

**RurbanAfrica Research Project:  
The Ghana Case Study-Policy Dialogue**

**Participants:**

P. Yankson, University of Ghana	pyankson@ug.edu.gh/kojokummm@hotmail.com
J. Agergaard, University of Copenhagen	ja@ign.ku.dk
C. Tacoli, IIED	Cecilia.tacoli@iied.org
C. Boateng, Private consultant	
K. Sarfoh, Private consultant	oksarfoh@yahoo.com
M. Awumbila, University of Ghana	mawumbila@ug.edu.gh/mawumbila@hotmail.com
G. Owusu, University of Ghana	gowusu@ug.edu.gh/geowusu@yahoo.com
R. Osei, University of Ghana	rdosei@yahoo.co.uk
S. Mujeeb, Peoples' Dialogue	amsalifu@hotmail.com
S. Adzornu, Ministry of local government and rural development	sadjornu@hotmail.com
R. Ofori, Ministry of local government and rural development	ofori@outlook.com
M. Oteng-Ababio, University of Ghana	moababio@ug.edu.gh
E. Amankwaa, University of Ghana	ebenchief@yahoo.com
J. Esson, Loughborough University	j.h.n.esson@lboro.ac.uk
A. Kwasi Opoku	kwasi.opoku@gmail.com

Professor Paul Yankson welcomed the participants to the first policy dialogue of the Ghana case study, held at the ISSER Conference Centre in Accra the 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2013. This was followed by a presentation of the key questions and structure of the overall project by Professor Jytte Agergaard, and a short introduction to the purpose of the meeting by Dr Cecilia Tacoli. Participants were invited to reflect on two main sets of issues:

- Contents: are we asking the right questions to ensure that this research project is relevant not only to researchers but also to policy makers, and/or are we missing something – and if so, what?
- Process: how do we contribute to building a critical mass of knowledge, rather than duplicate efforts, and to establishing a dialogue with policy makers across sectoral (rural and urban) divides as well as local, national and regional levels?

The Ghana team then presented a brief summary of the key issues emerging from the state-of-the-art report (presentations attached). Below is a summary of the main points that emerged from the discussion.

**Migration and mobility**

Population movement clearly underpins processes of urbanization in Ghana, and is triggered by inequalities between rural and urban areas and between the North and the South of the country. Current rural development policies – for example improved infrastructure and the Ghana Services Opportunity Project (GSOP), implicitly or explicitly aim to reduce rural-urban migration, but with little success; at the same time, the implications for population

distribution of the commercialization and mechanization of agriculture, especially with regard to the displacement of smallholder producers, are largely neglected. It was pointed out however that mobility patterns are complex, and include rural-urban as well as urban-urban movement. The latter helps explain the concentration of urban growth in the South of Ghana. Seasonal, circular and other forms of short-term mobility should also be taken into consideration. This is especially important as these are the migrants who are likely to be more vulnerable once they move to the city, and in need of specific social protection policies. It was suggested that the links between migration and vulnerability should be explored more explicitly in the study. At the same time, it is important to address the widely held assumptions, especially among policy-makers, that migration is inherently problematic. Migration can be a means to escape poverty for individuals and households; the fact that migrants can indeed increase pressure on services and infrastructure highlights the development gap that exists in most urban centres and which is caused not by migration but by the overall lack of forward planning for population growth and urbanisation.

It was suggested that the project builds alliances with the 'Migrating out of poverty' project and participates in the recently created interministerial commission on migration which shows potential for collaboration with policy makers and national government officials.

### **Agricultural models and displacement of the rural poor**

The agricultural models currently implemented in Ghana aim to increase productivity and attract foreign investors. It was emphasized that one of the critical outcomes of this approach is the creation of new forms of poverty and dispossession related to increased pressures on land and needs for investment. Thus, there is a need for building a broader narrative on agricultural transformation on the one hand and to address the dynamics of rural poverty on the other hand.

In this context, the meeting participants commented on the selection of sites for the project fieldwork. The choice of Sekondi-Takoradi was considered to be a good example of the links between urbanization and agricultural transformation in the surrounding rural region. Somehow, it was felt that the relationship between Accra and the rural region needs to be reviewed to better highlight these linkages. It was suggested that the project considers changing the case study locations for WP1 and WP2, since rubber and palm oil may represent too similar dynamics. The participants agreed that switching the rural sites to horticultural locations closer to the city would make it easier to identify linkages and policy implications. Two alternative suggestions were made: the horticulture belt in the Akwapim-South and Yilo-Krobo districts in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

### **Urban expansion and service provision**

The urban expansion, especially but not only of Accra, is characterized by rapid peri-urban development and urban sprawl. At the policy and planning levels, fragmentation appears to be the result of decentralization and increasing demarcation. Municipalities, private service providers and other stakeholders are engaging in development and provision of services with little if any contact with each other. It was pointed out that the dynamics of urban change are linked to both formal and informal initiatives: public policy choices can result in

public (and private) investment that leap-frogs sprawl, thus shaping urban expansion. This is often overlooked, and perhaps too much emphasis is put on informal settlements as the main driver of urban expansion.

It was suggested that the governance of urban areas may be a relevant and appropriate area of study for the project, as it would enable the team to make explicit links to policy and planning. It may also help explain why despite increases in investment, this remains below what stipulated in the GPRS11, and service provision remains inadequate as urban expansion inevitably precedes planning. As better-off groups pay far less than low-income residents for basic services, the issue was raised that informality should be seen as the outcome of current policy choices rather than a symptom to be 'treated'.

### **Opportunities for engagement in policy dialogues**

It was suggested that it is important to identify the gatekeepers facilitating change at the policy level. There are currently at least three institutions at different levels that are in charge of issues broadly related to rural-urban linkages – the Town and Country Planning Department, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and the National Development Planning Commission [check], but they rarely interact and communicate. This project is a good forum for bringing together representatives of all three. The project team should also make links with the World Bank funded review of urban development in Ghana. It was suggested that the project team also keeps in mind the need to engage with policy makers at the local, regional and national levels. The city level is however where there are likely to be more opportunities for bringing service providers and planners together, and the Land, Services and Citizenship project was mentioned as a possible entry point. But perhaps most emphasis was put on the important role of the media in the dissemination of discourses on planning and development issues, and on the growing role of civil society organisations on sectoral issues - for example, service provision, water and sanitation – as well as migrants' welfare. The Centre for Democratic Development was mentioned as a potentially strong ally.

## Presentations from the Ghana Team

### Presentation 1:

## **RURBAN AFRICA RESEARCH PROJECT:** **THE GHANA CASE STUDY**

### Thematic areas of the study

- Agricultural transformation and rural livelihood change
- Urban dynamics and access to services

### **Specifically, the Ghana case study is meant to throw light on the following:**

- How changes in land use, agricultural production systems and links to global markets relate to urban demand and investment, and whether they result in better opportunities for farm and non- farm employment in rural areas, or in the marginalization of poor rural groups?
- How, in turn, these dynamics affect the livelihoods of rural households as the relative importance of small scale farming declines and people increasingly engage in migration and non-farm employment?
- How cities and towns are growing, how rural urban migration contributes to such growth and whether and how migrants retain links with their rural homes?
- How the residents of low-income urban settlements secure access to basic services, especially, in fast growing neighbourhoods where migrants are a large proportion of residents, and how the growing needs for services are addressed in urban plans?

## Selection of study sites

### Urban

- One fast growing large urban centre-the national capital and in this case Accra Metropolitan area and the contiguously developed urban areas around it in order to capture urban dynamics and rural-urban connections
- A growing secondary city that present different urban dynamics and rural-urban connections. Sekondi-Takoradi was selected.
- In each of the cities, 5 residential areas selected for the main field survey.

### Ghana: Potential sites in Accra

Neighbourhood/ Reclamation	History	Location	Income-level	Pace of population growth	Remarks
1) Kotokrom	Indigenous/traditional settlement	Western edge of centre	Low-income	Stable overall though movement in and out	Stable population size but movement in and out. Poor services.
2) New Town	Migrant settlement established 1940s, mainly Muslim	Northern edge of centre	Low/middle income	Shrinking overall though movement in as well as out	Residential being converted to commercial; subdivision of existing dwellings.
3) North Labone	Planned area built by colonial administration in 1950s.	North western edge of centre	Middle/high income	Growing in size	Considerable infilling taking place.
4) Osu	Indigenous core, growing rapidly since 1990s	Western periphery	Low/middle/high income	Growing rapidly	Well-functioning land market with asante chief.
5) Ashie Bore	Indigenous core, growing rapidly since 1990s	North eastern periphery	Low/middle/high income	Growing rapidly	Customary chief, some land disputes.

## Ghana: Potential sites in Sekondi-Takoradi

Neighbourhood/ Settlement	History	Location	Income-level	Rate of population growth	Features
1) New Takoradi	Indigenous	Central	Low-income	Growing rapidly	Old area
2) Kwesimintsim	Established 1930s	Western edge of centre	Low- income/mixed	Growing rapidly	Many migrants
3) Anap	Indigenous and newcomers	Northern edge of centre	Middle/upper income	Growing rapidly	includes estate houses
4) Assikwa	Indigenous and newcomers since 2000	Western periphery	Low/middle income	Growing rapidly	Farming land becoming residential
5) Kojokrom	Indigenous migrants and newcomers since 2000	Eastern periphery	Low-income	Growing very rapidly	Commercial area, railway, infilling, densification

- Field methods being used are: personal (one-one) interviews and FGDs

### Rural

- Rubber in the Western Region (GREL and the outgrower scheme). The selection of Sekondi-Takoradi was influenced by this.
- Oil palm in the Eastern Region (Kwae area)
- Field questionnaire survey to be used.

# RURBANAFRICA PROJECT

## Work Package 2: Rural Livelihoods, Income Diversification And Mobility

### Country Report: Ghana

George Owusu (PhD)  
Department of Geography & Resource Development/  
Institute of Statistical, Social & Economic Research (ISSER)  
University of Ghana

- WP2 conceptualizes mobility and livelihoods within a framework that takes into consideration all the key elements shaping activities that strands between rural-urban areas.
- Mobility and rural-urban linkages in Ghana are influenced by the levels of development inequalities between localities (rural and urban), and among regions and the different ecological zones.
- Policy measures to date have largely focus on rural and agricultural development with the explicit or implicit aim of reducing the population drift from rural to urban areas.
- Though Ghana lacks a clearly articulated spatial development framework, implementation of medium-term development policies have resulted in improved infrastructure, especially in terms of transportation and communication.
  - impacted positively on poverty reduction and rural-urban linkages but drift of population from rural to urban has continued.

### *Policy issues*

- Declining interest in rural agricultural and consequences for rural livelihoods and development, as well as urban development.
- > Best ways of supporting rural non-farm economic activities under conditions of declining interest in agriculture
  
- Impact of the expansion of ICT services (mainly mobile telephone, television, internet and frequency modulation radio stations) on mobility and rural-urban linkages.
  
- Contradictory outcome of policies on rural development and measures to reduce regional development inequalities:
  - > commercialization of agriculture and displacement of small-scale farmers
  - > decentralization with explicit aim of rural development and questions over inter-governmental transfers

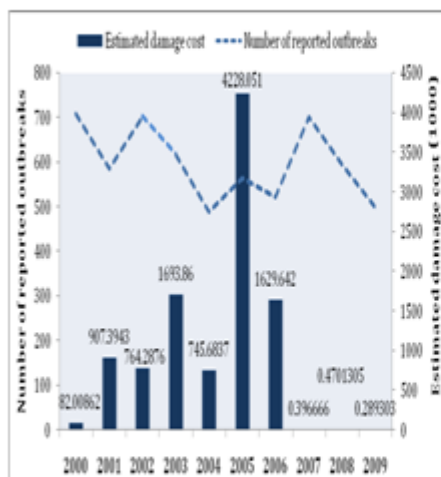




## Access to infrastructure services

- Government's investments in infrastructure increasing though not in tandem with the dictates of GPRS11
- Access (time, finance, quality) exhibits a distant-decay model
  - The affluent pay far less than low-income settlements and peri-urban dwellers
- Development precedes planning

## Policy concern - 1



- The conceptualization of informality – seeing informality a symptom instead of a victim of our development policy choices

## Policy concerns - 2

---



- National Institutional policy contradictions with current developmental realities

---

## Policy concern - 3

---



- Privatization of “public goods and services”
-

## Work Package 1

### AGRICULTURE TRANSFORMATION AND RURAL DYNAMICS IN GHANA: THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN GHANA

- Agriculture remains an important source of livelihood for many Ghanaians (employs over 50% of work force)
  - But its contribution to GDP has declined
- In terms of tonnage the three most important cash crops are oil palm, cocoa and rubber
- Agriculture Policies in Ghana
  - Pre-independence: Emphasis was on export crops production
  - Immediate post-independence: Increased State involvement in agriculture production
  - Reform Period: State divested itself from the direct agriculture production
  - Era of Agriculture Modernisation: Increase investments and productivity in agriculture: It has come with the Nucleus-Outgrower type relationships
- SGER 2012 shows increased agriculture spending in line with the objective of modernising agriculture
  - See some increases in yield: cassava (16.7), rice (2.5), maize(1.9)
  - Only deficit from the SGER 2012 was for rice.

- Key areas of interest in the study of agriculture and rural livelihoods
  - Agriculture and changing HH welfare outcomes
  - Agriculture development and implications for regional development
  - Changing Households Demographics and implications for farm labour
  - Migration and its implications for rural development
- Two hotspots chosen for the study
  - Oil Palm area
  - Rubber