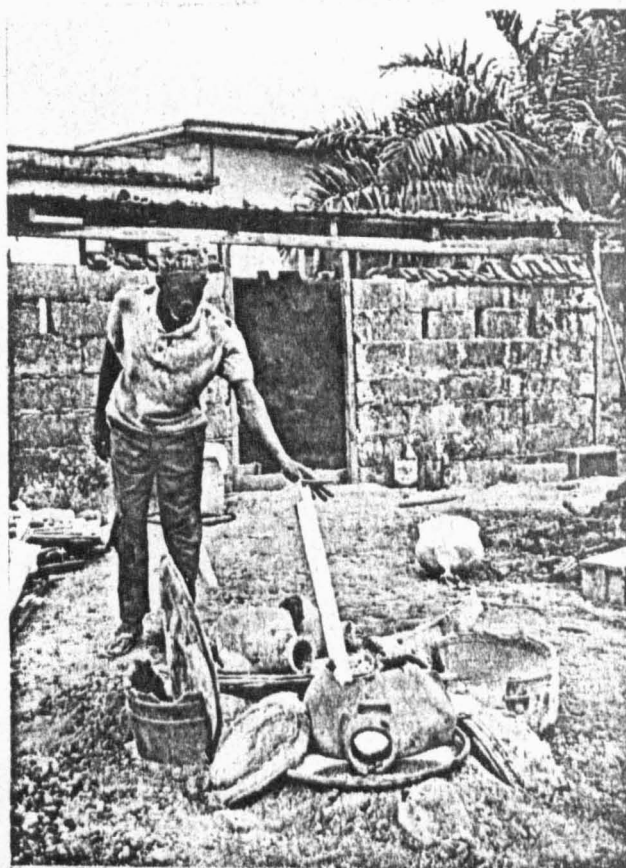
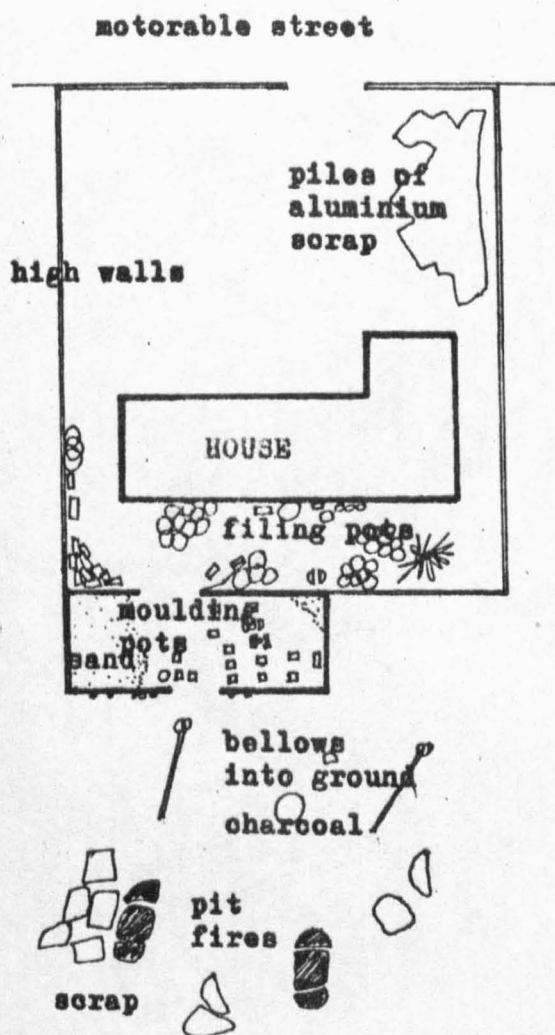
METAL WORK (b) making assorted goods

People Involved : 1 Nigerian man + 3 casual labourers
 Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs : hammers, sharpening and cutting tools, rivet gun, e.g. £100
 Profits : up to £4 per day
 Main Raw Materials : old bandsaws for cutlasses, £40-50 each
 Source Areas : Ahinsan sawmills for saw blades
 Products : cutlasses at time of survey £2.50 each, also sometimes metal trunks, masonry trowels
 Markets : Kumasi Central Market
 Problems : need more specialization in purchasing materials and marketing
 Potential for Expansion : considerable
 Site Requirements : space for bending, cutting, rivetting, etc.
 Site Used : verandah
 Comments : some repair work also done



(above) carpenter's workshop on the outskirts of Ayija,
West Ayija seen in the distance
(below) bamboo being boiled in insecticide for use in
furniture making

Figure B.13



(above) melting the aluminium scrap to make cooking pots

(left) plan of the cooking pot manufacturing area
(not to scale)

Figure B.14

19. GLUE MANUFACTURE

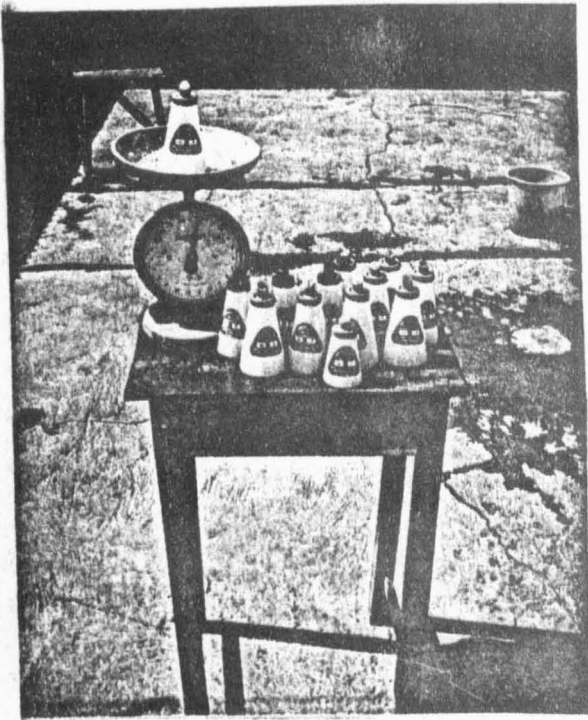
People Involved :	1 manager, wife, driver, foreman, 20 casual workers
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	assisted by Business Promotions Loan and advice from University Technology Consultancy Centre
Profits :	not disclosed
Main Raw Materials :	cassava flour, plantain peel, firewood
Source Areas :	regular suppliers in Ayija
Products :	'Spider Glue', 1,000 bottles a day, ₵0.55 a bottle
Markets :	State Publishing Corporation
Problems :	criticism of the product
Potential for Expansion:	monopoly situation
Site Requirements :	space for boiling, mixing, bottling, packing
Site Used :	whole courtyard + several rooms

20. PHOTOGRAPHY

No. of People Involved :	9
Typical Size of Enterprise:	1-2
Age Group :	young
Sex :	male
Major Ethnic Groups :	all southern Ghanaian, most Ashanti (6)
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	camera, enlarger, dryer e.g. ₵700, also ₵80 p.a. licence fee payable
Profits :	₵1.30 for 4 identity photos, ₵4 for framed portrait
Main Raw Materials :	electricity ₵40 per month, water ₵0.80 per month, paper and film 0.14 per photo, ₵0.60 per print, chemicals
Source Areas :	Kumasi specialist shops
Products :	photographs for room adornment, identity
Markets :	Ayija residents, University students and workers
Problems :	luxury goods, unreliable market
Potential for Expansion :	increasing demand
Site Requirements :	studio + darkroom
Sites Used :	e.g. room + extension built

21. MAKING PLASTIC FLOWERS

People Involved :	3 young men, working together
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs :	scissors, cutlasses, e.g. ₵15
Profits :	₵2 per day each (₵1 per spray)
Main Raw Materials :	recycled scrap, (milk tins, cigarette foil, tyres burnt for wire), plastic sheets ₵0.15 each
Source Areas :	Kumasi Central Market (plastic, tyres)
Products :	sprays ornamental flowers in tubs, 3 sprays/sheet
Markets :	Ayija, Kumasi, Accra (occasional trips)
Problems :	market saturation, luxury goods
Potential for Expansion :	limited unless product changed
Site Requirements :	space for storage, cutting, assembly, and for burning tyres
Sites Used :	room + verandah, bush for burning tyres



(top) "Spider Glue"

(centre) a photographer's studio

(bottom) plastic flowers used as room decoration

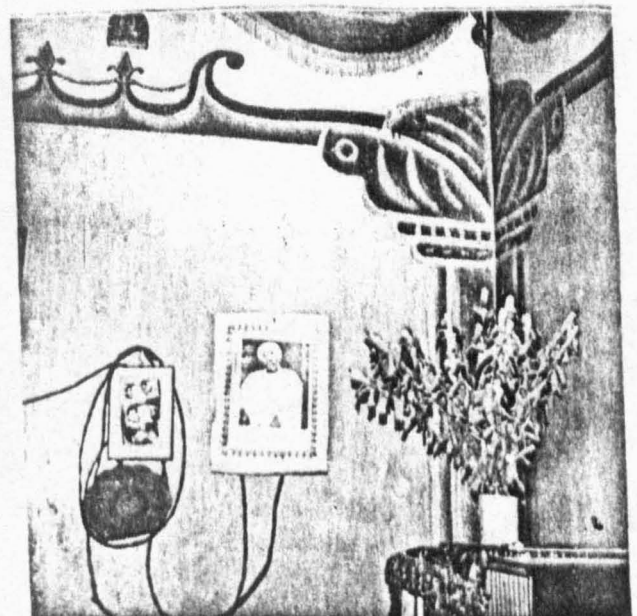


Figure B.15

22. MAKING BEADS

People Involved :	1 manager(part time),foreman, 3 apprentices
Capital Investment,Tools and Other Costs :	workshop £170, grinder £290, iron rods for oven rack £9, clay moulds £16
Profits :	60% on sales, after running costs £20 per month
Raw Materials :	bottles (recycled waste), coloured beads for pigment
Source Areas :	Ayija (bottles), Central Market (beads)
Products :	sets of 6 strings of beads £6 each
Markets :	Ayija (retail), Central Market (wholesale)
Problems :	lack of glass pigment, coloured beads smuggled from Togo as substitute, unreliable supplies
Potential for Expansion :	possible expansion for tourist sales or export
Site Requirements :	space for grinding, storage, firing, cooling
Sites Used :	open space on periphery, shed constructed

23. SIGN WRITING

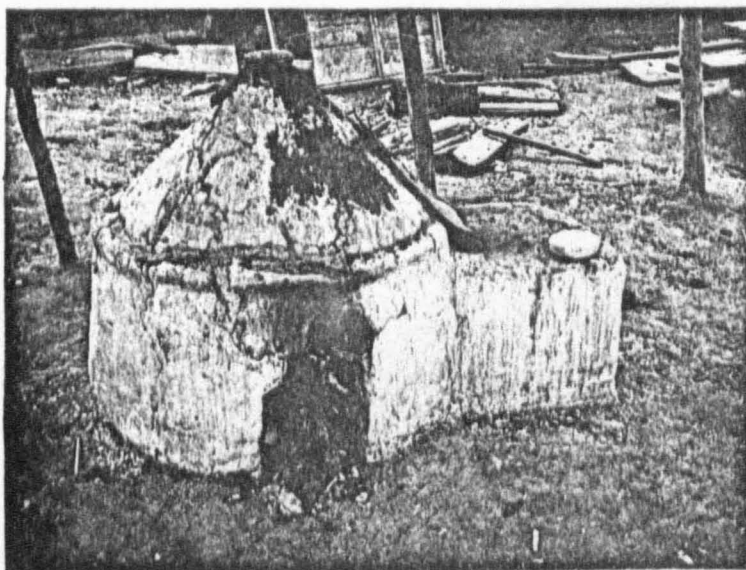
People Involved :	1 man
Capital Investment :	training cost £30, brushes £10 approx.
Profits :	about £30 per month
Raw Materials :	paint £2 per milk tin full
Source Areas :	Kumasi Central Market
Products :	inscriptions and signs, e.g. £2-4 for vehicle, £30-40 for beer bar
Problems :	fluctuating demand, slack periods
Potential for Expansion :	depends on demand
Site Requirements :	no specific workspace
Sites Used :	at customers' convenience

24. BUILDING CONSTRUCTION (in addition to carpenters and block makers)

People Involved :	47 'masons' (foremen) - southern Ghanaian men and some aliens 2 'brick layers' - northern men 22 painters - most southern Ghanaian men 39 labourers + others part time, various ethnic groups, men + some women
Typical Size of Enterprise:	6 persons per site
Capital Investment,Tools and Other Costs :	tools of the trade, up to £20
Profits :	£3 per day for masons, £2-3 painters,£1 labourers
Main Raw Materials :	sand, cement, timber, metal roofing sheets, paint
Source Areas :	local sand, Awunaga (timber), Kumasi stores (cement, paint, roofing)
Products :	new'swish' and landcrete/sandcrete courtyard houses, in sections, new sections to old houses
Markets :	about 50% working in local area at any one time
Problems :	periodic shortages of cement
Potential for Expansion :	considerable, depending on available capital,cement
Site Requirements :	storage, construction area, access for materials
Sites Used :	building plots as allocated by the chief



(left) the bead maker
filling moulds
(centre) detail of
the bead making oven
(below) plan of the
bead maker's workshop



not to scale

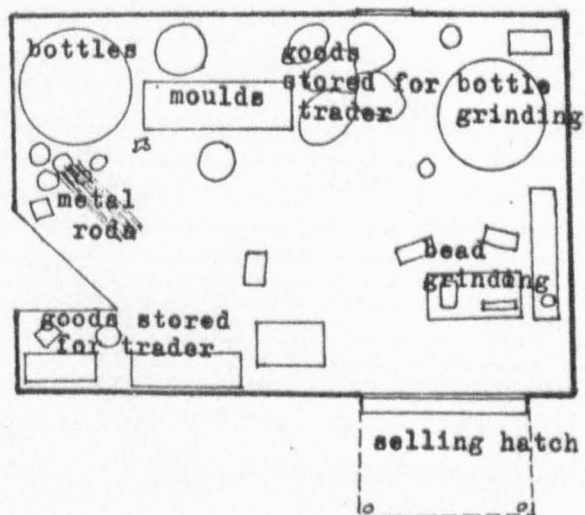
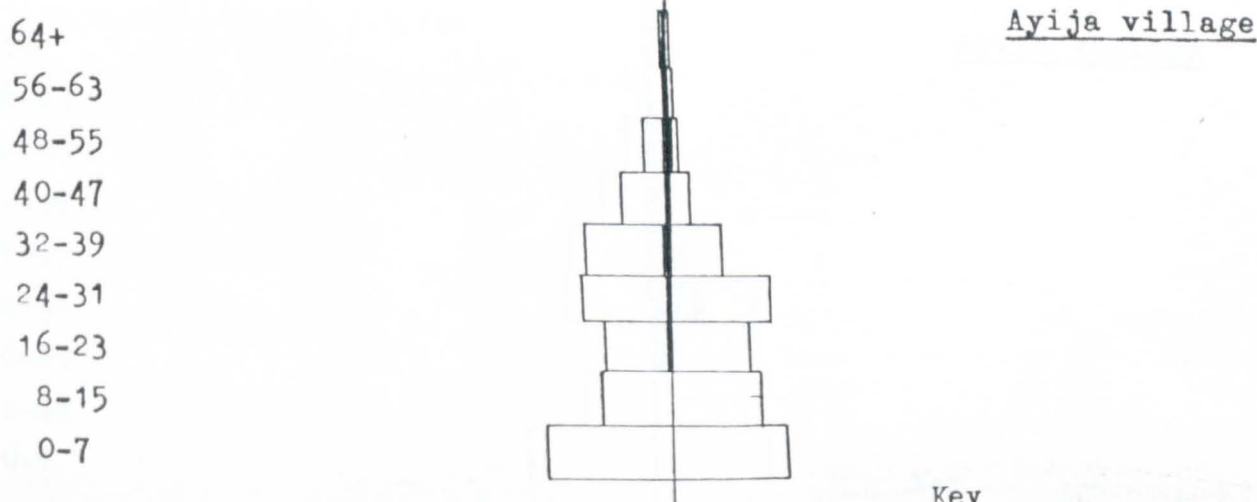
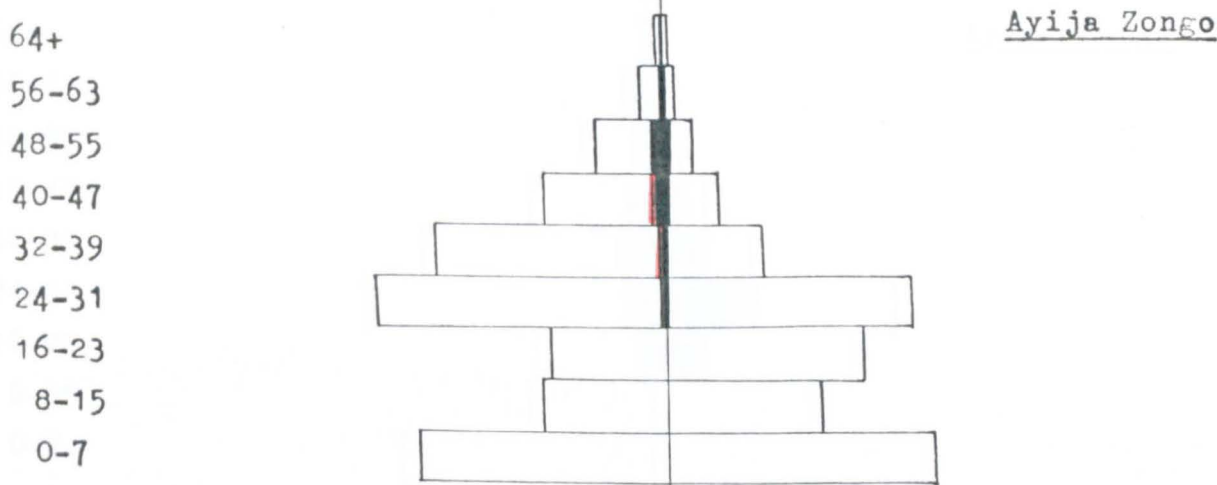
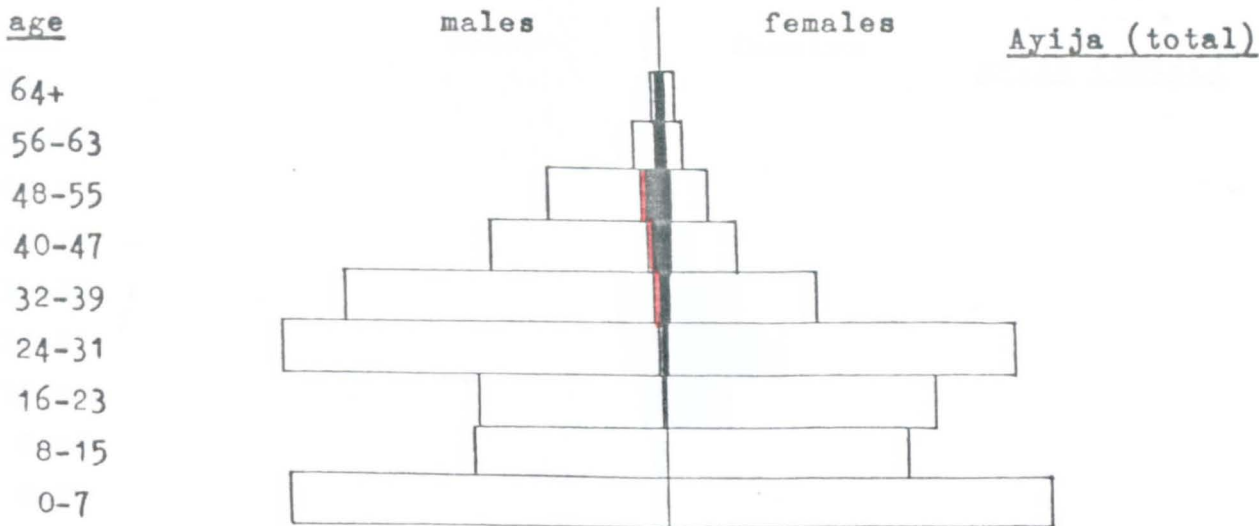


Figure B.16

25. BLOCK MAKING

People Involved :	4 specialist men + helpers, some developers, 1 man specializes in decorative blocks
Typical Size of Enterprise:	1 + helper
Capital Investment, Tools and Other Costs:	block making machine ₵30-100
Profits :	₵2 per day
Main Raw Materials :	3 bags cement (₵10) to $\frac{1}{2}$ load coarse sand (₵10) drum of water ₵0.12 $\frac{1}{2}$ for 100 blocks; some other mixtures, bags resold ₵0.07 $\frac{1}{2}$ each
Source Areas :	local sand, cement from Kumasi stores
Products :	100 blocks per day selling for ₵23
Markets :	Ayija, West Ayija builders
Problems :	variation in cement price e.g. ₵3-5 a bag, and shortages
Potential for Expansion	would need more men and machines
Site Requirements :	space for moulding, drying, storage
Sites Used :	street space, building sites, periphery

Ayija Property Owners (living in Ayija) and Informal Transport Workers



Key

property owners

transport workers

(NB some property owners had other work activities)

Figure B.17

Ayija Traders

Age

males

females

Ayija (total)

64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

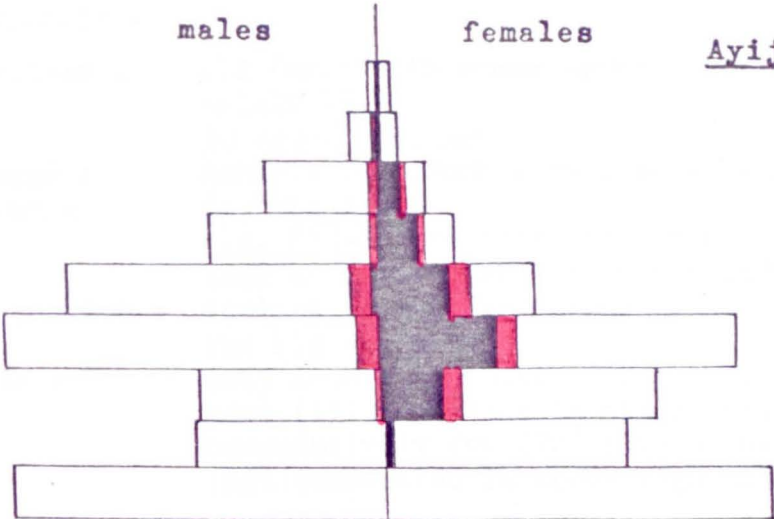
32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7



64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

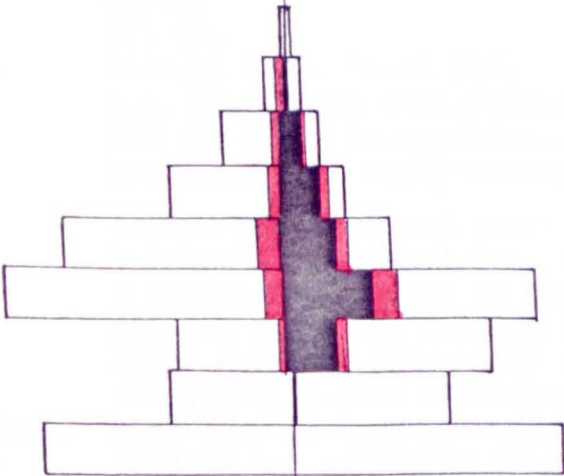
32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7



Ayija Zongo

64+

56-63

48-55

40-47

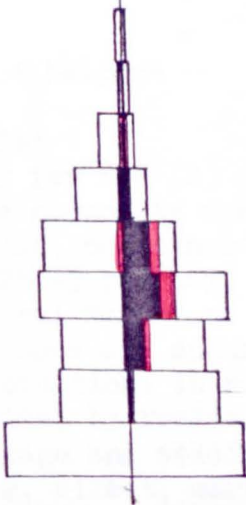
32-39

24-31

16-23

8-15

0-7



Ayija village

Key



working in or near Ayija



working elsewhere

500 persons

Figure B.18

distribution activities (tertiary)

1. LETTING ACCOMMODATION

No of People Involved : 212 (some with other work)
Age Group : mainly 48-63
Sex : 30 women, 182 men
Major Ethnic Groups : Ashanti (53), Moshie (26), Gonja (14), Busanga (11), Hausa (10)
Capital Investment : ₦1,000 -3,000
Profits : e.g. ₦15-50 per month from rents
Problems : lack of credit facilities for investment
Potential for Expansion : limited to available land, some upgrading possible for higher rents
Site Requirements : easy access to houses for supervision, rent collection
Sites Used : most (171) resident in single houses used for letting
Comments : comparatively few (72) live outside Ayija (not enumerated in above figures)

2. TRANSPORTATION

No. of People Involved : 52 + 17 apprentices
Typical Size of Enterprise: 2-3
Age Group : varied
Sex : all men
Major Ethnic Groups : Ashanti (25), Fanti (16)
Capital Investment : e.g. ₦3,000 for taxi, ₦5,000 for trotro
Profits : ₦10 per month to apprentice, ₦30 to trotro and taxi drivers, ₦40 to lorry drivers, varying owners' profits
Services : trotro passenger and goods transport Ayija-Kumasi, 4 trips a day, legal max. 17 passengers (not upheld) 5 pesewa fare, costs of tax and fuel, taxi fare ₦0.20-1 per trip, various lorry routes
Markets : Ayija workers, university workers and others
Problems : occasional police harassment, spare parts shortages
Potential for Expansion : much overcrowding of vehicles " high demand
Site Requirements : loading and unloading areas, parking space
Sites Used : Ayija Junction, Ayija market
Comments : some lorries owned by smugglers are parked near the owners' houses

3. TRADING - total figures

No. of People Involved : 801 + helpers
Typical Size of Enterprise: 1-2
Age Group : varied
Sex : very few men (2) (n.b. traders outside Ayija 40% men)
Major Ethnic Groups : some commodity specialization (see over)
Capital Investment : stalls, containers, storage, e.g. ₦5-30
Profits : ₦0.25 -3 per day, mostly ₦0.60-1.20
Source Areas for Goods : Central Market as major source area, surrounding villages and suburbs as some specialist source areas
Problems : fluctuations in supply and demand
Potential for Expansion : limited by residents' purchasing power
Site Requirements : storage and selling space, public access
Sites Used : room, street, market area
Comments : considerable underemployment of many women, credit selling of luxury goods e.g. cloth, also house traders, hawkers, street traders and market sellers forming a hierarchical network



(top) tally marks made by credit sellers

(right) street traders - these selling second hand clothes

(bottom) a street trader - selling charcoal

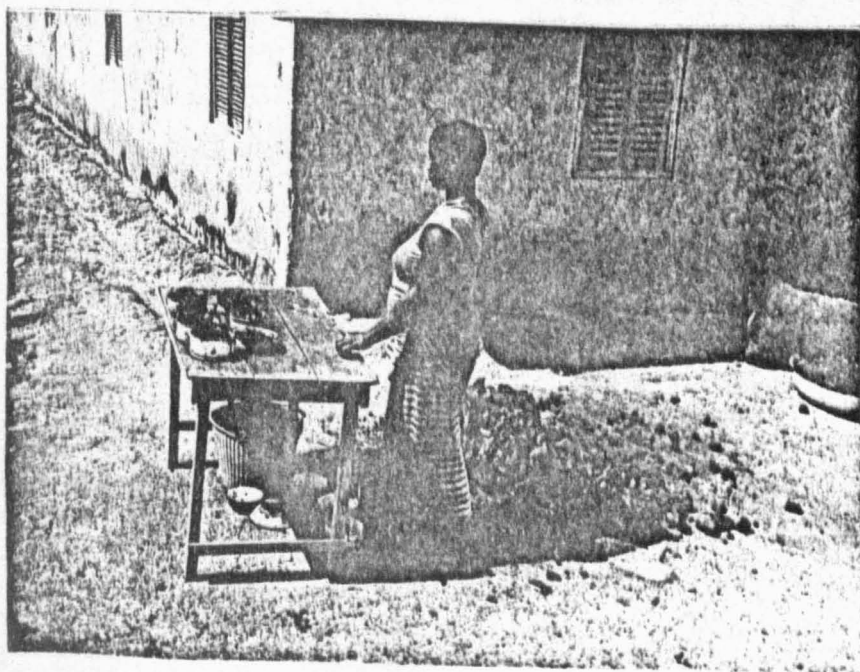


Figure B.19

TRADING - COMMODITY SPECIALIZATIONS

- (i) Raw foods - staples (cassava, yam, rice, plantain, maize, millet, & cocoyam)
 People Involved : 69 in Ayija, + 36 trading outside Ayija, mainly women, some men selling yam and maize at Kumasi Central Market
 Source Areas : yams, plantain, rice, cocoyam, millet from Central Market, corn from Kumasi Zongo or villages in season, cassava from villages e.g. Ejisu, Boadi
 Comments : transport costs high on heavy staples, e.g. 14% on purchase price of plantain from Central Market
- (ii) Raw foods - vegetables (onions, tomatoes, okro, garden eggs, cocoyam - leaves, baobab leaves, beans)
 People Involved : 16 + 5 trading outside Ayija, all women
 Source Areas : local farms and Kumasi Central Market
 Comments : transport costs e.g. 10% for garden eggs, 3% for tomatoes
- (iii) Raw foods - fruit and nuts (palm fruits, groundnuts, tiger nuts, coconuts, oranges, bananas, sugar cane, seasonal fruits e.g. pineapples, mangoes)
 People Involved : 39 + 1 outside Ayija, women
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market, villages e.g. Ejisu, some lorry deliveries to Ayija Junction in season
- (iv) Raw foods - animal protein foods (fish, meat, n.b. eggs not sold raw)
 People Involved : 25 women fish traders + 3 outside Ayija - mostly Fanti, 2 male meat traders + 20 meat/livestock traders outside Ayija - mainly northerners
 Source Areas : Government Cold Stores or Central Market for fish, Ahinsan and Central Market for meat
- (v) Processed foods (flour, bread, spices, garri, cooking oil, packaged foods)
 People Involved : 102 + 16 women operating outside Ayija
 Source Areas : local manufacturers or Kumasi Central Market
- (vi) Alcoholic drinks (mainly palm wine, akpateshie)
 People Involved : 37 + 2 outside Ayija, men and women
 Source Areas : palm wine from local tappers, akpateshie from Oforikrom in Kumasi
 Comments : some heavy licensing fees charged to large-scale traders
- (vii) Other stimulants (kola, cigarettes)
 People Involved : 30 + 8 outside Ayija, men and women, some Hausa
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market, local smugglers
- (viii) Cooked foods - snacks (groundnuts, cakes, corn on the cob, tea and bread)
 People Involved : 44 women + 2 trading outside Ayija, and 2 male tea sellers in Ayija
 Source Areas : Central Market
- (ix) Cooked foods - meals (kenkey and pepper sauce, porridge, rice and stew, soup, beans and garri, kokonte, tizet, ampesie, fried yam and plantain, etc.)
 People Involved : 88 + 2 outside Ayija, some tribe specialities, women
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market and local markets
- (x) Food wrappings (leaves, second hand newspapers)
 People Involved : 3 women
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market, some local supplies



(top) a street butcher

(right) fish smokers at the market
site, refuse tip beyond

(bottom) firewood stacked for sale
in the street

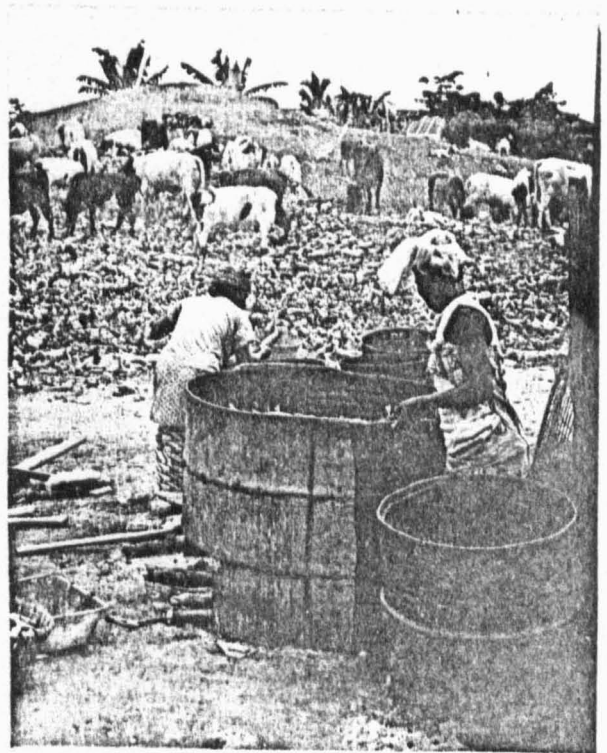
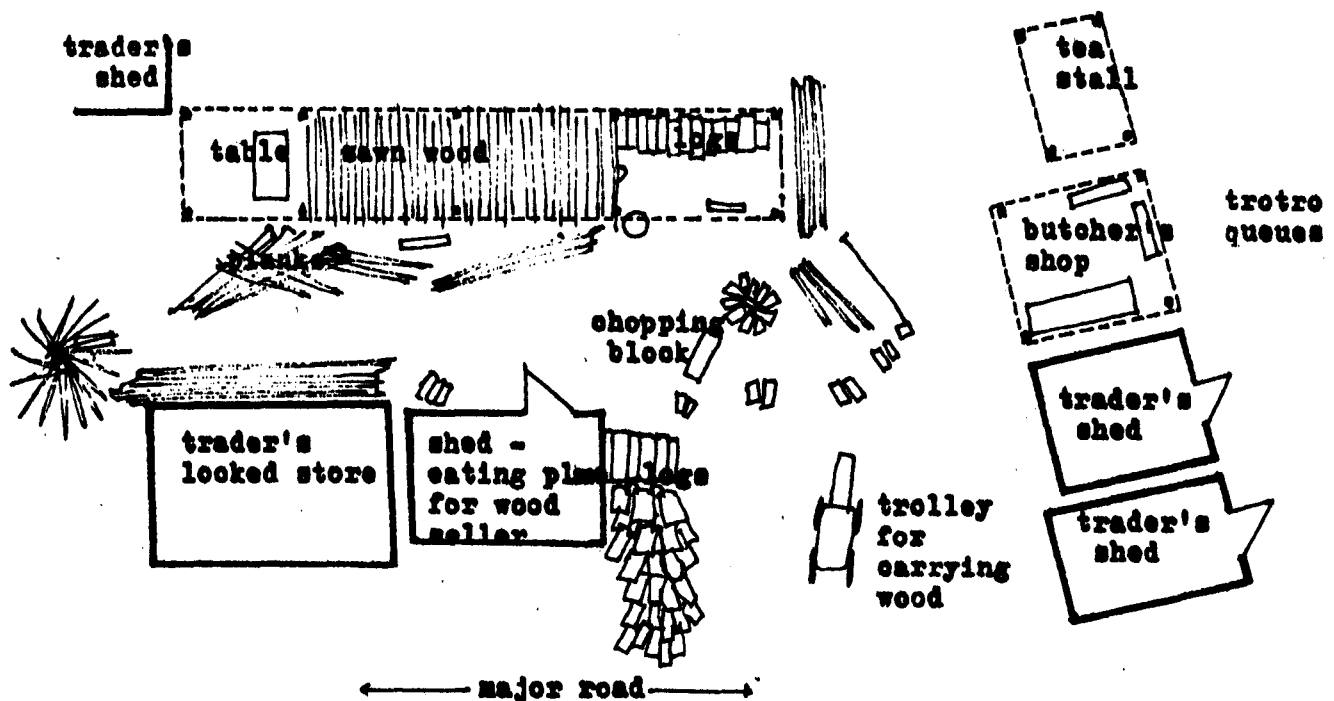


Figure B.20

- (xi) Water
 People Involved : 12 families, usually women responsible for sales, also 3 women selling 'iced' water
 Source Areas : tap supplies
 Comments : private installations representing investments of e.g. £1,000
- (xii) Fuel (firewood, charcoal, kerosene)
 People Involved : 5 male firewood sellers + other men and women part time, 33 charcoal traders in Ayija including 2 men, 3 kerosene sellers male and female
 Source Areas : firewood from bush, sawmills, charcoal from Aboabo, Ahinsan, and further away, kerosene truck delivers
- (xiii) Cleaning goods (soap, chewing sticks, toothbrushes and paste, washing powder)
 People Involved : 6 local, 3 elsewhere
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
- (xiv) Medicaments and Cosmetics (herbs, liniment oils, perfumes, tablets, hair dyes)
 People Involved : 7 + 2 outside Ayija
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
- (xv) Clothing (mainly second hand clothes, some new clothes, sandals)
 People Involved : 22 in Ayija, 53 elsewhere, some men selling smocks and sandals, but mainly women
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
- (xvi) Jewelry (beads, also watches)
 People Involved : 20 traders outside Ayija, men as well as women
 Source Areas : Kumasi Central Market
- (xvii) Sawn wood (for carpentry)
 People Involved : 3 men
 Source Areas : sawmills, Awunaga workshops
- (ixx) Bottles
 People Involved : 5 Gao men, working together
 Source Areas : wide area for collection
 Comments : sales mainly to bars, beadmaker
- (xx) Other traders include pans and bowls, other utensils, and unspecialized traders in foodstuffs

Plan of Firewood and Sawn Wood Seller's Workspace (not to scale)



Plan of Bottle Sellers' Workspace

grass reservation to University approach road

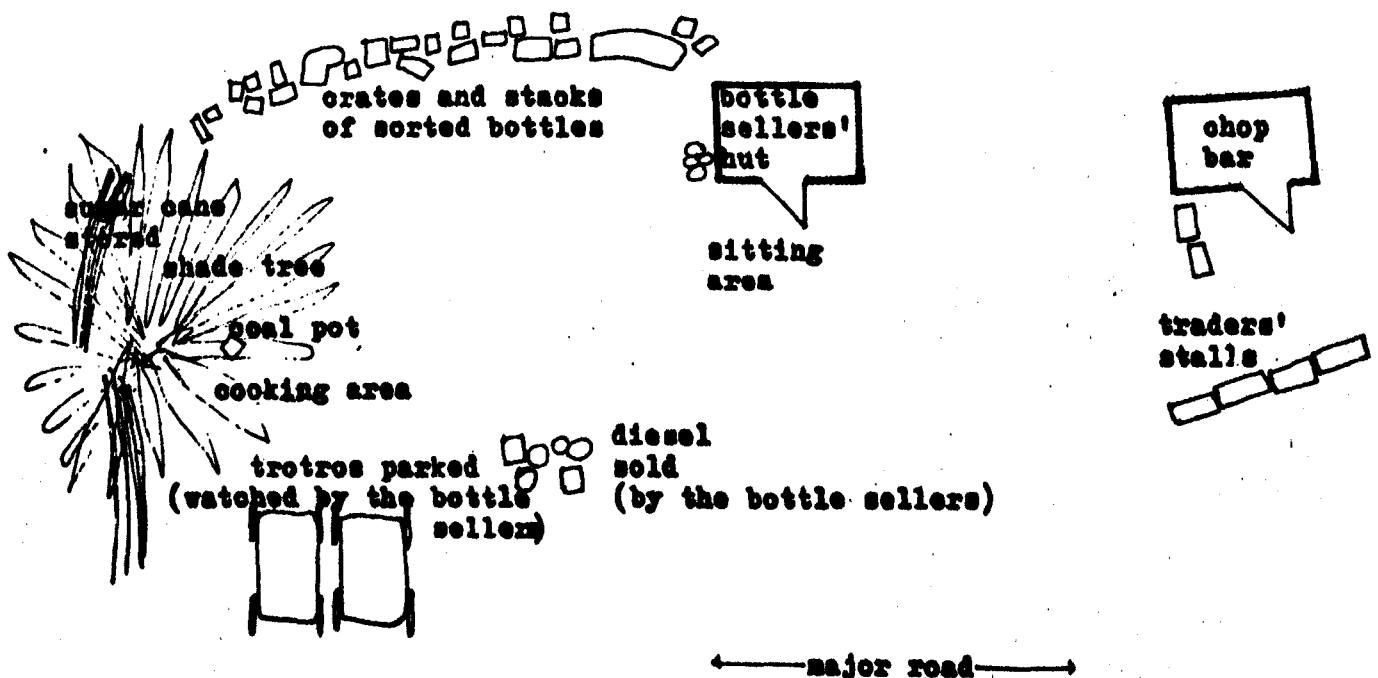


Figure B.21

Ayija Workers Involved in Other Informal Services (legal)

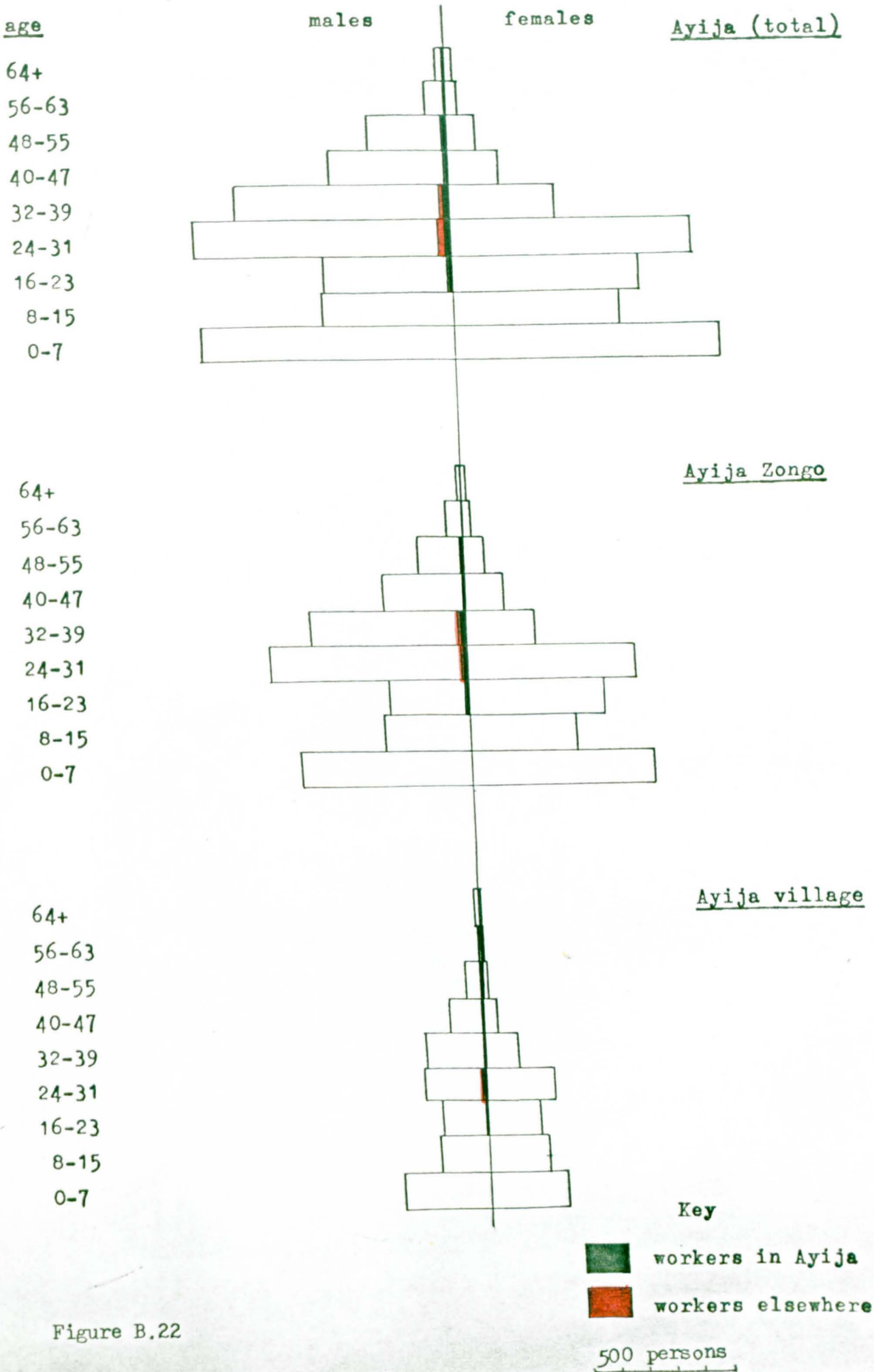


Figure B.22

other services

1. BANKING (susu men)

People Involved :	2 specialist men + others
Typical Size of Enterprise :	1 collector, 60-70 savers
Capital Investment :	savings cards printed ₦5 for 600 cards
Profits :	3% of monthly savings+ possible interest
Service :	daily collections from savers till month end
Market :	Ayija women traders, other informal sector workers
Problems :	for savers : susu men sometimes run off with money
Potential for Expansion :	depends on competition with formal banking
Site Requirements :	safe place for depositing money
Sites Used :	hiding place
Comments :	savings may have been lent out at e.g. 30% interest per month, but it is claimed that this is not done

Other forms of banking - susu groups of e.g. 10 women, with rotating fund (again the saver may be paid). Also money lending as above, 30-50% interest charged per month, and mending torn notes and changing notes for coins , both 20% charge.

2. THE LOTTERY

People Involved :	25 men and women, all hired through main agent in Oforikrom
Typical Size of Enterprise:	1 person per kiosk
Capital Investment :	none
Profits :	5% commission, earnings ₦2.50 per week, variable
Service :	sale of tickets, giving tips on winning
Market :	Ayija residents and university workers
Problems :	very competitive
Potential for Expansion :	depends on resident prosperity and attitude to gambling
Site Requirements :	space for setting up kiosk, public access
Sites Used :	Ayija Junction, Ayija Market, main streets

3. HEALING

People Involved :	total 17 : 2 Akan fetish priests, 1 northern soothsayer, 3 foreign herbalists, 11 Moslem fortune tellers (northerners), all men
Capital Investment :	'surgery', magic symbols, minimal costs
Profits :	20 pesewas per consultation, larger fees for successful cures
Services :	healing, also fortune telling (including lottery forecasting), sorcery, appeasement of spirits
Market :	Ayija residents + customers from elsewhere
Problems :	competition from University Hospital
Potential for Expansion :	depends on ability to attract more outsiders
Site Requirements :	private consulting space
Sites Used :	healers' rooms

4. PREACHING

People Involved :	Moslem mallams, 3 resident Christian priests, (others live outside Ayija) all men
Services :	religious practice in 4 churches, 3 mosques (including peripheral 'smugglers' mosque')
Markets :	3-400 regular attenders, Ayija and West Ayija
Comments :	some residents attend churches outside Ayija

PHOTOGRAPH

← NAME →

(SUSU COLLECTOR)

H/No. A Y Ayigya

P. O. Box KUMASI

Motto:

"Bibiara wo Yehowa nsam"

Name.....

Card No..... Station.....

Working Place..... Month..... Rate.....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Advance.....

Amount to be paid.....

Less Advance.....

Signature.....

Notice: The first contribution belongs to the collector

layout of a printed susu collector's card

a lotto kiosk

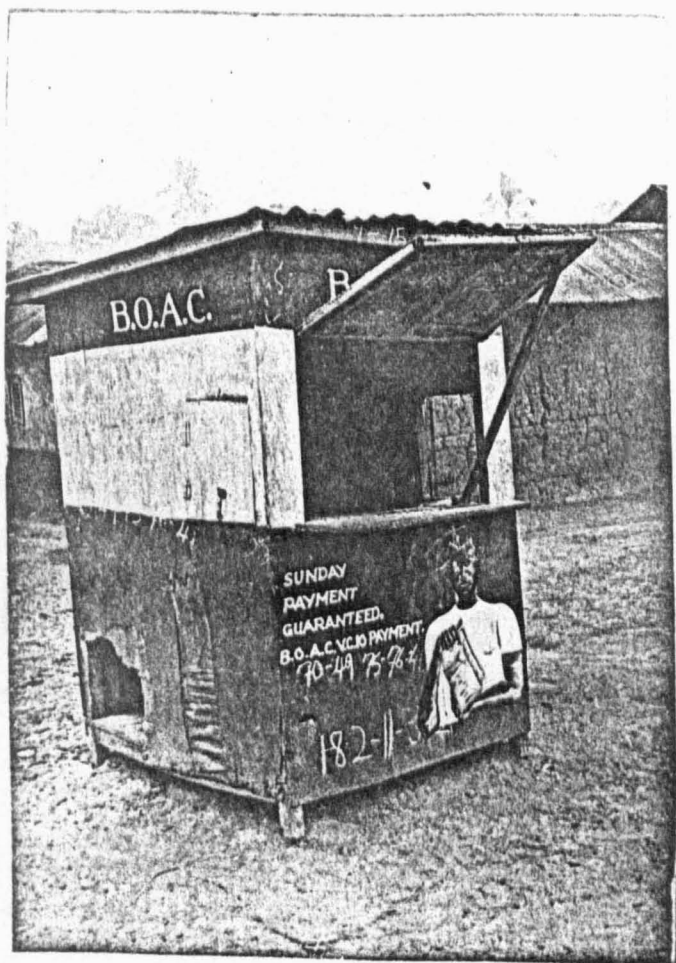


Figure B.23

5. TEACHING

People Involved : 2 in state schools, 14 Moslem mallam teachers, 3 private teachers, young men and some women training
Capital Investment :
Profits : ₵20 per month upwards
Services : primary and middle schooling, religious instruction and Arabic
Market : about 1,000 children from Ayija
Problems : insufficient schools to meet local demand
Potential for Expansion : considerable
Site Requirements : large rooms or open spaces + benches
Sites Used : state school buildings, courtyards, street space, private rooms
Comments : about 500 children attend schools elsewhere in Kumasi, and many more are sent back to rural areas for their schooling

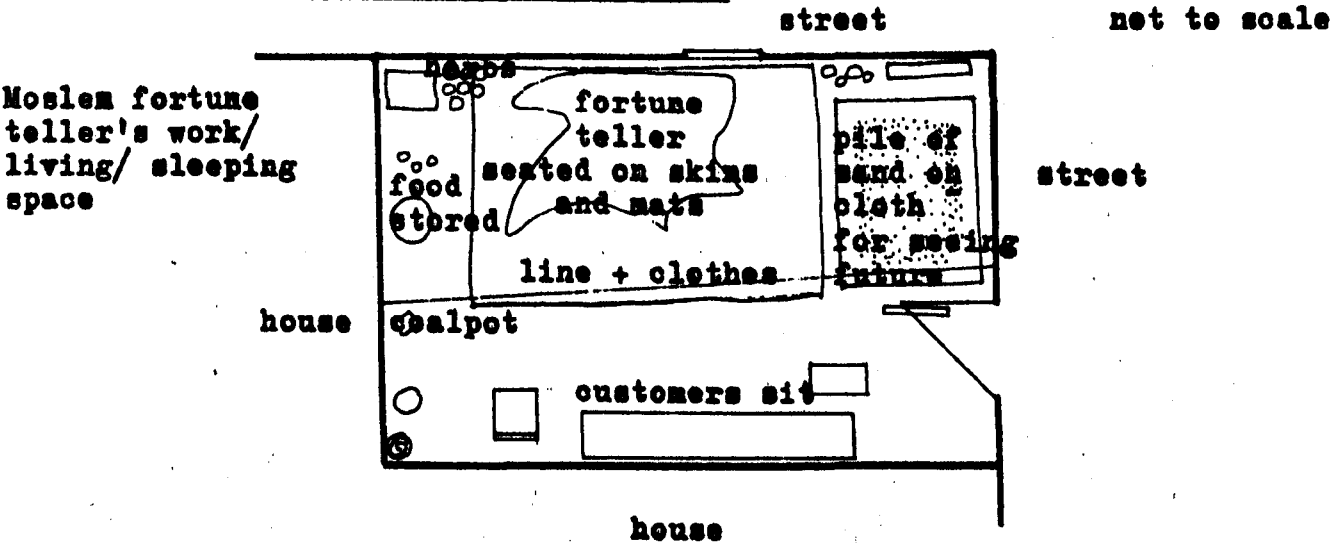
6. WASHING AND CLEANING

People Involved : 6 washermen (4 Ewe, 2 Fulani), 1 dry cleaner (Ashanti), all men
Capital Investment : washermen - iron e.g. ₵8; dry cleaner - uses equipment elsewhere (Akwatia Line, Kumasi)
Profits : washermen - 10-15 pesewas per article, less cost of soap (₵1 per 20) and washing blue (₵0.20), charcoal ₵0.60 for ironing, water costs e.g. ₵3 per month, income ₵0.50 -1 per day ; dry cleaner - takings ₵15 per week, i.e. ₵0.30-1.35 per article
Market : wealthy Ayija residents
Problems : luxury service, vulnerable in hard times
Potential for Expansion : limited
Site Requirements : washing, drying and ironing space
Sites Used : courtyards, streets, verandahs, banks of streams (washermen), shop (dry cleaner)

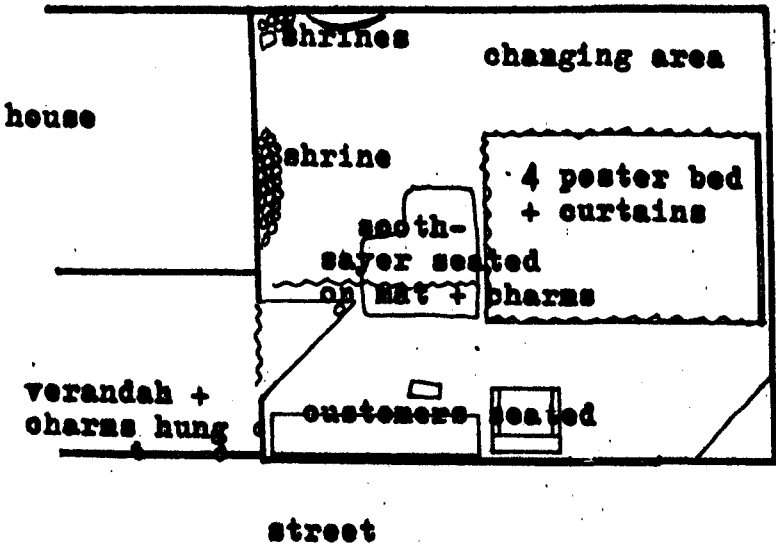
7. WATCHING (part time)

People Involved : 25 vigilantes, young men
Capital Investment : bows and arrows, cudgels, guns (?), torches, boots, uniforms, e.g. ₵30-40 per head
Profits : ₵4 per month each
Services : policing Ayija midnight to 4.30 a.m.
Market : Ayija residents -levy of 5 pesewas/room/month
Problems : identification of bone fide early risers
Potential for Expansion : present service adequate
Site Requirements : access to all parts of the settlement
Sites Used : street patrol
Comments : demand due to unreliability of official police force; present system has been operating 15 years, and now has official approval; many other men have work as watchmen outside Ayija

Various Healers' Consultancies in Ayija



Soothsayer's work/ living/ sleeping space



fetish priest's workspace

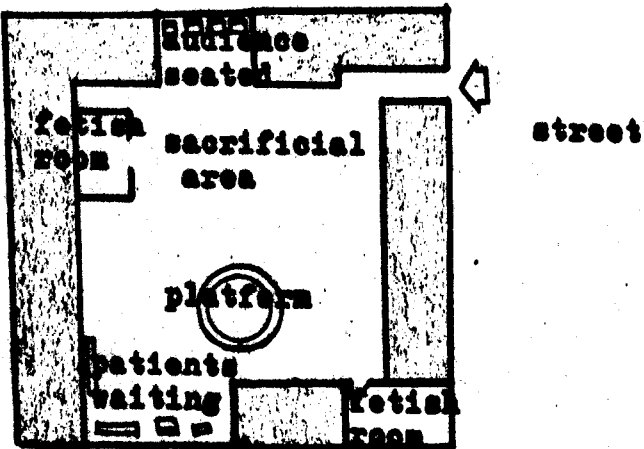


Figure B.24

8. HAIRDRESSING

People Involved : total 8, 5 women in 'beauty saloons' and 2 male barbers, 1 male hair blackener, various ages and ethnic groups
Capital Investment : scissors, razors , e.g. £10
Profits : e.g. £1 per day
Services : cutting hair, shaving (men), braiding hair (women) dying hair, some circumcision by barbers
Market : Ayija residents + some outsiders
Problems : luxury service
Potential for Expansion : limited by local incomes
Site Requirements : seat for customer + space around
Sites Used : e.g. verandahs

9. LETTER WRITING

People Involved : 1 + apprentice, both Akan men
Capital Investment : typewriter £32 second hand
Profits : total e.g. £4-6 per week, from 10 letters, after paper costs 3 pesewas (3 copies) per letter
Services : typing job applications, affidavits, contracts, receipts, promisory notes, correspondence, forms
Market : Ayija residents
Problems : underemployment, but monopoly situation
Potential for Expansion : none at present
Site Requirements : space for table and chair
Site Used : verandah

10. REPAIRING

People Involved : 2 (metal utensils), 3 (watches), 25 (shoes), 1 (pounding sticks), all men
Capital Investment : e.g. £35
Profits : metal repairs £0.20-0.40, watches £1-2.50, shoes £0.60, pounding sticks £0.10
Market : Ayija and West Ayija residents
Problems : fluctuating demand
Potential for Expansion : moderate
Site Requirements : working area visible to public
Sites Used : verandahs, marketplace, street

Other Services : entertaining (1 man full time, many others part time)
running errands (e.g. carrying, waiting in queues - many children involved, e.g. 5 pesewas for each service)
servants (children paid e.g. £6 per month + keep)
casual labouring (men e.g. £0.60 per day)
administration (part time - Ayija elders, tribal chiefs)



(above) braiding hair on a verandah

(below) letter writer at work

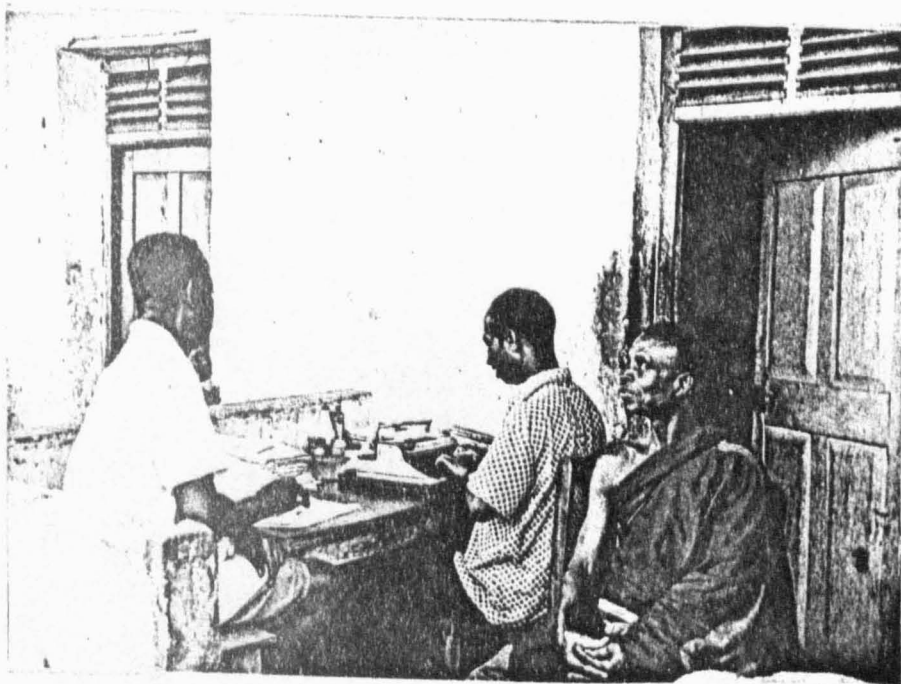


Figure B.25*

illegitimate work activities

1. SMUGGLING

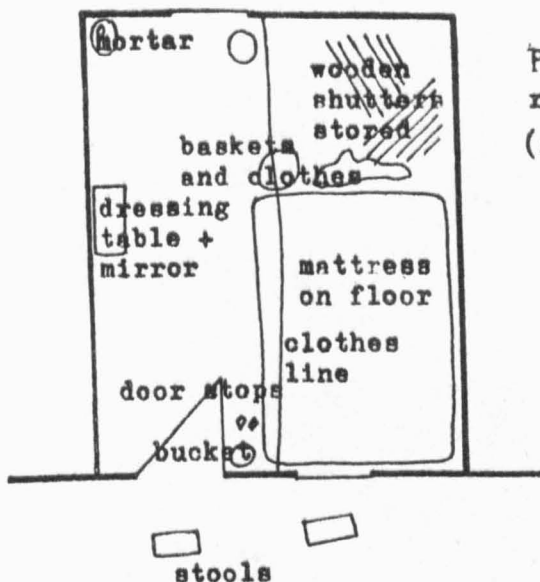
People Involved :	perhaps 10, linked to others in West Ayija, mainly northern men
Capital Investment :	lorries £5,000 upwards
Profits :	about 100% on purchase price of imported goods, less costs of bribes and fines
Market :	Kumasi (including Ayija) and elsewhere
Goods :	manufactured goods brought into Ghana e.g. wigs, cloth, medicines, Rothmans cigarettes; 'export goods smuggled out of Ghana e.g. cocoa, timber, and subsidized foodstuffs e.g. tins of milk, margarine
Problems :	police harassment, risk of prison
Site Requirements :	network of bases, spaces for parking, loading, storage
Sites Used :	large private houses with courtyards
Comments :	legal transport businesses used as a front; profits reinvested in vehicles, plus seasonal investment in bulk foodstuffs for resale in times of shortage

2. DRUG PEDDLING

People Involved :	3 men
Capital Investment :	none
Profits :	not known
Markets :	Ayija young people, university students
Goods :	marijuana grown elsewhere in Ghana, Togo
Problems :	periodic jail sentences
Site Requirements :	hidden storage
Sites Used :	private rooms

3. PROSTITUTION

No. of People Involved :	at least 39 (including 9 part time)
Typical Size of Enterprise:	1-5
Age Group :	varied, many older women involved
Sex :	female
Major Ethnic Groups :	Krobo (18), Ashanti (10), Kotokoli (unknown number)
Capital Investment :	clothes, jewelry, mattress, £30-100
Profits :	£0.40 per customer, up to £1 for Kotokoli, takings e.g. £3 per night
Services :	sexual
Market :	Ayija men
Problems :	occasional harassment by police or landlords
Potential for Expansion :	market probably declining
Site Requirements :	public access, private space
Sites Used :	rooms with direct street access, screens around doorway specially built
Comments :	some boys paid to solicit for Kotokoli prostitutes, but not for others



(right) screened entrances to prostitutes' rooms



Figure B.26

4. BEGGING

People Involved :	5 (3 mentally handicapped, 2 physically) men and women, varied ages and ethnic groups
Capital Investment :	none
Profits :	e.g. ₵0.20-0.40 per day, more on Fridays (from Moslems) and Sundays (Christians)
Market :	Ayija and surrounding area
Problems :	occasional police harassment
Potential for Expansion :	moderate
Site Requirements :	public access
Sites Used :	streets and market places
Comments :	a service is also sometimes performed in giving small change for notes; occasional begging is also carried out e.g. by children making house calls during religious festivals

5. PICKING POCKETS

People Involved :	several gangs of boys
Capital Investment :	none
Profits :	very variable, with risk of fines, prison, cost of bribes, risk of vindictive attacks
Market :	West Ayija, Ayija Junction, Ayija
Problems :	social isolation from other residents
Potential for Expansion :	unknown
Site Requirements :	crowded public spaces, quiet remote places
Sites Used :	markets, major streets, periphery

6. BURGLING AND LIVESTOCK STEALING

People Involved :	individuals and groups of men
Capital Investment :	cutlass, sacks, e.g. ₵8
Profits :	considerable when raids successful
Source Areas :	Ayija, West Ayija, university campus
Markets :	Kumasi Central Market
Problems :	social disapproval, penalties if caught
Potential for Expansion :	unknown
Site Requirements :	mainly night time unobserved access to stored goods or livestock
Sites Used :	houses with external windows, peripheral yards



Ayija pickpockets arrested in Kumasi - as photographed in the
"Daily Graphic"

Figure B.27

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