

RESEARCH
REPORT
OF GOOD
GOVERNANCE
AFRICA,
WEST AFRICA

STUDY REPORT ON GENTRIFICATION AND INCLUSIVE CITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE GREATER ACCRA METROPOLITAN AREA (GAMA)



A STUDY ON GENTRIFICATION AND INCLUSIVE CITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE GREATER ACCRA METROPOLITAN AREA (GAMA)



SUBMITTED TO

Good Governance Africa
West-Africa Centre
The Paragon, 3rd Floor Master Bannor Street / 9th Lane, Osu
Behind the Trust Hospital, Osu-Accra

BY

David Anafo (PhD)
Department of Planning and Sustainability
University of Energy and Natural Resources
P. O. Box 214
Sunyani

AUGUST 2020

EDITED AND FORMATTED BY

Edward Teye Sarpong



Executive Director
Programs/M&E Manager
Senior Research Officer
Project Assistant

Tina Serwaa Asante-Apeatu
Gifty Adjei-Kumi
Edward Teye Sarpong
Akosua Sapaning

Contributors to this Publication

David Anafo (PhD)
Mr. Daniel Adusu
Abdul Rahman-Bunyamin

About Good Governance Africa

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

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

Opinions expressed, and definitions given in this publication without reference to any author or other authorities are those of the individual authors and not necessarily of Good Governance Africa. Contents may be republished with attribution to Good Governance Africa.

"Good Governance Africa – West Africa"
The Paragon, 3rd Floor Master Bannor Street / 9th Lane, Osu
Behind the Trust Hospital, Osu-Accra
Email: info.westafrica@gga.org
Telephone: +233-302-777762

Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/ggawestafrica>, website: www.gga.org

Contents

05	List of Tables
05	List of Figures
06	List of Acronyms
07	Executive Summary
10	Acknowledgement
12	Chapter 1 - Introduction
20	Chapter 2 - The Debates on Gentrification
32	Chapter 3 - Methodology
42	Chapter 4 - Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants
50	Chapter 5 - Triggers of Gentrification
63	Chapter 6 - The Current State and Patterns of Gentrification in Ghana
72	Chapter 7 - Effects of Gentrification on Inclusive and Sustainable Urban Development in Ghana
83	Chapter 8 - Summary, Conclusions and Implications for Policy
86	References
92	Annexes

List of Tables

36	Table 1 - Sampling
43	Table 2 - Gender and marital status of respondents
45	Table 3 - Educational, occupational and employment status of respondents
47	Table 4 - Origin and migratory history of respondents
48	Table 5 - Housing tenure and monthly income of respondents
51	Table 6 - General Drivers of Gentrification
53	Table 7 - Economic Drivers
54	Table 8 - Physical Drivers
55	Table 9 - Political Drivers
57	Table 10 - Sociocultural Drivers
59	Table 11 - Spatial Drivers
60	Table 12 - Actors of Gentrification
61	Table 13 - Contribution of Actors to Gentrification
65	Table 14 - Origin of birth and reason for migration
68	Table 15 - Location, Distance and Mode of Transportation to Past and Present Place of Work
70	Table 16 - Facilities affected by gentrification
71	Table 17 - Frequency and intensity of gentrification
73	Table 18 - Negative Effects Gentrification on the General Community
74	Table 19 - Negative Effects of Gentrification on Individual Households
75	Table 20 - Effects of Gentrification on Household's Monthly Expenditure
76	Table 21 - Imposing Characteristics of Gentrification
77	Table 22 - Past and Present Expenses on Transportation to Place of Work
78	Table 23 - Past and Present Expenses on Rent
80	Table 24 - Positive Effects Gentrification on the General Community
81	Table 25 - Positive Effects Gentrification on Individual households
81	Table 26 - Proposed Measures to Reverse the Trend of Gentrification
82	Table 27 - Proposed Initiatives to improve coping capacity to gentrification

List of Figures

33	Figure 1 - Map of GAMA in the Context of Ghana and Africa
35	Figure 2 - Classification of the Selected Stretch

List of Acronyms

CBD	Central Business District
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
GAMA	Greater Accra Metropolitan Area
GGA	Good Governance Africa
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

Executive Summary

In the rapidly urbanizing global south, and across much of the world, cities are the centers of innovation, job creation and economic development. These developments make cities net recipients of migrants, resulting in continuous urbanization, giving rise to a marked modification in the housing structure. Gentrification is a product of these developments. Though there is significant body of knowledge acclaiming the global nature of gentrification, urban research commentaries, have often avoided the temptation to generalize its effects, and mostly caution against same. It is argued by some, that gentrification displaces, and can at best be described as a product of the injustices of capital-driven redevelopment.

It is, however, observed by others, as a phenomenon which improves the quality of housing, contributes to the tax base, and revitalizes important sections of the city through private initiative, and that the displacement it causes, if any, is negligible. In spite of how the concept of gentrification is examined, the extant literature suggests that, it often has some form of displacement effect on low-income urban dwellers and existing social structures. Consequently, understanding gentrification in the African context, and how it uniquely affects urban populations, has become increasingly important in driving inclusive city policies in Africa. Despite the need for the phenomenon to be explored in the African context, pre and post-apartheid political dynamics, has perhaps attracted the attention of urban development researchers, making South Africa the preferred study location for most gentrification studies in Africa, thereby ignoring most parts of the continent. This study is therefore a direct response to the inadequate studies on gentrification in the West African sub-region, using the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) as an archetype. Relying on household and key informant's interviews, the study characterizes the phenomenon of gentrification as it pertains in the GAMA. The key triggers, its unique effects and patterns are sufficiently addressed in

the study.

Relying on household and institutional data, the study argues that gentrification is largely driven by an interaction of physical, economic, social, political, cultural, and spatial factors. The study concludes that among these factors, economic activities resulting from an increase in private sector investments remain the most important factor that ignites urban regeneration in the Accra Metropolitan area. Despite the major role of economic factors, the study cautions that no single driver among the many is entirely responsible for the phenomenon in its own right. A complex interplay of these factors is what informs and drives the influx of higher-income earners into previously less invested communities, especially the inner cities of Accra. Consequently, these factors work together in steering communities towards aggressive infrastructural renewal.

The study further documents that even though all the selected communities experience some form of gentrification, the extent and pattern of the phenomenon are largely differentiated in terms of location and stage of development. While Adabraka by its location in the inner core is witnessing an aggressive transformation of residential facilities into offices and other high-rise commercial buildings, a moderate form of the phenomenon is experienced in Pokuase and Achimota. The study, therefore, concludes that the phenomenon of gentrification gets more pronounced or evident as one moves towards the inner core or Central Business District (CBD).

The study further observed and posits that the government, private developers, and affluent property owners, constitute the key actors who by their activities influence the phenomenon. The government, through the improvement of security, the building of schools, job creation, and improved health care facilities, provides some important pull factors for the movement of higher-income earners into these previously less invested and disadvantaged communities. Similarly, the agenda of the government to improve some selected communities through its intended affordable housing projects has put such communities in the spotlight, qualifying them as potential candidates for urban redevelopment.

The rising cost of rent, general increase in the cost of living, community conflicts, loss of social networks, and displacement of low-income residents, were identified as major negative effects of gentrifications. The study, however, provides evidence of improved infrastructure, access to public transport, increased job opportunities, and quality housing as some of the benefits associated with urban regeneration. The study, therefore, concludes that in remaking neighbourhoods, several aspects of society are altered in unintended ways, yet have serious implications (both positive and negative) on the everyday lives of ordinary dwellers. There is evidence of a wide improvement in economic activities as a result of gentrification. However, the existing social class structures are significantly altered, hence alienating indigenous populations in their own neighbourhoods. The study, therefore, concludes that uncontrolled gentrification presents indigenous people with situations that make them question their sense of belonging in the new social structure created by the influx of high investors.

Consequently, it is recommended that, government policies and programmes in response to gentrification should take into account the diversity of populations in gentrifying communities. Populations in affected communities should be segmented to ensure that programmes are tailored, based on identified groupings, to avoid misdirection of remedial efforts.

The study observed that businesses thrive best in better locations, especially major streets of towns and cities. Following from this, houses along the principal streets of study communities remain prone to proposals and negotiations from affluent people, aimed at converting these houses into commercial structures. The study recommends a proper, open and more honest consultation between potential investors and residents, aimed at reaching a consensus towards designing a private sector-led affordable housing scheme for residents. The original residents should be allowed to influence the terms and conditions of the agreement, to avoid forced relocation or displacement.

Acknowledgements

The Good Governance Africa (GGA) West Africa Centre the funding agency for this research assignment is first of all grateful to the Research Team for its commitment and dedication to having this all important assignment completed in time and on schedule. To Dr. David Anaifo the lead consultant and his two research assistants (Mr. Daniel Adusu and Abdul Rahman-Bunyamin), the Centre is appreciative of your insights, leadership and directions. To Ms. Gifty Obeng and Mr. Edward T. Saprong the remaining members of the Research Team, your coordinating efforts and final reviews are herewith acknowledged.

The Centre also appreciates the role of the research assistants and the CiF consulting firm that ensured timely collection of data from the field. To the many institutional stakeholders who availed themselves for interviews during the data collection stage of this assignment inspite of the volatile times in which we are in as a country due to the Covid 19 pandemic, we say “ayekoo”. To the residents of Pokuase, Adabraka and Achimota who supported this exercise by responding positively to the requestes of the data collectors, the Research Team and the GGA West Africa Centre thank you and wish you well in all your endeavors.

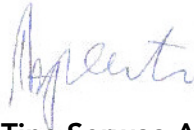
The Centre’s final appreciation goes to the various reviewers who found time to subject the draft report to professional scrutiny and analysis. Your attention to detail and recommendations for various ammendments to the document have contributed greatly to shaping the final document as we have today.

GGA West Africa reiterates its commitment to advancing the development of imperical research into West Africa’s developmental issues. Our research works aim at giving factual basis for advancing

national and sub-regional discourses on both broad national policy formulation and at the regional and local level development choices. The Centre is therefore particularly happy to have successfully funded and coordinated this research work in partnership with the above mentioned stakeholders. The findings of this research work further strengthens the resolve of Good Governance Africa to advocate where possible for the improvement in the living standards of the vulnerable in society (in this case the urban poor).

The impact of gentrification on different segments of urban society have been further revealed in this preport which will form the basis for future engagements with various stakeholders including the central government, municipal and meteropolitan assemblies among others. We look foraward to deepening the discussions going forward for the good of all.

Thank you.



Tina Serwaa Asante-Apeatu
Executive Director

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Cities, ordinarily are expected to meet the needs of all their inhabitants, irrespective of age, cultural and religious background, educational level, size of wallet, and other life choices. As to whether cities are living up to this function by ensuring inclusion and creating a sense of “home” for all inhabitants, remains unclear and very much under-researched. This is the discourse centered on placemaking and the emerging phenomenon of gentrification that is confronting many cities across the world.

In the rapidly urbanizing global south, and across much of the world, cities are the centers of innovation, job creation, and economic development. These developments make cities net recipients of migrants resulting in continuous urbanization, giving rise to a marked modification in the housing structure. Gentrification is a product of these developments. Gentrification is largely a form of urban regeneration (Visser & Kotze, 2008), which essentially drives comparable forms of urban class-based changes (Lemanski, 2014).

Gentrification is argued to be the product of placemakers regenerating particular urban environments, making them attractive to wealthier members of society (Wehaffy, 2019). That view is simplistic however, as the dynamics of gentrification may differ from place to place. Moskowitz (2017) observed for instance that gentrification happens “not because of the wishes of a million gentrifiers, but because of the wishes of a few hundred public intellectuals, politicians, planners and heads of public corporations”. He further argues that gentrification is a system that prioritizes the needs of capital over the needs of people.

On the other hand, Jacobs (1961) is of the view that an increase in the number of wealthy inhabitants in an area should not be seen as a



bad thing, particularly if it is associated with increased diversity and opportunities for all and also does not result in the displacement of the original inhabitants. These opposing views throw up important issues that require empirical interrogation. We need to investigate the nature, drivers/causes, and consequences (adverse or otherwise) of gentrification in different regional and national contexts to be able to come to certain conclusions. This is particularly true for developing countries.

The present study, therefore, seeks to unpack the emerging phenomenon of gentrification in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), Ghana in terms of its nature, triggers, and consequences for inclusive urban development. This study is important because of the relative lack of empirical research into the phenomenon across most African countries. The few studies that have been undertaken on the subject are mostly done for cities in South Africa. The study will also help us gain broader perspectives and insights into the phenomenon of

gentrification in an African city which can serve as a basis for the formulation of sustainable and inclusive urban development policymaking. The study also has relevance for and is consistent with SDGs 11, 10, and 8; the New Urban Agenda; Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030; Agenda for Jobs: Creating Prosperity and Equal Opportunity for All (First Step) 2018-2021; and the Ghana National Urban Policy.

The term gentrification was first conceptualized by Glass (1960), to explain changes in lower-class neighborhoods in central London due to the influx of higher-income residents. The origin of the concept has arguably influenced and shaped earlier assumptions that the phenomenon was unique to the global north and that much less of the phenomenon, if any, was experienced in Africa. The obvious rapid development, emanating from the recent ambitious industrial drive in most African countries, has reshaped the narrative and redefined gentrification as a global phenomenon. The form it takes and its resultant effect on local populations is, however, not uniform, but differs across the world. In the global north, gentrified populations are said to easily get absorbed into the capitalist production system as workers and consumers. The phenomenon plays out quite differently in Africa, as the development rather pans out as accumulation by urban dispossession. In effect, gentrification displaces and segregates the social strata of cities along the social-spatial axis of wealth (Helbrecht, 2018).

In spite of how the concept of gentrification is examined, the extant literature suggests that it often has some form of displacement effect on low-income urban dwellers. First, gentrification works to create severe economic pressure on lower-income residents (tenants and owners) through increased cost of housing and property values as more affluent buyers and tenants move to the neighborhood. For low-income earners, these pressures inevitably steer them to cheaper and often poorer quality accommodation in the same or neighbouring localities or moving away completely into outer suburbs. Second,

low-income earners get estranged in their neighborhood resulting in discomfort and unease in trying to assimilate the obvious changes of the physical and social fabric of the neighborhood and its symbolic order shifting dramatically, as rapid gentrification takes place (Atkinson, 2015).

Given this broad background and understanding, it will be interesting to understand how the gentrification phenomenon plays out on the ground, in terms of the down-to-earth elements, using the GAMA as an archetype for a West-African cities. The study will lead to new understanding, insights, and applied policy alternatives to ensure inclusive place-making in gentrifying neighbourhoods, in Ghana and elsewhere.

1.2 Urban Regeneration in Ghana: The Evidence so Far

The government of Ghana has over the past few years, demonstrated interest in renewing some selected communities in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). As expected by many, slums and inner cities have largely remained the targets of these renewal proposals. In an attempt to situate the study in the Ghanaian context, an examination of current urban renewal projects pursued by the Government of Ghana (GoG) has been made. While some sections of the population welcome the idea as a move to rejuvenate these neighbourhoods into world-class liveable communities, others perceive these efforts as deliberate attempts to displace low-income dwellers in the targeted communities. It is regarded by many, as a form of violence that removes the sense of belonging to a particular community or home space.

In Ghana, reasons advanced by the government (both local and central government) to force the eviction or relocation of mostly low-income earners, from the inner city of Accra, are wide and varied. Fält, (2016) reported that the official reason cited by the government for demolition of “Mensah Guinea” a poor neighbourhood in the heart of Accra, was to avert the annual cholera outbreak. The place was cited for very poor sanitary conditions and immoral behaviour

Old Fadama after demolition exercise
source: straightnews.com



including, prostitution, theft, and ignorance. Perhaps the real and enduring reason for the demolition of Mensah Guinea was the desire to make Accra globally competitive through the development of a luxury tourism enclave on the land of Mensah Guinea, a project supported by almost all stakeholders except the residents of the community. Gillespie (2016) acknowledged the economic rationalization of the eviction of residents of the poor neighbourhood of old Fadama, equally located in the center of Accra. Achieving spatial order is another reason for urban dispossession as it is spelt out in Ghana's legislation and national urban policy.

The Government of Ghana (GoG) is also currently pursuing a twin bold agenda to address the slum challenge through a prototype urban redevelopment project and the establishment of the Ministry for Inner Cities and Zongo Development (MICZD). The Nima-Mamobi redevelopment project seeks to provide high-quality dwellings to residents of Nima and Mamobi communities. It is envisaged that this private sector led-development will make prime lands available to private developers to develop world-class infrastructure while providing decent accommodation to the predominantly low-income dwellers currently occupying the place. Investors are expected to recoup their investments through the sale and rental of world-class buildings they develop on the remainder of the land. An obvious challenge with the Nima-Mamobi redevelopment project is the likely impact on the national housing deficit. This project will take away the opportunity of affordable housing for the mostly migrant population who live in these communities. The MICZD on its part has, as its goal, to facilitate a broad-based infrastructure, social and economic development of Inner-City and Zongo communities within the context of inclusive, resilient, safe human settlements and sustainable urban development (MICZD, 2019).

Giving the double face nature gentrification presents to governments and private developers on one hand, and low-income inner-city dwellers on the other, the need for alternative models that reconcile these opposing interests cannot be overemphasized. Through the National housing policy, the Government of Ghana commits to

addressing these via the provision of safe, secure, decent, and affordable housing to be owned or rented to all persons. However, much research is needed to inform existing policies, as little is known of practical and sustainable approaches adopted by countries to address the creeping challenge associated with gentrification. There is equally scanty information on the current state of gentrification and its drivers. Lees (2019) provides some empirical evidence from countries in the global north that strike a balance between the economic motive of government and state actors and the welfare interest of low-income city dwellers.

This study is therefore an attempt by Good Governance Africa (GGA), to proffer an afro-centered understanding to this rather nebulous phenomenon, particularly as it relates to African cities, using Accra, Ghana as a case. The project will explore further the patterns and trends of gentrification. It will also examine the possibility of state protection of slum communities while still pursuing spatial order and achieving economic objectives as well. The project will provide evidence for government and private developers as the case may be for the Nima-Mamobi redevelopment project and contribute towards meeting the objective of the national housing policy and the realization of the SDGs 11, 10, and 8. It will also fill the knowledge gap on pursuing gentrification inclusively and sustainably in Africa.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of the study is to empirically unpack the emerging phenomenon of gentrification and its effects on sustainable and inclusive placemaking as a way of influencing policy-making on sustainable urban development. To achieve this goal, the research assignment was guided by the following specific objectives:

1. To characterize the current state of gentrification, its trends and patterns in an established Ghanaian city (Accra);
2. To elucidate the social, economic, political and spatial drivers of the phenomenon of gentrification in Accra, Ghana; and
3. To propose alternative inclusive and sustainable urban development

policy pathways to halt and reverse, if any, the emerging phenomenon.

1.4 Scope of Work

The assignment is detailed in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) attached as Annex A. It emphasizes theoretical as well as an empirical assessment of gentrification in Ghana, to inform policy on sustainable and inclusive city-making.

1.5 Organization of the Report

This report is organized into eight chapters. The first chapter presents the background, purpose, and objectives of the study. Following chapter one, is the review of related literature to help situate the study in the context of ongoing debates. While chapter three outlines the methods and materials for the study, chapters four, five, six, and seven presents the results and analysis. The final chapter summarizes the key findings of the study, as well as policy recommendations.



Skyline of Accra
source: umaizi.com

Chapter 2

THE DEBATES ON GENTRIFICATION

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews the literature to elucidate the major debates on gentrification. The section deals with the historical background and theoretical evolution of gentrification, as well as the global, African, and Ghanaian perspectives where necessary.

2.2 The Concept of Gentrification

Glass (1964) was the first to introduce the concept of gentrification in the 1960s to describe changes in lower-class neighborhoods in London. Since its introduction, the phenomenon has been widely observed in major cities in America, Europe, and Australia. Over the years, the concept has evolved into a dynamic and global phenomenon with protracted debates among urban scholars on its meaning, drivers, and impacts due to variations under different social and economic contexts (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009).

Gentrification has been defined as the movement of middle-class households into working-class neighborhoods resulting in the upgrade of deteriorating housing stock, and eventual displacement of lower-income residents of the neighborhood (Glass, 1964). Since then, two broad schools of the concept have emerged. While one school defines the concept to reflect the economic and physical dynamics associated with the phenomenon, the second school emphasizes its socio-cultural changes that characterize gentrification.

Adopting a more physical approach to the definition of gentrification, Atkinson (2002) defined it as a process of rehabilitating deprived neighbourhoods to provide working-class housing for middle-class residents. He further argues that the social impacts of gentrification are secondary as it is mainly a product of residential redevelopment.

Expressing a contrary opinion, Slater et al. (2004), argued that social change associated with the movement of low-income residents is the most defining feature of gentrification. An earlier study by Hamnett (1984) seems to have consolidated the views of Atkinson (2002) and Slater et al. (2004), when he characterized gentrification as a complex and multifaceted process involving physical, economic, social and cultural changes in working-class neighbourhoods. Despite the variations in the definition of the concept, there appears to be a consensus among scholars that the phenomenon is characterized by the movement of higher- and middle-income households into lower-income neighbourhoods, physical renovation and rehabilitation of housing and increases in rent and property values in inner-city neighbourhoods (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009).

*Some of the government's affordable
housing units under construction*

source: graphic.com.gh



2.3 Inclusive City Development

Urbanization processes that result in rapid changes in the urban environment often have some impacts on quality of life. Although its impact on livelihood is both positive and negative, the urban poor is usually more affected. The quest for sustainable solutions for the multiple problems in urban centers, has led to proposals for cities to explore holistic, more inclusive solutions that benefit the poor and socially marginalized. Inclusive cities making is heralded as an ideal urban growth concept as it promotes equitable growth in urban areas.

The UN-Habitat (2001) defined an inclusive city as a “place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity, or religion, is enabled and empowered to fully participate in the social, economic, and political opportunities that cities have to offer”. It is characterized by a safe, liveable environment with affordable housing and social amenities as well as diverse livelihood opportunities for all the city residents (Atkinson, 2002). Although the concept addresses all components of the development process such as the social, ecological, economic, and political aspects of urban development, inclusive city making prioritizes social inclusiveness, which is usually not a goal in other urban development models (Gupta and Vegelin, 2016). The goal for inclusive city development is to ensure that cities are sustainable, resilient, accessible, and affordable for the majority of urban residents, including the urban poor.

Pivotal to the inclusive city development initiative is a participatory planning and decision making which aims to empower the poor and socially marginalized to also benefit from the opportunities associated with city development (Rachmawati, 2016). It promotes the participation of governments, the private sector, civil society, urban poor communities, slum networks, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the city-making processes. Also, a conscious effort is made in the development process to enhance the capacity of the poor to have equal access to housing, employment, education, and other social amenities. The development process also fosters social cohesion among segments of the urban population.

2.4 Theoretical Evolution of Gentrification

Since its introduction in 1964, the concept of gentrification has been subjected to protracted debates among urban scholars, resulting in theoretical viewpoints on the phenomenon. These theories have often sought to explain the concept of gentrification, its drivers, and dynamics across different cultural, demographic, economic, and political contexts at local, national, and regional levels (Porta et al., 2014). The earliest theories discussed gentrification from dichotomous perspectives of economic and cultural determinants. Recently, however, others have emphasized the need for synergistic theorization to provide a more in-depth understanding of the concept. The major theories that have been widely advanced in literature on gentrification include the production-side theory, consumption-side theory, and hybrid theories.

The production-side theory was first proposed by Smith (1987). The thrust of his argument is that the process of gentrification is driven by changes in economic and political structures in low-income neighborhoods (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009). It draws from the principles of the rent-gap model which relates gentrification to capital investment in low-income inner-city neighborhoods. According to this theory, gentrification occurs when a rent gap is created as a result of the expansion of cities and the movement of people into inexpensive land in suburban areas (Smith, 1987). As people move into these suburban areas, properties within the inner city are abandoned, left to deteriorate, and are devalued which creates a disparity in rent between the inner city and suburban areas (Smith 1987; Hamnett 2003). Real estate developers and public agencies, therefore, take advantage of this profit-making opportunity by investing and improving housing and infrastructural facilities which improves the environmental and aesthetic appeal of the inner city. This attracts middle- and high-income residents into the inner city and increases the value of properties and rents displacing lower-income city residents to peripheral parts of the city (Hochstenbach et al., 2015). Although this theory was widely embraced for providing explanations to changes in urban structure, it also suffered some criticisms. It was criticized for failing to recognize the role played by socio-cultural and



Awoshie - Pokuase Highway
source: mahamalegacy.com

consumptive dynamics in gentrification processes (Hamnett, 1991; Trigg, 2017).

The consumption-side theory of gentrification was proposed as a more compelling alternative to the production-side theory. It argues that the process of gentrification is driven by societal needs rather than rent gaps as suggested by Smith (Ley 1997). Ley's assertion was based on a statistical analysis of explanatory variables of gentrification which revealed strong relations between changes in social status and rent levels (Hamnett, 1991). According to this theory, the transition of cities from industry to service-based economies increases the demand for white-collar workers which attracts middle-income classes into the inner city (Hamnett, 2003). The differences in purchasing power and consumption

behaviour of the middle-income class and lower-income city residents influence changes in social status and the demographic characteristics in the gentrifying areas (Mathema, 2013). Also, the change in employment characteristics of the city makes the gentrifying area unsuitable for low-income residents as they may not have the necessary skills and qualifications to benefit from the employment opportunities created in the gentrifying area (Trigg, 2017). This results in an increasing number of middle-class individuals with accompanying changes in housing and rental behaviour, eventually leading to the displacement of lower-income working-class members of the city. With time the social structure of the city changes completely into

a congregation of individuals with homogenous social class, social status, and lifestyle (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009). This theory was also variously criticized. The main criticism was that it failed to recognize that individual consumption behaviours are socially constructed and not driven by individual choices and preferences (Hamnett, 1991).

While these theories have been largely successful in explaining the process of gentrification in inner cities, some theories have been advanced against the individual capacity of these theories in providing an in-depth understanding of the process of gentrification (Brown-Saracino 2010). According to Hamnett (1991), although the two major theories provide advanced accounts of gentrification, these are only partial explanations and therefore insufficient in themselves. Others have argued that these theories failed to take into consideration the multiple complex variables, such as political, cultural, economic, social, temporal, and spatial dynamics that contribute to gentrification in different city contexts (Shaw, 2008, Trigg, 2017). There is now global advocacy, led by Moore, Hamnett, Beauregard, and Rose for an integrated theory of gentrification. According to Hamnett (2003), the process of gentrification is driven by both economic and social dynamics and therefore the need to synergize these theories to draw on their complementary strengths.

2.5 Discourses on Gentrification

Gentrification, now has a global reach, as it is no longer a western concept with western relevance. Although a global concept, studies on the phenomenon reveals national and regional variations. These variations in turn shape discourses, and influence policy prescriptions aimed at the management of urban areas. While the initial theories on the concept have played a major role in shaping the course of gentrification debates, extensive studies on the phenomenon over the past decade have led to changes in perspectives on the concept at the global, national and regional scales and these are advanced in the proceeding subsections.

2.5.1 Global perspectives on gentrification

The concentration of earlier studies on the phenomenon of gentrification in major cities in Europe and America made it initially appear as an entirely Western phenomenon. However, increased empirical research on the concept in major cities in the global south over the past decade has led to a fundamental rethink of this initial view. Gentrification is now recognized as a global phenomenon (Butler, 2005; Lees, 2012).

Globally, the phenomenon is linked with policy interventions that drive urban regeneration (Kleinhans 2003, Vicario and Monje 2003). Though some recognize these investments as critical to poverty reduction, revitalization of deteriorated buildings and revenue generation by attracting the middle class to the inner city, others argue that these investments have huge social impacts on the displaced poor who constitute a greater percentage of the population of gentrifying neighbourhoods (Atkinson & Wulff, 2009).

While there are observed similarities in the gentrification processes in the global north and south some significant variations have also been identified. Betancur (2014) argued that the process of gentrification is all not characterized by upward redevelopment and rent appropriation as reported in most northern studies. In the global south, it may be characterized as a downward process of redevelopment often involving mass slum demolition (Lees, 2012a) and conversion of informal housing into high-rise apartments (Shin, 2009).

Lees (2012) also argued that spatial and temporal dimensions as well as the contextual realities of gentrification in the global south are not featured in current westernized theories of the concept. There is therefore the need for extended studies, globally to provide a contextual understanding of the local realities of gentrification to drive the theorization of the phenomenon to reflect regional variations.

2.5.2 African perspectives on gentrification

Despite the emergence of megacities as well as predictions that Africa will host most of the new megacities of the world and drive social inequalities in urban centers, the phenomenon of gentrification has not received sufficient empirical attention on the continent (Venerandi et al., 2014). The few studies that have explored this concept have been largely concentrated in major cities in South Africa reporting

similar and variable trends to what persists in other global contexts.

In a study that sought to explore state induced gentrification trends in the housing industry of South Africa, Lemanski (2014) reported that state-subsidized housing resales induce a hybrid form of gentrification characterized by both existing downward raiding and gentrification in urban areas. Based on this finding, Lemanski (2014) argued that discourses on gentrification must necessarily to into



WestHills Mall, Dukonah, near Weija, Accra
source: citifmonline.com

consideration the contextual realities in African cities, criticizing current gentrification discourses as westernized. He also highlighted the important role of state agencies and their influence on the social and economic dynamics in cities.

Similarly, Visser and Kotze (2008) reported that specific state policy interventions focused on inner-city development underpin new forms of gentrification in South Africa. This influenced the quick and dramatic erection of new buildings and conversion of offices in CBDs. However, contrary to the contemporary theories of gentrification, only a percentage of the initial inhibitors are displaced while the remaining are unaffected by this process

2.5.3 Ghanaian perspectives on gentrification

Ghana reached an estimated 50 percent urban population in 2010. The majority of this urban population is concentrated in a few major cities such as Accra, Kumasi, Tamale, and Takoradi. The high urban population is usually associated with multiple urban management challenges such as sprawl and gentrification. However, while there may be anecdotal evidence suggesting the existence of gentrification in different Ghanaian cities, empirical studies on the phenomenon have focused only on Kumasi. Adarkwa (2012) adopted a historical approach in analyzing urban evolution in Ghanaian cities and reported that investment in urban infrastructure and enhanced economic activities has resulted in drastic changes in Ghanaian cities. He argued that these developments induce social segregation and impact on the quality of life of low-income individuals in residential areas. Although not typically focused on gentrification, it did provide some glimmer into how the phenomenon may emerge in the Ghanaian context.

Again, in a study aimed at investigating the land-use impacts of gentrification in the Central Business District (CBD) of Kumasi, Adarkwa and Oppong (2005) reported a fast pace of gentrification which resulted in the loss of most traditional and historical architecture of the city to high rise office complexes. They indicate that the process of gentrification was driven by the renting of inner-city properties to private investors who renovate them for commercial purposes.

The renovation of these facilities improved their commercial value resulting in the displacement of initial occupants. Relatedly, Twumasi-Ampofo and Oppong (2017) conducted a follow up on Adarkwa and Oppong's study and reported that the increase in demand for residential and commercial facilities resulted in the gentrification of old buildings in the CBD of Kumasi. They, therefore, argued that the process led to a surge in property values and rental prices resulting in the displacement of low-income residents into peri-urban areas of the city. However, contrary to the claim that gentrification results in the upgrade of traditional buildings in gentrified areas, traditional buildings in the CBD of Kumasi were completely demolished and rebuilt using modern building materials.

2.6 Effects of Gentrification

The effects of gentrification are fragmented along with theoretical and contextual lenses with which the phenomenon is approached. Subscribing to the Marxist account of primitive accumulation, it has been argued that gentrification improves the quality of housing, widens the tax base, and revitalizes previously less developed sections of the city through private initiatives (Marcuse, 1985). At the fulcrum of this argument is the resultant physical and economic benefits of urban regeneration, paying little or no attention to the accompanying social distortions often associated with gentrification. In a similar vein, Atkinson (2002) projected the role of gentrification in the de-concentration of poverty in poor neighbourhoods. He argued that gentrification injects new economic actors into previously less invested communities, thereby creating an even economic mix in gentrifying neighbourhoods. From a similar understanding, Wilder et al (2017), report that gentrification provides an opportunity for mutual contact and trade that does not exist normally in other communities. The relevance of this economic mix is, however, downplayed by Kennedy and Leonard (2001), as they reported that gentrifying communities rather still exhibit poverty and ethnic inequality.

While gentrification is therefore not intrinsically bad, it faces significant opposition from displacement scholars (Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard, &

Lees, 2020; Gillespie, 2016; Marcuse, 1985), NGOs, local activists groups, and human rights organizations. These actors emphasize the need for governments to rather centralize the experience of the displaced and to view gentrification induced displacement as a form of violence that removes the sense of belonging to a particular community or home space. It is important to acknowledge that those who emphasize the negative effects of gentrification speak from sociological and human rights perspectives. Atkinson and Wulff (2009) for instance, observed that, although gentrification has tended to raise investment in these areas' housing stocks, there have been persistent risks that these sudden movements of capital and citizens can displace lower-income and vulnerable inhabitants, especially where their tenure in private rental housing is unsafe. Davidson and Lees (2005), concurs as they opined that the gentrification processes result in the physical and economic displacement of lower-income groups as higher-income owners drive up property prices to such an extent that not only are original occupiers displaced but low-income earners as well. Deepening the understanding of the social effects of gentrification, Hyra (2016), reports evidence of political and cultural displacement that causes extreme social pressures, restricts substantive social connections between long-term inhabitants and immigrants, and results in segregation at the micro-level.

The relation between gentrification and crime has also attracted the attention of urban researchers. While ecological models predict that crime would decline as a consequence of the relocation of impoverished households, moral-actor hypotheses argue that crime would rise as existing wealthy households are more widespread (Atkinson, 2004). For instance, a study by McDonald (1986), showed a decrease in personal crime rate in gentrified communities. However, the same study observed that the rates of personal crime fell in almost every gentrified area while the level of property crime stayed constant. This suggests a lack of scientific consensus on the relationship between crime and urban renewal, and the possibility of such a consensus seems very much distant or remote. The arguments of scholars on the effects of gentrification on poor neighborhoods, have been heavily influenced by their academic and professional backgrounds.



Graphic.com.gh

Pokuase interchange
source: graphic.com.gh

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods and materials used for the study. For a detailed understanding of the phenomenon, a mix of methods and tools were employed based on the general purpose of the research. The chapter begins with an overview of the study area and provides a context and rationale for the project. It also explains the sampling approach and clarifies data quality assurance procedures. Tools for data analysis, ethical considerations, as well as field limitations, are also presented in this chapter. It concludes by outlining the agreed reporting procedures as well as the dissemination of findings.

3.2 The Study Area

The study was carried out in the larger Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). The Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA), the focus of this research has an estimated population of 4.3 million people, which is expected to double in 20 years. The GAMA comprises 16 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs). The area supports 62 percent of national GDP and has an urban poverty rate of 10.6 percent. The GAMA is also said to have an unemployment rate among the youth aged 15-24 being six times higher than in rural areas, with 80 percent of the population engaged in the informal sector (Ghana Statistical Service, 2019). The area suffers significant urban development setbacks in the form of inadequate provision of all public services, power outages, limited public transport, and unchecked urban sprawl.

(https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/CB_Ghana_WEB.pdf).
Figure 1 shows the GAMA in the context of Ghana and Africa.

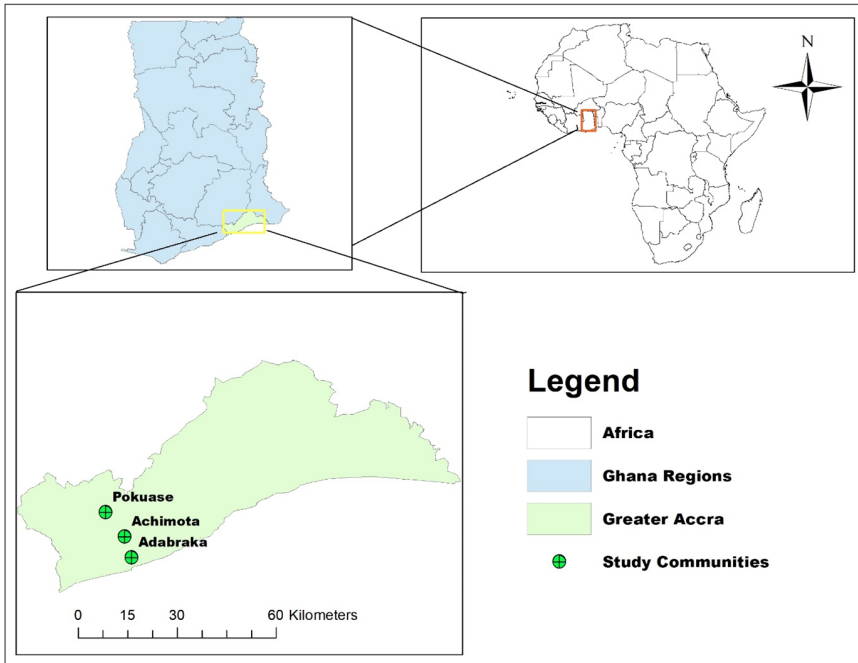


Figure 1: Map of GAMA in the Context of Ghana and Africa

Although the region covers a total land area of 4,354km², representing 1.4% of Ghana, it is also the most urbanized region of the country. Aside from its national relevance, the Greater Accra Region is seen as the centre of the West African regional economic corridor. It is properly connected to other neighbouring cities within the West African sub-region by good air, sea, rail and highway links, running from Abidjan to Lagos. This mega-region spans approximately 600 km across four countries viz. Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Benin, Togo, and Nigeria and has a fast-growing urban population of over 30 million people. This coastal urban corridor is considered the engine of West Africa's regional economy. By virtue of these characteristics, the GAMA is the second most attractive destination for Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in Africa. As a net recipient of investments, the middle-class population in Accra is growing, which coupled with the housing situation has the potential to lead to gentrification tendencies (GIBB, 2017). Meanwhile, our understanding of the phenomenon of gentrification, particularly in the African context is

very limited. This limited understanding affects our ability to build inclusive and resilient cities to accommodate the diverse segments of the urban population.

It is in light of these regional and national characteristics of the GAMA that it has been chosen to help unpack the relatively understudied phenomenon of gentrification. The results from this study will therefore not have only national relevance but could be reasonably generalizable for the West African sub-region.

3.3 Selection of Study Communities/Towns

The study adopted a multi-stage sampling procedure in selecting the study communities. The first stage involved the classification of GAMA into three major urban development corridors using major transport routes leading out of Accra into other parts of the country. These development corridors are the Accra-Kumasi corridor, Accra-Winneba corridor, and Accra-Aflao stretch. A simple random sampling technique was then used to select one of the corridors (Accra-Kumasi stretch) from which the sample communities were drawn. Considering the concentric growth pattern of the city as well as the unique spatial characteristics of the various zones, the selected corridor was stratified into three distinguishable zones, i.e. the inner core, middle core, and outer periphery. Three communities, one each from the inner, middle, and outer cores were purposively selected from the chosen corridor based on their level of development and activities. The underlying assumption which to a large extent shaped the selection of study communities was that these communities by their differences in location and level of development, may experience gentrification differently. Consequently, Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase were selected representing the inner, middle, and outer parts of the chosen corridor, respectively. This offered the opportunity to explore differences in patterns and scales of gentrification along a defined gradient of urban development. The purpose is to have empirical findings that take into consideration the different levels and layers of spatial development of the city and their unique responses to gentrification. Figure 2 throws more light on the thinking behind the selection of study communities.

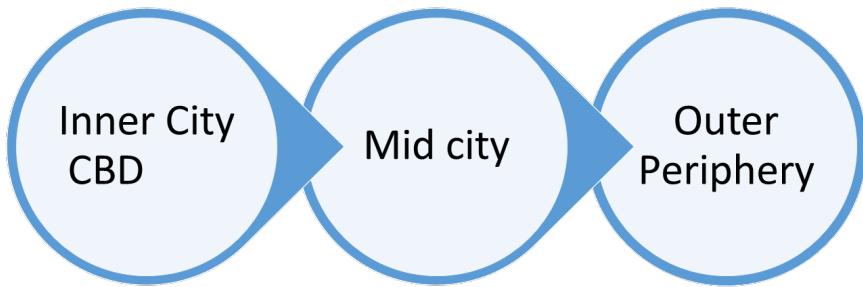


Figure 2: Classification of the Selected Stretch

3.4 Sampling Approach and Sample Size determination

Mixed-method as the study is, data was collected using a combination of household questionnaires and semi-structured interview guides. Semi-structured interviews were targeted at state institutions involved in urban development policymaking. This offered the researcher the opportunity to probe as much as possible to unearth the full depth and breadth of the phenomenon under consideration. The participants were purposively drawn and included mainly physical and development planning officers, officials from the stool lands secretariat as well as actors from the real estate development sector.

Concerning responses from residents, household heads were selected using snowballing, through the assistance of the Assembly members of the various communities. This exercise was guided by length of stay in the selected community and appreciation of the issues under consideration. Once a household had been snowballed, questionnaire was administered to the head of the chosen household. Consequently, a total of 380 questionnaire were administered to households in the selected communities.

The quantitative data was collected at a 95 percent confidence level and a 5 percent margin of error, using household data from the selected study neighbourhoods. Initially, data was obtained from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) on the total number of households in the selected study communities. Thereafter, the data was fed into the sample survey calculator of <http://fluidsurveys.com/university/calculating-right-survey-sample-size/> to generate the appropriate total sample size. The sample size for each study community was then proportionally determined based on the already established number of households in those areas. A total sample size of 380 households was used for the study. This comprised 134, 201, and 45 from Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase respectively (Table 1). The sample size of 380 households was considered statistically representative of the study population and can fairly serve as the basis for generalization across similar populations.

Table 1: Sampling

Name of Community	Number of HHs	Sample (HHs)
Adabraka	10,736	134
Achimota	16,165	201
Pokuase	6,610	45
TOTAL	33,551	380

Source: Construct based on the 2010 population census

3.5 Types and Sources of Data

The study relied on both primary and secondary information. Primary data was obtained from households and officials from relevant institutions. Government policy documents, the 2010 Population, and Housing Census Report, development plans and monitoring reports of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) as well as Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) were obtained as secondary data. The study also made use of published academic articles to situate the study in the context of current academic debates on gentrification. Primary data, as already indicated were collected from heads of households in selected study communities as well as key institutions involved in the urban governance and development processes.

3.6 Process of Data Collection and Quality Control

Field data collection approaches agreed upon with the client from the very onset was followed. Possible changes emerging from fieldwork conditions were discussed, and where necessary, obvious changes effected, particularly under the current conditions of rising coronavirus cases. Essentially, best practices for field data collection were adopted to ensure data quality. The Principal Researcher as a way of assuring the quality of data ensured that:

- Field enumerators were trained to understand the different data collection instruments and what they seek to solicit from respondents;
- Itineraries are worked out promptly and made available to field assistants timeously; and
- The cost for itineraries was adequately covered i.e. to and from study neighbourhoods to enhance timely data collection.

The supervisors of the field enumerators were experienced researchers with the minimum qualification of a research Master's Degrees in relevant disciplines. They provided the required supervision and ensured compliance with quality control measures agreed upon with the Client. These quality control measures were revised, when necessary, based on fieldwork conditions. Some of the quality control measures that were put in place include:

1. Field enumerators must follow all the data collection procedures and complete their allocated assignments within the stipulated period;

2. Adhere to quality control measures developed by the partners through the entire duration of the fieldwork exercise;
3. Ensure the careful handling of team logistics in their possession;
4. Review data collection instruments for completeness at the close of the data collection exercise, daily;
5. Conduct callbacks on respondents; and
6. Provide technical backstopping to field assistants on the implementation of the sampling plan.

3.7 Data Collection Methods

The main actors to be interviewed and/or administered with questionnaire included officials from local governments within the GAMA area; other individuals who play significant roles in place/city-making, inclusive urban development, and gentrification; the Ministry of Works and Housing, the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, Real Estate Developers and residents of the selected study sites.

Secondary data on public housing policy initiatives, slum development, spatial development, urban renewal as well as on-going interventions and related outcomes were also collected and examined through rapid review processes as a way of confirming on-the-ground practices. The methods employed in gathering these data are further discussed below.

3.7.1 Administration of household questionnaire

The study administered household questionnaire to heads of households to elicit responses from households in the selected study areas. This was done to help characterize the state of gentrification from the standpoint of those who are directly affected or susceptible to the impact of gentrification. The instrument for data collection contained both opened and closed-ended questions to help proffer both qualitative and quantitative meanings to the field data obtained. Consequently, this gave a voice to the study participants and offered the researchers the opportunity to build a coherent narrative from the standpoint of the affected population.

3.7.2 Key Informant Interviews

The report also captured the views of officials whose work directly impacts spatial development and housing policy. In this regard, two

development planners from MMDA's, two officials from the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority, one official from the Office of the Stool Lands Secretariat and two Real Estate agents were interviewed, giving us a total of seven officials. This was done to elicit their expert opinions on the drivers of gentrification as well as their perceptions on its extent and patterns within their respective jurisdictions. Physical and development planners, as well as officers from the stool lands secretariat, were accordingly interviewed.

3.7.3 Direct field observation

The study also relied on direct observations in the study communities as a way of validating responses from research participants. The consultant after data collection had some field sessions to observe some of the physical and on-the-ground urban development processes across the study communities. This allowed for an assessment of the extent of gentrification among study communities.

3.8 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed scientifically and based on the guidance of GGA. The experience of the research team in the management of data of this magnitude was brought to bear. Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS while qualitative data was done thematically. Recordings of key informant interviews were transcribed and presented based on the major research objectives under consideration. Various, correlations, inferences, and other forms of analysis were done to assist the Client in learning the factors that may be most associated with the phenomenon of gentrification in Ghana.

3.9 Research Ethics

Ethics here concerns the relationship between the researcher and the researched and the moral principles underpinning research actions. Studies of this nature necessarily have ethical considerations. This study was guided by the principles of anonymity and confidentiality, autonomy, and de-identification. Confidentiality is to ensure that the information obtained is not leaked to third parties; autonomy ensured respect for individuals' rights and seeking informed consent; while de-identification made it impossible to trace information back to study participants.

3.10 Limitations of the Study

The observed major limiting factor in the study was at the field level. The inaccessibility of key informants was a major concern for the field personnel. The prevailing Covid-19 pandemic made it difficult to meet relevant institutional officials who as part of their safety protocols, limited their contacts with the public. Most institutions at the time of data collection had embraced the work shift system as advised by the government. This made personal interviews quite difficult to arrange and had an impact on the total number of government officials who were interviewed. This issue was, however, addressed by strictly adhering to the Covid-19 safety protocols as communicated by the ministry of health. Phone interviews were also adopted in most cases to avoid physical contact with the respondents. The “stay at home” advice by the government, however, worked to the advantage of field officers who administered the household questionnaire. In effect, the advice kept most people at home, making it easier to administer household questionnaire. All field personnel were trained and constantly reminded of the Covid-19 safety protocols as communicated by the relevant ministries.

3.11 Reporting

Three main reports are submitted by the Consultant as follows:

- An Inception Report;
- Draft Final and;
- Final Reports.

The overall reporting exercise was facilitated by the Principal Researcher with other team members, playing critical roles in capturing the stories as they happened in the field. Regular debriefing sessions were held with the Client as part of meeting the overall expectations of the assignment.

3.12 Dissemination of Findings

The form and mode by which this study will be disseminated are entirely under the discretion of GGA. The consultant, however, is committed to submitting all components of the reports in formats that can be transmitted or disseminated to all stakeholders.



Mallam interchange
source: graphic.com.gh

Chapter 4

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

4.1 Introduction

This section of the report presents descriptive statistics from the study, detailing the demographic characteristics of study participants across the selected communities. Respondents' composition with respect to gender, and marital status, educational background, and other important variables of interest, are also expressed in tables. This is to allow us have a broad appreciation of the individual study participants and their ability or otherwise to appreciate the issues under investigation.

4.2 Gender and Marital Status of Respondents

The study revealed variation in gender and marital status of study respondents. The male gender was dominant among the study participants across the three study communities. Twenty-five (25), representing 55.6 percent of the respondents in Pokuase were male while the remaining 20 (44.4%) were female. Adabraka recorded similar male-dominated research participants, represented by 59 percent male of the 134 people interviewed in that community. Similarly, Achimota had 58.2 percent of its 201 sampled respondents being male, while the rest were female. In terms of marital status, Pokuase recorded 46.7 percent of its respondents being single while 28.9 percent were married. In Adabraka and Achimota, 50.7 percent and 52.5 percent were single while 34.4 percent and 40.3 percent were married, respectively. The remaining respondents in each of the study communities were either divorced, separated, or widowed (Table 2).

The dominance of male respondents in the study communities give credence to earlier reports (e.g. 2010 population census) of the predominantly male-headed households in most Ghanaian communities. This inference is largely informed by the fact that questionnaire were

mainly targeted at heads of households who were deemed appropriate to better respond to pertinent research questions. Under some instances, however, other members of the household were administered with questionnaire, where necessary. The composition of respondents, therefore, reflects the generally documented male-dominated heads of households and therefore considered an appropriate and a true reflection of the larger population in most Ghanaian communities, hence reliable for the study.

Table 2: Gender and Marital Status of Respondents

		POKUASE		ADABRAKA		ACHIMOTA	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Gender	Male	25	55.6	79	59.0	117	58.2
	Female	20	44.4	55	41.0	84	41.8
Marital status	Single	21	46.7	68	50.7	105	52.2
	Married	13	28.9	46	34.3	81	40.3
	Divorce	4	8.9	4	3.0	4	2.0
	Separated	3	6.7	8	6.0	5	2.5
	Widowed	4	8.9	8	6.0	6	3.0

4.3 Educational, Occupational and Employment Status of Respondents

To have an overview of the social characteristics of the respondents in the study, data on the educational, occupational, and employment status of the study participants were collected. The data on educational status generally revealed that respondents were fairly well educated with the majority having between JHS to tertiary level education as shown in table 4.3. Despite the widely formal educational levels of the respondents, majority of them worked in the informal sector i.e. 73.1, 69.2, and 75.6 percent for Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase, respectively. These respondents were mostly engaged in trading with the remaining distributed among professions such as artisans, farmers, drivers, bankers, teachers, engineers, nurses and other categories of civil service. Traders constituted 60.4, 34.8, and 37.8 percent of the sampled respondents in Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase, respectively (Table 3). The higher number of respondents having an appreciable level of education, partly explains why it was much easier conveying to them the purpose of the study and getting their consent.



Table 3: Educational, Occupational and Employment Status of Respondents

		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Educational status	Illiterate	8	17.8	11	8.2	8	4.0
	Non-formal	3	6.7	8	6.0	7	3.5
	Primary	1	2.2	16	11.9	17	8.5
	MSLC/JHS	13	28.9	24	17.9	43	21.4
	Technical/SHS	9	20	42	31.3	75	37.3
	Tertiary	11	24.4	33	24.6	51	25.4
Occupation	Artisan	4	8.9	15	11.2	17	8.5
	Trader	17	37.8	81	60.4	70	34.8
	Farmer	4	8.9	11	8.2	5	2.5
	Taxi driver	2	4.4	0	0.0	7	3.5
	Banker	4	8.9	1	0.7	8	4.0
	Teacher	1	2.2	2	1.5	18	9.0
	Engineer	3	6.7	7	5.2	9	4.5
	Nurse	1	2.2	1	0.7	8	4.0
	Civil servant	3	6.7	4	3.0	13	6.5
	Unemployed	4	8.9	6	4.5	10	5.0
	Others	2	4.4	6	4.5	21	10.4
	Student	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	7.5
Employment sector	Formal	11	24.4	36	26.9	62	30.8
	Informal	34	75.6	98	73.1	139	69.2

4.4 Origin and Migratory History of Respondents

To establish the trends in the origin and migratory history of the sampled respondents in the study communities, data was collected on these variables. The data revealed that among all the study communities, a greater percentage of the respondents were migrants with only a few being native. In Adabraka, 59 percent of the sampled respondents were migrants while Achimota and Pokuase recorded 75 and 73.3 percent of migrant populations, respectively (Table 4).

The higher percentages of migrants in these selected communities, even though not sufficient to declare them gentrifying communities, however, suggest an influx of new residents into these neighbourhoods. This makes these communities appropriate for a study that seeks to assess a phenomenon of urban renewal driven by the influx of new residents. There was also at least an average of 25 percent of the sampled population in each community being indigenes. This implies that the sample also contained respondents who have lived long enough in those communities and could appropriately account (historically) for how the communities have transitioned physically, economically and socially over time. This, in part, justifies the sample composition as being appropriate for the study.



Ayi Mensah Park
source: ghanaprimeproperties.com

Table 4: Origin and Migratory History of Respondents

		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Origin of respondent	Migrant	33	73.30	79	59.00	151	75.10
	Native	12	26.70	55	41.00	50	24.90
Migrant region	Ashanti	15	45.45	17	21.52	45	29.80
	Bono	0	0.00	1	1.27	0	0.00
	Central	1	3.03	3	3.80	4	2.65
	Eastern	5	15.15	17	21.52	29	19.21
	Greater Accra	4	12.12	33	41.77	48	31.79
	Northern	2	6.06	0	0.00	1	0.66
	Oti	2	6.06	1	1.27	6	3.97
	Upper East	0	0.00	1	1.27	1	0.66
	Volta	2	6.06	5	6.33	4	2.65
	West Africa Country	0	0.00	1	1.27	0	0.00
	Western	2	6.06	0	0.00	13	8.61

4.5 Housing Tenure and Monthly Income of Respondents

As this study borders on gentrification which is influenced by income levels of incoming residents and housing tenure within the city, data was collected and analyzed on earnings of respondents. The study revealed that majority of the respondents in the study communities earned monthly incomes of between GHC0.00 and GHC1000.00 i.e. 91, 81.1, and 75.6 percent for Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase, respectively. Respondents who earned between GHC1000.00 and GHC2000.00 within Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase represented 6.7, 10, and 15.6 percent of the sampled population, respectively.

Furthermore, in terms of housing tenure, a greater percentage of the respondents in Adabraka (59%), Achimota (62.8%), and Pokuase (53.3%) were tenants. This was generally followed by family-owned and owner-occupied residents representing 16.9, 32.1 and 17.8 percent and 9.0, 8.2 and 22.2 percent of sampled respondents for Achimota, Adabraka, and Pokuase, respectively. Squatter residents also represented 6, 0.7, and 6.7 percent of sampled respondents for Achimota, Adabraka, and Pokuase, respectively (Table 5).

The fact that majority of respondents were low-income earners who do not own houses, makes them economically sensitive to changes in property values and the rising cost of rent. The study, therefore, found that majority of people in gentrifying areas were not insulated from the harsh realities of upward surge in rent, associated with urban renewal. Dwellers are found in a weaker position and lack the capacity to negotiate rent amounts as demand and supply forces push the cost of housing far beyond their capacity as low-income earners. Consequently, there is a loss of place as those who can afford, move into such neighbourhoods, thereby changing the social structure and composition of gentrifying communities.

Table 5: Housing Tenure and Monthly Income of Respondents

		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Housing tenure	Owner Occupied	10	22.2	11	8.2	18	9.0
	Tenant	24	53.3	79	59.0	137	68.2
	Family Owned	8	17.8	43	32.1	34	16.9
	Squatting	3	6.7	1	0.7	12	6.0
Monthly income	0-1000	34	75.6	122	91.0	163	81.1
	1000-2000	7	15.6	9	6.7	20	10.0
	2000+	4	8.9	3	2.2	18	9.00

4.6 Chapter Summary

The analysis thus far show that the individual participants in the study possess the characteristics of people living in gentrifying communities. However, the extent to which gentrification affects diversity, inclusive and sustainable development of the study area remains the task of the remaining analysis. The fact that incomes are low, educational attainments are weak and informal jobs are the dominant occupations makes these communities highly susceptible to any adverse impacts that may result from gentrification. This is the more reason why urban development processes in the GAMA, the features of which are similar to many West African cities must be made more inclusive and sustainable.

Chapter 5

TRIGGERS OF GENTRIFICATION

5.1 Introduction

The first objective of this study was to explore the key drivers of gentrification in the context of a developing city, using the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) as an archetype. The phenomenon of gentrification was found to be triggered by a complex interplay of economic, physical, political, and sociocultural factors. This section of the report, therefore, presents an analysis of the various triggers and their contribution to the phenomenon of gentrification in the study area. The chapter further examines various actors in the gentrification process and their specific contributions to the phenomenon.

5.2 General Triggers of Gentrification

The study revealed that the process of gentrification in the study area is driven by an interaction of physical, economic, sociocultural, political, and spatial elements contributing in various ways to deepen the phenomenon. However, among these factors, economic factors were ranked by the respondents as the most important drivers of the phenomenon with a mean rank of 10.52 followed by sociocultural, physical, and spatial triggers with mean ranks of 5.00, 5.00, and 4.00, respectively. Political (2.50) triggers were on the other hand the least ranked by the respondents among all the factors contributing to gentrification in the study area (Table 6).

Table 6: General Triggers of Gentrification

Drivers	Minimum Rank	Maximum Rank	Mean Rank	Subject Rank
Economic Drivers	5.94	10.52	7.00	1
Physical Drivers	4.23	6.52	5.00	2
Political Drivers	2.12	2.88	2.50	5
Sociocultural Drivers	3.69	7.59	5.00	2
Spatial Drivers	2.70	4.59	4.00	3

The reason for the low score of public policy/politics is unclear. However, it may be attributable to the fact that urban development in most Ghanaian cities are driven by private interest with the state mostly interested in the provision of public infrastructure to guide the process

5.2.1 Economic triggers

Gentrification was recognized to be driven by many economic factors by the respondents in this study. These factors include increased economic activities through private business initiatives or investments in inner-city neighbourhoods, growth in service sector economy, rising transportation costs, increasing rent, and property values, resulting from an increase in inner-city housing demand. To establish the extent of individual contributions of these factors to the phenomenon of gentrification, respondents were asked to rank the various economic triggers of gentrification as identified.

Respondents were generally of the view that increased economic activities through increased private investments was a major component of the economic triggers of gentrification with an individual mean rank of 10.82. This was followed by, increasing property values, rising transportation, and growth in the service sector with mean ranks of 7.78, 7.50, and 6.21, respectively (Table 7). A resident in Adabraka remarked that;

“Companies and individual businessmen now buy the houses along the road to put up storey buildings and others. They are all rushing here because it’s the town center and the heart of business activities” (Male resident, Adabraka, August, 2020).

Another resident in Adabraka, in corroborating the contribution of economic factors to gentrification, also asserted that;

“Many people now want to live and have their business here because we are now at the centre of town and businesses thrive very well because there are clients for every business” (Female respondent; Adabraka, August, 2020)

Similarly, officials of MMDAs also credited economic factors as key in motivating the influx of high-income investors into a previously less invested neighbourhood. Responding to a question on the triggers of gentrification, a municipal planning officer placed economic development as the most important factor driving urban regeneration. He was of the opinion that higher-income investors see the growth in population in these areas as an opportunity to grow their businesses and invest in infrastructure such as commercial buildings and improved housing structures.

Between Pokuase and Amasaman for instance, officials were of the opinion that Pokuase was experiencing the phenomenon more than Amasaman largely because of the perceived differences in economic activities in the two communities. According to the development planner, gentrification is a product of economic growth that cannot be stopped, but whose negative effects can be mitigated through pro-poor policies to avoid displacement. This implies that gentrification is primarily triggered by some economic pull factors, emanating from an increase in private investments, and growth in the service sectors, resulting from perceived or real presence of customers.

The municipal officer in charge of stool lands at Amasaman also expressed an opinion that the location of some communities along major routes, contributes to gentrification as a result of active economic engagements. The respondent believes that the Amasaman

community has over the years experienced some form of gentrification largely because of its location along the Accra-Kumasi highway. The implication is that public investment in infrastructure such as trunk roads may combine with other private interests to deepen gentrification tendencies. This makes the residents, especially those living along the major urban traffic routes more susceptible or prone to the activities of high-income investors who mainly try to take advantage of ongoing economic activities. Their investment decisions are driven by public investments in infrastructure developments, which to some extent are also pull factors for urban residents of particular neighbourhoods.

Table 7: *Economic Triggers*

Economic Drivers	Mean Rank	Subject Rank
Increased Economic activities/ Increased private housing investments	10.82	1
Growth in the service sector economy	6.21	4
Rising transportation costs	7.50	3
Increasing rent and property value	7.78	2

5.2.2 Physical triggers

Apart from the economic factors driving the processes of gentrification in the study area, many physical factors were also recognized by the respondents to be contributing in different ways to the phenomenon of gentrification. Among these physical drivers are renovation and rebuilding of housing, the proximity of a neighbourhood to government institutions, increased supply of housing, aesthetic improvements of a neighbourhood, access to amenities and social services and increased traffic congestion in metropolitan areas (Table 8) were identified. Among these physical drivers, access to amenities and social services was reported to be the highest contributing factor

Triggers of Gentrification

with a mean rank of 5.93. This was followed by the renovation and rebuilding of housing, aesthetic improvements of neighbourhoods, and increased supply of housing.

Again, a careful review of the various elements show that there is a mix of both private and public investments driving physical gentrification processes. While individual property owners invest directly in renovating their buildings, improving physical access to various infrastructure facilities and enhancing the aesthetic appeal of communities are mostly the responsibility of local governments. They invest in the construction of access roads, improving drainage infrastructure, provision of play grounds among others. These complement improvements in private property, thereby adding value and increasing their appeal to gentrifiers.

Table 8: Physical Triggers

Physical Drivers	Mean Rank	Subject Rank
Renovation and rebuilding of housing	5.47	2
Increased supply of housing	3.63	4
Access to amenities and social services	5.93	1
Aesthetic improvement of a neighbourhood	4.32	3

5.2.3 Political triggers

The agenda and policy direction of local and central governments were also identified as factors that have the potential to drive gentrification processes. Political drivers (mainly public urban development policies), were not significant contributors to gentrification as portrayed by the data. Notwithstanding, some policy issues were also alluded to by some of the respondents. The study revealed through the responses that the decision by the government

to invest in critical aspects of the local economy attracts new and high-income earners who previously were not willing to invest in such communities.

Participants observed that public investments in urban redevelopment through affordable housing schemes, improved transport infrastructure, and provision of good social services were particularly observed as making communities attractive to potential investors. Consequently, urban redevelopment and investment in road infrastructure were ranked highest among government decisions that drive gentrification with mean ranks of 2.90 and 2.52, respectively. (Table 9). It is, however, important to note that, the decision to invest in these sectors of the community, is entirely a function of the policy direction of ruling governments. An official at the Municipal Assembly was of the opinion that the government's initial plan to implement an affordable housing scheme around Amasaman has already attracted high-income earners who want to take advantage of the intended project to invest in the community.

Table 9: Political Triggers

Political Drivers	Mean Rank	Subject Rank
Public sector policies	2.08	4
Investment in social services and amenities	2.51	3
Urban redevelopment	2.90	1
Investments in road infrastructure	2.52	2

It can be deduced from the policy triggers that people wish to live in certain urban spaces. The responses suggest that when urban spaces are properly serviced with public infrastructure which may come in the form of water, sanitation, electricity, access roads, drainage and many others, they are more likely to attract high income residents and vice versa. From our field observations, Adabraka, the inner core is better serviced with these services than Achimota and

Pokuase. The level of gentrification therefore corroborates this generally held notion by the study participants.

5.2.4 Sociocultural triggers

Many sociocultural characteristics of the study communities were reported by the respondents as underlying triggers of the phenomenon of gentrification. These factors include increased population, demographic changes, movement of young professionals to the CBD, changing preferences of inner-city dwellers, reductions in crime, and changing family structures in inner-city areas. Among these factors, increased population, demographic changes, increased tolerance to different cultures, were the highest-ranked with mean values of 7.73, 6.55, and 5.62, respectively. The rest were changes in values, norms, and lifestyle in inner-cities and changing preferences of inner-city dwellers with means of 4.31, 3.98, and 3.75 respectively (Table 10). The study concurs that all things being equal, an increase in population in these neighbourhoods creates an expanded market for effective economic activities. This consequently leads to an increase in property values, hence influencing the influx of high-income investors and residents.

A respondent in Pokuase, speaking to the social causes of gentrification observed that;

“So many people used not to like here because we were not many, and the place was less developed. As we begin to grow in population, business people have developed interest and have started buying people’s houses along the roads for their purposes” (Female Interviewee: Pokuase; August, 2020)

Also, in connection with the other triggers, the improvement in aesthetics of neighbourhoods, access to social services and amenities as well as employment opportunities created as a result of gentrification drives the movement of young professionals into these communities. These young professionals come into these communities with different consumption preferences and hence create opportunities for people who move into the area to meet their diverse needs in terms of products and services. Also, the movement of people with different cultural backgrounds into gentrifying communities results in a culturally

diverse community with different values, norms, and lifestyle from the previous host community. The new culturally diverse community created as a result of gentrification makes the community habitable and therefore becomes a pull factor for people from other communities and regions into the area.

Table 10: Sociocultural Triggers

Drivers	Mean Rank	Subject Rank
Increased population	7.73	1
Demographic changes	6.55	2
Increased tolerance to different cultures	5.62	3
Changing preferences of inner-city dwellers	3.75	5
Changes in values, norms, and life-style in inner-cities	4.31	4

It can be observed that while growing population and demographic changes may be driving gentrification in the outer periphery of Pokuase; greater diversity, tolerance and job availability may be the sociocultural drivers in the inner core of Adabraka. The implication is that gentrification does not come in the same fashion in all communities. And while some literature paint a picture of displacement, it is evident from this study that it may rather promote diversity thereby improving urban vitality. How this advantage can be harnessed to overcome the many other adverse issues, is the role of effective inclusive and sustainable urban development policy.

5.2.5 Spatial triggers

Spatially, factors such as the increase in infrastructure facilities, increase in residential facilities, increase in commercial facilities, increase in industrial facilities, increase in institutional facilities, improvement in the transportation network, which ultimately result in spatial expansion of the study areas were reported as contributing factors to the phenomenon of gentrification. The variables enumerated show that it is the interaction between spatial and aspatial variables that actually drive gentrification than spatial elements alone.

However, in terms of the contribution of these individual factors based on ranking, the increase in infrastructure facilities was ranked as the highest spatial driver followed by an increase in commercial, residential and industrial facilities. Improvement in the transportation network and spatial expansion of the city were the least ranked among the factors contributing to the phenomenon of gentrification in the study area (Table 11). This implies that the spatial characteristics of gentrifying communities are largely driven by increased investment in public infrastructure. This serves as a pull factor for residents in other regions and suburban communities which are largely less developed and have limited access to these facilities compared to the gentrifying communities. With this infrastructural pull driving an influx of people into gentrifying communities, the rise in the city's population and increased consumption of goods and services drive investments in commercial, residential and industrial facilities to cater for the multiple needs of the rapidly growing neighbourhood.

This observation was corroborated by community-level data which show that most landlords have converted the frontage of their houses into shops for rent. There was also evidence of the complete conversion of some residential facilities within the communities, particularly Adabraka and Achimota into high rise buildings for commercial and industrial uses. This phenomenon, however, appeared to be more cascading, appearing more pronounced in Adabraka and less so in Pokuase. Furthermore, the respondents reported that the changes in the social status of residents in the study communities have attracted and influenced investments in the redevelopment of old residential buildings within the study communities. Also, open spaces within the study communities were largely developed by real estate agencies into residential facilities while a few patches of undeveloped areas have been grabbed by

individuals and corporate organizations awaiting future development.

Table 11: *SpatialTriggers*

Drivers	Mean Rank	Subject Rank
Increase in infrastructure facilities	4.67	1
Increase in residential facilities	4.34	3
Increase in commercial facilities	4.41	2
Increase in industrial facilities	4.24	4
Increase in institutional facilities	4.03	5
Improvement in the transportation network	3.68	6
Spatial expansion of the city	2.64	7

5.3 Actors and Their Roles in Gentrification

The study also sought to identify the various actors whose activities were characterized by the respondents as catalysing the phenomenon of gentrification in the study communities. These actors include government (central and local), private developers, real estate agencies, affluent property owners, and banks. However, among these actors, the government was recognized by majority of the respondents (34.1) as a major contributor followed by private developers, affluent property owners, and the metropolitan assembly (Table 12). Banks and real estate agencies were only reported by a small percentage of the respondents as contributors to the phenomenon of gentrification.

Table 12: Actors of Gentrification

	Responses		Percent of Cases
	Fq	%	
Government	222	34.1	61.0
Private Developers	152	23.3	41.8
Metropolitan Assembly	81	12.4	22.3
Real Estate Agencies	43	6.6	11.8
Affluent Property Owners	97	14.9	26.6
Banks	56	8.6	15.4
Total	651	100.0	178.8

The study revealed that, these actors through their various activities and initiatives in the study communities make significant contributions to the phenomenon of gentrification. The government was largely reported to contribute to gentrification through public investments in the construction of roads, building of schools and industries, and construction of health facilities. The metropolitan assembly also contributed to gentrification through improvement in social amenities and sanitation services while real estate agencies contributed through improvement in residential facilities and provision of estate apartments. Also, affluent property owners contributed to the phenomenon largely through the opening of business centres, renovation of old houses, and building of new houses while private property owners contributed by the redevelopment of houses, building of industrial facilities, and modern offices.

In recognizing the contribution of high-income earners and affluent property owners towards gentrification, a resident in Achimota pointed out that;

“It is the rich business people who approach community members whose houses are old, and offer good prices. They pay huge sums of money for such old buildings along the roads and convert them into apartments or stores for rent” (Female respondent; Achimota, August 2020)

Table 13: Contribution of Actors to Gentrification

Actors	Contributions	Fq	%
Government	Improved security	11	5.0
	Building of schools	25	11.3
	Building of industries	24	10.8
	Building of health facilities	17	7.7
	Creation of jobs	7	3.2
	Construction of roads	138	62.2
Metropolitan assembly	Building of markets	9	11.0
	Improvement in sanitation	27	32.9
	Improvement in social amenities	41	50.0
	Enforcement of building codes	5	6.1
Real estate agencies	Provision of estate apartments/Rebuilding of houses	18	41.9
	Improvement of residential facilities	25	58.1
Affluent property owners	Building of shops	8	8.2
	Building of houses	15	15.5
	Building of private schools	3	3.1
	Renovation of houses	29	29.9
	Opening of business centres	35	36.1
	Building of private health facilities	7	7.2

Table 13: Contribution of Actors to Gentrification (Cont'd)

Actors	Contributions	Fq	%
Private owners	Redevelopment of houses	38	24.2
	Building of modern offices	33	21.0
	Building of industrial facilities	36	22.9
	Creation of jobs	50	31.8
Banks	Provision of financial services	28	50.0
	Support for business enterprises	28	50.0

Banks on the other hand were reported to contribute to the phenomenon of gentrification through the provision of financial services and financial support for business enterprises (Table 13). Apart from that, field observations revealed that banks are more visible when located along major roads. Respondents were therefore of the opinion that most of these banks negotiate with dwellers whose houses are located along these roads to have them converted into commercial buildings under agreed conditions. Such proposals from banks and their agents are mostly lucrative, making such families to easily relocate to the suburbs.

5.4 Chapter Summary

The triggers of gentrification as discussed in this chapter are manifold and result from an interplay of spatial and aspatial as well as public and private initiatives. The evidence also suggests that these factors play out differently in different neighbourhood contexts. What drives gentrification in the inner core may have an insignificant outcome in the outer periphery. This requires that urban development policies take into consideration the uniqueness of urban areas/neighbourhoods by attempting to implement policies that promote inclusion, diversity and vitality in the urban space.

Chapter 6

THE CURRENT STATE AND PATTERNS OF GENTRIFICATION IN GHANA

6.1 Introduction

Another key objective of the study was to examine the current state of gentrification and trace the patterns by which the phenomenon plays out in the GAMA. To achieve this objective, this section takes into consideration the origin or place of birth of respondents, and reasons for migrating into the current place of residence. Respondents' perceptions about the nature of the communities at their initial settlement, were also elicited. Consequently, the chapter presents information on facilities that are most affected by gentrification in the selected communities.

6.2 Current Evidence on Gentrification

There was a general consensus among respondents that, there were noticeable changes in the characteristics of their communities as a result of the influx of people of different social status as well as increased investments. The study reveals that 90.3, 96.5, and 95.5 percent of the respondents in Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase, respectively shared the opinion that, their communities had undergone marked changes over time. The specific changes, according to respondents, included redevelopment or renovation of old residential facilities, improvement in public infrastructure, and an increase in industrial and commercial facilities.

In acknowledging the changed nature of their community, a resident of Achimota put it thus;

"The community has changed so much with new buildings, with some old ones being bought and demolished to give way for storey buildings. People can now openly approach you and express interest in buying your house because they think the location is good for their business plans. We used not to experience this" (Personal interviews, Achimota, 2020)

There were, however, varied views among respondents in terms of the year of onset of the phenomenon in their communities. Most of the respondents in Adabraka and Achimota reported an earlier start of the phenomenon (between 2002 and 2005), as compared to residents of Pokuase who reported 2012 as the most likely year of onset of gentrification. The earlier signs of gentrification as reported by respondents in Adabraka and Achimota is consistent with field observations which showed that communities in the inner core, which by their location are older localities, experience urban regeneration quite earlier than those at the middle and outer core as categorized by the study.

Adabraka by its location constitutes part of the CBD and has undergone some regeneration in response to an increase in business activities as compared to Pokuase. It is also important to acknowledge that, old neighbourhoods, including Adabraka, has most of the ancient/old buildings that are currently undergoing some form of acquisition and retrofitting to meet varied urban uses. Field observations and household interviews corroborated the responses of study participants that even though the phenomenon is felt across the three selected communities, it is less pronounced in Pokuase as compared to Adabraka which is located at the inner core.

6.3 Trends/Patterns of Gentrification

6.3.1 Origin of birth and reason for migration

To get an understanding of the inflow of people into the selected communities, the study gathered data on the place of birth and migration history of respondents. The study revealed that majority of the residents, i.e. 73.30, 59.00, and 75.10 percent of the sampled respondents in Pokuase, Adabraka, and Achimota, respectively traced their place of birth to communities other than the study communities (Table 4).

The decision to migrate was largely influenced by the proximity of the communities to their places of work, proximity to family and friends, and availability of employment opportunities in these communities. Among these factors, proximity to the place of work was the highest influencing factor, followed by the availability of employment opportunities and proximity to family and friends. Only a few

respondents in each of the study communities attributed their decision to move into the communities to their central location and housing quality. The conclusion therefore is that centrality and housing quality play an infinitesimal role in people's decision to live in one neighbourhood or the other.

Table 14: *Origin of Birth and Reason for Migration*

Reason for Migration	Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
	Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Proximity to place of work	21	46.7	83	61.9	86	42.8
Proximity to family/friends	7	15.6	19	14.2	33	16.4
Central location	1	2.2	2	1.5	11	5.5
Housing quality	6	13.3	6	4.5	6	3.0
Employment	9	20.0	20	14.9	62	30.8
Environment quality	1	2.2	3	2.2	1	0.5
Affordability of rent	0	0.0	1	0.7	2	1.0

Table 14 shows that proximity to place of work and availability of employment in a particular neighbourhood can result in significant levels of gentrification, as these serve as pull factors. Although the other variables appear not to play significant roles in the gentrification dynamics, it is important to note that individuals preference for living close to their place of work can have implications for original occupants of those areas. The high migrant numbers in the study communities may be fair grounds to conclude that some level of displacement is already happening in the study areas, although it may also be leading to greater diversity and vitality. The data also show that the phenomenon deepens with proximity to the inner core (Adabraka). While Adabraka has less migrants, it has high levels of investments in other sectors of the micro-economy. And as Table 14 shows it may be a net recipient of investment in commercial and industrial facilities as opposed to residential facilities. It is therefore not suprising that proximity to work is the main trigger of gentrification in Adabraka as opposed Achimota and Pokuase. These developments have implications for inclusive city making.

6.3.2 Location, distance and mode of transportation to past and present place of work

The study further explored changes in location, distance, and mode of transportation to the previous and current places of work of respondents. The results of the study revealed changes in these variables as a result of the gentrification of the communities. In terms of workplace location, apart from Adabraka where the population of residents working within the community reduced from 62 to 56.3 percent as a result of gentrification, the percentage of respondents working within the community generally increased. In Achimota, respondents working within the community increased from 54.5 to 57.4 percent while Pokuase increased from 58.6 to 63.6 percent.

Consequently, a general reduction in distance to the place of work was recorded in the various study communities. In Pokuase the percentage of residents who travelled < 0.5km, between 0.5 km - 1km, between 2 -4km and more than 4km to place of work changed from 31.6, 15.8, 15.8 and 36.8 percentages to 18.8, 25.0, 25.0 and 31.2 percentages,

respectively. However, for Achimota and Adabraka these changed from 17.2, 12.5, 29.7 and 40.6 percentages to 1.6, 6.5, 48.4, 43.5 percentages and 25.6, 20.9, 18.6 and 34.9 percentages to 13.6, 15.9, 45.5 and 25.0 percentages, respectively (Table 15).

Also, the process of gentrification affected the general mode of transportation in the study communities. In Pokuase the percentage of respondents who resorted to walking, cycling, commercial transport, and private transport changed from 60.0, 16.7, 20.0, and 3.3 percentages in their previous places of residence to 42.9, 19.0, 33.3, and 4.8 percentages. In Achimota the mode of transportation changed from 49.5, 15.6, 33.0 and 1.8 percentages for walking, cycling, commercial transport and private transport to 27.4, 24.2, 40.3 and 8.1 percentages, while in Adabraka it changed from 51.7, 13.3, 35.0 and 0.0 percentages to 40.5, 18.9, 40.5 and 0.0 percentages, respectively. These imply that, despite the general reduction in distance to the place of work as a result of the gentrification of the city, most respondents still depend more on commercial and private means of transport compared to walking and cycling. While the reason for this is unclear, it may be attributable to convenience.

Table 15: : Location, Distance and Mode of Transportation to Past and Present Place of Work

Variables		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Location of previous place of work	Within the community	17	58.6	45	62.5	61	54.5
	Outside the community	12	41.4	27	37.5	51	45.
Location of current place of work	Within the community	21	63.6	49	56.3	81	57.4
	Outside the community	12	36.4	38	43.7	60	42.6
Distance from previous place of residence	< 0.5km	6	31.6	11	25.6	11	17.2
	Between 0.5 km - 1km	3	15.8	9	20.9	8	12.5
	Between 2 -4km	3	15.8	8	18.6	19	29.7
	More than 4km	7	36.8	15	34.9	26	40.6
Distance from current place of residence	< 0.5km	3	18.8	6	13.6	1	1.6
	Between 0.5 km - 1km	4	25.0	7	15.9	4	6.5
	Between 2 -4km	4	25.0	20	45.5	30	48.4
	More than 4km	5	31.2	11	25.0	27	43.5

Table 15: : Location, Distance and Mode of Transportation to Past and Present Place of Work (Cont'd)

Variables		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
Past mode of transportation	Walking	18	60.0	31	51.7	54	49.5
	Cycling	5	16.7	8	13.3	17	15.6
	Commercial transport	6	20.0	21	35.0	36	33.0
	Private transport	1	3.3	0	0.0	2	1.8
Current mode of transportation	Walking	9	42.9	15	40.5	17	27.4
	Cycling	4	19.0	7	18.9	15	24.2
	Commercial transport	7	33.3	15	40.5	25	40.3
	Private transport	1	4.8	0	0.0	5	8.1

6.3.3 Facilities affected and frequency and intensity of gentrification

In an attempt to further understand the patterns of gentrification, the study obtained responses on categories of facilities affected by the processes of gentrification. The study revealed that facilities within the various communities were affected differently by the phenomenon. According to majority of the responses (58.9%), the facilities that are mostly affected by the phenomenon of gentrification are the residential buildings, followed by commercial and institutional facilities as reported by 29.8 and 7.0 percent of the responses. The least impacted facilities in all the study communities were the industrial facilities as reported by 4.2 percent of responses in all the sampled communities (Table 16).

Table 16: : Facilities Affected by Gentrification

Facilities Affected	Fq	Percent	Percent of Cases
Residential	251	58.9	73.8
Commercial	127	29.8	37.4
Industrial	18	4.2	5.3
Institutional	30	7.0	8.8
Total	426	100.0	125.3

Reasons assigned for the developments reported in Table 16 are that residential buildings are being converted for other uses including commercial and industrial. Commercial buildings are also being expanded, and/or reconstructed to meet growing needs.

To assess the extent of the impact of the phenomenon of gentrification on the various study communities, data was collected and assessed on the intensity and frequency of the phenomenon in the various communities. The study revealed variations in the level of frequency and intensity of the phenomenon of gentrification in the different study communities. However, majority of the responses in Adabraka (41.8%), Achimota (43.8%), and Pokuase (46.7%) reported that the phenomenon is less frequent and less intense within their communities. Respondents who reported very frequent and intense phenomenon of gentrification represented 18.7, 18.9 and 13.3 percentages of the sampled responses for Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase, respectively while 16.4, 26.4 and 24.4 percentages of the responses from these communities reported a very frequent but less intense trend of the phenomenon (Table 17). Only 23.1, 10.9, and 15.6 percent of the sampled responses in Adabraka, Achimota, and Pokuase reported that the phenomenon is less frequent but very intense in their respective communities.

Table 17: : Frequency and Intensity of Gentrification

Frequency and Intensity	Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
	Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Very frequent and intense	6	13.3	25	18.7	38	18.9
Very frequent but less intense	11	24.4	22	16.4	53	26.4
Less frequent but very intense	7	15.6	31	23.1	22	10.9
Less frequent and less intense	21	46.7	56	41.8	88	43.8

Table 17 corroborates the assertion that gentrification deepens with proximity to the inner core and becomes less frequent and intense as one moves towards the outer periphery. Obviously it is easy to find vacant land for development in the outer periphery for development as opposed to the inner core.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This Chapter shows inner and mid city areas in Accra are more likely to be gentrified than peripheral areas. The reasons for this are not far-fetched. First is that land is scarcer at the inner and mid core than it is at the outer periphery. So development in the inner and mid city will often be done by either pulling down already existing buildings or retrofitting them for alternate uses. Again, gentrification in Ghana is largely driven by proximity to place of work and employment opportunities. The Inner and mid core are closer to most work places and offer more job opportunities than the outer periphery. These account for the reasons why gentrification in Accra is layered along the concentric pattern of the city's outward growth and expansion.

Chapter 7

EFFECTS OF GENTRIFICATION ON INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the effects of gentrification on the study areas of the GAMA, and Ghana in the broader context. The chapter also presents some strategies for inclusive and sustainable urban development in gentrifying cities. The chapter begins with a discussion of the effects of gentrification on the study communities and households with emphasis on effects on household income, monthly expenditure, transportation, and rent costs. The chapter also examines the characteristics of the communities which make them prone to gentrification as well as the positive effects of gentrification.

7.2 Adverse Effects Gentrification on the General Community

The study revealed that gentrification has many negative effects on the study communities. Though respondents were divided on the effects, majority (22.3%) of them reported that one evident effect of gentrification is the rising cost of living due to increases in the prices of goods and services. Also, increased rent, increased crime, rising property values, and homelessness was reported by 19.9, 14.5, 11.2, and 10.7 percent of the sampled respondents as some of the effects of gentrification within their communities (Table 18). Gentrification was also reported to result in increase in property taxes (2.9%), displacement of low-income residents (4.5%), loss of income opportunities (3.2%), loss of jobs (4.5%), loss of social network (1.4%), community conflicts (3.8%) and weak enforcement of building codes (1.1%). Expressing his opinion on the effect of gentrification on rent, a respondent in Adabraka lamented that;

“All these stores and offices you see around were once houses occupied by people. Now, most have been sold in part or full

and converted into non-residential uses. Very few rooms are now available for rent and rates keep going high” (Personal interview; August, 2020)

The rising cost of living and increase in rent featured prominently as key effects of gentrification on residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Table 18: : Adverse Effects of Gentrification on the General Community

Factors	Fq	%	Percent of Cases
Rising property values	170	11.2	45.0
Increased rent	302	19.9	79.9
Increase in property taxes	44	2.9	11.6
Increased cost of living	339	22.3	89.7
Increased crime rates	220	14.5	58.2
Displacement of low-income residents	69	4.5	18.3
Homelessness	163	10.7	43.1
Loss of incomes	48	3.2	12.7
Loss of jobs	68	4.5	18.0
Loss of social network	21	1.4	5.6
Community conflicts	57	3.8	15.1
Weak enforcement of building codes	16	1.1	4.2
Total	1517	100.0	401.3

7.3 Adverse Effects of Gentrification on Individual Households

Similar to the effects of gentrification on the study communities, households in the study reported many but variable effects of gentrification on their households. These effects include increased cost of living, increased rent, and reduced household income as reported by 37.6, 26.3, and 12.6 percent of the study respondents, respectively. The remaining respondents also reported the loss of property (7.7%), displacement of households (6.7%), loss of incomes (4.0%), and loss of jobs (5.2%) as effects of gentrification experienced by their households (Table 19).

Table 19: Adverse Effects of Gentrification on Individual Households

Effects	Fq	%	Percent of Cases
Reduced household income	107	12.6	28.9
Loss of property	65	7.7	17.6
Increased rent	223	26.3	60.3
Increased cost of living	319	37.6	86.2
Displacement of households	57	6.7	15.4
Loss of incomes	34	4.0	9.2
Loss of jobs	44	5.2	11.9
	849	100.0	229.5

7.4 Effects of Gentrification on Household’s Monthly Expenditure

In an inquiry into the effects of gentrification on households within the study communities, majority of the respondents in Adabraka (91.7%), Achimota (83.8%), and Pokuase (73.0%) reported that gentrification has many negative effects on their monthly expenditure as it relates, particularly to cost of living. The rise in monthly expenditure of these households was attributed to the high cost of living, high cost of

transportation, high cost of food, loss of income opportunities, and loss of property which are characteristic of gentrifying communities (Table 20).

Table 20: Effects of Gentrification on Household's Monthly Expenditure

Effects	Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
	Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
High cost of living	27	73.0	99	91.7	124	83.8
High cost of transport	3	8.1	7	6.5	18	12.2
High cost of food	2	5.4	1	0.9	3	2.0
Loss of job	5	13.5	1	0.9	2	1.4
Loss of property	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.7

These inherent effects of gentrification on household's monthly expenditure as reported in the previous paragraphs were largely imposed by changing trends and some present characteristics of the communities. These include the location of the current settlement of respondents, tenure status of respondents, and level of available infrastructure as reported by 40.7, 27.9, and 23.9 percent of the responses, respectively. Also, housing conditions (3.7%) in the communities as well as changing institutional and government policies (3.7%) were reported by some respondents as gentrification imposing characteristics impacting negatively on their current monthly expenditure (Table 21).

Table 21: Imposing Characteristics of Gentrification

Imposing Characteristics	Fq	%	Percent of Cases
Location of current settlement	316	40.7	86.8
Tenure status	217	27.9	59.6
Level of available infrastructure	186	23.9	51.1
Housing condition	29	3.7	8.0
Institutions and government policies	29	3.7	8.0
Total	777	100.0	213.5

7.5 Past and Present Expenses on Transportation to Place of Work

The study further sought to understand changes in transportation expenses as a result of the gentrification of the study communities. The results of the study revealed generally reduced transportation expenses as a result of the gentrification of the city. In Adabraka, 82.7, 12.0, 4.0 and 1.3 percent of the respondents spent 0-100, 100-200, 200-300 and 300-400, respectively on transportation in the past compared 95.7, 2.6 and 1.7 spending between 0-100, 100-200 and 200-300 presently (Table 22). In Achimota, the cost of transportation changed from 0-100 (89.8%), 100-200 (7.8%) and 200-300 (2.3%) to 0-100(98.4%) and 100-200(1.6%) while in Pokuase transportation cost changed from the initial 0-100 (93.8%) and 100-200 (6.3%) to 0-100 (100%).

Table 22: Past and Present Expenses on Transportation to Place of Work

		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Past	0-100	30	93.8	62	82.7	115	89.8
	100-200	2	6.3	9	12.0	10	7.8
	200-300	0	0.0	3	4.0	3	2.3
	300-400	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0
	400-500	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Above 500	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Present	0-100	41	100.0	111	95.7	182	98.4
	100-200	0	0.0	3	2.6	3	1.6
	200-300	0	0.0	2	1.7	0	0.0
	300-400	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	400-500	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Above 500	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

7.6 Past and Present Expenses on Rent

Contrary to the transportation trend, rent generally increased as a result of the gentrification of the communities. In Pokuase, majority (93.2%) of the respondents spent between 0-100 cedis monthly on rent while the remaining 6.8 percent spent between 100-200 cedis on rent per month. However, this changed to 55.8, 30.2 and 14.0 percent spending between 0-100, 100-200, and 200-300 monthly, respectively. A similar trend in monthly rent expenses was observed in Achimota with majority (75.1%) spending between 0-100 followed by 19.7 and 5.2 percent spending between 100-200 and 200-300, respectively (Table 23). However, this changed to 31.6, 17.6, 46.1 and

4.7 percent of the respondents spending between 0-100, 100-200, 200-300 and 300-400, respectively (Table 7.6). Rent in Adabraka generally increased from 0-100 (85.8%), 100-200 (14.2%) to 0-100 (43.1%), 100-200 (23.6%), 200-300 (32.5%) and 300-400 (0.8%).

Table 23: Past and Present Expenses on Rent

Expenses		Pokuase		Adabraka		Achimota	
		Fq	%	Fq	%	Fq	%
Past	0-100	41	93.2	103	85.8	145	75.1
	100-200	3	6.8	17	14.2	38	19.7
	200-300	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	5.2
	300-400	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	400-500	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	500 and above	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Present	0-100	24	55.8	53	43.1	61	31.6
	100-200	13	30.2	29	23.6	34	17.6
	200-300	6	14.0	40	32.5	89	46.1
	300-400	0	0.0	1	0.8	9	4.7
	400-500	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	500 and above	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 23 portrays a picture of low rent rates in the study area. It should be emphasized, however, that this is so because of the characteristics of the majority of the study participants. Most of the study participants were low income earners who are at the receiving end of gentrification processes. Rent levels are therefore a reflection of, and commensurate with income levels of the study participants.

7.7 Positive Effects of Gentrification on Community

Despite the numerous negative effects reported by the study respondents, the majority of the respondents in Adabraka (93.3%), Achimota (91.0%), and Pokuase (82.2%) reported that gentrification also has numerous positive effects. These include improved environmental quality, improved safety, improved infrastructure, increased job opportunities, improved standard of living, improved quality of housing, improved access to public transport, increased property values, increased revenues and increased social mix. Table 24 provides further details on the statistical elements of these positive variables of gentrification on the generality of study communities.

Table 24: Positive Effects of Gentrification on the General Community

Effects	Responses		Percent of Cases
	Fq	%	
Improved environmental quality	290	24.2	78.8
Improved safety	97	8.1	26.4
Improved infrastructure	253	21.1	68.8
Increased job opportunities	119	9.9	32.3
Improved standard of living	31	2.6	8.4
Improved quality of housing	117	9.8	31.8
Improved access to public transport	203	16.9	55.2
Increased property values	36	3.0	9.8
Increased revenues	15	1.3	4.1
Increased social mix	38	3.2	10.3
Total	1199	100.0	325.8

7.8 Positive Effects of Gentrification on Individual Households

Similarly, the majority (76.8) of the households in this study reported having benefited from the opportunities created as a result of the gentrification of their communities while the remaining did not notice any positive benefits from the phenomenon. These households generally benefitted from improved security, easy access to social amenities, employment, access to financial services, and access to improved infrastructure. Table 25 provides further details on the statistical elements of these positive variables of gentrification on individual households.

Table 25: Positive Effects of Gentrification on Individual Households

Effects	Responses	
	Fq	%
Improved security	67	19.5%
Easy access to social amenities	56	16.3%
Employment	77	22.4%
Access to financial services	73	21.2%
Access to improved infrastructure	71	20.6%

7.9 Measures to Reverse the Trend of Gentrification

The study also sought to assess the respondents' perception of measures that can be taken to address the problems associated with gentrification in the study area. Among the measures proffered by respondents to be critical in mitigating the effects of gentrification in the study communities include the provision of affordable housing, diversification of employment opportunities, improvement in security, reduction in rent and reduction in prices of goods (refer to Table 26). Respondents believe that these will help improve inclusivity and minimize the adverse effects of gentrification

Table 26: Proposed Measures to Reverse the Trend of Gentrification

Measures	Frequency	Percentage
Provision of affordable housing	74	21.1%
Diversification of employment opportunities	70	20.0%
Improvement in security	65	18.6%
Reduction in rent	68	19.4%
Reduction in prices of goods	73	20.9%

7.10 Initiatives to Improve Coping to Gentrification

Similarly, the study sought the opinions of respondents on how to improve their coping capacity concerning the negative effects of gentrification. Prominent among the initiatives reported by the respondents include a reduction in the cost of public services (12.6%), provision of loan facilities to support local economic activities (18.4%), increment in salaries (17.4%), improvement in general security (12.3%), increased job opportunities (12.3%), provision of affordable housing (11.3%) and reduction in prices of goods (15.8%) (Table 27).

Table 27: Initiatives to Improve Coping to Gentrification

	Frequency	Percent-age
Reduced cost of public services	39	12.6%
Provision of loan facilities	57	18.4%
Increment in salaries	54	17.4%
Improvement in general security	38	12.3%
Access to employment opportunities	38	12.3%
Provision of affordable housing	35	11.3%
Reduction in prices of goods	49	15.8%

7.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter set out to understand the effects of gentrification, adverse and otherwise. Obviously genetrification is reported to have various adverse effects on the generality of community life and the welfare of households. However, as reported by the study participants, gentrification also has some positive effects that can be harnessed to greater effect. Given these understanding, coupled with the initiatives proposed to improve coping of communities members to the advserse effects of gentrification, it is incumbent on urban policy makers to harness local potentials to improve community dynamics, given that gentrification is likely to remain a permanent part of the urban social and political fabric. How this can be achieved will be addressed in the final chapter by way of policy prescriptions.

Chapter 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

8.1 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter gives a recap of key findings emanating from the study, as well as policy recommendations towards ensuring social and economic inclusion in gentrifying communities. By this, the section summarizes the composition of study participants, drivers of gentrifications as well as key actors in the urban renewal processes. It also makes conclusions on patterns of gentrification and the effects of the phenomenon on residents of selected communities.

8.1.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

First and foremost, a glance at the demographic characteristics as presented in the study, shows that the selected study communities, just like many communities in the GAMA, are largely heterogeneous in composition, belonging to diverse ethnic groups and are spread over different occupations and professional groupings. Majority of respondents were male, suggesting predominantly male-headed households across the communities of interest. A larger segment of the participants was not native to the study communities but migrated from different neighbourhoods within and outside Accra. In terms of house ownership, majority of respondents do not own houses but were largely tenants who pay rent at regular periods as contained in their tenancy agreement. The study, therefore, observes that most people in gentrifying areas were not insulated from the harsh realities of rising property values and rent. Their position as tenants places them on the weaker side and makes them more susceptible to the full gravity of the effects that come with changing property values which is a major attribute of gentrifying communities. This development may not be peculiar to the GAMA area. Given the nature of cities within the West African sub-region, these findings may be relevant for other cities within the sub-region.

8.1.2 Triggers of gentrification

Employing both household and institutional data, the study argues that gentrification is largely driven by an interaction of physical,

economic, social, political, cultural, and spatial factors. The study concludes that among these factors, economic activities resulting from an increase in private sector investments remain the most important factor that ignites urban regeneration in the GAMA. Despite the major role of economic factors, the study cautions that no single driver among these drivers is entirely responsible for the phenomenon in its own right. A complex interplay of these factors is what informs and drives the influx of higher-income earners into previously less invested communities, especially the inner cities of Accra. These factors, therefore, work together in steering communities aggressively towards infrastructural renewal.

8.1.3 Patterns and actors of gentrification

The study further documents that even though all the three selected communities experienced some form of gentrification, the extent and pattern of the phenomenon are largely differentiated in terms of location and stage of development. While Adabraka by its location in the inner core is witnessing an aggressive transformation of residential facilities into offices and other high-rise commercial buildings, a moderate form of the phenomenon is experienced in Pokuase. The study, therefore, concludes that the phenomenon of gentrification gets more profound or evident as one moves towards the inner and mid core of the city as opposed to the outer periphery.

The study further observed and posits that the government, private developers, and affluent property owners constitute the key actors who by their activities influence the phenomenon. The government, through the improvement of security, the building of schools, job creation, and improved health care facilities, provides some important pull factors for the movement of higher-income earners into these previously less invested and disadvantaged communities.

Similarly, the agenda of the government to improve some selected communities through its intended affordable housing projects has put such communities in the spotlight, qualifying them as potential candidates for gentrification. It is equally imperative to document that, affluent property owners, have also through the building of shops and modern houses influenced the movement of people who seek to take advantage of these positive developments in such communities.

8.1.4 Effects of gentrification

The study recognizes that urban renewal policies exist to shape urban change and eliminate socio-spatial inequality associated with that change. To inform such policies, the study identified both positive and negative effects associated with gentrification in the study communities. The rising cost of rent, increase in the cost of living, community conflicts, loss of social networks, and displacement of low-income residents, were identified as major negative effects of gentrifications. The study, however, provides evidence of improved infrastructure, access to public transport, increased job opportunities, and quality housing as some of the benefits associated with urban regeneration.

The study, therefore, concludes that in remaking neighbourhoods, several aspects of society are altered in unintended ways, yet have serious implications (both positive and negative) on the everyday life of ordinary dwellers. There is evidence of a wide improvement in economic activities as a result of gentrification. However, the existing social structures are significantly altered, hence segregating different populations within the same neighbourhoods. The study, therefore, concludes that uncontrolled gentrification presents people with situations that make them question their sense of belonging within the emerging social structure created by the increasing diversity.

8.2 Lessons for Inclusive Urban Policy Formulation

Evidently, gentrification is part of the city making process. It is an unintended consequence of the growth and development of cities. The evidence from this GAMA study show that as cities expand, public policies and private capital may combine in complex ways to serve as enablers for gentrification. Therefore, rather than focusing on avoiding gentrification, Municipal authorities and urban policy makers need to strive to ensure that urban development promotes inclusivity. This can be achieved, through collaborative, transactive and community-led co-design strategies. Such planning practices will engender trust, promote the involvement of local stakeholders and identify catalysts for urban regeneration, thereby minimizing the adverse effects of gentrification. The problem for this kind of planning is the multi-cultural and cosmopolitan nature of the study communities, something which is reminiscent of many urban areas.

This can, however, be overcome using innovative co-design practices including focus groups, design workshops and seminars, consultations with key demographics, awareness campaigns and outreach and electronic media.

Second, as observed from the GAMA case study, gentrification is layered along the concentric development of the city. Inner and mid city areas are more likely to be gentrified than outer peripheral areas. This calls for differentiated urban development policies that take into consideration the uniqueness of diverse parts of the city. Therefore interventions for the inner core should not necessarily mirror interventions for the outer periphery. This again amplifies the relevance of co-design but also brings into focus the need to dig deeper and understand issues such as land ownership dynamics; and how to nurture and establish community interest through training, employment creation and apprenticeship. To this end, municipal authorities must be at the forefront of providing assets such as land, buildings and under-utilised space by ensuring that they are used to empower members of the local community. Even though the outer periphery is not as gentrified as the inner and mid core, urban development policy must also pay some attention to peripheral areas. Efforts should be geared towards capacity building, developing skills, knowledge and promoting new ideas and methods to enable peripheral areas develop into inclusive and sustainable urban enclaves, attracting the right mix of development.

The study observed that businesses thrive best in better locations, especially major streets of towns and cities. Following from this, houses along the principal streets of study communities remain prone to proposals and negotiations from affluent people, aimed at converting these houses into commercial structures. Urban policy makers must create a forum for proper and open consultation between municipal governments, potential investors and residents, aimed at reaching a consensus and developing complete neighbourhoods with compact mixed uses, mixed income/cultural residents, based on inclusive and universal urban design and development principles. The original residents should be allowed to influence the terms and conditions of the agreement, to avoid forced relocation. Done this way, urban development will not be driven entirely by chance and market forces, but by deliberately focused framework that ensures inclusivity and sustainable urban development.

REFERENCES

- Adarkwa, K. K. (2012). The changing face of Ghanaian towns. *African Review of Economics and Finance*, 4(1), 1-29.
- Adarkwa, K. K., & Oppong, R. A. (2005). Gentrification, use conversion and traditional architecture in Kumasi's central business district—case study of Odum Precinct. *Journal of Science and Technology (Ghana)*, 25(2), 80-90.
- Atkinson, R. (2002). Does gentrification help or harm urban neighbourhoods? An assessment of the evidence-base in the context of new urban agenda (Vol. 5). Glasgow: ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research.
- Atkinson, R. (2004). The evidence on the impact of gentrification: new lessons for the urban renaissance? *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 4(1), 107-131.21
- Atkinson, R. (2015). Losing one's place: Narratives of neighbourhood change, market injustice and symbolic displacement. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 32(4), 373-388.
- Atkinson, R., & Bridge, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Gentrification in a global context*. Routledge.
- Atkinson, R., & Wulff, M. G. (2009). Gentrification and displacement: a review of approaches and findings in the literature. *AHURI Positioning Paper*, 115, 1-29.14
- Bates, L. K. (2013). Gentrification and displacement study: Implementing an equitable inclusive development strategy in the context of gentrification. 78
- Betancur, J. (2011). Gentrification and community fabric in Chicago. *Urban Studies*, 48(2), 383-406.
- Brown-Saracino, J. (2010). *A neighborhood that never changes: Gentrification, social preservation, and the search for authenticity*. University of Chicago Press.
- Butler, T. (2005). Gentrification and globalization: the emergence of a middle range theory. *Cahiers du Pôle Ville*, 34.134
- Cameron, S., & Coaffee, J. (2005). Art, gentrification and regeneration—from artist as pioneer to public arts. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 5(1), 39-58.17
- Charles, S. L. (2011). Suburban gentrification: understanding the determinants of

single-family residential redevelopment, a case study of the inner-ring suburbs of Chicago, IL, 2000-2010. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University.

Davidson, M., & Lees, L. (2005). New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance. *Environment and planning A*, 37(7), 1165-1190.

Davidson, M., & Lees, L. (2005). New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance. *Environment and planning A*, 37(7), 1165-1190.

Fält, L. (2016, December). From shacks to skyscrapers: multiple spatial rationalities and urban transformation in Accra, Ghana. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 465-486). Springer Netherlands.

Filion, P. (1991). The gentrification-social structure dialectic: A Toronto case study. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 15(4), 553-574.

Ghertner, D. A. (2014). India's urban revolution: geographies of displacement beyond gentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 46(7), 1554-1571.13

Gillespie, T. (2016). Accumulation by urban dispossession: Struggles over urban space in Accra, Ghana. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41(1), 66-77.

Glass, R. (1964). Aspects of change. *The gentrification debates: A reader*, 19-30.

Gupta, J., & Vegelin, C. (2016). Sustainable development goals and inclusive development. *International environmental agreements: Politics, law and economics*, 16(3), 433-448.

Habitat, U. N. (2001). *The state of the world's cities 2001*. United Nations for Human Settlements, Nairobi, Kenya.

Hackworth, J., & Smith, N. (2001). The changing state of gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 92(4), 464-477.

Hamnett, C. (1991). The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification. *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers*, 173-189.

Hamnett, C. (2003). Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of inner London, 1961-2001. *Urban studies*, 40(12), 2401-2426.

Helbrecht, I. (Ed.). (2017). *Gentrification and resistance: Researching displacement processes and adaption strategies*. Springer.

Hochstenbach, C., Musterd, S., & Teernstra, A. (2015). *Gentrification in Amsterdam:*

Assessing the importance of context. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(8), 754-770.
 Hyra, D. (2016). Commentary: Causes and consequences of gentrification and the future of equitable development policy. *Cityscape*, 18(3), 169-178.30

Jacobs, Jane. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books

Kennedy, M., & Leonard, P. (2001). *Dealing with neighborhood change: A primer on gentrification and policy choices*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy.25

Kerr, J., & Paler, S. (1992). Gentrification: assessing the causes and effects/Winnipeg's municipal conflict of interest guidelines: problems and solutions.10

Lees, L. (2000). A reappraisal of gentrification: towards a 'geography of gentrification'. *Progress in human geography*, 24(3), 389-408.

Lees, L. (2012). The geography of gentrification: Thinking through comparative urbanism. *Progress in human geography*, 36(2), 155-171.11

Lees, L. (2019). Planetary gentrification and urban (re) development. *Urban Development Issues*, 61(1), 5-13.

Lemanski, C. (2014). Hybrid gentrification in South Africa: Theorising across southern and northern cities. *Urban Studies*, 51(14), 2943-2960.

Ley, D. (1996). *The new middle class and the remaking of the central city*. Oxford University Press.

Lin, J. (2017). Understanding gentrification's causes. *Economic Insights*, 2(3), 9-17. 76

Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement: Connections, Causes, and Policy responses in New York City. *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28(January), 195-240. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2007.54.1.23>.

Mathema, S. (2013). Gentrification: An updated literature review. *Poverty & Race Research Action Council*, 1-8.

MICZD. (2019). *Medium Term Expenditure Framework (Mtef) For 2019-2022 Ministry Of Inner-City And Zongo Development Programme Based Budget Estimates For 2019*.

Moskowitz, P. E. (2017). *How to kill a city: Gentrification, inequality, and the fight for the neighborhood*. Bold Type Books.

References

- Nedudin, D., Caric, O., & Kubet, V. (2009). Influences of gentrification on identity shift of an urban fragment: A case study. *Spatium*, (21), 66-75.9
- Nelson, P. B., Oberg, A., & Nelson, L. (2010). Rural gentrification and linked migration in the United States. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 26(4), 343-352
- Porta, S., Venerandi, A., & Zanella, M. Romice, Ombretta (2014) The Form of Gentrification: Common Morphological Patterns in Five Gentrified Areas of London, UK. Working paper. arXiv. org.
- Rose, D. (1984). Rethinking gentrification: beyond the uneven development of Marxist urban theory. *Environment and planning D: Society and Space*, 2(1), 47-74.
- Shaw, K. (2008). Gentrification: What it is, why it is, and what can be done about it. *Geography Compass*, 2(5), 1697-1728.
- Shaw, K. S. and I. W. Hagemans. (2015). Gentrification without displacement and the consequent loss of place: the effects of class transition on low-income residents of secure housing in gentrifying areas. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39(2) 323–341
- Shin, H. B. (2009). Property-based redevelopment and gentrification: The case of Seoul, South Korea. *Geoforum*, 40(5), 906-917
- Smith, N. (1987). Gentrification and the rent gap. 462-465.
- Smith, N. (1996). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. Psychology Press.
- Smith, N. (2017). Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital, not people. *Readings in Urban Analysis: Perspectives on Urban Form and Structure*, 278-298.
- Trigg, K. (2017). Quantifying Urban Inequality: An Investigation of the Wicked Problems of Gentrification.
- Twumasi-Ampofo, K., & Oppong, R. A. (2017). Traditional Architecture and Gentrification in Kumasi Revisited. *African Journal of Applied Research (AJAR)*, 2(2).
- Vigdor, J. L. (2010). Is urban decay bad? Is urban revitalization bad too? *Journal of Urban Economics*, 68(3), 277-289.
- Visser, G., & Kotze, N. (2008). The state and new-build gentrification in central Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2565-2593.
- Visser, G., & Kotze, N. (2008). The state and new-build gentrification in Central Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), 2565–2593. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420130701481111>

org/10.1177/0042098008097104

Wacquant, L. (2008). Relocating gentrification: the working class, science and the state in recent urban research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 198-205.

Wehaffy, M. W. (2019). The gentrification challenge: placemaking as the problem, or placemaking as the solution? In M. Besters, R. M. Sempere, & J. Kahne (Eds.), *Our city? Countering exclusion in public space*: STIPO Publishing.

Wilder, V., Mirto, A. L., Makoba, E., & Arniella, G. (2017). The health impact of gentrification. *J Gen Emerg Med*, 4, 1981-1991.

Wildin, B., & Minnery, J. (2005). Understanding city fringe gentrification: the role of a 'potential investment gap'. *State of Australian Cities*, http://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/00,17,81413.2

Wyly, E. K., & Hammel, D. J. (1999). Islands of decay in seas of renewal: Housing policy and the resurgence of gentrification.31

Zuk, M., Bierbaum, A. H., Chapple, K., Gorska, K., Loukaitou-Sideris, A., Ong, P., & Thomas, T. (2015, August). Gentrification, displacement and the role of public investment: a literature review. In *Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco* (Vol. 79).

ANNEXES

Annex A





Annex B

Gentrification and Inclusive City Development in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA)

In collaboration with Good Governance Africa (GGA), we are conducting a study to empirically assess the emerging phenomenon of gentrification and its effects on sustainable and inclusive place-making. As part of the process, we are interviewing households in gentrifying communities, to help deepen and widen the knowledge of Gentrification in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area. The identity of respondents shall be kept confidential and responses shall be used solely for its intended purposes.

Interview Date.....Community

ID.....

Interview ID..... Name of Interviewer

.....

1.0 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

1.1. Gender of respondent ☐ Male ☐ Female

1.2. Age of respondent? ☐ Less than 20 ☐ 20-30 ☐ 30-40 ☐ 40-50
☐ 50-60 ☐ 60 and above

1.3. Marital status ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Di-
vorce ☐ Separated ☐ Widowed ☐ Others specify
.....

1.4. Educational status of respondent. ☐ Illiterate ☐ Non Formal ☐
Primary ☐ MSLC / JHS ☐ Technical/SHS ☐ Vocational ☐ Tertiary ☐
Others specify.....

1.5. Size of household ☐ 1-3 ☐ 4-6 ☐ 7 or More

1.6. Sector of employment ☐ Formal ☐ Informal

1.7. Occupation of respondent ☐ Artisan ☐ Trader ☐ Farmer ☐
 Taxi driver ☐ Banker ☐ Teacher ☐ Engineer ☐ Nurse ☐ Civil servant ☐
 Unemployed ☐ Others specify

1.8. Housing tenure of respondent? ☐ Owner Occupied ☐ Tenant ☐
☐ Family Owned ☐ Squatting ☐ Others specify

1.9. Origin of respondent. Migrant ☐ Native ☐. If migrant, specify region migrated from

1.10. Monthly income of respondent ☐ 0-1000 ☐ 1000-2000 ☐
 2000-3000 ☐ 3000-4000 ☐ 4000-5000 ☐ 5000 and above

2.0 Trends/Patterns of Gentrification

2.1. Were you born in this community? Yes ☐ No ☐

2.2. If not, where were you living before you moved into this community? ☐ Urban ☐ Suburban ☐ Rural ☐ specify location.....

2.3. What influenced your decision to move into this community? ☐
 Proximity to workplace
☐ Proximity to family/friends ☐ Central location ☐ Housing quality ☐
☐ Availability of employment and business opportunities ☐ Environment quality ☐ Affordability of rent
☐ Other specify

2.4. How many years have you been living in this community? ☐
 1 – 5 Years ☐ 6 – 10 Years ☐ 11 – 15 Years ☐ 16 – 20 Years ☐
 21 – 25 Years ☐ Over 30 Years

2.5. What was the nature of the community when you first settled in the community?

- ☐ Predominantly Residential ☐ Predominantly Commercial ☐ Predominantly Industrial
☐ Predominantly Institutional (e.g., school, hospital)
☐ Mixed (residential/commercial/institutional) ☐ Others specify

2.7. Have you noticed renewal, rebuilding, and improvement in infrastructure accompanying the influx of middle-class people into deteriorating areas in the city? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes explain observed changes

2.8. In your opinion, which year did this phenomenon start in your community?

2.9. What has been the trend in redevelopment and rebuilding in deteriorating areas in the city since you first settled in this community?

2.10. Which facilities have been most affected by this phenomenon and how?

Facilities	Select miltiple	Impacts
Residential		
Commercial		
Industrial		
Institutional		
Mixed		
Others specify		

2.11. Which neighbourhoods of the city are experiencing such occurrences?

.....

.....

2.12. How intense and frequent are these occurrences in these neighbourhoods?

☐ Very frequent and intense ☐ Very frequent but less intense ☐ Less frequent but very intense ☐ Less frequent and less intense

2.13. What do you think will be the future trend of the phenomenon in these neighbourhoods and other neighbourhoods in the city?

.....

.....

.....

.....

3.0 Effects of Gentrification.

3.1. What are the effects of gentrification on the community? (Multiple response)

☐ Rising property value ☐ Increased rent ☐ increase in property taxes ☐ Increased cost of living ☐ Increased crime ☐ Displacement of low-income residents ☐ Homelessness ☐ Loss of incomes ☐ Loss of jobs ☐ Loss of social network ☐ Community conflicts ☐ Enforcement of building codes ☐ Others Specify.....

3.2. What are the impacts of gentrification on your household? (Multiple response)

☐ Reduced household income ☐ Loss of property ☐ Increased rent ☐ Increased cost of living ☐ Displacement of household ☐ Loss of incomes ☐ Loss of jobs ☐ Others Specify.....

3.3. Which characteristics of the current community impose these impacts on your household? (Multiple response) ☐ Location of **current settlement** ☐ Tenure status

☐ Level of available infrastructure ☐ Housing conditions ☐ Institutions and government policies ☐ Others Specify

.....

3.4. How much were you spending on rent per month in your previous place of residence?

☐ 0-100 ☐ 100-200 ☐ 200-300 ☐ 300-400 ☐ 400-500 ☐ 500 and above

3.5. How much do you spend on rent per month in your current place of residence?

☐ 0-100 ☐ 100-200 ☐ 200-300 ☐ 300-400 ☐ 400-500 ☐ 500 and above

3.6. What was location of your place of work in your previous place of residence

☐ Within the community ☐ Outside the community

7. If outside the community, how far was your place of work from your place of residence?

☐ < ½ km ☐ Between ½ - 1 km ☐ Between 2- 4km ☐ More than 4km

3.7. What was the means of transportation from your former place of residence to your place of work? ☐ Walking ☐ Cycling ☐ Commercial transport ☐ Private transport

☐ Others Specify

3.8. How much were you spending per month on transportation from your former place of residence to your place of work? ☐

0-100 ☐ 100-200 ☐ 200-300 ☐ 300-400 ☐ 400-500 ☐ 500 and above

3.9. What is the location of your place of work in your current place of residence

☐ Within the community ☐ Outside the community

3.10. If outside the community, how far is your current place of work from your current residence? ☐ < ½ ☐ Between ½ -1km ☐

Between 2- 4km ☐ More than 4km

3.11. Has your mode of transportation changed since settling in this community Yes ☐ No ☐

3.12. If yes what is your current mode of transportation to your place of work?

☐ Walking ☐ Cycling ☐ Commercial transport ☐ Private transport

☐ Others Specify
.....

3.13. How much do you spend per month on transportation from your current place of residence to your place of work?

☐ 0-1000 ☐ 1000-2000 ☐ 2000-3000 ☐ 3000-4000 ☐ 4000-5000
☐ 5000 and above

3.14. Has the gentrification of the city impacted on your household's monthly expenditure?

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, how

.....

3.15. Have you noticed any positive effects of gentrification on your community? Yes ☐ No ☐

3.16. What are these benefits? ☐ Improved environmental quality

☐ Improved safety

☐ Improved infrastructure ☐ Increased job opportunities ☐ Improved standard of living

☐ Improved quality of housing ☐ Improved access to public

transport ☐ Increased property values ☐ Increased revenues ☐

Increased social mix

☐ Others specify

3.17. Have you or any member of your household benefited from the opportunities created by gentrification? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes how	If no why

3.18. Do other inhabitants of the community benefit from such opportunities Yes [] No []

Inhabitants	How do they benefit	Why do they benefit

4.0 Drivers of Gentrification

4.1 Which factors are influencing the course of gentrification in this community?

[] Economic Drivers

Factors	Select all that apply	Rank
Economic growth		
Increased public investment in inner-city neighborhoods		
Increased private housing investments		
Growth in service sector economy		
Increasing inner-city housing demand		
Changes in economic profile of residents		
Rising transportation costs		
Changes in consumer characteristics and consumption patterns		
Lucrative investment potential in inner-city neighborhoods		
Increasing property value		
Increasing rent		
Devaluation of inner-city housing		
Higher property taxation		
Others specify		

[] Physical Drivers

Factors	Select all that apply	Rank
Deterioration of inner-city housing		
Increased commuting distance to suburban areas		
Renovation and rebuilding of inner-city housing		
Extraordinary location of an inner-city neighborhood		
Increased supply inner-city housing		
Access to amenities and social service		
Aesthetic improvement of inner-city neighbourhood		
Increased traffic congestion in metropolitan areas		
Others specify		

[] Political Drivers

Factors	Select all that apply	Rank
Public sector policies (subsidies, housing policy, zoning regulation, licenses and tax incentives)		
Investment in social services and amenities		
Urban redevelopment		
Investments in transportation infrastructure		
Others specify		

[] Social Drivers

Factors	Select all that apply	Rank
Increased population		
Demographic changes		
Displacement of lower-income residents		
Movement of young professionals to the CBD		
Social diversification of inner-city neighbourhoods		
Changing preferences of inner-city dwellers		
Reductions in crime		
Changing family structures in inner-city neighborhood		
Increased racial/ethnic tolerance and diversity		
Others specify		

[] Cultural Driver

Factors	Select all that apply	Rank
Increased cultural diversity in inner-city neighbourhood		
Changes in values, norms and lifestyle in inner-cities		
Decrease desirability for socially distinctive communities		
Vibrant cultural diversity in inner-city neighbourhood		
Proximity to cultural amenities and historic architecture		
Increased tolerance to different cultures		
Others specify		

[] Spatial Drivers

Factors	Select all that apply	Rank
Increase in infrastructure facilities		
Increase in residential facilities		
Increase in Commercial facilities		
Increase in Industrial facilities		
Increase in Institutional facilities		
Increasing transportation network		
Spatial expansion of city		
Others specify		

4.2. Who are the major actors driving the phenomenon of gentrification in this community?

☐ Government ☐ Metropolitan assembly ☐ Real estate agencies
☐ Affluent property owners ☐ Private Developers ☐ Banks ☐

Others specify.....

4.3. How do these actors contribute to the observed changes in these neighbourhoods?

Actors	Contributions
Government	
Metropolitan assembly	
Real estate agencies	
Affluent property owners	
Private Developers	
Banks	
Others specify	

5.0 Alternative inclusive and sustainable urban development initiatives

5.1 How is your household coping with the phenomenon of gentrification in your community?

.....

5.2 In your opinion, what can be done to reverse the current trend/ phenomenon in these neighbourhoods?

.....

.....

5.3 Which institution do you think is to help in this regard and how?

Institution	Measures

5.4 In your opinion, which initiatives will increase your capacity to cope with this phenomenon

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Additional comments

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you



www.gga.org

Telephone: +233(0) 302 777762 / +233(0) 246 718831

Email: info.westafrica@gga.org

Physical address: The Paragon, 3rd Floor Master Bannor
Street / 9th Lane, Osu Behind the Trust Hospital, Osu

Facebook: [ggawestafrica](https://www.facebook.com/ggawestafrica)

