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Clayborne, Dontraneil Donte

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Owner-Drivers in the Tro-Tro Industry: A Look at Jitney Service

Provision in Accra, Ghana

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Urban Planning

by

Dontraneil Donte Clayborne

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Owner-Drivers in the Tro-Tro Industry: A Look at Jitney Service

Provision in Accra, Ghana

By

Dontraneil Donte Clayborne

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Lois Takahashi, Chair

This study focuses on the motivations of owner-drivers who participate in the tro-tro industry. Using in-depth interviews, I analyze who drives and owns tro-tros in Accra, Ghana, and why. Owner-drivers were asked to discuss why they participate in the tro-tro industry by offering mass transport services, their attitudes about it, the competition from other transportation options, and why they chose to operate their business where they do. This research examines policy debates about local vehicle travel, privatized transit, informal transit, and informal employment.
This study contributes to understanding about the diversity of owner-drivers and how this small, locally-controlled informal private mass transport service (tro-tro) industry is regulated by local and central government agencies in Accra. This research project clarifies the range of entrepreneurial involvement in the supply of tro-tros in Accra by focusing on routes, fares, and vehicle types. The goal of the project is to clarify who operates tro-tro businesses, and the barriers to entry that they face. The results inform policymakers and researchers about the reasons why this informal service industry continues to thrive in Accra, and highlights the conflicts between tro-tro civil society organizations and government agencies over the proposal to expand public sector rapid bus transit systems.

The dissertation of Dontraneil Donte Clayborne is approved.

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Randall Crane

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Edmond J. Keller

_____

Vinit Mukhija

_____

Lois M. Takahashi, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2012

For Rosslynn, Lester, Ethel, Autry, Vera, Billie, Traveon, Leon,

numerous others and our ancestors all of whom are perpetual inspirations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Authority
ATMA	Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
CPP	Convention People's Party
DUR	Department of Urban Roads
ECOWAS	The Economic Community of West Africa States
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
GPRTU	Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (established 1938)
GoG	Government of Ghana
GRTCC	Ghana Roads Transport Coordinating Committee
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
LA	Licensing Authority
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MMDA	Metropolitan/Municipal/District assemblies
MMT	Metro Mass Transport Company
MoT	Ministry of Transportation
MRH	Ministry of Roads and Highways
MR&T	Ministry of Roads and Transport
MRT	Ministry of Road Transport
MTC	Ministry of Transport and Communications
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NLC	National Liberation Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NRC	National Redemption Council
OS	Omnibus Services
OSA	Omnibus Services Authority
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PNP	People's National Party
PP	Progress Party
PROTOA	Progressive Transport Owners Association
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program (World Bank)
SMC	Supreme Military Council
STA	State Transportation Authority
TRP I	First Transport Rehabilitation Project
TRP II	Second Transport Rehabilitation Project
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

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VITA

EDUCATION:

<u>M.A. in History</u>, Department of History, Howard University, 1998
  Thesis: *Ethnicity and Governance in Nigeria: A Zikist Perspective*
  Committee members: Jeanne Maddox-Toungara (Chair), Aziz Batran, Joseph Harris

<u>B.A. in Third World Studies and History</u> (Double major), UC San Diego, 1995

Exchange student, University of Ghana, Legon, 1993-94
  Concentrations: African geography and history, Ghanaian politics, U.N. and ECOWAS

FELLOWSHIPS/AWARDS:

Dissertation Year Fellowship – UCLA (full tuition and stipend - 2009-10)
West African Research Association (WARA) Pre-Doctoral Fellowship (2007)
Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Program – UCLA (2004, 2006)
Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship – UCLA (full tuition and stipend - 2002-05)
History Department Fellowship – Howard University (full tuition and stipend - 1997-98)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

LA Southwest College (2012), Adjunct Professor, Dept. of Behavioral and Social Sciences

Santa Monica College (2003-present), Adjunct Professor, Dept. of History

Coppin State University (1999-2000), Adjunct Professor, Dept. of History, Geography and Global Studies

RESEARCH INTERESTS:

Transport economies in developing nations (e.g. jitneys, informality); colonial and post-independence planning in Africa; urban economic development; African American urban cultural spaces

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:

Field Researcher (Doctoral Dissertation, UCLA), Accra, Ghana, 2007 and 2009

Field Ethnographer (Department of Urban Planning, UCLA), Los Angeles, CA, 2007

Project Coordinator (Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, UCLA), Los Angeles and Orange Counties, CA, 2005-06

Field Ethnographer (Urban Institute's Dept. of Housing and Urban Development), Los Angeles, CA, 2004-2005

Graduate Researcher (Department of Urban Planning, UCLA), Los Angeles, CA, 2004

Research Associate (Center for Policy Alternatives), Washington DC, 1997

Archival Research Assistant (University Archives, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University), Washington DC, 1996-97

PROFESSIONAL/ ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE:

Center Administrator, James S. Coleman African Studies Center, UCLA, 2000-2002

Program Coordinator, United States Institute for Peace & Howard Univ., 2000

Program Coordinator, West African Research Association, Howard Univ. & H-NET, 1998

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS (past and present)**:**

African Studies Association
Phi Alpha Theta Historical Honor Society
West African Research Association

COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC SERVICE:

Leimert Park Art Walk, Incubator Group (2010-present)
4Real H.O.P. Institute (2006-present)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Informal Private Mass Transport (Tro-tros) in Accra, Ghana

This dissertation aims to clarify the entry and operation of small, locally-controlled informal private mass transport services (jitney service provision) in urban areas in the developing world, with a focus on Accra, Ghana. Kumar and Barrett (2007) describe the category of jitney services as minibuses, able to carry "roughly 8 to 25 passengers" that have colloquial names in other African cities such as danfo in Lagos, gbaka in Abidjan, sotrama in Bamako, and matatu in Nairobi.[1] The jitney service industry, known colloquially in Accra as tro-tros, accounts for approximately 75% of Accra's transport provision according the government officials.

According the Ghanaweb.com's page entitled "TroTro: Transport for the People by the People", "A tro tro is a general term for any public transportation vehicle other than a bus or taxi that is designed to carry many people".[2] On Ghanaweb.com's page entitled "Tro Tro Station" states that a tro-tro is

> A crowded, but efficient and inexpensive, minibus used for short distance travel. Origin- It evolved from the Ga language word "TRO" meaning three pence, that is, the penny coins that were in use in the

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[1] Ajay Kumar and Fanny Barrett, *Stuck in Traffic: Urban Transport in Africa* (Washington, DC: World Bank, Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic, 2007), accessed December 12, 2010, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTAFRSUBSAHTRA/Resources/Stuck-in-Traffic.pdf, xi.

[2] Ghanaweb.com, "TroTro: Transport for the People by the People," accessed March 15, 2012, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/photo.day.php?ID=76087. By definition, "A tro tro is a general term for any public transportation vehicle other than a bus or taxi that is designed to carry many people".

colonial days of the Gold Coast, now Ghana. Those vehicles charged each passenger three pence per trip; hence it was dubbed "Tro- tro". Though the penny is no longer used, and the fare has been inflated in multiples, the old name still stands, obviously as a reminder of the transport service that operated in those good old days when life was simple and easy - going.[3]

Another description states that tro-tros are privately-owned, largely informal minibuses used in mass transport provision in Ghana. A tro-tro can also be defined as a "West Africa passenger vehicle: a van or truck that has been converted to carry passengers" with the name probably originating from the Akan term 'tro' meaning "three pence" in reference to the fare.[4] A small tro-tro has a capacity of about 14 passengers while a large tro-tro has a capacity of about 22 passengers, compared to large buses operated by the national government have a passenger capacity of about 100.[5]

A tro-tro station is described as "A formal and informal space where tro-tro owner-drivers obtain much of their clientele in addition to roadside stops where tro-tro users can 'board' (get/hail/join) a tro-tro (minibus)".[6] In Accra, tro-tro stations tended to be near key areas such as major road junctions in order to maximize

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[3] Ghanaweb.com, "TroTro Station," accessed December 12, 2010, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/fun/trotro.php.

[4] Encarta, "Encarta World English Dictionary," accessed May 30, 2011, http://encarta.msn.com/dictionary_561539650_561509043/nextpage.html.

[5] Global Environmental Facility, *Ghana urban transport – project executive summary* (GEF Council Submission, Project ID P092509, 2006), 9. Accessed December 10, 2009, http://www.thegef.org/gef/sites/thegef.org/files/repository/5-14-07%20Ghana%20Urban-%20for%20web%20posting.pdf.

[6] "TroTro: Transport for the People by the People."

access to ridership, outdoor markets with their large number of shoppers and government complexes with government employees and citizens as the riders.

This dissertation is concerned with the ways in which drivers/owners enter the informal private mass transport system (e.g. tro-tro industry), what central/local government agencies and the largest national union (the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union, or GPRTU, established in 1938[7]) regulate this system, and how new efforts by government agencies to supplant tro-tros with Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) systems are resulting in conflicts between the tro-tro industry and government officials. The transition from a semi-regulated, private vehicle dominated mass transport system created and organized by jitney service providers (e.g. tro-tro owner-drivers and the GPRTU) to a fully-regulated, public sector operated mass transport system (e.g. BRT) is a long-term multifaceted process. Specifically, this dissertation analyzes and assesses the barriers and opportunities for market entry by tro-tro drivers and owners, and the ways that regulation may/may not hinder tro-tro entrepreneurs (drivers and owners). In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss why this topic and this site are significant, overview the research questions and study approach, and describe the organization of the remaining chapters in the dissertation.

1.2. Public Mass Transport Industry in Africa: Why are Tro-tros Important to Study?

According to research on entrepreneurship in the developing world, small enterprises (e.g. tro-tro entrepreneurship) are "…a major source of employment

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[7] Interview with GPRTU official.

and income".[8] As Lingelbach et al. (2005) argue, "The distinctions between growth-oriented entrepreneurs in developing and developed markets are rooted in the inefficiency of markets in many developing countries, but the response of entrepreneurs to these inefficiencies is surprising and counterintuitive".[9] However, researchers and policy makers have inadequate knowledge about how and why entrepreneurs enter and remain in such economic activities. Studying entrepreneurs in tro-tro businesses would help to clarify tro-tro supply, but also more generally, illustrate the forms of entrepreneurialism in rapidly developing African cities, where entrepreneurship might be vital "for output expansion and structural change than in the more developed countries".[10] As Lingelbach et al. (2005) argue,

> Scholars and practitioners alike have implicitly assumed that entrepreneurship was largely the same the world over—driven by the same impulses that played on homo economicus everywhere. Research in behavioral economics and finance has advanced our understanding about the limits of rationality in describing economic behavior such as entrepreneurship. In particular, the cognitive bias of over-optimism has helped us to understand why entrepreneurs start businesses in the face of odds of firm survival (often less than 50%) that would argue otherwise.[11]

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[8] Donald C. Mead and Carl Liedholm, "The Dynamics of Micro and Small Enterprises in Developing Countries", *World Development*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1998): 61.

[9] David Lingelbach, Lynda de la Viña and Paul Asel, *What's Distinctive About Growth-Oriented Entrepreneurship in Developing Countries,* Working Paper No. 1 (San Antonio: UTSA College of Business Center for Global Entrepreneurship, 2005), 1.

[10] Nathaniel H. Leff, "Industrial Organization and Entrepreneurship in the Developing Countries: The Economic Groups", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 26, No. 4, (July 1978): 661.

[11] Lingelbach, et al., 2.

Researchers suggest that it may be possible to incorporate the informal sector in ways that do not threaten public safety and welfare in support of regional economic and social development as a whole (Aragão, Brasileiro, and Marar 1998; Cervero 2001; Chitere 2004).

1.3. Motivation for Study and Research Questions

In the field of urban planning, there is a critical need for more assessments of development planning in African nations. At best, Ghana's current regulatory structure has been described as cumbersome, antiquated and ineffective in many varied sectors including transportation. There appear to be three root causes: historical evidence of the legacy of colonialism in the Ghanaian state agencies (central and local), changes that are a consequence of postcolonialism, and challenges that have occurred due to decentralization. Specifically, there is limited research (Fouracre et al 1994, Grieco et al 1995, Kwakye 1997 and Adarkwa 2001) that has explored the viability (with a market share of about one-third) of the tro-tro industry. This study seeks to fill this scholarly gap, by identifying who owns tro-tros and what are the entrepreneurial benefits and disadvantages of this industry.

The dissertation's primary aim is to contribute useful urban planning research to strengthen African-centred scholarship and add to the growing global discourse on informality and transportation service provision as well as urban-focused research. In many regards the reflections of colonial and post-colonial periods in West African urban governance, and their impacts on the daily lives of urban dwellers motivate this research.

The dissertation focuses on the following research questions:

1. *How are colonialist and post-colonialist governance reflected in Ghana's transportation governance structure?*

2. *Why do individuals get involved in the tro-tro industry as entrepreneurs? What factors inhibit/support market participation/entry?*

3. *How is the tro-tro sector regulated, and what conflicts are occurring over the Ghanaian government's efforts to introduce 'Superbuses' (a form of BRT that uses large capacity transportation vehicles) to replace minibuses?*

To address these research questions, I used an archival and qualitative research approach. The qualitative research study design included informational interviews with 2 tro-tro station/depot managers and 2 government officials, which provided guidance on appropriate sites for recruiting tro-tro entrepreneurs to interview. These informational interviews were used to determine which of the tro-tro depots would be best for identifying tro-tro entrepreneurs to interview to answer the three research questions. These informational interviews were also used to collect information about tro-tro regulation and enforcement, as well as to identify important archival materials (and locations and access to these archives) for document collection and analysis. Using the information gathered in the informational interviews, I selected four major tro-tro stations in Accra (the tro-tro stations were selected based on centrality and area of service provision to Greater Accra), and conducted a qualitative survey (closed and open ended questions) with 25 tro-tro owner-drivers, and with 2 GPRTU officials and 2 government representatives, and participant observation. More detail on selection of interviewees and participant observations is included in each of the chapters.

1.4. Description of Dissertation Chapters

This dissertation's five remaining chapters are organized in the following way.

Chapter 2, "Literature Review and Conceptual Model", presents analysis of important scholarship on colonialism, 'post-colonialism' and private transport in developing nations. I scrutinize the scholarly discourses related to impact of colonialism on private transport in developing nations and the characteristics and applicability of the term 'post-colonialism' in developing nations.

Chapter 3, "Colonialist and Post-Colonialist Governance in Ghana", illustrates the intentional colonial policy of minimal mass transportation provision during the colonial era. The emergence of private jitney services during the move towards independence sparked the establishment of the tro-tro industry. Since independence in 1957, the tro-tro industry has been suppressed by the Government of Ghana (GoG) and at other times encouraged in order to fill the void left by unsuccessful state ventures. This chapter provides a brief overview of the history of transport provision in Ghana highlighting the shift to the promotion and analysis of informality coupled with funding of a growing number of private-public partnerships. This chapter pays particular attention to the development of motorized transport via tro-tros (minibuses and medium sizes) in the Republic of Ghana's capital city, Accra. This chapter addresses the research question: How are colonialist and post-colonialist governance reflected in Ghana's transportation governance structure?

Chapter 4, "Drivers as Transportation Entrepreneurs: Tro-Tro Owner-Drivers in Accra, Ghana", describes the findings from a qualitative survey of 25 tro-tro

drivers in Accra, Ghana and describes how the industry is structured and who constitute its drivers and owners. This chapter examines two main research questions: (1) "Why do individuals get involved in the tro-tro industry as entrepreneurs?" and (2) "What factors inhibit or support market participation/entry?"

Chapter 5, "Government Re-Enters Municipal Public Transportation", examines the municipal and central government's emerging efforts to develop a larger scale public transportation system, seemingly aimed to replace the informal economy of tro-tros. The chapter first describes the qualitative interview and archival document methodology used. It then provides institutional history about the roles and responsibilities of government agencies in providing transportation services and regulating transportation service providers in Accra. Next I describe the municipal government's recent efforts to create a bus rapid transit system and to expand regulation of existing transportation service providers. I conclude the chapter by highlighting the conflicts between the GPRTU and the municipal government that are likely to hinder the development of municipal-led public transportation. This chapter addresses the research question: How is the tro-tro sector regulated, and what conflicts are occurring over the Ghanaian government's efforts to introduce Superbuses or BRT (using large capacity transportation vehicles to replace minibuses)?

Chapter 6, "Conclusion", summarizes the major findings in Chapters 3-5, and provides both implications for future research and for policy making and planning practice.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL MODEL

2.1.   Introduction

This chapter has two goals: (1) to provide a review of the literatures on colonialist/post-colonialist governance, informal transportation in developing world cities, and regulation of informal transport in developing world cities; and (2) after identifying important gaps in this literature, to provide a conceptual framework used to clarify informal transport operations and regulation in Accra, Ghana. To address these goals, this chapter proceeds in the following way.

First, I critically review the vast literatures on colonialist/post-colonialist governance as a way of previewing the discussion in Chapter 3, which provides a history of the transition from colonialist to post-colonialist governance, particularly of transportation, in Ghana with a focus on Accra. Next, I summarize the literature on informal transportation in developing world cities, and pay particular attention to research on Accra, Ghana. This provides the background for the qualitative analysis of semi-structure interviews that I present in Chapter 4, which highlights the reasons for and barriers to entry to tro-tro businesses in Accra, Ghana. I then move to a review of the literature on regulation of informal transport in developing world cities. This discussion provides the background for the qualitative case study analysis I present in Chapter 5, which uses interviews, participant observation, and document review to assess efforts to regulate the tro-tro industry in Accra. This chapter then identifies the important gaps in these literatures, and concludes by providing a conceptual framework that addresses these gaps, and serves as an organizing framework for the data collection and analysis.

2.2. Colonialism's Impact on Development

This section considers scholarship about colonialism in developing nations, and their interaction with urban economic development. I constructed a reading list of the most important scholarly works by assessing the most cited books focusing on colonialist ideas especially as they relate to development. I then summarized the major themes from each of these publications, and used the prevailing and common themes to construct the summary in this section.

Colonialism in developing nations has a continuing legacy. Whether the overall legacy is considered positive or negative, the concepts explaining the impact of colonial rule are important to clarify colonialism's influence on the built environment, social order or political developments. There are five major themes: A) the systematic nature of the European colonial (cultural) project; B) colonies were developed to benefit the colonizers (metropoles); C) the legacy of despotism; D) the colonial 'mindstate' as motivation and justification for imperialism; and E) the 'Colonial economy' has had a long-term developmental impact. The next section of this paper highlights each theme through a brief assessment of leading literature.

2.2.1. Systematic Nature of the European Colonial (Cultural) Project

The first theme is the systematic nature of European colonial (cultural) project. The following works are examined: Fredrick Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1923); Raymond Betts' *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* (1961); Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978); and

Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1981). These books each make clear that colonialism was an organized process.

Written essentially as a guide to colonial rule, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* supports the argument that the European colonial (cultural) project was systematic in nature. In the preface of the *Dual Mandate*, Lord Fredrick Lugard presents "notes on administration in British tropical Africa" as twofold:

1) He describes colonial development as "an outline of the system under which those responsibilities [of the British Empire] have originated and are being discharged, and some idea of the nature of the problems confronting the local administrator".[12]

2) He discusses problems in order to make some suggestions that would be worthy of consideration by "men on the spot" to the degree applicable in Crown colonies and protectorates.[13]

Lugard also discusses the reasoning used to promote greater expansion of European colonial activity in Africa. He states "It was at this critical moment that the realization by the industrial nations of Europe of the vast commercial resources of Africa led to the competition for territorial sovereignty between Great Britain, Germany, and France to which I have already referred—a movement, no doubt, accelerated and strengthened by the powerful support of those who advocated the suppression of the slave-trade by force in the interior, and the defence of mission

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[12] Lugard, Frederick. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Frank Cass & Co, Ltd., 1965 (1922)), xii.

[13] Ibid. This work was written as a guide to colonial development and has been documented as being used as a significant model for future British colonial developments as well as other colonial nations.

and trading stations".[14] This comparative study of the methods used to deal with administrative and economic problems further illustrates that the European colonial (cultural) project was systematic rather than idiosyncratic.

This project was even collaborative amongst colonial nations as Lugard states "The African possessions of Great Britain were not therefore acquired, as in the case of the Continental Powers, in pursuance of a definite policy, for which they were willing to risk war".[15] Put simply, European nations agreed not to go to war with each other in pursuit of colonial territories. In great detail, Lugard documents the acquisition of the British African Tropics with specific attention given to administrative and economic matters, which demonstrates a systematic approach to colonial rule. According to Lugard, the British colonial project only became much more systemic in the 20th century, with the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 and the subsequent Berlin Act of 1885 and the Brussels Act, which marked the beginning of a period of organized colonization by European nations. An illustrative example of the systematic nature of colonial rule is evident in Lugard's discussion of the role of missionaries. He asserts:

> Missionaries—as in Uganda and Nyasaland—were often the pioneers, and it was in defence of their interests that the Government was forced to intervene. The desire to extend protection and to introduce justice and peace has from time to time led to the enlargement of frontiers, for law and order can not exist side by side with barbarism. In the west traders such as the Niger Company took the lead as pioneers, but it was not till the close of the nineteenth century that the value of the produce of the tropics began to be realised in England.[16]

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[14] Ibid, 360.

[15] Ibid, 9.

[16] Ibid, 10.

Lugard wrote the *Dual Mandate*, with the hope that "those who are interested in the development of that part of the British Empire beyond the seas for which Great Britain is directly responsible, an *outline of the system* under which those responsibilities have originated and are being discharged, and some idea of the nature of the problems confronting the local administrator" [17] (italics added). Lugard recounts the unfair legal practice of obtaining treaties using ill-educated interpreters by colonial nations and the creation of chartered companies and chartered governments as integral parts of the British colonial system, once Britain became committed to expanding its empire in Africa.[18]

In a different vein, Raymond Betts considers the shift from the idea of assimilation to the idea of association in French colonial theory. He argues that French colonial theory evolved at home in the face of the complexities of modern colonial rule.[19] In reference to Jules Ferry's (1881, 1883-85) primarily economic ideas and arguments on empire, Betts finds systemic patterns. He notes that Ferry "acclaimed the overseas possessions as the outlets, the necessary markets, for French goods, and as places for the investment of capital. Colonial policy was the daughter of industrial policy, he stated, and in this brief expression is contained the essence of his colonial doctrine".[20] Furthermore Betts notes that "Condemned as rigid, unscientific, and harmful, assimilation was considered by most theorists no

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[17] Ibid, vii.

[18] Ibid, 15.

[19] Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), viii.

[20] Ibid, 3.

longer of any value to France's new and highly diversified colonial empire. Arguing

in favor of a more realistic and flexible native policy, the new generation of colonial

thinkers was desirous of gaining native cooperation and willing to respect native

institutions".[21] The discussion of doctrine and theory at the end of the 19th century

and the beginning of the 20th century awakened the French to the problems of

modern imperialism, particularly to those concerning native policy and the need for

a systematic approach to colonialism.[22]

Edward Said emphasizes this point further by citing cultural continuities

within politics and academics that contributed to the systemic nature of the colonial

(cultural) project. One of Said's arguments is that historically and culturally there is

a quantitative and qualitative difference between the Franco-British involvement in

the Orient and other European and Atlantic power, until the period of American

ascendancy after World War II. He asserts that Orientalism is "a British and French

cultural enterprise, a project ...the whole of India and the Levant…colonial armies

and a long tradition of colonial administrators, a formidable scholarly corpus…"[23] His

point is that Orientalism is derived from a particular closeness experienced between

Britain and France and the Orient, which until the 19th century only meant India and

the Bible lands. Since WWII, the US has been most influential. He states that his

argument depends neither upon an exhaustive catalogue of texts dealing with the

Orient nor upon a clearly delimited set of texts, authors, and ideas that together

make up the Orientalist canon. Said's main argument is the following:

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[21] Ibid, 9.

[22] Ibid, 175.

[23] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 3.

> …without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.[24]

He argues that there is a continuing limiting effect on academic thought imposed by Orientalism. Said sees the influence of Orientalism on several interdependent societal dimensions (ranging from literature to politics).

Adding to this discourse, Walter Rodney argues that "African development is possible only on the basis of a radical break with the international capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries".[25] He believes that Africa was systematically put in a disadvantageous economic situation during colonial rule and African nations have not been able to improve this situation as a result of processes begun as part of the colonial (cultural) project. He asserts for example that political instability in African nations can be seen as "a chronic symptom of the underdevelopment of political life within the imperialist context".[26]

Rodney's aim was to fill a gap in the scholarship about capitalism and imperialism as an integral system involving the transfer of surplus and other benefits from colonies to metropoles.[27] He does not agree with the assertion that colonialism brought some benefits for Africans. To the contrary, he argues that

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981), vii.

[26] Ibid, 28.

[27] Ibid, 201.

previous African development was systematically blunted, halted and turned back. This process was accompanied by the destruction of pre-existing political order (chieftaincies, kingdoms) by force, which has had a lasting impact.[28]

2.2.2. Colonies Developed To Benefit Colonizers (Metropoles)

This section reviews the scholarship of Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1981); Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson's *Colonial Latin America* (1993); and Robert Home's *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (1997).

Rodney's main assertion is that African nations are structurally dependent on European nations economically as a consequence of colonial design. He states African economies are integrated into the very structure of the developed capitalist economies and that the technologically advanced nations determine the dependence in a particular sphere. There was a significant lack of concern for the welfare of the colonized as an example from the mining industry demonstrated. Mining took a serious toll on the health of the workers, yet in colonial Africa, "the exploitation of miners was entirely without responsibility".[29] He presents an example from 1930, when scurvy and other epidemics broke out in the Lupa goldfields of Tanganyika, "One should not wonder what that they had no facilities which would have saved some lives, because in the first place they were not being paid enough to eat properly".[30] As a result hundreds of workers died.

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[28] Ibid, 205.

[29] Ibid, 207.

[30] Ibid.

Another area of society developed for the benefit of the metropole was

education. As Rodney states:

> The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to
> help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the
> private capitalist firms owned by Europeans…It was not an educational
> system designed to give young people confidence and pride as
> members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of
> deference towards all that was European and capitalist.[31]

Rodney asserts that the argument that colonial governments did much for the

benefit of Africans and they developed Africa are completely false.[32] Instead he

states, "Colonialism had only one hand—it was a one-armed bandit".[33]

Burkholder, McCormmach and Johnson's book *Colonial Latin America*,

provides an illustration of this theme in the Americas. The book begins with the

history of Amerindian Civilizations. They note Spain's experience in much of the

New World revolved around the export of precious metals (gold and silver) for the

benefit of the Spain. The Spanish used the least expensive labor force in the mining

of these minerals: black slaves, some *castas* (ethnically mixed) and Indians. By

1600, free wage laborers constituted over two-thirds of the mining work force in

just over 9000 mines. The following excerpt illustrates the argument that colonies

were developed for the benefit of the colonial ruler, "Because the colonial treasury

derived substantial revenue from mining-related taxes and monopolies…the state

used its authority to ensure adequate labor to meet the needs of the mine

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[31] Ibid, 240-1.

[32] Ibid, 205.

[33] Ibid.

owners".[34] Although both Iberian nations were secondary actors in the eighteenth century, their New World colonies continued as important participants in European commercial expansion.[35] Location impacted freight costs and size of ships used in trade.

There were larger social and political consequences of this economic order. Burkholder, McCormmach and Johnson also argue that "Colonialism of course, is a form of political subordination, but in the Latin American case the economy was often more important in forming a new social order from the remnants of indigenous culture and the migratory flows from Europe and Africa than were the institutions of empire".[36] In this colonial environment, "Social class, ethnicity, race, and gender defined discretionary material needs among privileged groups".[37] Lastly they noted that "Everywhere except Brazil, where a monarchical court survived, wealth became the primary denominator of status. Colonial concerns with family, birthplace, color, and religious conformity became less important".[38] Clearly economic concerns outweighed cultural concerns within colonial Latin America.[39]

Robert Home points to the colonial planning approach to show how colonies benefited the colonizers. He argues that much British writing on the subject of the

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[34] Mark A. Burkholder, Russell L McCormmach and Lyman L Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, 137.

[35] Ibid. However, Portugal exercised little control over Brazil's early economic development.

[36] Ibid, 160.

[37] Ibid, 171.

[38] Ibid, 352.

[39] Ibid.

British Empire has been celebratory and self-congratulatory when the reality is that colonial rule was a selfish project.[40] Home's "view is that British colonialism inflicted much suffering on millions of people".[41] He argues that there is a significant legacy of colonial town planning in former British colonies that had sought to lessen the frustration felt by colonial subjects. He states "Town planning also became part of the unsuccessful bribe offered by British colonialism in an attempt to hang on to power – a promise of 'amenities' incorporated in new legislation under the colonial development and welfare programme from the 1930s."[42] However, this approach proved ineffective and did not disguise the exploitative nature of colonialism or lessen demands for independence. In the last section entitled 'Conclusions: The Legacy of Colonial Town Planning', Home references an excerpt from Daniel Headrick's *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (1981), and states, "European empires of the nineteenth century were economy empires, cheaply obtained by taking advantage of new technologies, and, when the cost of keeping them rose a century later, quickly discarded. In the process, they unbalanced world relations, overturned ancient ways of life, and opened the way for a new global civilization".[43] Home makes it

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[40] Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities,* (New York: Routledge, 1996), vii.

[41] Ibid, viii.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid, 218. Mahmood Mamdani also asserts that "Colonial ports and cities were largely creatures of the Industrial Revolution, their physical form made possible by the new machines for land surveying and infrastructure provision".

clear that colonies were developed solely for the benefit of the metropole. He

states:

> Colonial dominance was expressed in the management, control and
> use of land. Great tracts of land were expropriated, usually without
> compensation, and European legal concepts of private, corporate and
> state ownership were deployed to deny land rights to the colonized
> communities and peoples. Belatedly, the trusteeship or indirect rule
> approach to colonial management incorporated policies to preserve
> some measure of aboriginal or native land rights.[44]

Rodney, Home and Burkholder, McCormmach and Johnson all argue that colonial

rule benefited the metropole without much concern for the development of the

colonies.

2.2.3. Legacy of Despotism

In *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late

Colonialism* (1996), Mahmood Mamdani argues that colonialism in developing

nations began processes that contributed to despotic rule in many former colonies.

He argues that located in their historical and institutional context, the language of

rights (Eurocentrists) and of culture (Africanists) points to part of Africa's

institutional legacy that continues to be reproduced through the dialectic of state

reform and popular resistance. He argues that "although the bifurcated state

created with colonialism was deracialized after independence, it was not

democratized".[45] Instead, the reproduction of part of colonial legacy (a variety of

despotism) was result of efforts "to reform the bifurcated state that institutionally

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Mamdani, Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of
Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 8.

crystallized a state-enforced separation, of the rural from the urban and of one ethnicity from another".[46] He further suggests "the core legacy of despotism was forced through the colonial experience".[47] Mamdani deemphasizes the legacy of colonial racism in order to highlight the institutional legacy of colonialism. Racism does have a legacy but in his view institutional developments had a more significant impact.

As empirical evidence Mamdani notes that groups like the Broederbond (brotherhood of Boer supremacists) did not agree with Jan Smuts, former Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (1919-1924), who believed "it was too late in the day to implement a policy of institutional segregation in South Africa; urbanization had already proceeded too far".[48] Mamdani argues that what Smut's considered 'institutional segregation' is what the Broederbond called *apartheid*. As part of this process, the colonial rulers in South Africa believed it was necessary "…to rule natives through their own institutions, one first had to push natives back into the confines of native institutions".[49] This required forced removal and a cycle of annual migrations that required force and brutality that placed the South African colonial experience in a class of its own.[50] Mamdani argues that although usually considered unique to South Africa, apartheid "is actually the generic form of the colonial state in Africa.

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid, 3.

[48] Ibid, 6.

[49] Ibid, 7.

[50] Ibid.

2.2.4. Colonial 'Mindstate' as Motivation and Justification for Imperialism

This theme is found in Frederick Lugard's *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1923), Alice L. Conklin's *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (1997), and Robert Home's *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (1997).

During the early 20th century, Lugard gives a description of Africa that fits the mindstate of colonial administrators like him at that time. He states "Africa has been justly termed "the Dark Continent," for the secrets of its peoples, its lakes, and mountains and rivers have remained undisclosed not merely to modern civilization, but through all the ages of which history has any records".[51] He saw the condition of Africa as deplorable when Europe entered the continent (due to slave-trade and inter-tribal war). Lugard states "It was the task of civilization to put an end to slavery, to establish Courts of Law, to individual responsibility, of liberty, and of justice, and to teach their rulers how to apply these principles; above all, to see to it that the system of education should be such as to produce happiness and progress".[52] Continuing, he states "It will be the high task of all My Governments to superintend and assist the development of these countries…for the benefit of the inhabitants and the general welfare of mankind."[53]

By recounting the history of political relations in Europe, Lugard cites the rivalry between Germany and France as the key dynamic behind the 1885 Berlin

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[51] Lugard, 1.

[52] Ibid, 5.

[53] Ibid.

Conference that led to the colonization of the "unknown" interior of Africa.[54] Africa

had been isolated because "the world had not hitherto had urgent need of its

products, and its warlike tribes were able to repel unwelcome visitors armed but

little better than themselves".[55] Continuing, Lugard argues that although there was

economic pressure as Europe's population rapidly increased – the discovery of new

markets, fresh supplies of food and raw material in America and new fields of

commerce in India, "more than met the demand for several centuries".[56] Lugard

presents two key motives for conquest of Africa:

1) "Crippled by her defeat [Franco-Prussian War of 1870], France proclaimed
   by the mouth of her principal statesmen and writers—just as she is doing
   today—that it was to Greater France beyond the seas, and especially in
   West and North-West Africa, that she must look for rehabilitation"[57]; and

2) Humanitarian motives – the desire to suppress the slave-trade (but
   French-German rivalry was more important).

Ironically, he notes that the Berlin Act of 1885 and the Brussels Act of 1892

were supposed to safeguard the interest of the natives but were ineffective in their

purpose; "The one thing they did succeed in effecting was the restriction of the

import of *arms of precision* to the natives, theoretically as a check to the slave-

trade, but with the practical result of rendering the African more powerless than

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[54] Ibid, 2.

[55] Ibid, 3.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

ever to resist conquest by Europeans" (italics added).[58] In this instance, African

peoples were systematically disarmed.

From his perspective, "England was unwillingly forced into the competition".[59]

England's colonies on the West Coast demanded some effort to have access to the

interior and vital interests in India made essential the protection of Britain's

Egyptian (Suez Canal and the Nile) and eastern shores of Africa. To illustrate that

he endorsed the colonial (cultural) project, Lugard states "For, in my belief, under

no other rule—be it of his own uncontrolled potentates, or of aliens—does the

African enjoy such a measure of freedom and of impartial justice, or a more

sympathetic treatment, and for that reason I am a profound believer in the British

Empire and its mission in Africa".[60]

Anne Conklin notes that civilization is a particularly French concept invented

in the 19th century. The French made the most claims for their civilization during

the "new" imperialism of the Third Republic. The idea of a secular *mission

civilisatrice* did not originate under the Third Republic but acquired a strong

resonance after the return of democratic institutions in France, "as the new regime

struggled to reconcile its aggressive imperialism with its republican ideas…It implied

that France's colonial subjects were too primitive to rule themselves, but were

capable of being uplifted".[61]

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[58] Ibid, 4.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid, 5.

[61] Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 1.

Conklin seeks to demonstrate "how powerful an idea the *mission civilisatrice* was under the Third Republic by examining how a particular group of French West Africa from 1895-1930—understood this mission".[62] She asserts that the cultural and ideological dimension of modern French colonialism has been underestimated by traditional imperial historiography and the newer field of African studies.

Home also shows that classification was an integral part of the colonialist mindstate, when he notes that "Racial segregation in the colonial city emerged from the same mania for classification and order that characterized utilitarianism and the new science of society in the early nineteenth century".[63] Although not the focus of his research, Home presents evidence that a specific colonial mindstate was at work during colonialism in developing nations. For example, the British as well as other European powers used the argument that their aim was to end the slave trade in Africa as part of their colonial motivation. He asserts that "Over the first two centuries of British overseas expansion one can trace three co-existing (and sometimes competing) ideological positions which exercised a continuing influence over the colonial urban landscape".[64] The first ideology "saw colonies as an initiative by the state, or more particularly the crown, through its agents".[65] The second ideology "was capitalist, and was adopted in the colonies to achieve the accumulation of wealth from trade, extraction and production".[66] The third ideology,

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[62] Ibid, 2.

[63] Home, 218-9.

[64] Ibid, 3.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

which might be called utopian, "saw colonial settlement as an opportunity to experiment with forms of social organization (such as communal control of land) that was less achievable at home".[67]

2.2.5. Colonial Economy Has a Long-Term Developmental Impact

The works of Rodney, Burkholder and Johnson, and Home all highlight this theme. According to Rodney, economic legacy is quite apparent in reference to Africa's agricultural economy. He asserts that "Industrialization does not only mean factories".[68] He notes that agriculture has been industrialized in capitalists and socialists countries by the intensive application of scientific principles to irrigation, tools, fertilizers, crop selection, stock breeding. Rodney sums up his view in the following excerpt:

> The most decisive failure of colonialism in Africa was its failure to change the technology of agricultural production. The most convincing evidence as to the superficiality of the talk about colonialism having "modernized" Africa is the fact that the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe…Capitalism could revolutionize agricultural in Europe, but it could not do the same for Africa.[69]

He also notes the reluctance to train laborers (preponderance of unskilled labor) as a major economic hindrance and legacy of colonialism.

Burkholder, McCormmach and Johnson argue in the Latin American case that trade and taxation transferred to Europe much of the wealth from mines and

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[67] Ibid, 4. The third ideology pertained primarily to alternative societies that had a religious basis such as the Pilgrim Fathers and the Quakers.

[68] Rodney, 219.

[69] Ibid.

plantations; "Many of the economic problems the new nations faced were rooted in geography and natural resources or were structural legacies of centuries of colonialism".[70] Furthermore, at independence, "the social order throughout Latin America remained rooted in the colonial past, and the persistence of white domination, particularly in rural areas, suggests that independence had brought little change to class relations".[71] The export-oriented economy of the colonial period remained intact and the idealization of the large estate as a social entity even gained wider acceptance.[72] The authors assert that "As Europe and then the United States industrialized, Latin America became a specialized supplier of industrial raw materials like copper, tin, and hides or agricultural products like sugar, coffee, and tobacco".[73] This dependence of one or two export crops made their economies vulnerable to price fluctuations in world market prices. The colonial economy was changed in some instances but appears to have remained influential in all former colonies.

Robert Home, in agreement with Rodney and Burkholder, McCormmach and Johnson, states that the colonial city was "created through the exercise of dominance by some groups over others, to extract agricultural surplus, provide services, and exercise political control. Transport improvements then allow one society or state to incorporate other territory and peoples overseas. The city thus becomes an instrument of colonization and (in the case of the European overseas

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[70] Burkholder, McCormmach and Johnson, 344.

[71] Ibid, 353.

[72] Ibid, 352.

[73] Ibid, 345.

empire) racial dominance".[74] Home states that British overseas expansion achieved

through the "planting" of colonies was coordinated by the Board of Trade and

Plantations [the predecessor of the Colonial Office (created in the 18th century)].[75]

Home discusses the first British colonial system known as the "Grand Model" of

colonial settlement that was first attempted in Ireland between 1610-1640. In the

decades that followed this model was modified but not abandoned. The British

instituted a policy of "deliberate urbanization." As Home states, "The political

institutions and corporate structures of European colonialism helped to forge the

colonial urban landscapes".[76] He adds:

> From the late nineteenth century concentrations of capital in mining, railways and iron and steel production created new urban landscapes through a mixture of public and private sector enterprise. Examples include De Beers' closed compounds and white suburbs at Kimberley, the iron and steel towns of Jamshedpur and Vanderbijl Park, and the railway 'colonies' of India and Africa.[77]

2.3   Post-Colonial Development

This section considers scholarship about post-colonialism in developing

nations, and their interaction with urban economic development. Similar to the

previous section, I constructed a reading list of the most important scholarly works

by assessing the most cited books focusing on post-colonialist ideas especially as

they relate to development. I then summarized the major themes from each of

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[74] Home, 2.

[75] Ibid, 2-3.

[76] Ibid, 53.

[77] Ibid.

these publications, and used the prevailing and common themes to construct the summary in this section.

The three themes related to post-colonialism and development in developing nations are the following: A) post-colonialism as a term is problematic due to the persistence of colonialism; B) greater attention needs to be given to mid- and late 20th century liberation theorists of the Developing World; and C) post-colonialism recognizes that globalization is a complex process that has both positive and negative economic, social and environmental potentials.

2.3.1. Problematic of Post-Colonialism

The following works are assessed as paradigmatic of this theme (these works tend to be more recent than the colonialist theories because the post-colonialist literature is a more recent development in scholarly thinking, as a critique to colonialist thinking): Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman's *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (1994), Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin and Gareth Griffiths' *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (1995), Peter Childs and R.J. Patrick Williams' *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory* (1997), and Alice L. Conklin's *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (1997).

Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman begin with a Marxist analysis of thinking on the intimate connection between economics and politics that allows for the most convincing distinctions between colonialism and imperialism. They state,

> In this view, colonialism, the conquest and direct control of other people's land, is a particular phase in the history of imperialism, is best understood as the globalization of the capitalist mode of

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production, its penetration of previously non-capitalist regions of the world, and destruction of pre- or non-capitalist forms of social organization.[78]

They assert:

> In the same way, if colonialism is a way of maintaining an unequal international relation of economic and political power (in the same way as Edward Said talks about Orientalism deploying a variety of strategies whose common factor is that they guarantee a position of superiority for the Westerner vis-à-vis the Orient), then no doubt we have not fully transcended the colonial. Perhaps this amounts to saying that we are not yet post-imperialist.[79]

Williams and Chrisman also identify several issues that make post-colonialism a complex construct. For example, they argue that "The conceptualization of 'race', ethnicity and ethnic identity is a major concern both within and alongside post-colonial theory".[80] In addition, the persistence of neo-colonialist or imperialist practices makes the use of the term post-colonial problematic.[81] Finally, they argue that,

> A major contention in post-colonial studies is that the overlapping development of the ensemble of European colonial empires – British, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, Italian, German – from the sixteenth century onwards (but especially in the nineteenth), and their dismantling in the second half of the twentieth century, constitutes an unprecedented phenomenon, and one with global repercussions in the contemporary world, so that one answer to the question 'When is post-colonial?' is 'Now'."[82]

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[78] Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 2.

[79] Ibid, 4.

[80] Ibid, 17.

[81] Ibid, 3.

[82] Ibid, 2.

In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin, Gareth

Griffiths' main argument is that the term "post-colonialism" is

> …best used to designate the totality of practices, in all their rich diversity, which characterize the societies of the post-colonial world from the moment of colonization to present day, since colonialism does not cease with the mere fact of political independence and continues in a neo-colonial mode to be active in many societies.[83]

> All post-colonial societies are still subject in one way or another to overt and subtle forms of neo-colonial domination, and independence has not solved this problem. The development of new elites within independent societies, often buttressed by neo-colonial institutions; the development of internal divisions based on racial, linguistic or religious discrimination; the continuing unequal treatment of indigenous peoples in settler/invader societies – all these testify to the fact that post-colonialism is a continuing process of resistance and reconstruction. This does not imply that post-colonial practices are seamless and homogeneous but indicates the impossibility of dealing with any part of the colonial process without considering its antecedents and consequences.[84]

In *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, Childs and Williams pose the

problem of "periodizing" implied by post-colonialism as it relates to the persistence

of colonialism.[85] To them, the colonial powers still operate colonies such as Hong

Kong, the Falklands/Malvinas and though Britain never officially admitted as being a

colony – Northern Ireland. Colonizers used a foreign policy of indirect control via

political, cultural and above all economic channels, a phenomenon known as neo-

colonialism.

In *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West*

Africa, 1895-1930, Alice Conklin uses the postcolonial landscape in Dakar where

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[83] Bill Ashcroft , Helen Tiffin and Gareth Griffiths, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), xv.

[84] Ibid, 2.

[85] Ibid.

streets still have names from the colonial period such as Avenue Faidherbe, Rue Victor Hugo, and Avenue Pasteur, to ask a series of questions that are at the heart of her book. She asks "Are the French names signs of Senegalese indifference toward their former rulers, retained simply because no one has bothered to change them? Or, to the contrary, do they represent a continued "investment" on the part of the Senegalese government in a close relationship—cultural, economic, and diplomatic—with France? Do they evoke hostility?".[86]

The focus of Conklin's study is "…to explore the illusions and justifications that lay behind the decision by French imperialists to erect republican signposts wherever they went at the end of the nineteenth century".[87] This understanding may not completely explain why these signposts remain in place today. However, it shows that they are read in an alternative way: "as an ironic and salutary reminder of the cultural and ideological ways in which democratic France reconciled itself to overseas expansion for much of the twentieth century".[88] There are consequently political, socio-cultural and economic problems that challenge the clarity of the term, post-colonialism.

Childs and Williams also trace some of the major points of crossover between post-colonial theory and other critical positions taken on such issues as language, gender, and nationalism. They note that "Sartre became convinced that among other things, colonialism was an ideology linked across the European powers by its

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[86] Conklin, vii.

[87] Ibid, 1.

[88] Ibid, 2.

accompanying rhetoric of humanism".[89] They demonstrate that there was

multinational support of colonialism based on a range of humanistic and economic

arguments. Childs and Williams have concluded from their survey of post-colonial

criticism and theory that there is a unifying European concept of colonialism.

Referencing existentialist and anti-colonial literature they state, "The promotion of

human dignity, consciousness, and freedom had always been accompanied, as

[Franz] Fanon insists, by the material and discursive violence of European

expansionism: the annexation, degradation, and extermination of other cultures

and peoples".[90] They also note that colonial ideologies were bolstered through "the

positing historical and racial ladders which place European or Aryans at the head of

a family (tree), suggesting that the colonized can 'progress' or 'develop' towards

European culture".[91]

2.3.2. Liberation Theorists of the Developing World

Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader by Patrick Williams

and Laura Chrisman highlights this theme.[92] Williams and Chrisman make clear that

the contributions of mid- and late 20th century liberation theorists of the developing

world such as C.L.R. James, George Padmore, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta,

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[89] Childs and Williams, 186.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] This view is very evident today with the notoriety of social commentators such as Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, Arundhati Roy, Naomi Klein and others that cite earlier post-colonial critique by scholars such as Edward Said, Walter Rodney, Robert Young, Andre Gunder Frank, Mahmood Mamdani and many others.

Amilcar Cabral, Steve Biko and A. Sivanandan are examples of scholars and authors challenging the conventional narratives of colonial and anti-colonial culture and politics.[93] These contributors to liberation movements and thought tend to be overlooked by academics intent on identifying solely with Frantz Fanon.[94]

They assert that there are two necessary components to the examination of the theorists presented. First, there needs to be "an historical theorization of these intellectuals as crucial exponents of an anti-colonial subjectivity, one which goes beyond Fanon's own highly teleological and progressivist 'three stages' characterisation of anti-colonial intellectual development, or Bhabha's 'hybridity' and 'mimicry' models".[95] Second, there needs to be a "consideration of these thinkers, their own potential contributions to a contemporary anti-colonial theory and analysis of colonial discourse".[96] What is key to understanding the importance of mid- to late 20th century liberation theorists is the fact that "Viewed historically, emergent anti- and post-colonial cultural and theoretical discourses was formed as much through dialogue with the other Third World discourses and movements as it was through dialogue with the West".[97] In Williams and Chrisman's view, the patterns of cross-cultural fertilization require both historical and conceptual discussion since it is conceivable that African-Americans such as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois had an impact on black South African discourses

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[93] Williams and Chrisman, 15.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid, 16.

and it would be surprising if South African discourses did not influence African-American, Caribbean and West African discourses.[98]

2.3.3. Post-Colonialism and Globalization: Positive and Negative Outcomes and Potentials

Peter Childs and R.J. Patrick Williams, and Pal Ahluwalia make key contributions to this discourse. Childs and Williams see some value (though not without critique) in the latter dimension of the colonist phase, "with the mass movements of millions of slaves from Africa and indentured labourers from Asia and the Indian subcontinent as the best-known examples of a general pattern of directing cheap labour to places where it was needed".[99] Continuing, they state "The end of colonial control means it is no longer possible physically to force workers to migrate to the place of work", though this "does not mean the end to the patterns of diasporic displacement that had been established".[100] Post-colonialism has brought the following change:

> instead of bringing workers to the point of production (Caribbean sugar plantations, South African diamond mines, etc.), capitalism takes the point of production to the workers, as transnational corporations endlessly relocate factories to the zones of lowest-cost labour, such as Central America or the Pacific rim, providing themselves with a workforce which is low-paid, non-unionized, and which will have job security only as long as it stays that way.[101]

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Childs and Williams, 6.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

According to Pal Ahluwalia, post-colonialism is the strategic response to contemporary globalization. He states "The current theoretical impasse that the Left finds itself in is a result of the debunking of dependency analysis, world-systems theory and deterministic Marxian analysis"[102] that has not been able to make clear sense out of globalization. Post-colonialism emerges from this theoretical impasse, recognizing "that globalization is a complex process which 'produces new global forms of unevenness, inequality, difference and discrimination'" (quoting Prakash 1996: 199).[103] Put simply, globalization may not be a form of imperialism, however, as a process it reproduces processes that are already occurring such as neo-colonialism. He also argues that "Although there are distinct differences between the colonies, as well as within a particular colony, what is clear is that the processes of colonization fundamentally have altered and affected their future course of history".[104] The following quote summarizes Ahluwalia's main argument "By deploying the perspective of inflections through the lens of post-colonialism, it is possible to see how African societies have constituted and reconstituted themselves by an engagement with modernity".[105] The last point Ahluwalia makes is about the 'notion of African inflections' – the way Africans confronted its colonial legacy and also defines its post-colonial future. He states "To this end, post-colonialism seeks to move beyond the confines of literary criticism and to engage with the political for

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[102] Ahluwalia, 5.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid, 7.

[105] Ibid, 18.

that is where its future lies".[106] He arrives at this view from an understanding that globalization has both positive and negative economic, socio-political and environmental impacts on developing nations that they must become better suited to confront despite the complexity of globalization.

2.4. Informal Transportation in the Developing World

2.4.1. Informality and Development

In my research on private mass transport provision via the tro-tro industry, I have found that one of the most important bodies of literature deals with the informal economy as a key economic development concept. "Informality" as coined by Keith Hart was the result of his doctoral research on informal employment among migrants in Ghana during the mid to late 1960s. According to his website, *The Memory Bank*, "The term 'informal economy' became current in the 1970s as a label for economic activities which take place outside the framework of corporate public and private sector establishments."[107] Hart contributed the concept of the informal economy to development studies and has since published widely on economic anthropology.[108] Hart offers still relevant depictions of how the informal economy functions.

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Keith Hart, "Informal Economy," accessed February 29, 2012, http://thememorybank.co.uk/papers/informal-economy/.

[108] Keith Hart, "Keith Hart," accessed February 29, 2012, http://thememorybank.co.uk/keith/.

Hart provides insight into the origin of his research that led to the insightful

article, "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana" (1973).

He notes that his Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Entrepreneurs and Migrants – A Study of

Modernization among the Frafras of Ghana" (1969) was the empirical basis for the

article.[109] Building on his graduate research, Hart focuses on the migration of the

north Ghanaian-based ethnic group, the Frafras, to the urban areas of Southern

Ghana. He states the following about his article "Informal Income Opportunities and

Urban Employment in Ghana":

> Price inflation, inadequate wages, and an increasing surplus to the
> requirements of the urban labour market have led to a high degree of
> informality in the income-generating activities of the sub-proletariat.[110]

Hart's arguments for more thorough research on informality are supported

findings from government censuses, his own 1966 research findings and those

given by Jean Rouch's figures on immigrants from the French territories to Accra in

1953-4.[111] These data reveal that "'One man, one job' is a risky assumption,

especially when low-paid, low hours employment is involved".[112] Hart shows that for

many urban wage-earners poverty is ever present, and that the informal sector

provides opportunities of improving real incomes for this category as well as for the

'jobless'. He makes the following assertion,

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[109] Keith Hart's Ph. D. thesis was filed under the name J.K. Hart in 1969 at the
University of Cambridge.

[110] Keith Hart, "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana",
The Journal of Modern African Studies Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 1973): 61.

[111] Ibid, 64.

[112] Ibid, 66.

> The difficulty of placing many individuals unequivocally in either the formal or informal sectors (owing to the widespread incidence of multiple incomes sources), when combined with the low ceiling to wage employment relative to informal maximum incomes, makes it empirically and theoretically absurd to maintain the notion of significant status transition from unemployment or underemployment to full-time employment through the mere acquisition of a job in the organized labour force.[113]

He also argues that a re-examination and refinement of terms is necessary as, "The truly 'unemployed' are those who will not accept income opportunities open to them for which they are qualified, and this often means rejecting informal means of making a living. It may be that in Accra only educated youths contain a high proportion of persons who would fall into this category."[114] The informal sector has been assumed to depend on demand created by the most current levels of activity in the formal sector as measured by movements in the GNP or total formal wage expenditure, but this assumption leaves many questions unresolved.[115]

In his 1976 article "The Politics of Unemployment in Ghana" published in the journal *African Affairs*, Hart is critical of economic practices in which western economic concepts are "applied willnilly to countries like Ghana".[116] Hart also contributes a useful analysis of his contemporaries along these lines generates solutions ("more modern sector jobs") which are, as J. Weeks says, the problem itself—i.e., continues domination of the third world economies by international capitalism in various forms. In Weeks' view, the term 'unemployment' assumes not

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[113] Ibid, 83.

[114] Ibid.

[115] "Informal Economy."

[116] Keith Hart, "The Politics of Unemployment in Ghana", *African Affairs* Vol. 75, No. 301 (Oct. 1976), 488.

only a specific structure of social production but also a structure of domestic life that does not exist in all societies.[117]

Since the 1960s, the term languished in anthropological circles until the September 1971 conference on 'Urban Unemployment in Africa' was held at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex. At this conference, Hart presented "his much-quoted paper on the informal work in the low-income neighborhood of Nima in Accra which served as a springboard for the concept".[118] The International Labour Organization (ILO) was one of the first large development organizations to adopt the term, informal sector, after Keith Hart, John Weeks and others introduced the term into development studies and employment policy in the early 1970s.

Evidence suggests that the assumption of a progression from informal to formal economic activity is by no means universally applicable. The informal economy is considered crucial to the creation of a development planning environment that understands the importance of and supports all forms of economic activity for economic development and development planning in general. In contrast to earlier views such as the "dual economy" thesis, the definition and conceptualization of informal employment has taken a similar path in both the advanced and developing economies. Both sets of literature have recognized the heterogeneity of informal employment, its interdependent relationship with formal

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[117] Ibid, 488-9.

[118] Ray Bromley, "The Urban Informal Sector: Why Is It Worth Discussing?", *World Development* Vol. 6. No. S/10 (1978): 1036.

employment and its non-traditional nature.[119] Another widely held stance is the

recognition that extensive regulation is at times problematic since it tends to

encourage further informal activity. Yet regulation of informal employment is

advocated since it is shown that informal employment generally reinforces, rather

than reduces, socio-spatial inequalities characteristic of formal employment.[120]

Other researchers argue that governments have at times supported the informal

sector, realizing their lack of capacity in various economic sectors like employment

and housing as shown in Mexico. Entrepreneurs in the informal sector can enjoy

competitive advantages vis-à-vis large-scale industry since they can escape

taxation, social security levies, and government regulation of wages, workings

conditions, and job security.

One of the more interesting dynamics of the urban informal economy is the

similarities and differences between informal employment in advanced economies

and developing nations. By changing its rules and regulations towards formal

employment, the state regulates the nature and scope of informal employment. The

state also actively legitimizes informal employment through practices such as

deliberate lax enforcement or even positive support for this activity.[121] The growth

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[119] Further discussion can be found in Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes chapter entitled, "World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, and Effects of the Informal Economy." In Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Lauren Benton, eds. work *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989; and Colin C. Williams, *Informal Employment in the Advanced Economies: Implications for Work and Welfare*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

[120] Colin C. Williams, *Informal Employment in the Advanced Economies: Implications for Work and Welfare* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 159.

[121] Ibid.

or reduction of the informal sector in many developing nations has a disproportionately greater impact on less viable economies.[122] Although still disputed, in terms of its role in capitalist economies, the informal sector whether housing finance or employment has a significant impact on the economic development of developing nations. Due largely to the weakness of the formal sector to sustain employment, especially since the continent-wide trend of market liberalization and government retrenchment in accordance with domestic policies (often World Bank supported), the informal sector (as evidenced with foreign remittances) has become at times the centerpiece of development efforts. In the words of the economists Colin Williams and Jan Windebank, "nobody should have to work at such production to earn the money necessary for survival: 'employment should be seen not as an end in itself, but as a means to achieving a better quality of life'".[123]

Categories of informal work include 'self-provisioning', 'unpaid community work', and 'paid informal exchange'. 'Self-provisioning' refers to unpaid work by household members for themselves and each other ranging from unpaid caring activities for and by household members to do-it-yourself home improvements. What Polanyi (1944) called 'householding', self-provisioning can range from routine tasks such as washing-up to non-routine tasks such as carpentry[124]. 'Unpaid community work' is work on an unpaid basis by the extended family, social or

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[122] Ibid, 160.

[123] Colin C. Williams and Jan Windebank, *Poverty and the Third Way* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 68.

[124] Ibid.

neighborhood networks as well as more formal voluntary and community groups. Williams and Windebank subdivide this term into three types for analytical purposes: kinship work, friendship/neighborly work, and voluntary work. 'Paid informal exchange' refers to the exchange of legal goods and services for money and gifts, which are unregistered by, or concealed from, the state for tax, social security or labor law purposes.[125] This category excludes activities in which the good and/or service itself is illegal (e.g. drug trafficking).

The relevant arguments put forth by Kwame Ninsin in his work *The Informal Sector in Ghana's Political Economy* (1991) shed light on the pre-colonial and colonial nature of economic activity in Ghana. In reference to World Bank and International Monetary Fund policy, Ninsin asserts that the informal sector is seen as "their newest pharmaceutical invention" for coping with the development crisis. In Ninsin's view, development economists have ignored the fact that, "the informal sector came into being with the initial contact with Western capital and that it represents the failure of capitalism to transform the economies of the world's backward regions into booming industrial economies; and that in the post-colonial period, multi-lateral capital has assumed the role of perpetuating this symptom of underdevelopment."[126] However, ironically, the informal sector is never considered as a solution to the economic crisis of the developed countries. He characterizes foreign derived economic policy as drugs to developing countries that help that function but are not cure to the their economic illness; a "self-imposed intellectual

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[125] Williams and Windebank, 9.

[126] Kwame Ninsin, *The Informal Sector in Ghana's Political Economy* (Accra: Freedom Publications, 1991), 1.

amnesia may be attributed to a deliberate global conspiracy to conceal the true causes of the deepening development crisis facing the world's poorer countries, and thereby divert attention from the appropriate solutions."[127] Ninsin's assertions echoes some of Hart's criticism of the lack of a wide range of scholarship on economic development in developing nations based on empirical cases in Africa.

Ninsin discusses how initial British colonial investment in Ghana's commerce produced a labor force inclined mainly towards self-employment in petty trading. He describes informal arrangements between an essentially clerical class of Africans and European trading firms – as employers, and in ensuring the effective circulation of imported merchandise. A complex commercial network of principally grassroots traders and hawkers emerged and distributed European commercial capital throughout the entire colony.[128] He argues that the primary source of informal sector workers and operators are those that have some education and "have had a reasonable level of exposure to modern norms, values and attitudes, and whose orientation and expectations transcend the possibilities provided by the material culture of the local community".[129] This group he argues feels more inclined to move to the urban centers than elementary school dropouts as found in other studies that cited registration data from public employment centers. The argument is that with the increasing emphasis on a certain level of proficiency in English in the urban environment, drop-outs would most likely remain in the village economy.

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[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid, 7.

[129] Ibid, 49.

Ninsin traces the determinants of informal economic activities from the colonial period in order to demonstrate how the structure of the market affects the employment choices. A generally unstable labor market during colonial rule left a blueprint upon which the formal and informal sectors has been founded and transformed over the years as a consequence of various government policies towards economic development. The labor force responded to the shortage of jobs through self-employment. Some of the informal laborers and operators benefited from technical and vocational education that was established by the Guggisberg administration. By the 1930-40 period, self-employment became widespread among this category of skill workers.[130] The popularity of self-employment led to the development of an apprenticeship system as a means to prepare the unemployed youth for employment outside of the formal wage sector. The colonial government permitted these kinds of economic activities because it helped relieve some of the pressure of creating an economic system that would at least maintain the colony, although not necessarily maintained well.

Even under the Convention People's Party's industrialization efforts following independence, unemployment remained a serious problem and worsened after a coup d'etat in 1966. Ninsin asserts that the unemployment situation deteriorated even more after 1966 when neo-classical economic policies were implemented. The National Liberation Council (that succeeded the CPP) was committed "to a policy of reducing the labour force in the public sector; because it was estimated that the public sector alone accounted for about two-thirds of total wage employment".[131]

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[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid, 52.

Over the next several years, post-1966 governments employed retrenchment measures to reduce the labor force, where "the rationale is that workers in marginal jobs also 'need' productive jobs, but their poverty and need for income do not permit them to stay unemployed for long: (they must therefore)…take any job that comes up in order to survive".[132]

Ninsin cites Major Orde Browne of the British Colonial office's[133] findings to argue that Africa's colonial economies evolved in two directions on the eve of the twentieth century. Not only were they focused on the transformation and strengthening of the export-oriented primary commodity basis of the economy, the colonial economies evolved towards either "European enterprise using cheap African wage labor; or towards cash crop production based on independent African peasant producers".[134] These were two paths of development that were not mutually exclusive in Ghana, they complemented and contradicted each other in ways. The Ghanaian case clearly demonstrates the struggle during the colonial period between African entrepreneurship and capital versus imperial (e.g. British) entrepreneurship and capital. In this arrangement, the British confined its activities "to the mining and transport (particularly, to the development of the railway and harbour) system while Ghanaian entrepreneurship and capital were confined first to the cocoa

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[132] Ibid, 58.

[133] Ninsin cited Sir Granville St. John Orde-Browne comments in "Report by Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, O.B.E., upon labour in the Tanganyika Territory: with a covering despatch from the Governor" as Issue 19 of Report as published in Great Britain by H.M.S.O. (Her Majesty's Stationery Office) on behalf of the Colonial Office's in 1926. Colonial governments were well aware of the various economic endeavors of their subjects.

[134] Ibid, 150.

industry, which turned into the key sector of the colonial economy, and then to the road transport sector".[135] The path of development taken by Ghana was set in motion by colonial development practices that did not emphasis full employment and has only in the last twenty years.

In Ninsin's view, the informal sector is neither a transitional feature nor a dynamic feature of the economies of developing countries. In contrast to Williams and Windebank, Ninsin argues that the informal economy is the "symptom of a morbid economic system." Williams and Windebank argue that informal employment is not reliant on the prevailing economic system and has proven beneficial in advanced and developing political economies. Ninsin concludes that the informal sector cannot become a solution to the whole or part of the crisis of the prevailing capitalist economy.

Although a little dated Ninsin presents a useful perspective. He notes that capitalism institutionalizes unemployment as a means of cheapening the cost of wage labor and in "periphery capitalist economies" it presents a dual pressure of low wages and unemployment that "disposes people towards engaging in petty non-wage or self-employment, or informal sector activities".[136] In agreement with Williams and Windebank and others on this point, Ninsin states that the informal sector is distinct from but not independent from the formal sector. The relationship is asymmetrical. The formal sector, characterized by large and medium size

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[135] Ibid, 12.

[136] Ibid, 147.

industries is dominant, and determines the structure and composition of the informal sector and its prevailing processes.[137]

Yet even with this disequilibrium between sectors, the informal sector is considered an indispensable product of the formal sector of the periphery capitalist economy. As such the informal sector is essential to Ghana's political economy, it "acts as a politically secure catchment area where the anger and frustrations of the urban unemployed, who constitute a significant destablising force in the political and economic realms of society, are effectively muted and converted into the energy for survival".[138] This has been shown to result in some governments allowing the growth and expansion of various informal economic activities including informal housing settlements and labor pools in an effort to cope with economic crises and serve the socio-political function that Ninsin cites as a motivation for the process.

From 1983, the government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) tried to cope with the crisis of the Ghanaian economy by emphasizing "the functional prerequisites" performed by the informal sector for the formal capitalist sector. The policy measures within the Economic Recovery Programme initiated by the Rawlings government in 1983 for example aimed to retrench several thousand workers in wage employment and resettle them in the informal sector. The World Bank also promoted this policy option starting in 1985, which was seen as a means to address unemployment. Ninsin sees these policies as a poverty trap for

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[137] Ibid, 148.

[138] Ibid, 149.

thousands of the country's labor force as the informal sector "operates parallel to the formal labour market which serves the formal capitalist sector".[139]

2.4.2. Private and Informal Transport in Developing Nations

Informal private mass transport plays a critical role in transportation provision in many developing world cities. Throughout the world, informal modes of transportation supplements strained or virtually non-existent formal mass transport. In particular, the use of minibuses is found in many cities of the developing world under a variety of names such as *matatus* in Kenya, *robot buses* in Jamaica and *tro-tros* in Ghana.

In the *Cities on the Move: A World Bank Urban Transport Strategy Review*, commentator Ken Gwilliam finds that public road passenger transport is essential to the poor, and a key element in containing congestion and environmental air pollution.[140] He argues that the informal sector can contribute effectively in satisfying demand in competitive markets.[141] Gwilliam's main findings are that buses continued to be the main mechanized mode form of travel in developing nations and account for a significant portion of overall transport throughout the world. He states that there are 6.5 trillion (6.5×10^{12}) passenger kilometers per year in 3 million vehicles, of which over 2 million vehicles operate in cities and

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[139] Ibid, 6.

[140] Ken Gwilliam, *Cities on the Move: A World Bank Urban Transport Strategy Review* (Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The World Bank, 2002), 93.

[141] Ibid.

there are 2 million paratransit vehicles. Gwilliam also finds that the "paratransit

sector may have adverse consequences for congestion, air quality (pollution), and

urban structure".[142]

Robert Cervero's comprehensive UN-Habitat report entitled *Informal

Transport in the Developing World* (2000) provides an excellent overview of

informality and its manifestation in the realm of transport. Based on his research,

he argues that urban informal sector ranges from 30% to 79% of the economically

active urban population of the developing world.[143] Cervero states that in the

developing world there exists a dual economy of 1) the livelihoods of indigenous

populations and 2) those of the colonial transactions through enterprises and

firms.[144] Cervero asserts that informal transport is as close a form of laissez-faire

transportation that can be found. It is based on an agreement among those that

are willing-to-pay for services making deals with those that are willing-to-provide

the services. Overall, in his view, informal transport in the developing world plays

the role of economic gap-fillers for many poor economies with large unemployment

problems.[145] In the scheme of international development, Cervero argues that the

incorporation of the informal sector in ways that do not threaten public safety and

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[142] Ibid.

[143] Robert Cervero, *Informal Transport in the Developing World* (New York: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), 2000), 13.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid, 4.

welfare is possible. He contends that such a move may even support regional economic and social developments as a whole.[146]

Cervero finds that a common attribute of informal transport organizations is that they are comprised of self-employed entrepreneurs who lack official registration, and who work long and hard hours in a highly competitive marketplace. He identifies four key traits of informal transport organizations: 1) the existence of a strong environment of entrepreneurialism, 2) the use of small, aging vehicles, 3) the existence of low-performance services, and 4) operation within competitive, niche markets.[147] Cervero lists the roles and benefits of informal transport in developing nation as a) mobility and development; b) sources of employment; c) complementarity (to public transport); d) efficient, low cost services; and e) market responsiveness.[148] The main issues and concerns related to informal transport are the following: a) traffic congestion; b) disorderly operations and unfair practices; c) accidents and public safety; d) air pollution and environmental problems; e) cream-skimming ("the tendency to operate only along lucrative routes, leaving high cost, unprofitable services to the public sector"); and f) intangible factors (e.g., failure to appreciate the importance of the informal sector to the poor and the drive toward modernization).[149]

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[146] Ibid, 74.

[147] Ibid, 5-6.

[148] Ibid, 6-9.

[149] Ibid, 10-12. I would note that the informal sector is important to all residents in the Greater Accra metropolitan not only the poor.

Patricia Anderson's analysis of mass transport in Kingston, Jamaica in *Mini Bus Ride: Journey through the Informal Sector of Kingston's Mass Transportation System* (1987) examines "a curious mixture" of characteristics that may be classified as both formal and informal.[150] Anderson's assessment of the urban mass transportation system in Jamaica has some historical similarities to other parts of the developing world, especially former British colonies like Ghana in terms of ownership, operation and regulation.[151] She offers insight into the occupational composition, organization of work, the characteristics of workers in the minibus service and the interplay of formality and informality, which in the case of Kingston has led to "regulation without formalization".[152]

In *Stuck in Traffic: Urban Transport in Africa* (2008), Ajay Kumar and Fanny Barrett explore the worlds of mechanized mass transport provision in African countries and find that the informal sector continues to play a significant and/or leading role. It is clear that minibus services are almost invariably provided by the informal sector. The drivers employed by individual entrepreneurs normally "keep the fares they collect but are responsible for paying fuel costs, conductors' wages, terminal fees, and other incidental expenses".[153] The drivers typically have to

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[150] Ibid, 3.

[151] Patricia Anderson, *Mini Bus Ride: A Journey through the Informal Sector Kingston's Mass Transportation Systems* (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1987).

[152] Ibid, 127.

[153] Kumar and Barrett, xi-xii.

confront "a strong incentive to carry full loads of passengers to maximize revenues while minimizing variable costs (notably fuel)".[154]

In a few cities, formal minibus operations on a larger scale coexist alongside the informal operations just described. In Dakar, for example, of the estimated fleet of 3,000 cars rapides, 400 belong to one formal operator and another 200 to a second.[155] Reinforcing the appeal of minibuses is the relative ease of financing purchases of second-hand vehicles using interest-free loans from personal savings, family, and friends, as well as earnings from operations. Bank finance is rarely used, as the banks are reluctant to accept the vehicles as security for the loan, and revenue streams are not sufficiently reliable to assure the banks that loans will be repaid. The sector is typified by short periods of owner involvement. With a vehicle in reasonable condition, and with a reliable driver, it is possible to realize a healthy regular cash flow. However, when major repairs are required, it is not uncommon for owners not to reinvest. They state that: "Most of the cities have a minibus fleet several thousand strong, compared with only a few hundred larger buses. The minibus fleet tends to be somewhat older than the large buses, since typically it is composed of second-hand vehicles, whereas many large buses are or were supplied new by aid donors".[156]

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[154] Ibid.

[155] Gwilliam, 241.

[156] Kumar and Barrett, 8.

2.5. Regulation of Informal Transport in the Developing World

Informal transport most often operates by offering cheaper and more flexible options by drivers that supply services that are highly responsive to changes in demand (Hilling 1996). Because of this, tro-tros have remained a mainstay of Ghana's public transport system, despite concerted attempts by successive central and local governments to develop publicly organized stage-bus services. Public transportation can be organized in a lightly regulated market, or in an unregulated on as in most Asian, Latin America and African countries, or in highly regulated markets. In lightly regulated markets, the transport sector is either managed by individuals or organized by several types of association, for example, the driver's collective (Cervero 2000; Vasconcellos 2001).

Cervero (1998) argues that the significant changes in transport provision around the globe are "an outcome of powerful spatial and economic trends that have been unfolding over the past several decades than of overt government actions (inaction)."[157] In a later work, *Informal Transport in the Developing World* (2000), Cervero suggests that the aim of transport officials in developing nations should be the incorporation of the informal sector "in ways that do not threaten public safety and welfare" (support regional economic and social developments as a whole).[158]

A key development during the postcolonial period has been the fact that bus services were taken over in national ownership yet they remained protected

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[157] Ibid, 1-2. In the case of Europe there have been "sharp increases in fares resulting from government deregulation of the transit sector" which is part of the explanation.

[158] Cervero (2000), 3.

monopolies in many newly independent countries. Additionally, in both former

colonies and former socialist economies, the traditional monopolies have now

mostly collapsed, which has set up the context for significant change politically

though not economically.[159] In some Latin American countries, monopolies have

been replaced by smaller, privately owned companies operating under permissions

granted by the municipal authorities. In African countries, they have largely been

replaced by a "fragmented" small-vehicle paratransit sector.[160]

Commenting on the provision of mass transport globally, Gwilliam states that

"In many cases around the world, governments have attempted to use the public

transport industry as an instrument of social policy by simultaneously constraining

fare levels and structures, and by guaranteeing favorable wages and working

conditions to employees".[161] As Kumar and Barrett find, "Most vehicle owners are

government officials, businessmen, or professionals for whom involvement in public

transport provides a way to supplement income without incurring much, if any, tax

liability. Some owners can exploit their position to protect their transport

activities".[162] Kumar and Barrett argue that jitney owners can come from diverse

backgrounds ranging from police and army officers to officials of transport unions or

associations. By participating in the transport activities,

> The latter [officials of transport unions or associations] also can ensure
> preferential route access for their vehicles. With a vehicle in
> reasonable condition, and with a reliable driver, it is possible to realize

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[159] Ibid, 93.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid, 94.

[162] Ibid.

a healthy regular cash flow. However when major repairs are required, it is not uncommon for owners not to reinvest. The sector is typified by short periods of owner involvement, with few barriers to market entry or exit and high levels of turnover.[163]

David Simon in *Transport and Development in the Third World* (1996) asserts that unlike the distinct difference between taxis and buses in the Global North, in many cities in the Global South there is significant overlap between these categories. Therefore, there are numerous intermediate forms, sharing characteristics of both. He gives an informative overview of public transport before accessing buses in particular. Simon also provides two brief case studies, one on regulatory change in Harare, Zimbabwe's bus sector from 1988 to 1994 and another study on the matatus of Kenya. Originally, motorized forms of paratransit were often illegal because conventional vehicles were used for unconventional services without licenses (even if they were available) or because they were unconventional vehicles. Gradually their important contribution and the futility of attempts to suppress them are more often recognized (Simon 1996). Undoubtedly, low-cost, low-technology, traditional vehicles are important in expanding mobility in many developing nations. The capacity and technology employed is closely related to local conditions of environment, economy and demand, which factors into the flexibility of road transport in relation to development requirements (Hilling 1996).

Flexibly routed paratransit services, such as shuttle vans, jitneys and microbuses, provide door-to-door service or something close to it. Privately owned and operated jitneys and vans have become vital mobility options in many developing countries, filling the gaps left unserved by public transit systems

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[163] Ibid.

(Cervero 1998; Chitere 2006). Driven by the profit motive, paratransit entrepreneurs aggressively seek out new and expanding markets, innovating when and where necessary (Cervero 1998). Drivers understand that their markets are the service gaps not being met by the municipal buses service. Some scholars argue that these informal modes could play an even more significant part and their capacity and efficiency increased by simple and inexpensive improvements in technology via local craftsmen without expensive imports (Hilling 1996).

In Ghana, prior to the obtaining provisional self-rule as early as 1951 leading up to independence in 1957, the Ghanaian government has sought to de-regulate and re-regulate the mass transport system used in Accra and throughout the nation. At the municipal level, some of the largest cities like Kumasi and Accra have increased local regulation of the tro-tro economy. In Accra, the literature posits a distinction between the various phases of governance over the tro-tro industry dating back to the days of the "mamie wagon" and the current regulation of mini-buses and small buses (capacity ranging from 14-23 riders) during the most recent period of national and municipal regulatory efforts.

2.6. Gaps in the Literature Addressed by this Study

This section summarizes prevailing gaps in the literature. In the colonialist/post-colonialist literature pertaining directly to the focus of this dissertation on informal transportation in Accra, Ghana, major gaps include: 1) a lack of clarity on the ways that post-colonial nations have reinstituted or maintained pre-colonial social, political and economic practices, and 2) "the notion of shared

responsibility."[164] With respect to this second gap, Pal Ahluwalia declares that "The mode of analysis suggested here is based on the notion of post-colonial inflections. This is not a mere repudiation of everything that has occurred in the African past, but an engagement with the manner in which Africa has dealt with institutions and practices which it has inherited from the past, both pre-colonial and colonial".[165] These institutions have not remained static and have become hybridized and evolved with particular meanings due to culturally specific locations.[166]

With respect to the literature on informal mass transportation, researchers and policymakers often assume that jitney services like tro-tros primarily served the poor but recent analysis presents a more complex reality. In many parts of the world, not just developing nations, informal transport fills a vacuum, by providing vital services that are not provided by local governments (Cervero 2000). The literature also presents a simplistic assessment of who drives tro-tros as simply poor individuals who serve other poor individuals. Echoing Cervero's argument, tro-tros may be as close a form of laissez-faire transportation that can be found in the developing world. Those that are willing-to-pay make deals with those that are willing-to-provide (Cervero 2000; Chitere 2004).[167] This economic sector often plays the role of gap-filler for the existing state or municipal-controlled public mass

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[164] Ibid, 134. According to Ahluwalia, "The Eurocentric theory in its various guises – modernization theory, dependency theory, and various post-dependency and Marxist-inspired analyses – have all failed".

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Pay-for-services is the more limited definition of informal transport used in the literature.

transport system (Cervero 2000). Researchers argue that it is possible to incorporate the informal sector in regional economic and social development in ways that do not threaten public safety and welfare (Aragão, Brasileiro, and Marar 1998; Cervero 2001; Chitere 2004). There is therefore a need for more nuanced and detailed understanding about how this informal transportation sector works, and how drivers and business owners enter and remain in the industry.

With respect to the literature on transportation governance, though there has been a substantial amount of attention paid to decentralization, there still remains inadequate knowledge about how informal transportation systems are regulated and governed.

2.7. The Case of Accra, Ghana, Informal Mass Transportation, and Regulation

There remains inadequate research on transportation systems in African cities, especially Accra, Ghana. There is a scarcity of research that deals primarily with transportation and urban development in Ghana. More research on informality is required in order to gain any advantages found in this economic approach (Williams and Windebank 2001). The literature does present analysis of demand for tro-tros among broad segments of society. Alternative modes of transportation are filling gaps in supply but are relatively unknown to transportation researchers and policy analysts (Valenzuela, Schweitzer and Robles 2006).

In many parts of the developing world, jitneys and minibuses are the mainstays of the transit network. Their main service consists of loosely regulated owner-operated collective-ride vehicles that follow more or less fixed routes with

some deviations as custom, traffic, and hour of day permit (Cervero 1998). Bus transit is particularly important in developing countries and the private sector serves more than 75% of the population in some countries (Cervero 1998). Also as a result of deregulation a broad array of services developed, with several sorts of vehicles (mostly minibuses) and different fares (Cervero 1998; Vasconcellos 2001).

In reference to Ghana, the regulatory status of tro-tros is not clear, although it is likely that their status is often semi- rather than fully regularized (Simon 1996). As of 2003, the state-owned metro mass transport company operated a fleet of 183 buses that is too small to cater for the whole of the Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area (ATMA) (Ghana's Ministerial Round Table 2007). Most of the residential areas either have limited access to roads or may be served by roads that often become inaccessible, especially in the rainy season. The presence of tro-tros assists residents in hard to reach areas and reduce the strain of their commute (Kwakye, Fouracre and Ofosu-Dorte 1997), though tro-tros mainly operate on the main roads.

The small amount of research on tro-tros suggests that there is private male ownership and primary usage by the poor (Fouracre, Kwakye, Okyere and Silcock 1994; Kwakye, Fouracre and Ofosu-Dorte 1997; Cervero 2001). Although a portion of this literature (Fouracre, Kwakye, Okyere and Silcock 1994; Grieco, Turner and Kwakye 1995; Kwakye, Fouracre and Ofosu-Dorte 1997; Adarkwa and Post 2001) has explored the viability (with a market share of about one-third) of the tro-tro industry, extensive research has not been conducted.

Urban dwellers may use this service as a cost-saving measure for local and intra-regional travel (Kwakye, Fouracre and Ofosu-Dorte 1997). This, however, may

not be the only reason for this burgeoning market. Some scholars have asserted

that because government officials in Ghana have not rushed to formalize the tro-tro

industry, the industry has expanded (Kwakye, Fouracre and Ofosu-Dorte 1997).[168]

Along with wealthy entrepreneurs and professionals, political leaders have invested

in tro-tros based on profitability and the opportunities for capital accumulation

(Simon 1996).

To address these varied gaps in scholarly understanding, the purpose of this

dissertation is to understand how the tro-tro industry functions based on the supply

of tro-tros by operators to meet rider needs in Accra. Prior scholarship asserts that

informal economic activities (such as transportation) have a significant impact on

urban economic development. This research evaluates how one part of the informal

private mass transport system (e.g. tro-tro industry) supplements service gaps in

the public transit service system. This project also seeks clarification about the

makeup of operators (suppliers) of informal private transportation in order to more

fully understand the constraints on mobility and economic development.

Conventional wisdom (drawn from the literature review in this chapter) conceives of

the differences in formal and informal transport as distinct (Figure 2.1).

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[168] Further government intervention may not be wholly beneficial if the
formalization of this transportation sector meets the same fate as earlier
government efforts (Armstrong-Wright 1993; Hilling 1996).

Figure 2.1:   Traditional Transport Perceptions

Traditional Transport Perceptions	
Formal	**Informal**
-regulated, legal	-unregulated, illegal
-perceived safeness	-perceived lack of safety
-inflexible ~ service focused on central Accra	-flexible ~ service to all of greater Accra (lack of service to outlying areas)
-organized, widespread	-disorganized, localized
Industry-wide Usage Determinants: Costs of service and Safety	

Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3 identifies the dependent and independent variables hypothesized in the literature that affect supply and demand for informal mass transport in cities in the developing world. This dissertation focused on the individual supply measures in order to hone in on the primary motivations for participation as an owner-driver and the socio-economic and national diversity found within the owner-drivers of Accra, Ghana.

Figure 2.2: Descriptive Catalog of Informal Transport Service Measures:

Dependent variables (Original findings framed within a format based on the work of

Anderson (1987); Crane and Daniere (1996); Vasconcellos (2001) and Chitere

(2004)).

	COMMUNITY	**INDIVIDUAL**
SUPPLY	*Dependent variables* Average annual increase in *tro-tros* vs. municipal buses. Pattern of *tro-tro* depot location with respect to proximity to city center and municipal bus routes.	*Dependent variables* *Operation* • Peak vs. Non-peak time periods • Did they make a profit yesterday Rationale for route(s) worked. • Pre-route charges Complementary to public mass transport *[not really a* *concern]*

Figure 2.3: Descriptive Catalog of Informal Transport Service Measures:

Independent variables (Original findings framed within a format based on the work

of Anderson (1987); Crane and Daniere (1996); Vasconcellos (2001) and Chitere

(2004)).

	COMMUNITY	INDIVIDUAL
SUPPLY	*Independent variables* Percent of population served by municipal mass transport (via bus). Number of registered *tro-tros*. Number of licensed *tro-tro* drivers.	*Independent variables* *Profitability* • The daily profit gained from *tro-tro* fares • The size and capacity of *tro-tro* • How much profit is reinvested in the *tro-tro* *Cost and organization* • The relative quality of municipal buses and *tro-tros* • Registration • Driver pay • Repairs • Association fees • Informal expenses *Characteristics of tro-tro drivers* • Formal education; • Type of training; • Experience in *tro-tro* work; • Number of days worked in a week; • Number of hours worked in a day; • Membership in *tro-tro* associations; • Age of vehicle referred by number of years since the vehicle was registered.

The dissertation analysis in Chapters 3 through 5 highlights the role of

colonialism and post-colonialism in Accra's transport sector, the reasons for and

barriers to entering and staying in the tro-tro sector for drivers and owners, and

finally, conflicts over efforts to regulate and transplant the informal tro-tro sector in

Accra. According to research on entrepreneurship in the developing world, small

enterprises (e.g. trotro entrepreneurship) are "…a major source of employment and

income".[169] As Lingelbach et al. (2005) argue, "The distinctions between growth-

oriented entrepreneurs in developing and developed markets are rooted in the

inefficiency of markets in many developing countries, but the response of

entrepreneurs to these inefficiencies is surprising and counterintuitive."[170] However,

researchers and policy makers have inadequate knowledge about how and why

entrepreneurs enter and remain in such economic activities. Studying

entrepreneurs in tro-tro businesses would help to clarify tro-tro supply, but also

more generally, illustrate the forms of entrepreneurialism in rapidly developing

African cities, where entrepreneurship might be vital "for output expansion and

structural change than in the more developed countries" (Leff, 1978).[171] As

Lingelbach et al. (2005) argue,

> Scholars and practitioners alike have implicitly assumed that
> entrepreneurship was largely the same the world over—driven by the
> same impulses that played on homo economicus everywhere.
> Research in behavioral economics and finance has advanced our
> understanding about the limits of rationality in describing economic
> behavior such as entrepreneurship. In particular, the cognitive bias of
> over-optimism has helped us to understand why entrepreneurs start

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[169] Donald C. Mead and Carl Liedholm "The Dynamics of Micro and Small Enterprises in Developing Countries", *World Development* (Vol. 26, No. 1, 1998):61.

[170] David Lingelbach, Lynda de la Viña, and Paul Asel, *What's Distinctive about Growth-Oriented Entrepreneurship in Developing Countries?* (Working Paper No. 1) (San Antonio: UTSA College of Business Center for Global Entrepreneurship, 2005), 1.

[171] Nathaniel H. Leff, "Industrial Organization and Entrepreneurship in the Developing Countries: The Economic Groups", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol. 26, No. 4, (July 1978): 661.

businesses in the face of odds of firm survival (often less than 50%) that would argue otherwise.[172]

The three research questions for this dissertation study are: (1) how are colonialist and post-colonialist governance reflected in Ghana's transportation governance structure (Chapter 3); (2) Why do individuals get involved in the tro-tro industry as entrepreneurs?, What factors inhibit/support market participation/entry?, and What are the ranges of approaches to entry? (Chapter 4); and (3) how is the tro-tro sector regulated, and what conflicts are occurring over the Ghanaian government's efforts to introduce Superbuses? (Chapter 5).

Figure 2.4 provides a diagram of the factors that I am arguing affect the supply of tro-tro services, drawing from the literature and from pilot interviews conducted in Accra in 2005. The dissertation analysis explored the socio-economic dynamics of individual tro-tro supply (rather than community indicators). To examine the factors affecting supply of tro-tro services in Accra by drivers and owners, five individual indicators were used to gather qualitative data through interviews and participant observations: Operation; Rationale for route(s) worked; Profitability; Cost and organization; and Characteristics of tro-tro drivers.

The independent variables/indicators are used both to describe the structure of tro-tro supply, and to provide guidance on clarifying how tro-tros are currently regulated. The next three chapters provide an historical and contemporary portrait of the tro-tro industry in Accra, Ghana.

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[172] Lingelbach et al, 1.

Figure 2.4: Conceptual Model of Tro-tro Industry Drivers/Owners (Suppliers of Tro-tro Services)

Tro-tro (Jitney) Industry in Greater Accra, Ghana

Community Supply

Dependent variables

- Average annual increase in *tro-tros* vs. municipal buses.
- Pattern of *tro-tro* depot location.

Independent variables

- Percent of population served by municipal mass transport.
- Number of registered *tro-tros*.
- Number of licensed *tro-tro* owner-drivers.

Individual Supply

Dependent variables

- Operation
- Rationale for route(s) worked.

Independent variables

- Profitability
- Cost and organization
- Characteristics of *tro-tro* owner-drivers

In relation to prevailing policy approaches there is a plethora of research dealing with the community supply of transport services dating back to the 1960s in African cities. However, it appears that since the international development community's large donors (e.g. World Bank) embraced the potential of the informal sector to aid the economic development process of previously colonized nations there has been a significant growth of literature promoting public-private ventures similar to the Metro Mass Transit (MMT) implemented in Accra.

Chapter 3

COLONIALIST TO POST-COLONIALIST GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

<u>3.1.   Introduction</u>

Within transport literature in general, and especially in transport discourse about developing nations, there has been a shift to the promotion and analysis of informality coupled with funding of a growing number of private-public partnerships. By way of context, this chapter provides a brief overview of the history of transport provision in Ghana. This chapter pays particular attention to the development of motorized transport via tro-tros (minibuses and medium sizes) in the Republic of Ghana's capital city, Accra. The present-day capital of Accra (the former colonial capital) has developed a variety of transport entrepreneurs and a partially informal jitney industry has minibuses and medium-sized buses that service the Great Accra Metropolitan region.

The evolution of human and animal driven road transport to railways and various forms of motorized road transport occurred much like in the rest of the African continent and similar to several formally colonized nations in Asia and Latin America though at differing rates of change and absorption of commercial demands. Simply put, depending on a nation's available material resources and the policies of their colonial occupiers, the extent of railway and road construction varied. In order to best meet road transport demands and the various needs of different users, a wide range of motorized options became available to bulk transporters, private commuters, burgeoning entrepreneurs and ultimately the providers of jitney services over the last century.

The organization of road transport in southern Ghana was first controlled by local inhabitants like the Ga who settled Accra during the end of the sixteenth century. Many smaller chiefdoms and territories north of Accra came under the imperial domination of the Asante Empire, while Accra, then simply a fishing village, came under the economic sway of the Portuguese and the Dutch who established factories (forts) along the Gold Coast due to the slave trade and later the British as a result of commercial interests, which precluded their colonial expansion beginning in the mid-1800s. Even though Accra as a 'modern' city in the 'Western' sense is a fairly recent development, the space that makes up the city today and surrounding areas have been inhabited for thousands of years (as the town adjacent to first a Portuguese fort, destroyed in 1576, followed by Dutch, English, and Swedes forts and lodges between 1642 and 1659)[173]. The borders of modern Ghana are an amalgamation of the old British colony of the Gold Coast and British-mandated Togoland. Throughout much of the 19th century, the term "Gold Coast" referred only to a coast, the shoreline stretching from the Tano River in the west to the Volta river in the east.[174]

Eventually the British established economic dominance following the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, British economic dominance overtime evolved into foreign operation of the road sector and he eventual development of Accra into their colonial capital. The advent of effective British colonial rule at the turn of the twentieth century would lead to investment in export goods such as cocoa,

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[173] John D. Fage, *Ghana: A Historical Interpretation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1959), 53.

[174] Ibid, 3.

groundnuts and timber. The colonial reorientation of local economies necessitated

the building of railways in Ghana. During colonial rule railway transport would be

implemented but gradually gave way to motorized road transport as more

automobiles flowed into the country after World War II. After a brief but

comprehensive period of colonial-run road transportation systems, Ghanaians

began to control their road transport systems via national control with local

representation leading up to its independence.

As this brief overview indicates, the context of transportation governance in

Accra is a complex confluence of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence

influences. Before an assessment of contemporary occurrences, this chapter

presents an overview of road transport provision in Ghana and Accra specifically

from its earlier time up to the new millennium.

3.2. Pre-Colonial Governance of Road Transport

Road transportation during the pre-colonial period was organized around the

gold and slaves trades initially, then legitimate commerce during the 1800s.[175]

Oral history suggests that some ancestors of the peoples that make up

Ghana today moved into the area from the north as early as the 10th century BCE[176]

(Before Common Era). Originating in the western Sudan (north of modern Ghana

along the Niger River), the migrations of other peoples into the area known today

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[175] Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, *Culture and Customs of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002), 86.

[176] BCE means "before the Common Era: used especially by non-Christians after a date to show that it refers to a time before the birth of Jesus Christ," accessed August 9, 2012, http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/BCE.

as Ghana led to an amalgamation of several ethnic groups in the region under a number of chieftaincies since as early as 4000 BCE. During these earlier times, jurisdiction of land and roads belonged to local chiefs, and later kings. The peoples that came to settle in areas that would become Ghana moved southward as a result of the creation and disintegration of large Sudanic states like the Soninke kingdom of Ancient Ghana.[177] Many of the earliest accounts can be credited to historical records left by Arab scholars who traveled throughout the western Sudan.

Driven largely by the trade in gold with North African merchants, political entities like ancient Ghana of the western Sudan along with Gao and Kanem in the central Sudan began to dominate the regions of the gold mines and surrounding areas. During the 11th century CE, economic motivations drove migratory patterns and later characterized military expansion from the Sudanic regions southward and westward into the land of the present day nation of Ghana. By the 12th century CE, the trans-Saharan trade led to contact with the peoples in the northern and southern parts of modern Ghana. Groups like the Dyula (Muslim traders) also commonly known as the Fulani or Fulbe during the time of the empire of Mali established commercial relations with the northern peoples of the Volta basin as well as Akan-speaking peoples of central Ghana who controlled most of the southern region and its trade networks. From the 11th century forward trade

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[177] Daryll Forde and P. M. Kaberry, eds., *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 208.

'*Ghana*' was the title of the King which Arab scholars applied to the capital and the state. At independence in 1957, former subjects of the British in the Gold Coast, renamed their nation Ghana in an attempt to connect with an earlier pre-colonial period of political and economic dynamism.

relations established between the peoples of modern Ghana and trading networks

established by Dyula merchants led to a commercial network and road

transportation system oriented towards the trans-Saharan trade to the north of

modern Ghana. The northward orientation of regional trade lasted until the arrival

of Portuguese traders along the southern coast in the 15th century.[178] The arrival of

first the Portuguese and then the Dutch, Danish and British along what became the

Gold Coast led to an re-orientation of much of the commercial trade networks and

road transportation systems to the southern coastline. Built and completed by the

Portuguese in 1471, Elmina was evidence of the long-term economic interests of

the Portuguese in Africa and also the first permanent European fort built in sub-

Saharan Africa.[179] Initially, Europeans were on the African coast along the Gulf of

Guinea in search of the sources of the great gold wealth made legend by the

pilgrimage of Mansa Musa to Mecca, including gold carried in his caravan of

hundreds of camels.[180]

During the 15th and 16th centuries, early Akan states along the trade route to

the goldfields began to adapt crops (sorghum, bananas and cassava) brought from

southeast Asia and the 'New World' (the Americas) to the forest environment where

they lived. Simultaneously, to the south of the Akan, states that comprised the

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[178] Some commentators may argue that much of the region's trade was still focused
north until the onset of colonial rule during the first years of the 20th century.

[179] Forde and Kaberry, 208.

Elmina ("the mine") was a factory and fort built by the Portuguese in 1471 which
they used as a trading depot/station for slaves that would be sent to the Caribbean
and the Americas.

[180] Fage, 4.

Asante empire and Europeans nations were struggling with each other to determine

who would control export trading from sites like Elmina along the west and central

African coast of Africa. Initially the Portuguese were the leading European traders

with the coastal Akan peoples and eventually the Asante Empire, which came to

dominate the region. However, the Portuguese were replaced by the Dutch in the

mid-1600s. In 1642 the Portuguese lost Elmina to the Dutch, and as a

consequence, the Asante and their allies developed close trading relations with the

Dutch traders.[181] Eventually, the Asante and their allies came to view the Dutch as

an ally that would aid them in trade negotiations with other European trading

nations. They were especially concerned with Great Britain, which came to coastal

territories under Asante political and economic influence and several areas that

were not under the Asante's influence during this time period.[182] In the 17th and

18th centuries the Asante and their allies were concerned with the export of

enslaved Africans to the American continent.[183]

　　Since the founding of the Asante Confederacy in 1670, which would soon

become an Empire, until 1901, effective control over the territory and trade in the

Gold Coast (as the British called the region) was in the hands of traditional

authorities.[184] The leader of the Asante, known as the *Asantehene* (king of the

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[181] Ivor G. Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 19.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Fage, 4.

[184] By 'Gold Coast', I am referring to the amalgamation of the Asante kingdom and regions formerly under their administrative control, areas to the north of the Asante referred to as the Northern Territories during colonial rule and the coastal region

Asante) acquired control of the road transport systems used by gold and salt

miners and traders, and other merchants who operated in the trans-Saharan trade

along with those that participated in the coastal trade with Portuguese explorers

dating back to the mid-1400s.

In the early 1700s, the Dutch dominated coastal trade with the inhabitants of

what would become known as the Slave Coast during that time. In 1750, the Dutch

began to have trading competition from the British, who established the British

African Company of Merchants. After 1750, trade stimulated the emergence of the

Asante Confederacy as a regional political and economic power.[185]

Led by the founding *Asantehene*, Osei Tutu and successive *Asantehenes*, the

Asante Confederacy would develop into an empire as they conquered more and

more territory. The Asante Confederacy was an umbrella institution for several

region chieftaincies led by the *Asantehene* (king of the Asante). It was in the

economic and political interests of the Asante Confederacy to develop regional

dominance in the distribution of trans-Saharan trade goods originating within the

Asante Confederacy's dominion and areas of economic and political influence. The

Asante Confederacy was motivated by their aim to create a monopolistic

relationship with European traders in the south of the kingdom.[186]

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and peoples like the Fante and Ga. The Volta region known as British mandated
Togoland) region also under British control following World War I was not added to
the Gold Coast Colony until they voted in a plebiscite in May 1956. In modern day
Ghana this region is called the Eastern region.

[185] William Ernest Ward, *A History of Ghana* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958), 2,
accessed June 2, 2011, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-
bin/query2/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+gh0015.

[186] Wilks, <u>19</u>.

Over time, the Asante Confederacy, in the form of the Asante Empire after 1800, would find it difficult to effectively control the coastal trade. From inception, the coastal subject peoples of the Asante Confederacy were rebellious and many of them would eventually form alliances with the Asante's domestic and foreign adversaries. Simultaneously, the Asante developed alliances with various European trading interests on the coast. The Asante did not favor the British who developed and negotiated trade relations with their rivals like the Ga and long rebellious subjects such as the Fante who inhabited many of the major towns, villages and areas around the forts built by European traders. By 1800, the Asante Confederacy could be considered an empire that incorporated many non-Akan people.

Gradually the trade relations led to a re-orientation towards the southern coast of the Gold Coast as European demand for gold among other goods increased. Other European nations like the Swedish, Prussians and Danish were interested in developing trade relations with the peoples of the Gold Coast, however their ventures were short-lived.[187] The 19th century witnessed a series of conflicts between the Asante and their allies versus the British, who won out against other European traders on the coast. An increase in overt opposition among the Fante against the Asante rule in the south of the Gold Coast coincided with British acquisition of direct administration of the Gold Coast forts by the British Crown under the governor of Sierra Leone, Charles MacCarthy, beginning in March of

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The Asante Empire felt 'double-crossed' by the Dutch when they 'traded' castles with the British against their wishes.

[187] Mary MacCarthy, *Social Change and the Growth of British Power in the Gold Coast: The Fante States 1807-1874* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), 89.

1822. Even though MacCarthy was instructed to established friendly relations with the Asante, he became "convinced that the Asante power in the south should be broken."[188] By the 1830s, the British colonial administration established the 'Government of Southern Ghana', which controlled road transportation in southern Ghana.[189] Following the Bond of 1844 between the British and largely coastal groups that gave Britain trading rights, the Gold Coast increasingly came under British control.[190] In the 1850s, the British gained possession of all Dutch coastal forts. As the dominant European traders, the British were interested in controlling aspects of the gold trade and other legitimate commerce.[191]

In order to further consolidate their colonial hold over southern Ghana, the British convened the Sweet River Convention of 1866, which led to an agreement between the British Crown and the Dutch in March 1867 to exchange forts. This agreement angered the Asante Empire who thought the Dutch were their allies. That same year also witnessed the leaking of a colonial document, "The Select Committee's Report of 1866", which discussed the intent of the British to withdraw from the Gold Coast. However, apparently the idea of withdrawal did not win the day. Only a few years after the leaking of "The Select Committee's Report of 1866",

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[188] Ibid.

[189] Ghanadistricts.com, "Political And Constitutional Developments", Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and Maks Publications & Media Services, accessed July 17, 2012,
http://ghanadistricts.com/home/?_=49&sa=4768&ssa=809.

[190] Kwame Nkrumah, *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1957), viii.

[191] Ibid.

the Fante Confederation, which included non-Fante states (formed in January 1869) was dissolved by the British in 1873.

Britain's economic emergence in the region known as the Gold Coast was not without opposition. In reference to colonial resistance in the Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah notes that there "was the Confederation of 1868 when certain chiefs came together to defend themselves not only against their tribal kin the Asante, but also against political encroachments from abroad".[192] According to Samuel Addo (2006), as early as September 30, 1870, the Legislative Council debated the subject of roads as a result of a query from the British Colonial Office.[193] Four reasons were given for not building roads – 1) They could not be assured of the steady supply of needed labor; 2) It would be useless to clear roads which would be overgrown in a year; 3) Africans preferred head-loading to wheeled transport; and 4) The Africans did not want good roads because an enemy might use them during times of war.[194]

Initially via negotiation the British were able to gain trading monopolies with the Asante Empire, yet in 1873 and 1874, the British decided to wage war against the Asante Empire, which upon victory gave them control of the southern coastal

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[192] Ibid, viii.

[193] Addo (2006), 3.

[194] Kwamina B. Dickson, *A Historical Geography of Ghana* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 218-219 in Addo (2006), 3-4.

An additional part of the third reason was that "The governor had failed to introduce wheelbarrows and carts for public works for, if left to their own devices, the Africans put into the barrows half of what they could carry and placed both upon their heads. Nature has endowed them with a power of neck and dorsal muscles, such as no other men possess, and they use this power in preference to any others".

regions. In 1874, the Gold Coast was proclaimed as a British Colony. In 1877, the British moved their colonial capital from Cape Coast to Accra (the present day capital of the Republic of Ghana).[195] Part of the motivation in moving the capital was that Accra (called 'Nkran' by the Ga people) had a drier climate and animal transport was possible since there were no tsetse flies.[196] Once Accra was designated as the colonial capital of Britain's Gold Coast colony, it experienced a significant population growth due to the influx of Europeans who managed the colonial administration. For much of its pre-colonial history Accra had a small population no larger than sixteen thousand inhabitants.[197]

3.3. Colonialist Governance: Railways First (early 1900s-1930s)

In order to manage its west African colonial holding, the British colonial administration created a Legislative Council that was headed by a Governor with official (all Europeans) and unofficial members. It was not until 1886 that an African, George F. Cleland of Accra and a civilian Englishman were appointed unofficial members.[198] In 1897, the British presented a Constitution that called for the creation of an all European Executive Council consisting of a Governor, a

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[195] Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2005), 10.

[196] "History of Accra." Tsetse flies carry a virus which gives cattle and horses a deadly 'sleeping' disease.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility. *Study of Urban Public Transport Conditions in Accra, Ghana* (IBIS Transport Consultants Ltd., 2005), 8. accessed July 2, 2011, http://www.ppiaf.org/ppiaf/sites/ppiaf.org/files/documents/toolkits/UrbanBusToolkit/assets/CaseStudies/summy/sum_accra.html.

Colonial Secretary, an Attorney General, a Financial Secretary, and an Inspector General of the Troops (Commander of the Colonial Army of the Territory). However, it was not until 1899 that the Asante Empire was finally defeated by the British, who exiled the *Asantehene* Prempeh I and his key supporters to the Seychelles Islands. The British colonial administration forced the establishment of colonial rule and administration in central Gold Coast, much like they did in earlier years in the southern and northern parts of the Gold Coast colony.

During the early years of the colonial period (1900-1920), much of Ghana's transportation development was dominated by railway construction. According to Gould, "During the period of the railway's initial growth, the road changed its role from a primary transportation facility to a subsidiary one feeding the railway".[199] The expansion of transport development linked areas of agricultural production to the railways. The development of colonial transport would contribute to the rural-urban migration process, which was a critical aspect of urban population growth since World War I. Railway-building began in earnest prior to 1905 and by 1914 most of the lines into the interior of the Gold Coast were completed. With the exception of South Africa, most railways built by colonial powers in Africa were not part of a 'true network' (lateral and interlocking lines, along with those that lead to the coast); they were 'only tentative and isolated ventures'.[200]

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[199] Peter R. Gould, *The Development of the Transportation Pattern in Ghana* (PhD. Diss., Northwestern University, 1960), 2.

[200] Andrew Roberts, ed. *The Colonial Moment in Africa: Essays on the movement of minds and materials, 1900-1940* (New York: Cambridge Press, 1992), 80.

The arrival of British colonial administrators ushered in a period of administrative re-structuring and economic re-orientation throughout the colony. Access to the road systems had been administered by the *Asantehene* and local chiefs throughout the forest zone south of the western Sudan. Non-motorized transport (i.e. head-loading) of goods was the primary form of road traffic in earlier times. It would not be until the introduction of the automobile, then railways that non-motorized road transportation began to decline in economic importance.[201] One can imagine that as railways and motor lorries came on the scene, African product producers and entrepreneurs began to demand more efficient means of bulk transport and personal means of transport. As the British colonial period got underway, the colonial government established several public utilities such as rail and road networks and motor bus services along with water, electricity, postal and telegraphic services on "a rather limited basis and in what were mainly urban centers".[202]

In the colonial era, southern Ghana (the 'Colony Proper') was administered differently from Asante, the Northern Territories and British Togoland (Volta Region). The Asante was regarded as a conquered state, while the Northern Territories and British Togoland were ruled directly by the Colonial Governor with the help of Chief Commissioners, Commissioners and District Commissioners. It can be argued that the incorporation of African societies into the colonial economic and

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[201] Horses, camels and pack animals like donkeys were not common in south of the savanna zone to the north of Ghana (below the Sahara).

[202] Donald Rothchild, ed. *Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991), 194.

political systems led to an emphasis on 'productive enterprise' by most Africans opposed to defense of trade routes used via long distance commerce. Socially, colonial conquest meant that the function of protection was no longer the duty of all the adult males; instead, protection was now specialized and assigned to soldiers and policemen who had a 'monopoly of force' due to their organization and weapons.[203] During the colonial era, long-term investment into crops such as coffee and cocoa became possible, as risks to crops by raiders was reduced.[204]

One of the most important colonial investments in their colonies was in transport systems. In 1901, Governor Nathan called on the Legislative Council to build "roads good enough for motor cars and traction engines".[205] In response to demands from the mining sector, railway building was expanded from Sekondi in 1898, which reached Tarkwa in 1901, then Obuasi in 1902 and Kumasi in 1903 (268.8 kilometers of railway lines). Between 1908 and 1911, a line was built between Tarkwa and Prestea. In 1909, the Accra-Kumasi line was started but was stopped at Tafo. As Andrew Roberts states "Tropical Africa thus moved straight from head porterage to the railway and the motor lorry".[206] Political security over very large areas was required for the development of railways, which are large, expensive and have pieces of fixed capital. Railways are usually closely regulated, partially financed and built and managed by the state.[207] Once established, colonial

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[203] Roberts, 78.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Addo (2006), 4.

[206] Roberts, 79.

[207] Ibid.

governments often built railways to justify their existence and at times in order to govern. Railways in Africa were initially built by contract, the departmental system or the local government in British colonies such as Nigeria, Sudan[208] and Ghana.[209] The nature of contracts ranged from 1) lump-sum, 2) schedule of rates or 3) percentage of work.[210]

A key commentator on the British colonial system, Frederick D. Lugard characterized the colonial impact of Europeans as follows: "The advent of Europeans has brought the mind and methods of Europe to bear on the native of Africa for good or for ill, and the seclusion of ages must perforce give place to modern ideas".[211] Based on his experience as a colonial official and former Governor-General of Nigeria in the early 20th century, Lugard asserts that "the locomotive is a substantial improvement on head-borne transport, and the motor-van is more efficient than the camel".[212] In the case of the Gold Coast, the British colonial administration completed a railway line from the Gold Coast port of Sekondi to Kumasi in the interior. This railway line helped develop areas used by the goldfield and the cocoa industries. The British later extended the railway lines to the inland city of Kumasi as well as the Kumasi-Sekondi line to Accra.[213] As an

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[208] Lugard, 465.

[209] M. M. Huq, *The Economy of Ghana: The First 25 Years since Independence* (Hong Kong: Macmillan Press, 1989), 6.

[210] Lugard, 465.

[211] Ibid, 5.

[212] Ibid. The motor van was the precursor to the mamie wagon and later trotro as a passenger transport vehicle used in Ghana.

[213] Roberts, 81.

instructional manual, colonial officials in Ghana were able to draw on the ideas of

Lugard, a retired Governor-General of Nigeria as of 1919, who is considered the

architect of the British colonial system during the earlier 20th century. In his work,

The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (1922), which served as a colonial

administration handbook, Lugard opens Chapter XXIII: "Transport" stating that "In

Africa, even more than in most other countries—owing to the great distance of its

interior regions from the seaboard, and to the comparatively low value of raw

materials in proportion to their bulk and weight,—cheap transport is a vital

necessity for the development of trade and commerce".[214] Lugard promoted the

importance of transport development stating that:

> Generally speaking, it may be said that the initial cost of railways is
> high, while their running and maintenance expenses are low compared
> with road transport, so that if there is a prospect of sufficient volume
> of traffic developing within a reasonable time over which the initial
> costs can be distributed, a railway is the most economical form of
> transport. Its running expenses are reduced proportionally to a greater
> degree than in the case of road traffic by the development of
> passenger traffic.[215]

Colonial nations were interested in creating political and economic

environments that would aid them in their exploitation of the resources of African

societies, and colonial exploitation of African material wealth was highly dependent

upon transport.[216] Lugard believed that "the development of the African continent is

impossible without railways", and his policies surely influenced colonial

administrators and their colonial planning approaches following World War I.

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[214] Lugard, 461.

[215] Ibid, 472.

[216] Ibid, 5.

Colonial administrators such as Lugard though often paternalistic were definitely well aware of the importance of road development for pack animals and 'the use of mechanical road transport' in the economic exploitation of their African colonies and elsewhere in their empires. The need for wider and better roads required the construction and maintenance of 'metalled roads' for any continuous and heavy traffic usage.[217] He adds that "Mechanical road transport must take their place in those regions in which they do not thrive, or where the tsetse fly exists".[218] Lugard also observed that 'light vans' can run for a few months of the dry season but in the process, they churn the road surface into dust and sand.[219] Interestingly in response to critics who condemned the idea of road-making in Africa because they believed roads did not assist the 'human carrier', Lugard wrote "But roads are intended to abolish human transport..." Roads were built to contribute to the use of animal-drawn country carts, mechanical transport where draught animals are not feasible, and as feeders to a railway.[220]

To meet their administrative goals, British colonial officials sought a variety of bureaucratic configurations during just over fifty years of colonial rule in the Gold Coast. The 1903 Constitution provided for the creation of an Executive Council with an all European civilian membership. This constitution also provided for the addition of a Director of Public Works who was intended to replace the head of the Military. The Director of Public Works was later dropped and a Director of Medical Services

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[217] Ibid, 474.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid, 473.

[220] Ibid, 475.

and Secretary of Native Affairs were made members of the Executive Council. By 1908, only five (5) out of the two hundred and seventy-eight (278) senior posts in the colonial administration were held by Africans.[221] It is plausible that unlike his successors, between 1912-19, the activities of Governor Hugh Clifford were "restricted by wartime stringencies".[222] In 1916, the Clifford Constitution, which did not provide for increased African political participation, was implemented by the British Colonial Office. This same year, the Legislative Council was reconstituted to include nine 'nominated unofficials' (six of whom were African), in place of the eleven officials and the governor of prior years.

Another significant set of constitutional changes was implemented between 1919 and 1927 during the administration of a new governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg.[223] Coupled with support from the Colonial Office, "It is obvious that the foundation for an integrated transport network development were firmly laid by Sir Gordon Guggisberg who promoted inter-modal functional linkages for effective and economic movement of goods and persons".[224] As described by Ghanaian historian, J.D. Fage:

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[221] Fage, 79.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Ibid, 78. Fage asserts that due to Guggisberg's experience as an officer in the Gold Coast survey, he had "thus come into closer contact with the people of the country than many officials and had got to know them well". Following the "war of 1914-18...his conviction that the Gold Coast people were not getting a square deal from the colonial officials of the time, whom he regarded as hopelessly limited in outlook and purpose, was strong enough to enable him to secure his appointment to the governorship of the colony" (p. 79).

[224] Addo (2006), 7.

Guggisberg's programme for the Gold Coast was farseeing and comprehensive: the active development of the economy through the improvement and expansion of its transport system; the improvement of the health of its people by the provision of better medical services; the development of its education system so that it would produce academically and technically trained men and women of high standard to Africanise all branches of government services and to provide leaders in all walks of life; and the democratisation of municipal government and of the Legislative Council.[225]

Buoyed by steady economic prosperity including the boom years of 1919-20, Guggisberg's administrative aspirations had the required financial resources to make them a concrete reality. It must be noted that the impact of the Gold Coast Ten-Year Development Programme launched by Governor Guggisberg during the 1919-1920 fiscal year "was the very first of its kind to be launched in any of the colonial territories in Black Africa".[226] The Guggisberg Plan called for ten separate items (or headings) of construction ranging from harbor construction, road and rail construction to map-making. It was divided into two periods of 4 years and 6 years.[227] Guggisberg planned for the new deepwater harbor at Takoradi, and the extended railways and the vastly expanded road network would generate enough (ample) revenue to repay the expenditures (loans) in the order of 6,000,000 pounds during the first four-year period, and 18,000,000 pounds in the second six-year period. Guggisberg earmarked up to 65% of the Ten-Year Plan's total

[225] Fage, 79.

[226] T. E. Anin, *An Economic Blueprint for Ghana* (Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 2003), 7.

[227] Ibid. Interestingly, the Guggisberg Ten-Year plans "antedated the Leninist Five-Year Plans of Soviet Russia".

estimated expenditure for transportation.[228] Anin characterizes Guggisberg's

administrative concern for transport development in the following quote "He

[Guggisberg] was adamant and insisted that there should be no delays in road and

rail construction as these would be ready in time to benefit from a subsequent

upturn in world trade".[229] Anin adds that "Railway development was deliberately

targeted to open up the cocoa and gold mining areas…".[230] The Guggisberg

administration managed to get the nation's first deep water port at Takoradi built, a

coeducational institution in Achimota College and Korlebu hospital, which was

considered "the finest hospital in Negro Africa" at the time.[231] Although some

historians assert that his reform of the Legislative Council did not have the

expected results, Guggisberg's administration did contribute an appreciation of

indigenous institutions in the tradition of Governor-General Maclean many years

before him. According to Addo (2006):

> Guggisberg saw roads as feeders to the railways. Thus the roads were
> meant to help with evacuating cocoa and other export items from the
> points of production to the nearest stations on the railway lines for
> onward haulage by trains to the port for export. He relied heavily on
> the chiefs and their communities for the construction of these feeder
> roads which could at least be motorable by light vehicles during the
> dry season. The construction of trunk roads was appropriately left in
> the hands of the Public Works Department.[232]

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[228] Ibid, 8.

[229] Ibid, 9.

[230] Ibid. Anin notes that 206 miles of new railway lines was constructed while 150 miles of the old lines were reconstructed.

[231] Fage, 79.

[232] Addo (2006), 6.

In 1925, the Guggisberg Constitution was passed into law.[233] Governor

Guggisberg created entities such as provincial councils, which would be used as

part of the British colonial process of 'indirect rule' and in the colonial-led devolution

process. Overall, "Guggisberg's focus was on harbours, railways and roads whose

ultimate purpose was to strengthen the economy to the point when it could support

schools, colleges and hospitals".[234] Rathbone asserts that, "The colonial state in the

Gold Coast until the Second World War was in effect a federation in which the

Regional Chief Commissioners acted without much let or hindrance from Accra. This

reflected the fact that the core values of colonial administration were crucially

bound-up with the provision and management of local government and local

justice".[235]

From the period of time following the consolidation of European colonial rule

after World War I until World War II, African societies experienced major changes in

their economic, political and territorial experiences. In terms of infrastructure,

colonial governments altered African landscapes with their targeted colonial

development. The general infrastructural development of the Gold Coast like other

colonies was not of importance to colonial administrators. The second main era of

railway-building began just after World War I as a program of consolidation as

some feeder lines were built and awkward transhipments (a form of intermediate

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[233] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, 8.

[234] Addo (2006), 4.

[235] Richard Rathbone, "Things Fall Apart: The Erosion of Local Government, Local Justice and Civil Rights in Ghana, 1955-60", in *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* edited by Martin Lynn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 137.

shipping transport) occurred.[236] By 1927, over 300 kilometers of new railway lines were constructed along with new roads, harbor and water supply systems.[237] Apparently the period between the world wars was the genesis of the systemic devolution of transport development and transport provision in the Gold Coast, which has characterized much of Ghana's post-colonial history.[238] However, it appears that much of the Guggisberg's development was brought to an end by 1931.[239] In terms of road construction by 1927, 3,380 miles of new motor roads were constructed. The construction of the new motor roads was a collective effort. The colonial Government's Public Works and local chiefs with the active support of District Commissioners were responsible for road development. During this time period, mechanized road transportation also grew enormously after the introduction of a large number of lorries. Due to the revolutionary changes in mechanization, the cost of lorries dropped significantly until they were eventually a cheap and practical form of transportation in Ghana. The late 1920s through the 1930s marked a further stage in the road transportation development process. In a short amount of time, motor transport experienced rapid growth, which raised the competitive position of the road versus the railway. Between the world wars, road transport

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[236] Transshipment is defined as "to transfer for further transportation from one ship or conveyance to another", accessed February 15 2011, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transshipments?show=0&t=1297813218.

[237] Huq, 6.

[238] Anin argues that Ghana's (initially as the Gold Coast) "economic takeoff" occurred because of "the development loan which Governor Guggisberg raised on the London Money Market in 1920" (p. 73).

[239] Gould, 2.

became the primary mode of transportation again.[240] It is plausible that informal transportation provision would have begun in earnest during this period of time. By the end of the World War II, jitney services via open-backed trucks known as 'mamie wagons' were operating throughout the Gold Coast.

During World War II, population redistribution led to the rapid growth of urban centers.[241] Major cities like Accra and Kumasi experienced significant increases in population density and an influx of automobiles, which changed the fundamental nature of road transport in Ghana. Following fuel shortages caused by World War II, road transportation grew significantly.

The British Colonial Office drafted a second Ten-Year Development Plan for the period 1946-56. In 1951, there was another Ten-Year Development Plan implemented by the British Colonial Office, which emphasized the provision of economic and productive services.[242] Not long after the Ten-Year Development Plans' introduction, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) created in 1949 and led by Kwame Nkrumah wanted to implement the plan in five years between 1951-56 with significant changes although the basic structure remained intact.[243] Even though colonial rule ended officially in 1957, much of Ghana's infrastructure such as roads, railways, Takoradi Harbor, up to 36 hospitals, and Achimota College along with other government schools were all financed and constructed between 1920 and 1928 out of the loans Governor Guggisberg was able to obtain for the

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[240] Ibid, 2.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Huq, 7.

[243] Ibid.

administration and development of the Gold Coast colony.[244] It can even be argued that since 1965 with the completion of the Volta Dam Project, there have not been many infrastructural development achievements besides the Guggisberg developments.[245]

In the late colonial period, a number of public corporations were established to promote economic and social development such as the Industrial Development Corporation in 1947 and the Agricultural Development Corporation (as a successor to the Gonja Development Company of 1949) in 1951.[246] The continuance and reform of colonial era approaches to state held entities was a significant aspect of the postcolonial era. During the 1950s and the early 1960s, the Nkrumah CPP government relied heavily on state held entities in order to achieve its "socialist" goals. This period was characterized by the establishment of state enterprises in a range of economic sectors including transport.[247]

3.4.   Indigenous Participation, Political Change and Its Impact on Transport Provision

Politically, the Gold Coast underwent fundamental changes in 1943, when the British re-configured the Executive Council to include two appointed Africans (one a chief, one a lawyer) for the first time. In 1946, the Burns Constitution was enacted,

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[244] Anin, 73.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Rothchild, 194.

[247] Ibid. The CPP government established state enterprises in commerce, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, services, mining, finance, mass communications, and the Volta River Authority, a multipurpose agency.

which embodied the program of the nationalists of the 1920s and was hailed as "a bold leap forward".[248] Even after World War II, the British maintained that all the senior officials in the public sector were to be Europeans. The legal bench was still preserved for Europeans only, while they allowed for only two Africans in the capacity of Assistant District Commissioners.[249]

The post-World War II years had a number of domestic civil disturbances as the civil rights and independence movements began, coalescing under the leadership of new political organizations such as the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), which had a range of demands from political participation and apprenticeship to gradual decolonization and full independence. One of the results of heightened political unrest was the increase in the number of Ghanaians in the Legislative Council during the aftermath of the 1948 Riots by the Colonial Office.[250] In 1948, a commission of inquiry was established under the coordination of the British official Aiken Watson to mitigate the disturbances. Known as the Watson Commission when convened, the participants concluded that the 1946 Constitution "was outmoded at birth". Members of the Watson Commission "recommended the establishment of a constitution in which much of the business of government should be the responsibility of African ministers responsible to a predominantly elective assembly".[251] The British colonial subjects in the Gold Coast would gradually obtain

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[248] Fage, 81.

[249] Gould, 2; Fage, 81.

[250] Gould, 2.

[251] Fage, 81.

political representation and increased administrative participation throughout the early Cold War years. The CPP founded in 1949 was preceded by the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (composed of chiefs and literate Africans in the Gold Coast), the National Congress of British West Africa (the educated people of the Gold Coast and their educated contemporaries in other West African territories), and the United Gold Coast Convention (largely composed of the merchant and lawyer classes of the Gold Coast).[252] Nkrumah asserted that the British colonial policy of indirect rule encouraged "tribal feudalism".[253] The impact of 'tribal feudalism' has often been cited as one of several limitations to economic development in former colonial nations yet independent Ghana has had less inter-ethnic conflict when compared to other former British colonies such as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa among others.

3.5. Colonialist Governance during Decolonization

It was not until the late 1940s that European colonialists even seriously considered handing over their colonial holdings to their colonial subjects. It was commonly asserted that colonial nations and territories would need to complete a long-running process of decolonization (a sort of apprenticeship) prior to being granted independence.[254] It seems unlikely that even the most radical of Gold Coast anti-colonialists would have expected independence to have been achieved within just over a decade, except maybe Kwame Nkrumah and his supporters. According

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[252] Nkrumah, viii.

[253] Ibid, ix.

[254] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, 8.

to Ashton, "The Gold Coast in 1947 was assumed to be a generation away, not from independence but self-government."[255] However, colonial subjects of all European nations began to communicate, organize and support each other's claims for independence with more vigor and effectiveness than that had throughout the entirety of colonial rule in their homelands. Following the independence of nations like India in 1947, many developing nation leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana began to call for "Independence Now!" Notably, "In Africa the CO [Colonial Office] wanted to build political experience from below, starting with local government. The Accra riots of 1948, and the subsequent Watson and Coussey Reports, undermined what the CO wanted to achieve."[256] The challenges to the government that erupted in 1948, reversed the "Colonial emphasis upon the protection of rural areas from the pollution of urbanity, the provision of ring-fenced 'traditional' forms of justice governed by 'customary' law and the 'naturalness' of 'natural rulers' were rapidly abandoned in favour of an urban vision and an urban focus".[257]

Beginning in the early 1950s, the majority of future Ghanaians pushed for independence from the British Empire in favor of complete independence as a sovereign nation which they achieved much faster than many political analysts domestically and in the metropole would have believed was possible coming out of the World War II. Leading up to the 1951 elections there was little consideration of

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[255] S. R. Ashton, "Keeping Change Within Bounds: A Whitehall Reassessment", in Martin Lynn, ed. *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 38.

[256] Ibid, 39.

[257] Rathbone, 138.

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the fate of local governments except for statements about 'democratisation'.

Reform of local government was a task left to the all-African Coussey Committee.

Commentator Martin Lynn acknowledges that "Adjusting to demands for

constitutional advance, or even self-government, from nationalists was necessary if

Britain was to remain an imperial power".[258] The Secretary of State for the

Colonies, Oliver Lyttelton (1951-54) and Alan Lennox-Boyd (1954-59) both viewed

"a pragmatic willingness to co-operate with demands for self-government in some

areas" as necessary for the empire to survive.[259] As a consequence of the moves to

self-government in West Africa (begun under Britain's Labour Party), though

strongly criticized by Winston Churchill and the Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden

(1951-55) of the Conservative Party, were allowed to continue which led to the

appointment of Kwame Nkrumah as the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast in 1952.[260]

Kwame Nkrumah became a political leader first as the "Leader of Government

Business and then as Prime Minister, and later as President. Interestingly, Nkrumah

and the Convention Peoples Party's transport development programs were

influenced by political and economic motives. In February 1953, in preparation for

internal self-government, the Colonial Office was intent on maintaining the

Governor's reserve powers intact by, keeping the police outside of political control,

establishing safeguards for the public service and referring all external affairs

matters to London. In 1954 the installation of an all-African Cabinet was a

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[258] Martin Lynn, eds. *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 3.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Ibid.

significant move toward independence.[261] By the end of 1955, the Colonial Office

thought it desirable in the context of the Commonwealth to "to substitute 'full self-

government' for 'independence'". The Colonial Office could not envision the Gold

Coast celebrating 'Ghana Full-Self-Government Day.[262]

Addo (2006) asserts that a suspension bridge at Atimpoku when built was

partly aimed at making the people of Trans-Volta-Togoland areas feel closer to the

Gold Coast prior to the Plebiscite of 1956, which would bring them together as the

independent nation of Ghana. In March 1957, "the Ghana Independence Bill

expressly excluded the Colonial Development Corporation from operating in the

country".[263] This legislation effectively granted the new nation of Ghana, named

after an earlier very influential African empire, self-government, which nonetheless

was championed as one of the greatest political developments in the 20th century in

Africa. The independence achieved in Ghana ushered in the next few decades of

African decolonization efforts and gains in political independence.

3.6. Post-colonial Transportation Governance in Ghana

In Ghana, road transportation has long been a key sector in the domestic

economy during its 500 years of precolonial existence, throughout the colonial

period, which initially focused on railway development. Railways were built at a

rapid rate in order to facilitate the extraction and transport of various raw

materials/bulk items such as key exports of gold and cocoa. This new form of

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[261] Ashton, 39-40.

[262] Ibid, 38-9.

[263] Ibid, 41.

transport played a significant role in re-directing much of the commercial activity

from the north to connect with the long existent trans-Saharan trade networks[264]

and its Sahelian commercial centers. Colonialism brought forth entirely new forms

of rail and road transport. These significant changes had a direct impact on pre-

existing road transport networks and practices. Colonial transport reduced the

prevalence of many precolonial methods of transportation and bulk item transport

(using hand carts, using pack animals (goats, donkeys, horses) and head-loading).

During the initial period of colonial rule (1900-1920), the development of railways

began to compete with earlier road transport methods.[265] From 1920 until

independence in 1957, road transportation is characterized as evolving into mixed

service industry.[266]

As more and more trucks (lorries) came into service leading up to and

specifically after World War II, several of these hauling/industrial transport vehicles

were converted into passenger carriers that most Ghanaians called initially 'motor

vans', then 'mamie wagons' or 'mamie trucks', the precursors of the present-day

'tro-tros'.[267] This time period also coincided with a significant increase in local,

regional and national travel among the colonial subjects of the then Gold Coast. A

consequence of Ghana's colonial development (with its focus on railway and road

development for the primary purpose of bulk item transport not passenger

transport) is that developmental processes and regulations were not established for

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[264] Fage, 19.

[265] Gould, 3.

[266] Ibid, 5.

[267] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, 8-9.

local road use.[268] This largely unregulated economic developmental environment opened the way for local entrepreneurs to provide local, regional and national mass transportation services.[269]

It has been asserted that from "the formation of what was in effect the first CPP administration in 1951, the Party had openly sought to control the organs of the state; their gradual, legal but undeniably devious takeover of the local justice system provides a well-documented battery of examples of their intentions and methods."[270] As part of the agreements contained in their independence constitution drafted in 1957, the Crown of England (at the time Queen Elizabeth II) was permitted to have representation in their former colony, the Gold Coast. Ghana's special relationship with the British Crown was personified in Sir Arden-Clarke who was appointed governor general.[271] With Ghana's independence on March 6, 1957, the nation's new leadership applied ideas and experiences from the colonial and/or international academic, industrial and professional training accessible by only a small minority of colonial subjects in the U.S. and Europe primarily.[272] Early in the

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[268] Gould, 3.

[269] Rathbone, 136.

[270] Ibid, 126.

[271] Library of Congress, Area/Country studies, "Ghana: Independent Ghana" (November 1994), Accessed October 12, 2010, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query2/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+gh0023).

[272] Prior to independence, much of Africa's future post-colonial leadership obtained their baccalaureate and graduate school education and training in the colleges and universities of North America and Europe. For example, Kwame Nkrumah attended Lincoln University (PA) in the United States and the United Kingdom, while one of Nkrumah's mentors the future first President of an independent Republic of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe attended both Lincoln University (PA) and Howard University.

post-independence era, the Government made it clear that they were interested in acquiring all operational fees and taxes associated with the transport sector and also in keeping track of their competition, private operators.[273] The post-independence government established in Ghana initially allowed much of the colonial administrative system to stay in place, yet in a matter of months, major changes where planned and within a few years significant changes were implemented. With independence in 1957, the government wanted to proceed with a program for rapid economic growth, articulated in the *Consolidated Plan*, as an interim plan to cover 1958-59. Simultaneously, work on the Second Five Year Plan also proceeded to cover the period 1959-64, though it would eventually be abandoned in 1961.

Three years after independence, on July 1, 1960, when Ghanaians chose to form a republic, and its new constitution abolished the position of governor general formerly held by a British Colonial Office responsible to the Queen of England in 1960. Ghana was far more advanced in the transport sector of its economy than 'older economies' of Europe such as the former Yugoslavia and Turkey.[274] Since the end of colonial rule, many African nations attempted to implement large-scale ambitious post-colonial national transport schemes. In Africa's many cities, existing colonial-run bus companies were nationalized during the decolonization process. This process led to an initially more regulated public transport systems throughout

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[273] Gould, 2.

[274] Ibid, 3. In comparison with Turkey in 1960, Gould states that "the trunk road building program has only just linked some of the inland centers to cause the social and economic revolution experienced by southern Ghana, twenty to thirty years ago".

much of decolonized Africa. One of the main aims of new national governments was the regulation of fares that governments were often hesitant to increase due to the fragility of their post-colonial economies.

Several cities initially relied on large-bus service monopolies as the main suppliers of mass transport within their urban transport systems. State-owned bus company operations were without subsidy in their early years, therefore, as public subsidies did not grow and deficits grew, bus operators found it difficult to maintain and replace their fleet. As a consequence of a challenging economic environment for both public companies and transport entrepreneurs, there was deterioration in areas of transport coverage, service provision and quality of service. The emerging economic environment also created a more lucrative and progressively competitive transport industry, which benefited some transport entrepreneurs. Over time, however, the majority of public companies failed. As road transportation grew in importance within Ghana's passenger transport systems, there was growth in demand for passenger transport, which required the establishment of governance structures to manage and regulate the flow of this segment of the national economy. Road transportation providers required that the government design and develop appropriate planning procedures.

The CPP government established the State Transportation Authority (STA) in order to obtain and profit from public mass transport provision, including in the capital city, Accra, designated as the Accra-Metropolitan Authority (AMA). The AMA was a key administrative body within a devolution-oriented governance system. The AMA was created to manage local and regional road transportation, and built the 'Great-North-Road', linked the Central Rail Line with the Accra-Kumasi Line,

extended railway lines to Tema, and built Tema Harbor and the Accra-Tema
motorway. Nkrumah's CPP government focused on a program of agricultural
modernization and industrial development.[275] Locally, the CPP had to contend with
'area chief farmers' who demanded the construction of numerous feeder roads to
link agricultural areas with wholesale markets that were linked to the district and
regional capitals. In relation to international concerns, the Accra International
Airport and two sea ports were built. The CPP government then established Ghana
Airways and the Black Star Line (a public shipping company) to meet a portion of
the nation's transport requirements as an independent nation. Addo (2006)
concludes that "Overall Nkrumah's government maintained Guggisberg's integrated
transport policy...most roads, in the south of the country, acted as feeders to the
rails"[276] even though there was some contention between whether to build roads or
railways. Following initial efforts to speed up the infrastructural development
process, despite serious economic difficulties after 1963, the maintenance of feeder
roads in particular was efficiently carried out.[277]

Within the global climate of the Cold War developments, in 1963, most of the
colonial-era ministries and governance structures were re-conceptualized and
organized along socialist lines under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, who
declared himself president for life and his sole political party the CPP. By the mid-
1960s, the CPP government fully understood that they could no longer subsidize
road transportation industries as they had in the past. The Seven-Year Plan for

[275] Addo (2006), 7.

[276] Ibid, 9-10.

[277] Ibid, 10.

National Reconstruction and Development (1963/64-1969/70) was launched in 1964 with the important aim of building a socialist state in order to achieve a rapid rate of economic growth.[278] Economist M.M. Huq asserts that the Seven-year Plan "existed on paper only, being ignored in different quarters and with various Ministers acting as if there were no plan guidelines".[279] With the February 1966 coup, the Seven-Year Plan was formally dropped. In the wake of the military coup in 1966, many reforms were carried out in the Republic of Ghana.

Between 1966 and 1969, the Republic of Ghana's government was administered by the National Liberation Council (NLC), which completed the modernization of the Accra International Airport (later renamed Kotoka International Airport), the Lower Volta Bridge and the Accra-Tema Motorway. Under the NLC, there was a marked reduction in the emphasis on state held entities to promote rapid social and economic development.[280] The NLC initiated a program of divestiture. The NLC program focused on government retrenchment and liberalization, which resulted in partial and full sell-offs of some public companies and administrative departments to private investors and or they were restructured as joint ownerships. In regard to the transport sector, the NLC sold off the State Tyre Services Corporation, and the rubber estates were transferred to joint ownership with the U.S. Firestone Corporation.

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[278] Huq, 7.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Rothchild, 194.

The NLC faced heavy public opposition to its program of divestiture, which caused it to limit itself mainly to its reorganization measures.[281] By 1969, new legislation was introduced and passed into law that demonstrated the Ghanaian Government's desire to more closely regulate the road transportation sector of the national economy through the Ministries, District Assemblies and Municipalities established during decolonization and since independence. The Omnibus Services Authority (OSA) Decree of 1969 nationalized all city, municipal, urban and local council bus undertakings within one unitary government body, which was responsible for both the planning and the provision of public transport services.[282] The OSA decree of 1969 would have a significant impact on the nature and development of road transport provision in Ghana.

According to the World Bank's *Ghana Railway Rehabilitation Project: Staff Appraisal Report* (May 27, 1981) published by the West Africa Projects Department in the Ports, Railways & Aviation Division, composition of mass transport provision was diverse:

> The road transport industry comprises government-owned firms, including the State Transport Corporation (intercity buses and trucking) and the Omnibus Services Authority (urban buses), <u>in competition with a well developed private sector [tro-tro industry]</u>. The private sector operates in a generally market-oriented framework, although it is constrained by the inability to obtain spare parts for vehicles [underline and bracket content added].[283]

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[281] Ibid, 196.

[282] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, 8.

[283] World Bank, *Ghana Railway Rehabilitation Project: Staff Appraisal Report* (West Africa Projects Department, Ports, Railways and Aviation Division, May 27, 1981), 3.

Ghana's institutional oversight of the transportation industry has gone through a number of re-structures as the post-colonial governments shifted from centralization to devolution back to increased participation and regulation of transportation in Accra and elsewhere.

From 1969 to 1972, Kofi Busia and his Progress Party's (PP) government established several state held entities such as the Bast Fibres Board in 1970 and the Food Distribution Corporation in 1972. The Busia government also sought to improve accessibility to Ghana's most productive rural areas through the construction and maintenance of the feeder road networks. The PP government was able to reconstruct the road from Techiman to Bamboi and construct a bridge across the Black Volta at Bamboi in its just over two years of existence.[284]

3.7. 1970s

The 1970s was a period of national political turmoil, economic challenges and continued government-led administrative reforms. As the price of 'petrole' (gasoline) increased, so did demand for automobiles with greater fuel efficiency among members in all levels of society including entrepreneurs. It is useful to think of the transportation-economic environment as follows: the poor who used non-motorized means of transportation or pay for their passenger transport, those who chose to drive their personal vehicles, and transport entrepreneurs (involved in what became known as the tro-tro industry using mini-buses in place of old,

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[284] Addo (2006), 10.

dilapidated 'mamie wagons') who wanted to earn a profit providing transport services to meet the demand of road transportation users.[285]
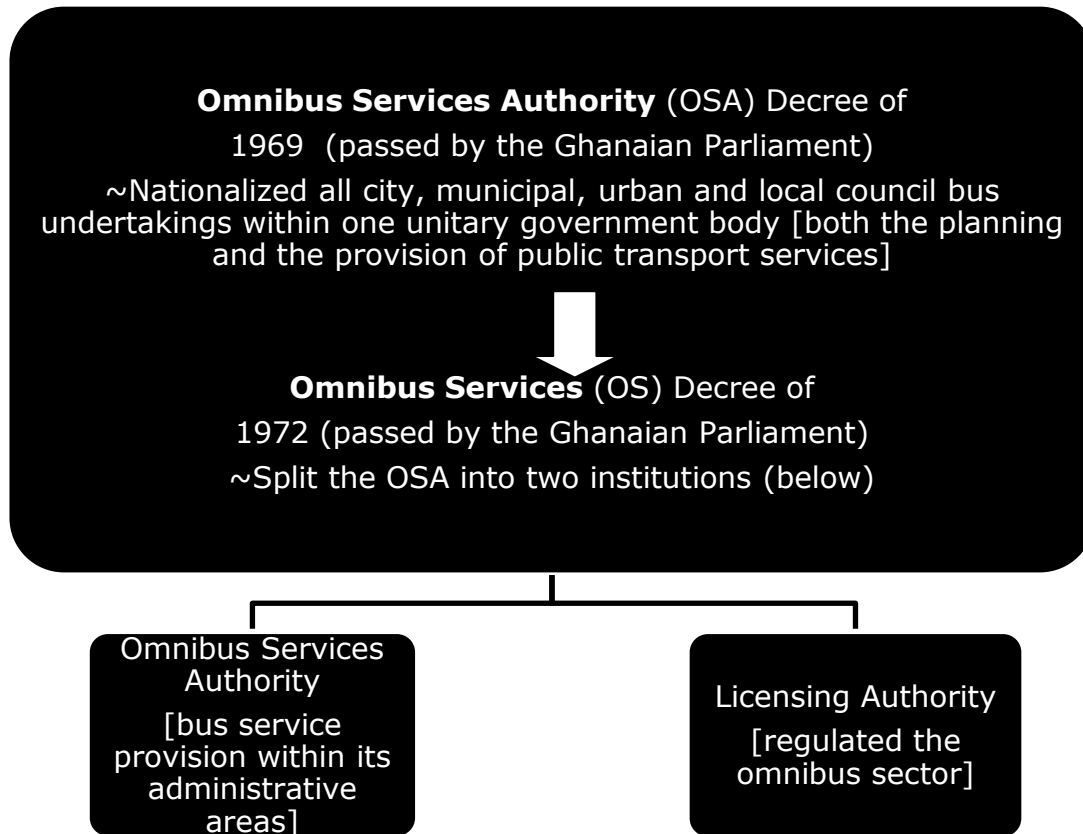
During this period, the importation of small and medium sized 'minibuses' served to develop the government-permitted 'informal' transport industry since the public sector could not meet the transport demands of its citizens. Known globally as jitneys, and more recently as a type of bus transport, this form of transport has accounted for progressively larger percentages of urban mobility throughout Ghana, especially in both international and inter-regional flows through the coastal capital city, Accra. Not only in Accra, but also the second largest city, Kumasi, as well as within the regional and district capitals, urban planners implemented land use and road systems based on the radial design concepts found in other 'world cities' (i.e. Lagos) within the former British empire. These types of road transportation systems often have limitations since they were usually designed without trunk roads and which contributed to traffic congestion.[286]

In 1972, the Parliament passed the Omnibus Services (OS) Decree of 1972 (Figure 3.1). The OS decree split the pre-existing OSA degree into the Licensing Authority (LA), which regulated the omnibus sector, and the OSA, which was given the sole objective of bus service provision within its administrative areas.

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[285] Gould, 2.

[286] Ibid, 5.

Figure 3.1: Centralization of Governance by the Government of Ghana

Omnibus Services Authority (OSA) Decree of
1969 (passed by the Ghanaian Parliament)
~Nationalized all city, municipal, urban and local council bus undertakings within one unitary government body [both the planning and the provision of public transport services]

Omnibus Services (OS) Decree of
1972 (passed by the Ghanaian Parliament)
~Split the OSA into two institutions (below)

Omnibus Services Authority
[bus service provision within its administrative areas]

Licensing Authority
[regulated the omnibus sector]

Addo (2006) asserts that between 1972-1978, the military regime led by Lieutenant Colonial I.K. Acheampong (following the 1972 military coup) damaged the roads and "took away most of the traditional freight of the railways" with the introduction of the articulator trucks for use in hauling heavy loads. The articulator trucks (a type of intermediate transport vehicle) would come to perform a large portion of the duties formerly carried out by the railways.[287] Nevertheless, the second military administration of the National Redemption Council (NRC) also known as the Supreme Military Council (SMC) headed by Acheampong returned the Republic of Ghana to an emphasis on state held entities. The NRC-SMC government

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[287] Addo (2006), 14.

created multipurpose development agencies known as Regional Development Corporations for each of the regions of the country (nine at the time) to manage infrastructural development.[288]

3.8. 1980s

Ghana's experience with road transportation provision has been similar to other African nations. The introduction of 'minibuses' in the late 1970s aided the growth of entrepreneurship in the tro-tro industry.

During the six-month interregnum of Jerry Rawlings and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), prior to the Hilla Limann-led and People's National Party (PNP) government (1979-81), Ghana's state held entities were further expanded in 1979. The AFRC government confiscated several companies including the Trans Africa Engineering and Motors.[289] The PNP government was able to obtain foreign investment support in the form of a $6.5 million credit from the International Development Bank of India to purchase Indian TATA buses in order to improve the national public transport system. However, the December 31st 1981 coup led by Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings stopped the implementation of the Limann government's transport development plans.[290]

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[288] Rothchild, 194. The NRC (1972-78) partially nationalized the Lonrho-owned Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, the Consolidated African Selection Trust (diamond mining) and the Ghana Bauxite Company. They also took control over foreign-owned companies such as Fattal Brothers (auto and retail auto parts), and R.T. Briscoe (auto parts) among several others.

[289] Ibid, 195. In 1979, the National Industrial Companies (NIC) was established. The NIC brought together a total of 18 confiscated companies during the SMC (Acheampong) and AFRC (Rawlings) regimes.

[290] Addo (2006), 14.

In 1983, Ghana's leading governmental organization Rawlings' Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) identified the need to repair a national economy in crisis. The PNDC government emphasized 'the functional prerequisites' performed by the informal sector for the formal capitalist sector. Led by J.J. Rawlings, the PNDC initiated the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1983. The proposed policy measures in the ERP aimed to conserve thousands of wage-based workers who would be resettled in the informal sector. In 1985, the World Bank began to support a policy option similar to Ghana's ERP as a way to tackle the problem of unemployment.[291] From this time forward, the World Bank began to openly support the informality policy of the PNDC.[292] During the time of the Rawlings-led PNDC between 1983 and 1991, an ERP was implemented that provided for the refurbishment of the transport infrastructure in particular among the many sectors to be developed. The ports of Takoradi and Tema were rehabilitated and modernized between 1984 and 1989 as part of the first phase of ERP.[293]

The Rawlings-led PNDC sought reform of state held entities through reorganization much like previous governments yet the most emphasis was placed on divestiture. In 1984, domestic economic consultants from the Management and Productivity Institute and the Ghana Institute of Management Development and Public Administration began to collect data on 100 state held entities.[294] A year later in 1985, foreign consultation was brought in via the World Bank and the United

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[291] Ninsin, 6.

[292] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, 12.

[293] Addo (2006), 14.

[294] Rothchild, 197.

Nations Development Program's (UNDP) sponsorship of the Dutch firm Borenschot-Moret-Bosboom, which conducted a diagnostic study of Ghana's state held entities.[295] Late in 1985, the PNDC government set up a "Task Force", which compiled a package of reform measures that were later embodied in the second phase of structural adjustment policies between 1980-88.

To address the problems facing the public sector and improve its performance, Ghanaian governments have initiated a variety of reforms before the Economic Recovery Program/Structural Adjustment Program (ERP/SAP). These reforms took three main forms: liquidation, divestiture, and reorganization.[296] The liquidation of problematic and nonperforming state held entities begun during the 1950s and throughout the Nkrumah-CPP era such as the unsuccessful Gonja Development Company were continued up to the Rawlings era of the early 1980s. The functions of the liquidated companies were usually transferred to another government agency.[297] Commentator Gyimah-Boadi asserts that compared to the NLC's divestiture program in the 1960s, the PNDC divestiture program was far more ambitious.[298] Politically, the PNDC employed intimidation against its main critics within the Trades Union Congress (TUC), radical organizations that operated clandestinely or from exile and student organizations based in the country's three universities. This meant that some critics and opposition groups within the labor movement were denied access to resources under the ERP, while preferential

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[295] Ibid.

[296] Ibid, 195.

[297] Ibid, 196.

[298] Ibid, 198-9.

treatment was given to others in the form of improved salaries and benefits or through ensured access to resources under the ERP. Within this regime of administrative reform, railway workers, the Ghana Public Road Transport Union (GPRTU), mine workers and the Civil Servants' Association all benefited from special treatment.

3.9. 1990s

The 1990s was a period of economic crisis for many African nations while also a time in which several approaches to large-bus service provision were undertaken. The prevailing urban planning discourse demonstrates that in several major African cities like Dar es Salaam, Kampala, Kigali, Lagos and Accra, there was a virtually complete abandonment of public sector-run large-bus services. Instead, these cities have come to rely almost exclusively on private, partially informal, semi-regulated jitney services. During the decade of the 1990s, structural adjustment policies made it difficult for most African governments to make public funds available for subsidies, which led to the bankruptcy of many public companies.[299] The prescription of national austerity measures by the World Bank in the early 1990s after an extended period of 'informal' operation, can be viewed as an attempt by the Government to use economic constraints to justify a major return to passenger transport service provision by the public sector. Between the early 1990s up to the early 2000s, the number of minibuses on African grew at a rate of 11 percent per year in some cities.[300] This change was not the result of a

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[299] Kumar and Barrett, 5.

[300] Ibid, 8.

conscious decision to deregulate public transport. Instead, it was an "indigenous response to growing demand and commercial opportunity"[301] by minibus transport businesses that operated without much government regulation. It is difficult to pinpoint the full impact of the early years of transport regulation, however, Ghana's past development agenda, which was based on socialism, appears to have left a legacy of suspicion from sections of the public in relation to the private provision of basic services.[302]

In Ghana, during the early 1990s, the urban transport market changed substantially. This period witnessed major transformations in the private sectors of many transport systems. Transport entrepreneurs began to obtain used, imported minibuses from Europe and Asia primarily during this time period. Political legislation like the Local Government Act of 1993 (No.462), devolved responsibility for urban passenger transport between the Metropolitan, Municipal or District Assemblies in the areas each assembly covers.[303] During the 1990s, the pre-existing largely informal, private sector provision of para-transit, known locally as tro-tros, began to replace urban public transport services.[304]

The Government of Ghana was not satisfied with the state of their road transport systems, which had a number of inefficiencies and safety concerns, and added a new department in the government apparatus, the Department of Urban Roads (DUR) in 1988. The DUR was created to provide a dedicated group of officials

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[301] Ibid.

[302] Addo (2006), 14.

[303] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, 12.

[304] Ibid.

and employees to improve the road transportation system. One of recent government's stated improvements was increased enforcement of laws already enacted and the designation of specific locations for tro-tro (jitney) terminals and stops. The DUR was also been charged with addressing issues of road construction and maintenance that should be a government responsibility. The DUR provides engineers to the relevant authorities, manages projects on behalf of the Ministry of Roads and Transport (MRT), in order for the MRT to continue meeting their employment costs. In the long run, the institutional capacity of the DUR would be transferred to the local authorities once their ability to fund the services within their set of responsibilities was feasible.[305]

Between 1992 and 1996, government expenditures on infrastructure development increased.[306] This period was a time of widespread economic reform and changes. Ghana's state enterprises were interested in divestiture. According to Gyimah-Boadi divestiture (devolution) was a key part of the poststabilization phase of the ERP and Structural Adjustment Program (SAP II) administered in Ghana. Divestiture promotes private local and foreign investment while demonstrating a serious commitment by a government to roll back the "frontiers of the state".[307] This sort of economic environment undoubtedly influenced private entrepreneurial activities and likely encouraged increased participation in the tro-tro industry.

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[305] Ibid, 6.

[306] Addo (2006), 14.

[307] Rothchild, 193. E. Gyimah-Boadi views divestiture as a "retreat from statism and socialism".

Chapter 4

TRANSPORTATION ENTREPRENEURS:

TRO-TRO OWNER-DRIVERS IN ACCRA, GHANA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from a qualitative survey of tro-tro drivers

in Accra, Ghana to clarify the barriers and ease of entry to the tro-tro industry, and

to describe how the industry is structured and who constitute its drivers and

owners. There are two main research questions addressed in this chapter: *"Why do*

individuals get involved in the tro-tro industry as entrepreneurs?" and "What factors

inhibit/support market participation/entry?" The primary data for this chapter

consist of an in-person set of interviews with 25 tro-tro owner-drivers at four

transport stations in the Greater Accra Metropolitan area. Before turning to a

detailed description of the data and methods, and then the analysis, I first provide

a brief background on the tro-tro industry and the need for private informal/formal

transportation options for Accra's rapidly growing population.

Urban transport in Accra is synonymous with road transport. The road

network in and around the city of Accra is based on a system of radial routes

converging on the Central Business District.[308] Addo (2002) shares valuable insight

about the operation of tro-tros. He states that,

> Minibuses are also operated on fixed routes within the urban centres
> by the same transport unions and co-operatives. The same loading

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[308] Samuel T. Addo, *Provision of Urban Transport Services in Accra* (New York:
World Bank, 2002), 5, accessed October 13, 2009,
http://www4.worldbank.org/afr/ssatp/Resources/Presentations/UrbanTransportServ
ices-Accra.pdf.

principles are also enforced. Terminals are usually shared by both taxis and minibuses. Both tro-tro and taxi routes are mostly radial, focusing on groups of terminals; for example in Accra Central and at Nkrumah Circle in Accra. For this reason, cross city travel usually entails one or more interchanges…"[309]

As I described in a previous chapter, following independence in 1957, Ghanaians were drawn to urban centers of the nation due to reorientation of the political economy towards cash crop production (most often cocoa) and mining. In response to the lack of income generating potential, many rural Ghanaians moved to the main urban centers like Accra in order to find formal employment or income from participation in the informal economy.[310] The growth of the tro-tro (jitney) industry, an informal transportation sector in Accra (and Ghana in general), is consequently the result of demand driven by rural-to-urban migration.[311] The lack of an effective state-run alternative for dealing with the transport needs associated with rapid urban population growth has also contributed to the early success of the tro-tro industry as a viable transportation sector with growing numbers of urban entrepreneurs entering the industry.

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[309] P.R. Fouracre, E.A. Kwakye, J.N. Okyere and D.T. Silcock, "Public transport in Ghanaian cities - a case of union power", *Transport Reviews* 14, No. 1 (1994): 54.

[310] Kwasi Kwafo Adarkwa and Johan Post, *The Fate of the Tree: Planning and Managing the Development of Kumasi, Ghana* (Purdue, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001), 63.

[311] "Jitney", Merriam-Webster, accessed June 8, 2012, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/jitney. The definition of jitney is "a small bus that carries passengers over a regular route on a flexible schedule" or "an unlicensed taxicab".

All tro-tros, including mini-buses and shared taxis, are owned by the private sector by definition.[312] Tro-tro operators in Accra typically use minibuses, which have been modified internally to accommodate as many passengers as possible. The range of seats per vehicle ranged from 14-25, which is within the normal range for jitney service via minibuses of 8-25 as previously found.[313] The largest transport union, the Ghana Private Roads and Transport Union (GPRTU) has come to dominate the tro-tro industry. The best estimate asserts that GPRTU drivers provide more than 90 percent of all of the private mass transport services in Ghana.

Since the late 1980s, tro-tros have remained a mainstay of Ghana's transport system despite concerted attempts by successive central government regimes to develop and maintain publicly organized stage-bus services. During the 1990s, foreign institutions including the World Bank and a number of United Nations institutions along with domestic institutions have generated useful research that identified the centrality of mass transport provision to economic development efforts in Ghana and Accra specifically. The government of Ghana has been striving for greater integration of the rural areas, underserved urban spaces like slums and newer housing developments into the national transport system. As of 2003, the state-organized Metro Mass Transport Company (MMT) operated a fleet of 183 buses for the whole of the Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area (ATMA).[314] This bus

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[312] Fouracre et al., 45.

[313] Kumar and Barrett, xi.

[314] Ghana News Agency, "450 Billion Cedis Lodged Into Road Fund," Ghanaweb.com, accessed May 30, 2012, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=44030. The 183 buses acquired was "made up of 108 Iveco Fiat buses donated by the

system was insufficient to meet demand by residents for intra-urban travel, which was filled by the tro-tro industry.[315] However, more recently, the national government has focused more state resources on developing the road systems and municipally-run mass transport service. The state-owned buses are considered large, able to carry 50 to 100 passengers, with many standees at the upper limits.[316] Nearly all such buses have a single deck and two axles, although some double-decker buses are used in Accra.[317]

Originating well before World War II, tro-tros have provided essential services to Ghanaian residents. Since the 1980s, tro-tro operators have endeavored to develop a fairly comprehensive transport network system. Tro-tro operators are estimated to provide approximately 75 percent of all local and regional transport in the Accra Metropolitan Area. Existing studies have found that for the most part service to the user is poor.[318]

Tro-tro ownership arrangements vary. Tro-tro entrepreneurs have been both financial backers and materially participating owners/drivers, while others have employed drivers.[319] Table 4.1 lists the stakeholders and their main concerns

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Italian government and 75 DAF/Neoplan buses imported under the Dutch Government Concessionary financing".

[315] Fouracre et al., 8.

[316] Kumar and Barrett, 6.

[317] Ibid.

[318] Fouracre et al., 46.

[319] Either the entrepreneur (owner) or the hired tro-tro driver is responsible for hiring the individuals who collect fares from riders. These individuals are called 'mates' in Ghana.

according to existing scholarship.

Figure 4.1:   Industry Stakeholders in the *Tro-tro* Industry[320]

Stakeholders	Main Concern
Individuals Owners Workers Passengers Other road users: cyclists, pedestrians, motorists	*Revenue* Income Income Mobility and safety Safety
Institutions Local authorities Station Managers Driver unions Welfare Chairmen (Station level union leader) Traffic Police Motor vehicle registration unit	*Revenue* Driver testing and issuance of driving licenses Daily station usage fees Organized and efficient transport provision Observation of traffic regulations Vehicle registration fees
Businesses Insurance companies Motor vehicle manufacturers Repair shops (Vehicle repairs and body builders) Motor vehicle repairs/garages Gas (Petrol) stations Driving schools Paint companies Sign writers Bus operators: urban (municipal) and country (rural) buses	*Revenue* Income Income Income Income Income Income Income Competition
Politicians	Electoral support

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[320] Preston Orieko Chitere, *Matatu Industry in Kenya: a study of the performance of owners, workers, and their associations and potential for improvement*, no. DP 04/055. Discussion paper (Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (Kenya) (Nairobi, Kenya: Institute of Policy Analysis and Research, 2004) quoted in Meleckidzedeck Khayesi, "The Struggle For Regulatory and Economic Sphere of Influence in the Matatu Means of Transport in Kenya: A Stakeholder Analysis" (paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Competition and Ownership in Land Passenger Transport, Cape Town, September 19-23, 1999).

This table is filled in with preliminary field research and dissertation field research data regarding the range of stakeholders in transport provision in Ghana.

4.2.   Data and Methods

This part of the chapter describes the approach used to complete qualitative semi-structured interviews (n=25) with tro-tro operators (owner-drivers) in Accra, Ghana. In this section, I describe the sampling frame and design, the selection of study sites and characteristics, the design of the interview guide and tro-tro operator attributes. I used a semi-structured qualitative interview approach to obtain a better understanding of tro-tro industry stakeholders, main economic functions, and standard operations within the tro-tro transport sector.

4.2a. Sampling Frame and Design

The sample of sites selected for conducting the semi-structured interviews began with the universe of Accra Metropolitan Authority (AMA) sanctioned and Ghana Private Roads and Transport Union (GPRTU) managed tro-tro stations in the Greater Accra metropolitan area. To determine appropriate sites for recruiting tro-tro entrepreneurs to interview, I conducted informational interviews with government officials (n = 2) and tro-tro station managers (n = 2) prior to starting my field interviews. These informational interviews (a total of 4) were used to determine which tro-tro stations would be the best for identifying tro-tro entrepreneurs for participation in the study.

Four transport stations/depots in the Greater Accra Metropolitan area were used for participant recruitment in this study based on the suggestions and ranking of these informants. I asked each person to tell me the name and rank in order from first to fifth of the most important transport stations/depots as determined by rider volume; number of routes serviced by tro-tro drivers/operators at that

transport station/depot; number of routes that connect with the station and the location of the transport station/depot in the Greater Accra Metropolitan area. The four stations (also called tro-tro yards, tro-tro stations and lorry parks) were: Accra (Tema), Kaneshie, Madina, and 37-Military Hospital (Figure 4.2).

Station managers were referred to welfare chairmen, general chairmen, or station managers. The Kaneshie and 37-Military Hospital Stations did not have a full-time welfare chairman on-site. The Accra (Tema) and the Madina Stations typically had a welfare chairman that was easy to find in the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU) offices (most of the trips to or through 3 out of 4 required me to walk outside of eyesight of the GPRTU's station offices, an exception being Madina). The Accra (Tema) Station even made a separate office for the welfare chairman. Another thing to note about the Accra (Tema) Station is that it was being redesigned in an adjacent location, with the welfare chairman in temporary bungalows.

Figure 4.2:   Location of the four selected tro-tro stations in the Greater

Accra metropolitan (Date downloaded, May 23, 2012).
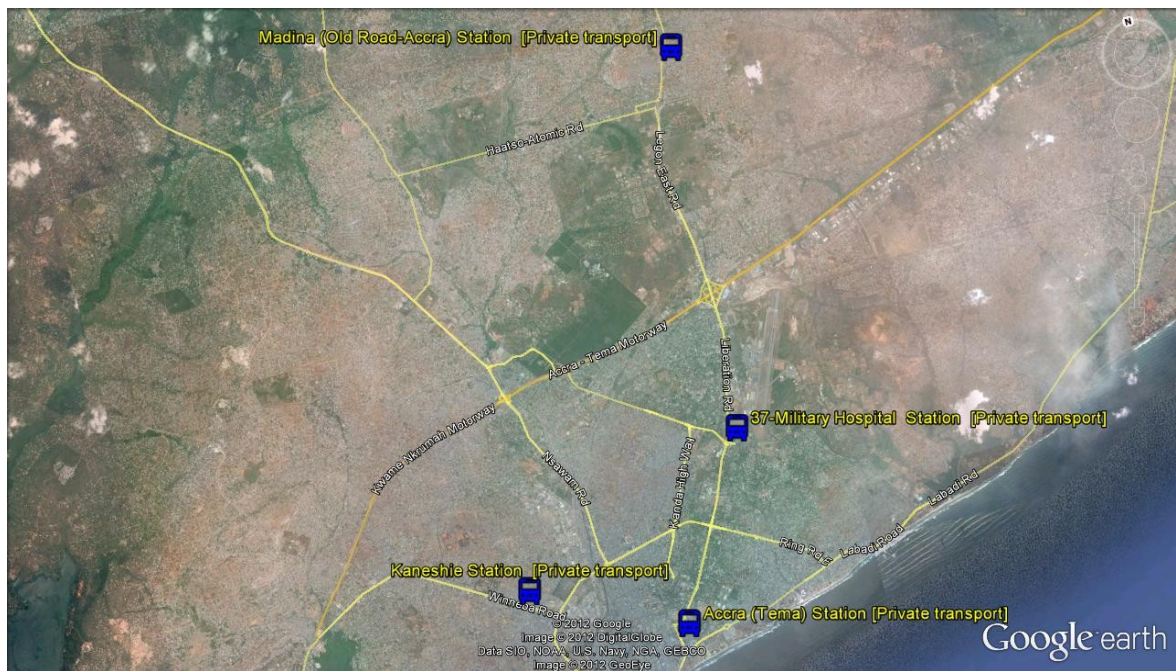
The Accra (Tema) station (Figure 4.3) serves as the main point of entry for

government workers and those that serve them in a range of capacities (food

vendors and shopkeepers) in central Accra. This station is located in one of the

historic areas for diplomatic and economic activities. The Accra (Tema) Station is

adjacent to the Government's Ministries office complex and a few major hotels like

Novotel. The location is in close proximity to major commercial areas like the

famous Makola Market, a sports stadium, government ministries, major hotels, the

headquarters for the GPRTU's Accra headquarters, and the central district's

markets. Figure 4.3 shows that there is a Metro Mass Transport Company (MMT)

station adjacent to the long-existing tro-tro station.

Figure 4.3: Accra (Tema) Station (Date downloaded, May 23, 2012)

Kaneshie station (Figure 4.4) serves industrial workers and residents of the upper west portion of Accra. Located to the south and east of less accessible parts of Greater Accra, Kaneshie station is an important connection point for both area residents who can catch a taxicab or walk home as well as riders who are travelling outside the city via its western coastal routes.

Figure 4.4: Kaneshie Station (Date downloaded, May 23, 2012)

Madina Station (Figure 4.5) serves residents of the Madina and neighboring communities as well as patrons of the famous Madina market that runs along 'Old Road', which was until recently the only major paved road through Madina. Developed outside of the more restrictive central Accra spaces, the Madina station appears to have been interspersed within a neighborhood that is adjacent to two main roads. As Greater Accra has changed overtime so has the local of the main Madina station. The emergence of more suburban housing in northwest Accra has required significant tro-tro service provision to be diverted to what locals call 'New Road'. The GPRTU and other transport providers did not only create new routes but also moved and rearranged the pre-existing Madina tro-tro station. As Figure 4.5 indicates, the Madina station is separated into two locations inside of one large tro-tro station as in the past according to tro-tro interviewees. In earlier times, Madina station was further west on Old Road, however with increased housing development

to the north, east and south of Madina station tro-tro providers have reorganized their operations accordingly. Figure 4.6 shows how the southern portion of Madina Station is in the center of a mixed use neighborhood of both residential and commercial structures.

Figure 4.5: Madina Station (Date downloaded, May 23, 2012)

Figure 4.6: Madina Station (south) (Date downloaded, May 23, 2012)

The 37-Military Hospital Station (Figure 4.7) is located at the main junction
that leads to the northwest portion of Greater Accra, which leads to the main road
exiting the city center and areas like Osu (a key business and residence district
since the colonial period). The routes that intersect at this station provide service to
major thoroughfares that lead to the middle- and upper-income neighborhoods in
the northwest section of Accra and beyond. As Figure 4.7 shows, the location of 37-
Military Hospital gives tro-tro vehicles access to two major thoroughfares, and the
tro-tro station entrance and exit is located just below (east) the split in the road.

Figure 4.7: 37-Military Hospital Station (Date downloaded, May 23, 2012)
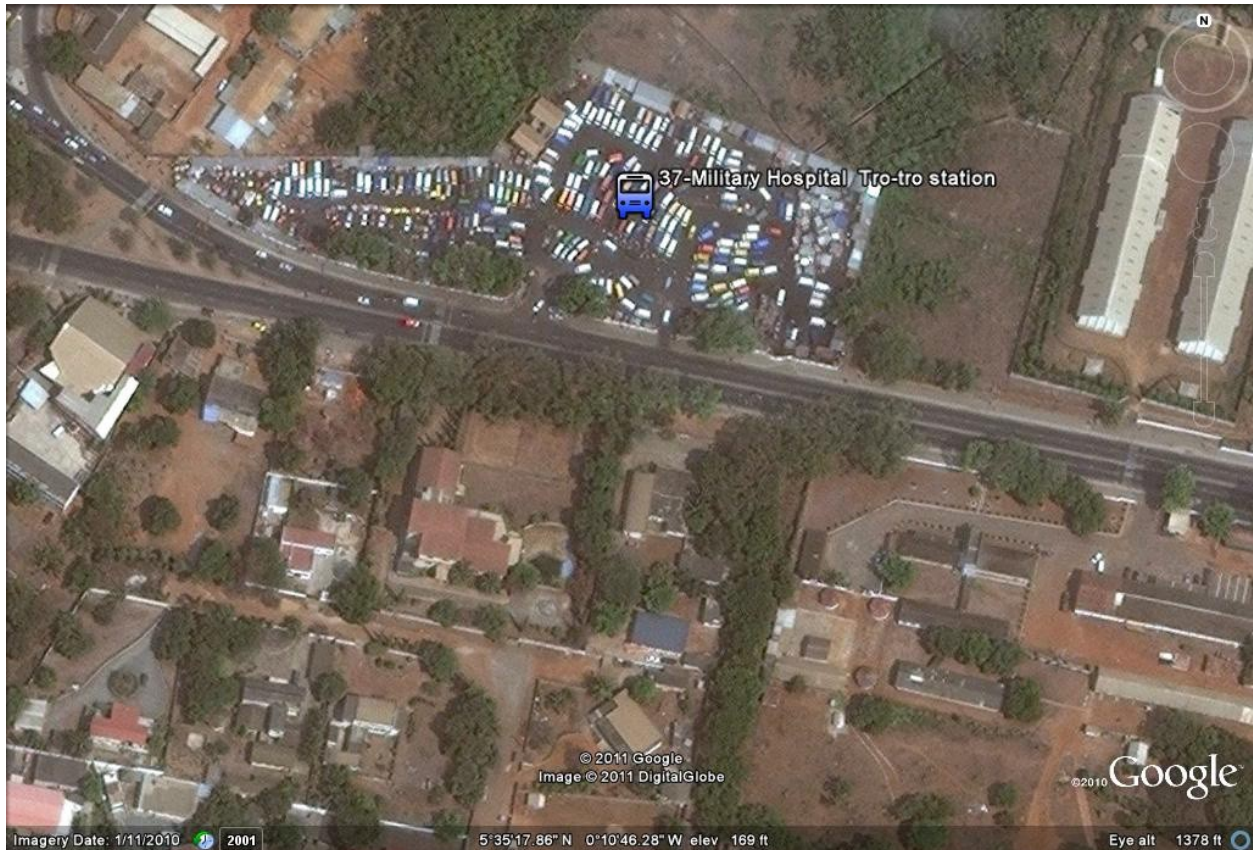
Recruitment for study participants for semi-structured interviews took place at these four tro-tro stations. The primary eligibility requirement for study participation was past or present participation in the tro-tro economy as an entrepreneur (either an owner or a driver). Study participants were eligible for the study if they identified themselves as tro-tro owner/drivers during requests for participation. Initially, I hoped to gain access to tro-tro owners exclusively, however, during the first week of field observation and initial probing of tro-tro drivers at the 37-Military Hospital Station and the Accra (Tema) Station, I found that it challenging to contact enough tro-tro owners via referral from their tro-tro drivers. As a result, I decided to revise the study participants to target the most

125

available sample of tro-tro operators, the tro-tro owners who were also drivers (tro-tro owner-drivers) and therefore present at the tro-tro stations on a regular basis.

The study sample size (n) was twenty-five (25) tro-tro owner-drivers. I used a systematic sampling approach to recruit participants (approximately every 5th tro-tro operator after the preceding completed interview was chosen). Refusals were tracked and typically related to the potential participant's lack of the required time for the semi-structured interview. In-person semi-structured interviews were conducted with all study participants. In some instances interested participants that did not have time initially, arranged to meet me the next day or later. Participants were all English speaking adults who were private transport providers involved in the tro-tro industry. Study participants were provided with small monetary benefits of 5 cedis (about $3 dollars) when necessary.

4.2b. Semi-Structured Interview Guide and Pilot Testing

The interview guide focused on three sets of industry structure dimensions (drawn from the existing literature) listed below:

1) Opportunity and conditions (structure of the industry)

2) Financial resources and startup capital (how do they sustain themselves?)

3) Apprenticeship and human resources (how do they learn?)

Each of the three dimensions proved valuable in the data gathering process, with the first and second dimensions emerging as the two most informative parts of the interview guide. Tro-tro owner-drivers were asked why they offer this service, their attitudes about it, the competition from other transportation options, and why they chose to operate their business where they do.

126

The interview guide was designed on existing transport research and observations made during my preliminary field research visit to Accra in 2007. Upon arrival in 2009, I was able to pilot test the interview guide at the 37-Military Hospital and Madina Stations. Based on pilot testing of the interview guide used during the first two weeks in Accra, it was clear that study participants were likely to prefer anonymity. Before seeking study participants, I pilot tested the interview guide at one tro-tro station (37-Military Hospital) in the study sample and one tro-tro station (Nkrumah Circle) not in the study sample. Pilot test participants noted that I would more than likely encounter a degree of skepticism among the tro-tro operators recruited for the study due to the lack of clarity of government intentions in proposed mass transport reforms and academic research. I also observed reluctance among study participants to discuss their experience as tro-tro operators without the approval of the GPRTU at each of the four tro-tro stations that comprised the selected sample of tro-tro sites. Many of the study participants asked that I shorten the length of the interview to 30 minutes because they were at their place of work. Based on these results, I revised the wording of some questions and shortened the interview guide.

4.2c. Translation, Field Challenges, and Informed Consent

I had a multi-lingual research assistant who provided translation as needed. She was a native Fante speaker and also proficient in Asante Twi and Ga (the language of the original inhabitants of Accra). She was a female Ghanaian citizen who I was able to recruit during my preliminary research in 2007, as well as prior to and upon my return in 2009. She was a resident in the Madina neighborhood of

greater Accra who moved to Accra during her youth from a Fante fishing town called Apam.

In the field, weather conditions affected my ability to conduct interviews. The northern parts of the city were drastically affected by the heavy rains that occurred sporadically during much of field research visit in 2009. The location and availability of willing study participants made the process of obtaining interviews more challenging that expected based on experiences during preliminary research in 2007.

Informed verbal consent was sought at the time of each interview (the study was reviewed and approved by UCLA IRB). Participants were advised that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they could stop the interview at any point. All of the interviews were conducted one-on-one in tro-tro stations, on the street, and in personal residences. All of the interviews were recorded with no refusals. The recordings were not associated with interviewees, and have remained anonymous.

The following UCLA IRB approved 'Consent Script' was used in the recruitment of study participants:

> "Hello. My name is Dontraneil Clayborne. I am a student from the University of California in the United States. I would like to learn more about your experiences driving tro-tros in Accra. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes. Your responses will remain anonymous; no personal information will be connected with the records from this interview. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer.

With your permission I would also like to tape record our interview today.

You can ask me to turn off the recorder at any time while we are talking for

any reason. The tapes will not be shared with anyone other than my

assistant helping me with this project.

This interview will take 45-60 minutes. To thank you for your time we'd like

to offer you 10 cedis[321] (or some other non-cash payment that is equivalent).

Can I begin the interview? May I turn on my recorder?"

4.3. Demographics

Age. The average age of the interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers was 45.5

years (with a range of 18 to 61 years of age).

Education. Obtaining full and open information regarding the education and

employment experiences of study participants was challenging since most of the

interviewees did not wish to elaborate about their level of education and the impact

on their employment choices. Existing research generally depicts tro-tro drivers

along with other jitney service providers as uniformly poor and uneducated. The

sample of 25 owner-drivers recruited for this study showed diverse levels of

educational attainment.

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[321] Between June 22nd and August 17th, 2009, the exchange rate for cash currency
conversions from U.S. dollars to Ghanaian cedis ranged from $0.64 to $0.65 for
1.00 cedi. 10 cedis was the equivalent of between $6.39 and $6.53.

The majority (56%) of the interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers did not advance past primary school (14 out of 25 interviewees). However, about 12% of those interviewed indicated that they were 'Technical College Graduates' (3 out of 25 interviewees). Interviewee #5 said that he held a Ph.D. in Sociology from Notre Dame.

Nativity and Place of Birth. Of the 25 interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers, 88% (22 out of 25) said that they were born in Ghana, while 12% (3 out of 25) were foreign born.

About 67% of the native born interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers (14 out of 21) reported that they were born in the Greater Accra Metropolitan area: including Accra (Osu) (5 of 14), Accra (Central) (4 of 14), Accra (Madina) (2 of 14), Accra (Labadi) (1 of 14), Accra (Eden) (1 of 14), and Accra (Shurla) (1 of 14). About 33% of the native born interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers were born outside of the Greater Accra Metropolitan area: Winneba (42 miles west of Accra), Bomoa-Ojosi (42 miles west), Agona-Swedru-2 (45 miles northwest), Apam (50 miles west), Dunkwa (92 miles northwest), Takoradi (139 miles west), Tarkwa (179 miles west).

Of the 3 foreign born interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers, 2 were born in the US (one in Washington DC and one in Arizona), and the other was born in Nigeria (Osun State, 419 miles east of Accra).

Reasons for Migration to Accra. There were a variety of reasons reported when asked why interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers moved to Accra. Of the eleven who provided a response, four indicated that they had moved to Accra to become a professional driver, two indicated they sought employment in Accra, two wanted to

live in Africa, one moved to Accra to join family members, and two indicated that they do not live in Accra.

Interviewee #1 said, "I moved to Accra in 1976." "Okay, I want to be a professional driver, so I moved in here to learn how to drive." He stated that, "When you manage in Accra, you get more experience in Accra, than in the village" and added "I needed to get more experience". Interviewee #3 stated that he came to Accra due to familial commitments. He said "Parents moved to Accra, so I followed". Interviewee #5 (an American) expressed that he was motivated by a desire to get a job in Accra, Ghana because he "wanted to live in Africa and got a job" in order to make the move possible. Interviewee #19 shared that he "wanted to be a professional driver", so he "moved from Kumasi to be with his brother in Accra". Interviewee #16 (a native of Nigeria) stated that he "does not live in Accra", he simply comes to stay in Accra for extended periods of time. He said that he found local tro-tro operations to be profitable and when he returned to Nigeria, he planned to become a chartered tro-tro (a form of long-distance tro-tro). Interviewee #17 stated that he still lives in Winneba (a city in an adjacent regional district to the west of the Greater Accra region).

Length of Time Lived in Accra. For those eleven individuals not born in Accra, ten responded to the question concerning length of time that they have lived in Accra. The average length was 22 years (with a range of 10 – 42 years), indicating long term residents.

4.4. Entry into Tro-tro Industry

Human Capital and Training. The most common response about what type of business training each tro-tro operator may have received was simply "driver" (14 out of 25 interviewees).

Interviewee #1 said he did not have a form of training before becoming a tro-tro driver and none once he became an owner. Interviewee #2 said that driving tro-tros were his first job. He was a tro-tro owner-driver for 2 years. He said he chose to leave the tro-tro industry because he could make more money as a taxi driver.

Other interviewees worked in other sectors before entering a tro-tro business. Interviewee #3 said he was trained as a computer technician before becoming a tro-tro driver. Interviewee #4 was a "home construction worker before becoming a tro-tro driver". Interviewee #5 shared that he was in business cleaning in the U.S. and has since open the Aya Centre as a his company in Ghana, which offers educational seminars and learning based instruction. Interviewee #6 stated that he was trained as a military aircraft pilot and has since become an author.

Why Tro-tros as a Business? When the interviewees were asked why they became tro-tro owner-drivers, most replied simply that they wanted to "make money" (15 out of 25). However there were a wide range of comments when probed.

Some commented on the opportunity for supplemental income or the potential for asset building. Interviewee #2 viewed tro-tros as a source of "supplemental income" since he was a building contractor and tro-tro owner. Interviewee #5 said "heard tro-tros were lucrative, "work to pay off tro-tro [car

becomes the driver's car]". Interviewee #6's reply was "to earn extra money in order to build a home just outside of Accra".

Some saw the tro-tro as a means for personal mobility. Interviewee #7 said he entered the tro-tro industry "in order to be able to return home to Nigeria more frequently". Interviewee #8 liked the fact that he "can drive to anywhere" and added that he "enjoys moving around". He also stating that he "drove taxi before tro-tros, but changed to tro-tros because it was too hard to get fares".

Some saw the tro-tro business as a way to progress professionally or leverage existing skills and experience. Interviewee #12 said that he "learned driving" and wanted to be a professional. He shared that he "was first a mate then became a driver". Interviewee #15 mentioned that he had prior "experience as a driver". Interviewee #16 said that he was familiar with the "trade [driving since Agona]".

Interviewee #17 wanted to make money and felt that he could get passengers. In his opinion, the Accra (Tema) station "used to be a fast station". Interviewee #18 wanted "professional work". Interviewee #19 shared that his "brother was a driver".

Tro-tro as First Business? When asked whether working in the tro-tro industry was their first business, some interviewees did have a driving based enterprise as their first business or occupation. About 72% (18 out of 25 interviewees) reported that the tro-tro business was their first business activity (working either as tro-tro operators or owners as their entry point into the operation of their first business). The other seven interviewees indicated that this was not their first business activity.

Interviewee #1 began his work career when he "worked with a company as a brine attendant at a salt plant". He said that "Actually, the time I was working with the company it was a salt company, I was a brine assistant". I think he may have been a bit unclear about what I meant by 'his first business' and comprehended my question as being related to what was 'his first job'. His second professional career was "30 years in the tro-tro business". Interviewee # 7 said that driving was his first business. He stated that he was "based in Lagos but operated a tro-tro in Accra". He added that he had "been in the business for 12 years".

Interviewee #2 said that his current tro-tro business was not this first. He stated "No, I worked as a building contractor". Interviewee #3 said that he "made trunks [jewelry cases] for savings and jewelry" in his first business, then he was involved in "electrical installation and home repairs". He then had a tro-tro business and drove tro-tros for two years. Interviewee #4 had other economic activities that he did not wish to disclose, however, he was a tro-tro driver for an owner for seven years. Two out of the three interviewed foreign born tro-tro owner-drivers did not participate in the industry very long, while the third was a long-term participant in both local and long-distance transport provision. Interviewee #5 (a foreign born operator) had other business experience as well, however he was short-term tro-tro owner lasting one year. Interviewee #6 said that after his time in the U.S. Air Force, his first business venture has been his ownership of an "independent publishing company".

Interviewees #13, #15, #17, #18, #19 and #20 said that the tro-tro business was their first business. These interviewees were involved in the tro-tro industry for long periods of time (15, 39, 18, 28 and 15 years). Interviewee #14

was a private driver at Zongo Lane before he became a tro-tro operator. Interviewee #19 stated that he started in Kumasi, then later drove from Accra to Tamale, then Accra-Takoradi, followed by Accra-Aflao, before he moved back to the Accra (Tema) route and finally the Kaneshie-Santa Maria route due to poor economy.

Financial Resources and Startup Capital. Of the 23 interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers who discussed their startup funds, over half (52%, or 12 out of 23) had saved money to enable entry into a tro-tro business, about 30% (7 out of 23) had been hired by a tro-tro owner, and about 17% (4 out of 23) had borrowed money.

Interviewee #1 said "I saved money". He made it clear that he saved money to buy a tro-tro and did not get loans. Interviewees #4, #6, #7, #9, #10, #11, #12, #13, #14, #17, and #21 each stated that they also saved money to buy a tro-tro. Interviewee #3 said he "was hired by an owner". Interviewees #15, #16, #18, #19, #20 and #23 were also hired by an owner in order to get their first tro-tro. Interviewee #8 said that he obtained a "loan he had to repay". Interviewees #22, #24 and #25 also had to borrow money.

4.5. Opportunity and Conditions (Structure of the Industry)

"Ownership." When I approached them to assess study eligibility, many study participants stated that they were tro-tro owners, however during the actual interview changed their statement to indicate instead that they were either a co-owner of the tro-tro vehicle they were operating with an investor or that they were not the owner at all but only a driver. The intentional or unintentional misrepresentation of ownership among this study sample further illustrates the

unclear nature of some aspects of tro-tro operations.

The arrangements between driver and owners or investors varied in this sample from rental agreements to periodic sharing of profits between the driver and owner to the payment of a flat fee to the owner regardless of profit or loss by the tro-tro driver. Several interviewees indicated that the notion of ownership is somewhat fluid among tro-tro operators. Several stated that they were "given the tro-tro", "drove for an owner", or did not own the tro-tro, they "just drove". Some drivers consider themselves 'owners' of the tro-tro they drove because they possessed it on behalf of an owner or have a verbal agreement to pay to own over time. All of the interviewees who were drivers stated that they only drove one tro-tro on behalf of the owner of the tro-tro or private investor in the tro-tro operation; drivers typically drove a minibus or a 204 bus as a tro-tro. In contrast, in this sample, most of the owner-drivers owned more than one tro-tro.

Of the 25 interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers, 40% (10 out of 25) said that they collectively owned the tro-tro vehicle(s), or shared the ownership; 35% (9 out of 25) said that they privately owned and drove the vehicle(s), or were owner-drivers; 20% (5 out of 25) were solely owners and never drove, and 4% (1 out of 25) said that he was a driver with an investor, or that the vehicle(s) had financial backing.

Collective ownership may refer to shared ownership of the vehicles, or joint ownership of the business, which often refers to shared profits. Interviewee #1 said that "yes" he was an owner. However, he clarified his statement by informing me that his tro-tros were collectively owned, but with an investor not directly involved in the day-to-day operations. He was a driver initially, but explained that "We have

136

the owner, I'm the driver. I've taken it from the owner". Interviewee #1 stated

that, "at the end of the day, he will give you an amount of pay. So, when we close

sometimes daily, sometimes weekly, at the end of the week you send it to the

owner". Interviewee #15 said he operates a 'shared bus', meaning he shares the

profits with the owner. Interviewee #16 stated that he has operated a joint

ownership with his brother for over 3 years. Interviewee #2 also stated that he was

an owner. He added that he collectively owned the tro-tro vehicle and therefore was

part of a shared ownership arrangement. He was "part of a Cooperative, not part of

the GPRTU". I asked "How was it organized?" His response was that in the

Cooperative he was a shareholder. He shared that "We all work together. It doesn't

belong to one person". In regard to the GPRTU, he said that "when you get your

own station…it is for you. Nobody shares anything with you. Cooperative we do it

together". I asked him "You have your own tro-tro?" to which he replied "Yes at

Taxi Run, now we are all taxi drivers". Interviewee #2 saved his own money to

purchase a tro-tro vehicle, stating "I used my own money". At this point he seemed

to have suggested that the Cooperative exited the tro-tro industry and focused on

transport provision via taxis. He described the setup at Taxi Run with his statement

that "There are two separate tro-tro yards". In terms of operations he stated that

"You pay to register, then every day you pay some payment, you pay daily dues.

You register with the chairman/president". He said "The Cooperative is still there".

There are also investors who do not drive the tro-tros themselves.

Interviewee #3 said that he managed the tro-tro for "someone outside" the tro-tro

industry who was a building contractor.

Tro-tro owner-drivers also owned their tro-tros solely and drove those vehicles. Interviewee #4 stated that "Yes" he is the owner since he bought his tro-tro from a financial backer or investor. Interviewees #9, #10, #11 and #19 were each current owners who were former drivers. Interviewee #13 said that he drives and owns his tro-tro so that he has "profit for self". Interviewee #14 stated that he has had a privately owned tro-tro business for 10 years. Interviewee # 18 stressed that since he is a private owner "he drives everywhere, Accra-Tamale, Accra-Takoradi" and elsewhere.

Vehicle Types. The interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers indicated that there were a variety of vehicles used as tro-tros in Accra, including: Mazda 15 seater, Mercedes Benz 207 23 seater, Nissan 207, Toyota Hayes 207, Volkwagen LT 208 33 seater. All of the tro-tro operators interviewed had a stated preference for the operation of small and mid-sized buses as the primary means of travel for short and regional transport. All respondents spoke negatively with regards to larger capacity bus vehicles, which they called simply 'big bus' or 'Kufuor bus' and even double-decker buses, which some called 'China bus'. Some of the interviewed tro-tro driver-owners did state that the large capacity buses are preferable for long distance travel along major highways. Interestingly, officially shared taxis are considered a sort of unofficial tro-tro; they are referred to as 'dropping' or 'charter' taxis because they run designated routes and do not pick up passengers between their designated (chartered) loading and drop off location. This form of transport is considered a temporary form of tro-tro because it is a designated not freelance type of jitney service. An example might be official shared taxi service provision between

a tro-tro station and the nearest hospital or a suburban or rural area with limited traffic flow during the late night hours, market day for a private special event.

Interviewee #1 said that he owned 3 tro-tros; he sometimes drove the tro-tros but usually would "hire somebody". He said that he drove "twice in a month". In terms of general operations and collecting of earnings, Interviewee #1 stated that "every day, the trust that you have for the driver, then you say to bring it everyday, if you don't trust them too much…The one's you trust, the whole month". He made it clear that there are "different contracts based on trust". Interviewee #1 said that he uses "a 207 model bus, 207…23 seater" (bigger bus which has 23 seats). When asked "Why do you own these types?", he replied, "Now, first thing I would say the small bus is no good recently, too much accident on the road. So they banned the buses from going far distance". He added that "It's safe to get the bigger buses than the small ones." Interviewee #1 asserted that the "small one brings less money and the big one more money". He continued that the 17-seater model is the small bus that has too many accidents but added that "a plus is that big buses are allowed for long distance".

Interviewee #2 said "I drive small and I give it to someone." He made it clear that he preferred the larger tro-tros. He shared that he had worked at Taxi Run in Madina, where he had to pay daily dues. Tro-tro operators must register before paying dues with to the chairman (president) of the tro-tro union at the station one wants to operate out of for one's tro-tro business. He said he owned one tro-tro. He said that he had a Mazda bus with 15 seats that was about ten years old.

Interviewee #3 stressed that he has one tro-tro that he "drives himself and hired a driver and mate". He shared the specific type of vehicle he drives a "Toyota Hayes 207", which is a "15-seater plus the driver and mate". Interviewee #4 stated that he "drives himself" using a Nissan 2007.

Interviewee #5 stated that he hired a driver. He also shared that he bought a minibus that was "10 years at purchase" and a "Nissan 18-seater" (which is probably the same type of vehicle owned by Interviewee #3). He also stated that "repairs were a huge profit drain", while "disciplinary issues" were also an issue.

Interviewee #6 said that at one time he owned three tro-tros and "hired 3 drivers". He said that he was "not sure of the age [of the vehicles] but over 5 years old for sure". Interviewee #7 drives a Volvo that can seat "4-5 people [for daily rental or long distance trips]". He added that, "he used to have a small bus with 15 seats. But family in Lagos has led to a change in his business operations". He was "not sure" of the age of the tro-tro.

Interviewee #8 was a tro-tro owner-driver and a station manager. He said "I am the GPRTU" in reference to his position as the station manager at the Accra (Tema) station. Interviewee #8 disclosed that "The Tema Station, Accra is big so we have a lot of areas. We have Tema station here. Here is the Tema Station…T.E.M.A.". He added a clarifying statement that "Some cars go from here to Tema". He also said "Yeah…I'm the supervisor, but we have supervisors over the various stations". Continuing he stated that "The national [referring to the GPRTU] is different, we have the regional which is also different. You see, for the regional supervisors, we have the regional secretariat. Then we have the national secretariat". Furthermore, Interviewee #8 stated that "Each station you have to

operate on its own". In reference to his personal operations, he said that he does "both, he drives himself and has a driver". He uses a 1990 LT Volkswagen bus, which is a 19-seater, not a 207. He owns a total of 6 buses, which includes a 508 model with 33 seats that is used for local and intermediate transport provision.

Interviewee #13 stated that he owns one tro-tro that he "drives himself". He operates a 508 model bus with 33 seats. He was "not sure" of the age of the vehicle. Interviewees #14 and #15 both also owned one "big bus" 508 model bus with 33 seats and was "not sure" of the age of the vehicle.

Interviewee #16 said that for "eight years he has worked in Kaneshie station" where he had one 508 model bus. Interviewees #17, #18 and #20 each drove a 508 bus as well. Interviewee #19 stated that he "drives someone's bus who works at Korle Bu [Hospital]". He operates a 508, and does not have any 207s.

Interviewee #21 asserted that "37 has more consistent fares since a lot of workers and school children use the station". He said that he had four tro-tros that operate between the Accra and Kaneshie stations. He operates both Mercedes Benz 207s and 508 Volkswagen LTs. Interviewees #22-#25 each operated a 207 model bus.

Costs of Business. In terms of regular costs and expenses, the interviewees referred generally to fuel, maintenance costs of the vehicles, and labor costs for drivers and their assistants ("mates").

Interviewee #1 stated that "the mate is paid by the driver". He added that the "the driver it depends on the business and type of bus". He said "15 cedis. Drivers get 10 -15 cedis per day". While in regard to mates, he stated that "at the end of the day they get 5 cedis". In terms of maintenance, he said "once a week".

Interviewee #1 added that "general maintenance about 50 cedis [tires, muffler, heating]".

Interviewee #2 said that the "driver gets 10 cedis per month and earns 5-10 cedis per day". Interviewee #8 concurred, "yes, depends 5-20 cedis". He adds that fuel costs 100 cedis per day. He shared that 25 GH cedis goes to the Driver who gets 5 cedis per day. Interviewee #12 stated that it costs about 100 cedis per month to keep his tro-tro business in operation. Interviewee #13 shared that mates earn about 3 cedis per day. Interviewee #17 mentioned that drivers get 5-6 cedis per day. In relation to the cost of operations, Interviewee #21, #22, #24 and #25 all agreed that their daily operations cost 80-90 cedis.

Revenues and Profit. Interviewee #1 stated that he earns approximately 240 cedis per week per car; with three cars, this was equivalent to 720 cedis each week between Monday-Saturday. He said that for him he has "not too much difficulty" in making a profit. He stressed however that "the maintenance is important. Good maintenance is key". Interviewee #1 added that "during the rainy season Petrol [gas] costs are high". He also said that it is key to "invest to buy a new car [bus]".

Interviewee #2 in contrast said that was "difficult" and a "waste time" trying to make a profit in the tro-tro industry. He mentioned that he focused on "small trips" that were "close to home" because there were "a lot of customers". He shared that he earned "50-60 cedis per day" of which "a portion [is profit], most goes to expenses [especially food]".

Interviewee #5 believed that it is possible to make a profit as a tro-tro operator. He shared that each day he earns "100 cedis, minus pay and repairs". Interviewee #8 agreed that it is possible to make a profit. He said it "yes, depends

5-20 cedis". He shared some specifics about his operation stating that fuel costs about 100 cedis per week. He added that the driver gets 25 cedis per week at a rate of 5 cedis per day.

Interviewee #12 said that the ability to make a profit is "off and on". He stated that makes a profit of 5 cedis per day. He added that "every three weeks tro-tros receive repairs [servicing]". Interviewees #13, #14, #22, #23 each also stated that they make a profit of 5 cedis per day. Interviewee #16 stated that his profits range from 5-10 cedis per day. Interviewee #20 said he makes a profit of 3-4 cedis. Interviewee #21 stated that he makes a profit of 15 cedis per day. Interviewee #24 and #25 each said they make a profit of 10 cedis per day.

4.6.   Operations and Competition for Ridership

Competition for Riders. Interviewee #1 shared the most information about the character of his ridership. He stated that tro-tros work because they were "economical, high rates of taxis". He felt that everyone uses tro-tros "men and women, businessmen". He said there is no difference in ridership during the day, yet late at night, women may be more inclined to use taxis. The price of the fee tro-tros must pay to operate is consistent though it may depend on the government rate. He said "The charge depends, we do have the charge from the government. Let's say from here to Tema and they are charging 90 pesewas, the government. So when they increase the price, they [the government] increase the fee". Interviewee #2 asserted that "Everybody rides tro-tro." He added that "even some of the 'big men' [wealthy people] and their children. Continuing he added "Big man take tro-tro, life in a castle where they take tro-tro".

"Kufuor buses" or large government-operated buses were seen by many of the interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers as the main competition for ridership for the tro-tros. Interviewee #1 was critical of government involvement in mass transport provision. He stated, "When they came first, they don't allow us, where they are locating the passengers, and they don't allow us to go there. But as of now, because of the GPRTU they cannot sack us. Everywhere they are, we are there". Interviewee #1 also asserted that there is a fair amount of competition for ridership from the government, "At first, government tried to limit tro-tro on their routes [return to past policy approaches]. Now the Kufuor bus operates with the tro-tro in those areas". Interviewee #13 stated the main changes within the tro-tro industry have been "'Kufuor buses' taking more customers". Interviewees #17, #18 and #20 also mentioned the Kufuor buses as the main competition.

Interviewees #21, #22, #23, #24 and #25 each felt that there was not much competition at their tro-tro stations. However Interviewee #21 added that there was not much competition at the 37-Military Hospital station "but elsewhere". He shared that "Floating is a big problem".

Routes and Stations. There were a range of routes and variety in the combinations of tro-tro stations and destinations used by the tro-tro owner-drivers interviewed. Twenty-two distinct routes were identified by the interviewees:

- Madina (Old Road) Station to 3 routes: Accra, Nkrumah Circle, Accra (Tema)
- Accra (Tema) Station to 9 routes: Lagos, Nigeria and private charter, Dzowulu, Pig Farm (New Town), Madina, Madina-Adenta, Takoradi and Accra (Swedru), Tamale Boku-Tamale, Tema Ashaiman, Madina

- Kaneshie Station to 7 routes: Accra (Tema) Station, Cape Coast-Takoradi, Cape Coast-Takoradi-Apam, Swedru Kasaa, Winneba-Weija, Tema, private charter

- 37-Military Hospital Station to 3 routes: Tema, Madina, Osu-Labadi

The interviewees had a variety of explanations for selection of station and routes. Many chose the station closest to their or their drivers' residences. Interviewees #2, #3, #10, #20, #23, #24 and #25 each said that the station location was "close to home". Interviewee #5 said that he "lived near Madina in Legon" therefore the station was not too far from home. Interviewee #6 stated the location he chose to start his business was because his driver lived in Madina. Interviewee #8 stated that his location choice was "because of where he lived". He added that it was unfortunate "when school is out, less passengers". Interviewee #12 who operates out of Kaneshie station stated that he "lives in Mallam [in McCarthy Hills], which is near Kaneshie". Interviewee #13 lived near Swedru, which is not far from Kaneshie station. Interviewee #14 said that he lives near the station.

Some indicated that specific stations had less competition, greater ridership, or were safer locations. Interviewee #20 also added that at Kaneshie station "formerly 50 buses moved but now only 9 buses". Interviewee #7 chose his location for business operations because it was in a busy area that "was good for business". Interviewee #9 said that his location decision was determined due to the need for a "busy station in an important location". Interviewees #11 and #22 chose a "busy area". Interviewee #21 chose his tro-tro business location because it was in a "good business area". Interviewee #1 stated that "the reason I choose

Madina, calm, not too much robbery and all those things. It's a very calm place".

He added "not like Ashaiman and Nima, Madina is better than those places. No one

likes Nima". Interviewee #4 stated that location was important, "close to large

market, therefore a good business opportunity".

Other interviewees indicated that more fluid criteria for station selection.

Interviewee #15 stated that he lives in Tema but also lives in Swedru sometimes,

said that he goes and comes. Interviewee #18 uses Kaneshie station because he

"goes to Swedru-Winneba". Interviewee #16 chose his location because "Kaneshie

use to be fast but the Kufuor bus has slowed the station buses". Interviewee #19

said that Kaneshie station is "faster than other stations". In reference to Kaneshie

station's location outside of central Accra, he asserted that there are "too much

traffic jams in Accra".

Driving Schedules. The interviewees suggested a number of industry-wide

practices and behaviors, including: 1) local tro-tros in Accra sometimes double as

regional ('middle distance') buses at night, for special occasions and during holidays

periods, 2) most operators work long hours and most days of the week, and 3)

their involvement in the tro-tro business was typically the only occupation for tro-

tro drivers and owner-drivers, while tro-tro owners in had other occupations and

business endeavors. In general, the 25 interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers believed

'success' in the tro-tro industry requires more than simply buying a vehicle and

"hitting the road". Undoubtedly there is a fair amount of social capital (e.g.

interpersonal relationships) and cultural capital (e.g. understanding of your

ridership/target market) blended with the beneficial aspects of economic capital

(e.g. access to quality vehicles) and human capital development (e.g. driver training) required to operate an efficient and financially-rewarding tro-tro business.

The 25 interviewees indicated the following general range of tro-tro business hours:

- work hours for drivers: 4 am – 8 pm

- rush hours: 6 am – 9 am (+/- 1 hour) and 3 pm – 6 pm

- busiest days: Wednesdays and Saturdays (market days)

Interviewee #1 shared the following comments about the range of approaches implemented in running one's tro-tro operations, "Some work day times, some others at night". He also stated that night operations are preferred by some tro-tro drivers, "Some of them, not because they cannot work day time but their 'particulars' [meaning driver's license and/or vehicle registration] are not in order. And because of nights, there is no rushing time; cars are not plenty on the road during the night. So the person prefers to work at night rather than day time". A typical day time shift according to Interviewee #1 is "4 am-8 pm" or a 16 hour workday. A typical night shift is "1 am-day". In terms of his operations and the schedule of his workers, Interviewee #1 said he does have drivers at night. Interviewee #1 employs 6 workers (3 drivers and 3 mates). He stressed that his business operations are "based on trust, they bring money once a week". The drivers collect money, which is used for bus maintenance. Interviewee #1 states that "Rush hour is 5 am-10 am and 3 pm-6 pm". During rush hour, "The busy time of the day is between 7-9". Therefore for the tro-tro operator, the typical rush hour is "6 am to 9". More specifically, he added "I say Friday is the busiest day…Friday, people do travel a lot" because Friday is market day in many parts of Accra.

Interviewee #2 states he works from "5 am-6 pm sometimes until 7 pm or 8 pm". He said he employs 1 driver and 1 mate. His work schedule was Monday-Friday and "only during the day". Interviewees #3 and #4 both stated that they work a "Monday-Saturday" schedule. Interviewees #5 and #6 said that they "never drove". Interestingly, Interviewee #7 stated that he usually had 1 trip per week to Lagos "sometimes 3 times per week". When there are no trips to Lagos scheduled, he said he may work 3-5 days as a tro-tro driver in Accra, usually along the Accra to Tema route. He also expressed the need to "get other stations" in order to maintain his tro-tro operations.

Interviewee #8 stated that, "the typical day of a tro-tro driver is in the morning and in the evenings". In his view, "it is your duty as a tro-tro driver or transit operator to go and bring workers from whereever they are to the city center or to their workplaces, so in the morning we have to get busy, make sure that they arrive at their various offices in time". He feels the service he offers is important "in relation to maintain, to develop and grow". He added "I mean, so the life of a tro-tro driver are busy days, make money in the mornings and the evenings. In the evenings you send them back to their homes". Interviewee #8 stated in regard to 'rush hour', "It can be from 5 a.m. up to 9-10". He added a clarifying statement that "I'm the GPRTU [Head of Tema station]. We have the Tema station. Some cars go from here to Tema". In his view the busiest times were "5 am-6:30 pm". He also asserted that "every day especially, Sunday" is busy.

Interviewee #12 stated that he works "6 days a week, no Sunday" from 4 am-8 pm. He said he is both a "driver and operator". Interviewee #13 said he works from 4 am-6 pm. In his view the two busiest days are "Wednesday and

Saturday [market day]". At times he needs to change his schedule at which time he will "mainly drive at night at 1 am". His primary route is from Accra to Takoradi (a distance of 115 miles). Interviewee #14 stated that he works from 3:30 am-7:30-8 pm. The busiest days in his estimation are Wednesday and Saturday. He stated that he works at night "sometimes. His main routes are between Accra to Takoradi and/or Cape Coast (77 miles from Accra).

Interviewee #15 found that he typically works from "5 am-no set time". He said that he "drives bus" and works at night. Interviewee #17 also "works 6 days a week" from 4:30 am-9:30 or 10 pm. He stated that Saturday is the busiest day of the week due to funerals and "outdooring" (meaning customary baby naming ceremonies).

Accidents. Some of the interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers suggested that tro-tros were no more or no less safe than other forms of mass transport available in Accra. According to Interviewee #1, tro-tros do not get into many accidents, instead "private cars and taxis" have more accidents. Interviewee #19 believes that "private cars" have more accidents. Interviewee #20 thought that both "taxis and private cars" had more accidents than tro-tros. Interviewee #12 felt that "Tro-tros have the most due to carelessness". However after further thought, he changed his comments in saying that "Private cars also have a fair amount of accidents…private cars have more accidents". Interviewee #13 was even more direct with his statement that "private cars, don't know how to drive" because "tro-tros practice more".

However, some indicated that tro-tros were more likely to be in accidents than other vehicles. Interviewee #2 stated the following, "Tro-tros most of them

get accident. It's not like the taxi." Continuing he added "The tro-tro have more",
while private cars have accidents "sometimes". Interviewees #5 and #6 both felt
that private cars have more accidents than tro-tros based on their experience as
tro-tro owners and private car owners. Interviewee #21 said that there are not a
lot of accidents, "Not much, but tro-tro has more" than private cars and taxis.

4.7. Market Barriers and Regulation

Tro-tro Registration. All interviewees made it clear that all legally operated
tro-tros must be registered with the appropriate government authorities. Of the 25
interviewees, 20 affirmed that they were required to register the tro-tro(s) they
operated with the Accra Metropolitan Authority (AMA) and the Ghana Private Roads
Transport Union (GPRTU).

Four interviewees provided different information about tro-tro registration.
Interviewee #1 did not mention the AMA. His comments were focused on the
functioning of GPRTU. Interviewee #1 said "When you come into this station, you
will register with the welfare chairman". He stated that "you register your company
with the registrar general". Tro-tro operators first register with the GPRTU, meaning
"you register in the name of the GPRTU". He added "you are a driver, when you are
bringing the car, you have to register the license. Register company with the
GPRTU then they send the driver to the Registrar General. Drivers choose their
area. Tell GPRTU 'The company is registered already'. No need for you to go there
again. They represented here. When you bring your tro-tro, you come here, when
you want to register your car to work. When you are bring a new bus, you have to
register, you pay 15 cedis, just once!" He added that there is a "15 cedis one-time

fee to start a business". He said "All tro-tros must pay this fee". Interviewee #2 (a former tro-tro driver who was a taxi driver as of 2009) stated that his tro-tro was part of a Cooperative, therefore he did not have to register with the GPRTU. The two other interviewees thought that the registration fee was administered by the AMA, while another interviewee indicated that the Accra Metropolitan Authority charged tro-tro operators a 20 cedis license fee and a 3 cedis renewals fee.

There was also disagreement on licensing for the drivers and the routes. One interviewee stated that the "GPRTU regulates driver's license", meaning it was required to use their specific tro-tro stations. Another commented that if one wants to enter the transport market as driver, they had to first go to the license office for the vehicle then the GPRTU to register the route they want to operate their tro-tro on.

There was very limited interaction or knowledge by the 25 interviewed tro-tro owner-drivers concerning national ministries or municipal organizations.

GPRTU and AMA Fees. There were varied responses from the interviewees about whether GPRTU daily fees or AMA booking fees were required, and what amount these fees entailed.

Many interviewees agreed that there were required GPRTU fees to operate a tro-tro business at a tro-tro station, but differed on the amount. Interviewee #1 stated that there was a "GPRTU daily fee of 1 cedis and 50 pesewas [3 cedis total to use to stations between Tema and Madina]". He added that "during difficulties they help each other, they will loan you some money and through natural difficulties". He mentioned that tro-tro drivers were striking about the presence of the Kufuor

151

bus. Interviewees #4 and #5 said the fee was 50 pesewas, Interviewee #6 said 45 pesewas, and Interviewee #6 said 70 pesewas.

Some indicated that there were AMA booking fees required in addition to the GPRTU daily fees to the tro-tro station. Interviewee #8 said there is a booking fee of 1 cedi to the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and 70 pesewas to the tro-tro station. Interviewee #12 also said that there is a booking fee. However he stated that it is difficult to say how much it is because the Accra (Tema) station is focused on intermediate to long distance travel. Interviewee #13 stated that there is a booking fee (from GPRTU) of 3 cedis per trip and a 'gate fee' (from municipal government) of 2 cedis. Interviewee #14 stated that there is a booking fee of 2 cedis/trip and a gate fee of 3 cedis/day. Interviewee #15 mentioned a 2 cedis and 50 pesewas booking fee. Interviewees #21, #22, #23, #24 and #25 all said there is a 3 cedis per day by the GRPTU and a 1 cedi per day charge by the AMA.

Interviewee #2 said that his business was "not a GPRTU tro-tro but a cooperative tro-tro" and therefore none of these fees applied.

Regulation. Most of interviewees did not support government regulation of the tro-tro industry. The overarching consensus was that the government cannot do better. A few interviewees did believe with an inclusive approach, the government could over time re-regulate and re-orient the tro-tro industry for the better. Interviewee #1 commented that "oh yeah if the government can relate the tro-tro through the GPRTU executives it will be good for all of us", since the "GPRTU has been around since 1958".

Interviewee #2 was a bit unsure of the direction the re-regulation process will lead the tro-tro industry. He stated that "And they can't change it because it's a

152

local thing that we know, tro-tro. It's not bus, it's tro-tro. It's different". His conclusion was the following, "so unless they teach us something else, we go a long way and then we've learned something different. Because when you are 'running hurry' [in a rush] you can't sit in a bus. You have to sit in a tro-tro, not a bus". In the end, his view is that the tro-tro industry is a "local thing people know it".

Interviewee #8 felt that the government could not compete, because "the cost of operations is too much and takes too much time". Interviewee #12 made it clear that he does not see a direct role for the tro-tro operator in terms of any negotiation or influence over new regulations. He said "no, I don't get involved. The GPRTU should handle the negotiations" with the government. The same was the case with Interviewee #13, he did not get involved but felt the GPRTU should be involved. Interviewee #14 said that the AMA regulated who is "licensed or they are arrested". He added that a tro-tro driver's "sticker must be visible". Interviewee #18 asserted that "they [the government] don't have anything to offer", while "owners want to get private vehicles and pay them off weekly" and then join a collective. He said that there should be more assistance to tro-tro operators as in "private support by government". Interviewee #21 argued that "due to employee's loss of jobs, the government bus will be hard-pressed to put in action" a plan that will work.

A few interviewees envisioned a long-term positive role for the government in transport provision. Interviewee #16 asserted that there may be a need for more government involvement since "the driver trains [teaches] the mate how to drive". Interviewee #15 believed that the government should get involved in the tro-tro industry in order to "give them loans to buy better buses". Interviewee #19 also

expressed a bit of optimism about the government's efforts at market reform, stating that it may be "ready to work".

4.8.   Summary of Results

There were four major findings that emerged from the interviews conducted with 25 tro-tro owner-drivers in Accra, Ghana. The first finding was the relative diversity in tro-tro owner-drivers and the complex and fluid nature of tro-tro business ownership patterns. The second finding was that the basis for tro-tro station choice among interviewed owner-drivers was typically the proximity of the tro-tro station to their or their drivers' residence within the Accra metropolitan. There were also decision factors concerning the availability of riders and competition from AMA buses. The third finding was the fairly uniform nature of operations at each tro-tro station and among tro-tro drivers, that is, that operations centered on having many riders clustered in time and space (leading to relatively clear routes, long work days and weeks, and desirable tro-tro stations). The fourth and final finding is the fluid nature of regulation by the AMA and GPRTU, both in terms of rules and practices and how they are enforced. Although it would be difficult to measure, one can speculate from these findings that the organizational framework provided by the GPRTU and increased government oversight in the last two decades has streamlined the daily functions of tro-tro stations and tro-tro service owner-drivers.

Policy-makers will benefit from further analysis of past practices and the development and evolution of jitney service provision in Accra. Following years of governmental neglect in the 1960s and 70s, encouragement of informal economic

activities during as part of the ERP of the 1980s, followed by SAP-driven austerity approaches in the 1990s, the GoG began researching similar transportation environments around the world in efforts to improve existing transport systems. In recent years the national and municipal governments have begun to propose extensive regulation of mass transport provision within Ghana. In Accra, the largest city with the most traffic congestion, international, national, municipal and at times local transport stakeholders have initiated a range of transport improvements yet there are a variety of development prescriptions. Like other African cities, governments have begun to make the connection between improved roads and transports services and economic development and less traffic. Kumar and Barrett summarized the most recent yet rapidly changing situation in Accra as of 2009. They state that,

> Since the crisis of the 1990s, several approaches to large-bus service have been taken in the cities studied. Some cities (Accra, Dar Es Salaam, Kampala, Kigali, and Lagos) doned large-bus service altogether, and now rely exclusively on private, largely informal, minibus services. Accra, Kampala, and Lagos have attempted to revive large-bus operations, so far without success."[322]

Even though the interviews in Accra with tro-tro owner-drivers indicated a relatively well organized though informal transport system through the tro-tro industry, there remains a heavy emphasis on by central and municipal government on reforming and re-organizing local, inter-regional and national transport services in Ghana. In their efforts to revamp the national road and transport infrastructure and the Greater Accra metropolitan mass transport system, government planners have left open the role of the private mass transport service providers. The tro-tro

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[322] Kumar and Barrett., 6.

system was created informally by private entrepreneurs who recognized the profitability of transport services. As of 2009, the lead consultants for the DUR estimated that 75% of Accra's local mass transport services were provided by the tro-tro industry. In support of transportation development, several government organizations (e.g. Department of Urban Roads), intergovernmental organizations (e.g. World Bank and the United Nations Organization) and regional organizations (e.g. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)) have provided technical and financial assistance. Recently, however, some government officials have spoken critically about tro-tro operators in general and the GPRTU as the largest tro-tro driver union specifically. The tension around urban transportation will likely continue as the government at various scales endeavors to manage transportation more directly. I return to this growing conflict in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

GOVERNMENT RE-ENTERS MUNICIPAL PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

5.1. Introduction

In support of the United Nation Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in 2000, significant changes were proposed by policymakers for international and African development efforts.[323] The fourth target in Goal 7 of ensuring environmental sustainability included transportation development and reform, which aimed to improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.

On February 8, 2007, African ministers responsible for transport and health convened a meeting of the Ministerial Roundtable at the African Road Safety Conference in Accra, Ghana. The African ministers produced at this meeting the "Accra Declaration," prepared under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa of the African Union and the World Health Organization. In the "Accra Declaration," policymakers acknowledged and reaffirmed "the declaration by the African Ministers responsible for Transport and Infrastructure adopted in Addis

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[323] *Millennium Project*, commissioned by the UN Secretary General and Supported by the UN Development Group (2002-2006), accessed Feb. 2, 2012, http://unmilleniumproject.org.

Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty; Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education; Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women; Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality; Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health; Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases; Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability; and Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development.

As of Jan. 1, 2007, the advisory work of the Millennium Project secretariat was continued by an MDG Support team under the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Ababa, in April 2005, on the importance of the role of transport in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)".[324]

The African ministers also noted that they are "[c]ognizant of the high rate of road accidents and their adverse social and economic impact on the continent",[325] leading to efforts with global partners to reduce accidents and improve traffic safety, including the World Bank Global Road Safety Facility, UN Road Safety Collaboration, Department for International Development (DFID), Government of Netherlands, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the FIA Foundation, and Global Road Safety Partnership (GRSP).[326] The Declaration highlighted "the deteriorating condition of the quality of transport infrastructure and the need for sustainable management and financing to support road maintenance" and recommended a $300 million per year global road safety action plan. The proposed global road safety action plan services included a commitment of 10% of all road sector projects to road safety initiatives including rating assessment, design and systems management and to hold a global United Nations ministerial meeting on road safety in 2009.[327]

In addition to road safety, the United Nations Millennium Project includes "access to transport" as a key component in the development of basic infrastructure

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[324] Economic Commission for Africa and World Health Organization, "*Accra Declaration*", Ministerial Round Table, African Road Safety Conference, Accra, Ghana, February 8, 2007, accessed January 2009, http://www.who.int/roadsafety/events/4arsc/accra_declaration.pdf, 1.

[325] Ibid.

[326] Ibid, 2.

[327] Ibid.

and human capital along with improvements in the provision of healthcare, education, electricity, water supply, sanitation and solid waste disposal.[328]

As the previous chapters indicated, much of Accra's daily transportation needs are met by the informal economy of tro-tro businesses. These businesses are regulated through two institutions: multiple layers of government (municipal and to a lesser degree central) through licensing, and the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU) through site fees at tro-tro stations. This chapter now turns to the municipal and central government's emerging efforts to develop a larger scale public transportation system, which would largely replace the informal economy of tro-tros in favor of large buses.

The chapter is organized into the following sections. First, I describe the qualitative interview and archival document methodology that I used in acquiring information about this emerging issue. Second, I provide institutional history concerning the roles and responsibilities of government agencies in providing transportation services and regulating transportation service providers in Accra. Third, I describe the municipal government's recent efforts to create a bus rapid transit system, called the "Superbus System", and to expand regulation of existing transportation service providers. Finally, I highlight the conflicts between the GPRTU and the municipal government that are likely to impede the municipal government's ability to implement its goals for municipal public transportation. I close the chapter with a summary of the major findings.

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[328] UN Millennium Project, *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* (2005), 5, accessed June 2, 2010, http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/documents/MainReportComplete-lowres.pdf.

5.2.   Data and Methods

The primary data used for the analysis in this chapter included documents, web sites, interviews, and participant observation. I describe the interview methods in detail in this section. Participant observation occurred in tandem with the interviews, and documents were provided by interviewees.

I used convenience sampling in 2009 to recruit individuals for semi-structured interviews who had knowledge about municipal plans for regulating tro-tros and for expanding bus service. I recruited four individuals to interview: two welfare chairmen (representing the GPRTU at two tro-tro stations) and two government officials.

The welfare chairmen were located at the Madina Station and Accra (Tema) Station. Each welfare chairman was chosen because of his knowledge of both the history of jitney service provision in Accra, Ghana and organization of the tro-tro industry. Both welfare chairmen had over 20 years of experience in the tro-tro industry both as drivers and owner-drivers. In fact, the information provided by the Madina Station welfare chairman influenced the approach taken during the field-testing of the interview questionnaire. As a rural migrant to Accra, the Madina Station welfare chairman provided a sense of the decision making by tro-tro entrepreneurs to enter the industry, as he left his job as a brine assistant to move to Accra to become a driver. Over time, he saved money and purchased his first tro-tro and currently owns three mini-buses.

The two government officials represented the Department of Urban Roads (DUR, created by the central government of Ghana) and the Ghana Roads

Transport Coordinating Committee (GRTCC, a non-partisan advisory group composed of tro-tro operators). The DUR and GRTCC are both organizations with direct roles in suggesting approaches to the regulation of the tro-tro industry, with the DUR integral in transport policy formation. As the Head of the Institutional Development Unit of DUR's Urban Transport Project, the high ranking central government official I interviewed provided invaluable information about the origin and development of the tro-tro system, and current efforts to reform public transportation, particularly mass transportation in Ghana.[329] The GRTCC official was an active participant within the National Chairman office of the GRTCC during 2011. The GRTCC official provided informative perspectives of both tro-tro operators and transport reformers. He made it clear that in his position within the National Chairman office of the GRTCC, he felt he could work as an intermediary or conduit between the GPRTU, other transport unions and organizations and regulatory government institutions. I conducted the interviews with these two government officials in person one-on-one at the government office.

In order to obtain the participation of GPRTU interviewees (i.e. the two station welfare chairmen), it was necessary to obtain an official (permission) letter of introduction from the Regional GPRTU office in central Accra. It took a week to arrange a meeting with the Regional GPRTU officials and the requisite letter. GPRTU interview subjects were then recruited via email and in person and requests for interviews were made at those times. I conducted the interviews with GPRTU

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[329] The Head of the Institutional Development Unit of the Urban Transport Project between April 2007 – December 2010 describes his duties as "Responsible for Institutional Development of both Public and Private Institutions involved on reforming public transportation, particularly mass transportation in Ghana".

representatives in person one-on-one in the tro-tro stations, with the assistance of a language interpreter.

All of the interviews were open-ended and semi-structured. In terms of data collection, storage and confidentiality, all of the interviews were recorded. Confidential data recordings (rather than anonymous data) were obtained for interviewees as the subject matter has been publicly discussed by the interviewees in the press and online. None of the participants requested that the recorded information be kept confidential. Verbal consent was obtained from all interviewees at the time of the interview. Participants were advised that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they could stop the interview at any point. No participants stopped the interview.

5.3. Government Re-Entry into Municipal Public Transportation

As I discussed in an earlier chapter, during the colonial era, motorized public transportation emerged in Gold Coast Colony and expanded during and especially after World War I in response to increasing rural-urban migration (Figures 5.1 and 5.2 provides an overview). By World War II, organized, private networks of owner-drivers came to the fore using 'Mamie wagons' to transport Ghana's masses. The tro-tro system continued to grow steadily following independence.

Figure 5.1: Transportation Governance Chronology (1969-1980s)

GOVERNMENT OF GHANA TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION
1969 The Omnibus Services Authority (OSA) Decree of 1969 <u>nationalized all city, municipal, urban and local council bus undertakings within one unitary government body</u>, which was responsible for both the planning and the provision of public transport services.[330] **1970s** 1972 The Omnibus Services (OS) Decree of 1972. The OS decree split the pre-existing OSA degree into the Licensing Authority (LA), which regulated the omnibus sector, and the Omnibus Services Authority (OSA), which was given the sole objective of bus service provision within its administrative areas. 1974 Ghana Highway Authority (GHA) is established. The GHA administered road transportation via the then Ministry of Works and Housing (MWH).
1980s 1982 The Ministry of Roads and Highways (MRH) to improve the condition of the road infrastructure. 1983 The Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) was initiated. The proposed policy measures in the ERP aimed to conserve thousands of wage-based workers who would be resettled in the informal sector (e.g. tro-tro industry). 1985 The World Bank began to support a policy option similar to Ghana's ERP as a way to tackle the problem of unemployment.[331] From this time forward, the World Bank began to openly support the informality policy of various Ghanaian governments. 1988 The Department of Urban Roads (DUR) was created by the MRH to provide a dedicated group of officials and employees to improve the road transportation system.

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[330] Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, <u>8</u>.

[331] Ninsin, 6.

Figure 5.2: Transportation Governance Chronology (1990s-2000s)

| **GOVERNMENT OF GHANA** |
| **TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION** |
| **1990s** |
| 1993 |
| The Government of Ghana's Local Government Act of 1993 (No.462), devolved responsibility for urban passenger transport between the Metropolitan, Municipal or District Assemblies in the areas each assembly covers. |
| 1996 |
| The then MRH "officially accepted the policy of giving 90% of all available road works to the private sector for execution through contracting, whiles retaining the remaining ten percent to be executed by the force account system. This is the system presently in use which ensures that the private sector is given responsibility for handling a major proportion of road works nation wide".[332] |
| 1997 |
| A new Ministry of Roads and Transport (MR&T) was created out of the then MRH and Ministry of Transport and Communication (MTC) to take oversight responsibility of all the transport modes.[333] |
| GHA is restructured to have "responsibility for the administration, control, development and maintenance of the country's trunk road network".[334] |
| **2000s** |
| 2001 |
| A new Ministry of Roads and Transport (MR&T) was created out of the restructuring and merging of the MRH and the MTC. |
| 2003 |
| The Government of Ghana led by the MRT formed the Metro Mass Transit (MMT), a public-private partnership. This signifies an official government re-entry into municipal public transportation in Ghana. |
| 2005 |
| A new Ministry of Road Transport (MRT) was created out of the MRT. The new MRT was renamed as the Ministry of Transportation (MoT). |
| 2009 |
| The MoT was reinstated the Ministry of Roads and Highways (MRH) under the MoT by "re-aligning the functions of the erstwhile Ministries of Aviation, Harbours and Railways and the Road Transport Services".[335] |

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[332] Ministry of Roads and Transport, accessed on August 7, 2012, http://www.mrt.gov.gh/pages.asp?page_Id=6&expandable=1

[333] Republic of Ghana, accessed on August 7, 2012, http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/governance/ministries/330-ministry-of-roads-and-highways.

[334] Ghana Highway Authority, accessed on August 7, 2012,http://www.highways.gov.gh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=21&Itemid=28

In the last decade with the creation of the public-private partnership in 2003, the Metro Mass Transit (MMT), the Government of Ghana (GoG) has focused significant efforts on entering and controlling the mass transport market of Accra and Ghana overall. To achieve the aim of market reform, a number of state institutions have been reorganized or created (Figure 5.3). Since 2005, the Ministry of Transportation (MoT) has been leading government institution on transport reform. According to the official Ministry of Roads and Transport (MR&T) website,[336] the MoT is responsible for policy formulation:

> The Ministry of Transportation is the government establishment responsible for formulating policies for the road transport sector, establishing the regulatory framework for road transport operations, investments and the development of an integrated road transport system which is modally complementary.

The MR&T website makes the further claim that since the 1980s following the nearly total breakdown of Ghana's road infrastructure, "there was the need for a dedicated Ministry to be created during the short to medium term to focus on improving the road infrastructure and putting in place sustainable maintenance systems".[337]

In its efforts to devise policy approaches to develop the national economy, the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA) initially created the Ministry of Roads and

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[335] Ministry of Transport, accessed on August 7, 2012, http://www.mot.gov.gh/main.php?mid=research.

[336] Ministry of Roads and Transport, "Policy Formulation", accessed December 12, 2011, http://www.mrt.gov.gh/pages.asp?page_Id=6&expandable=1.

[337] Ibid.

Highways (MRH) in 1982. Up to that time the GHA managed feeder, urban and trunk roads via the then Ministry of Works and Housing (MWH).[338] As the Ghanaian economy decentralized, government officials facilitated the growth of private suppliers of goods and services at various levels and sectors of the national and sub-national economy. The providers of mass transport services were encouraged by long existing entrepreneurial practices in the tro-tro industry as well as the influx of individuals and transport vehicles.

During the 1980s and 1990s, a wide-range of development stakeholders and actors began to focus on the key role mass transport plays in a nation's economic development efforts. As the governmental and international non-governmental approaches evolved, the GHA created the Ministry of Roads and Transport (MR&T) in 1997 from the then existing Ministry of Roads and Highways (MRH) and Ministry of Transport and Communications (MTC).[339] The MR&T then had oversight responsibility for all transport modes.

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[338] Ibid.

[339] Ibid.

Figure 5.3:   Ministry of Roads and Highways Organization Chart[340]
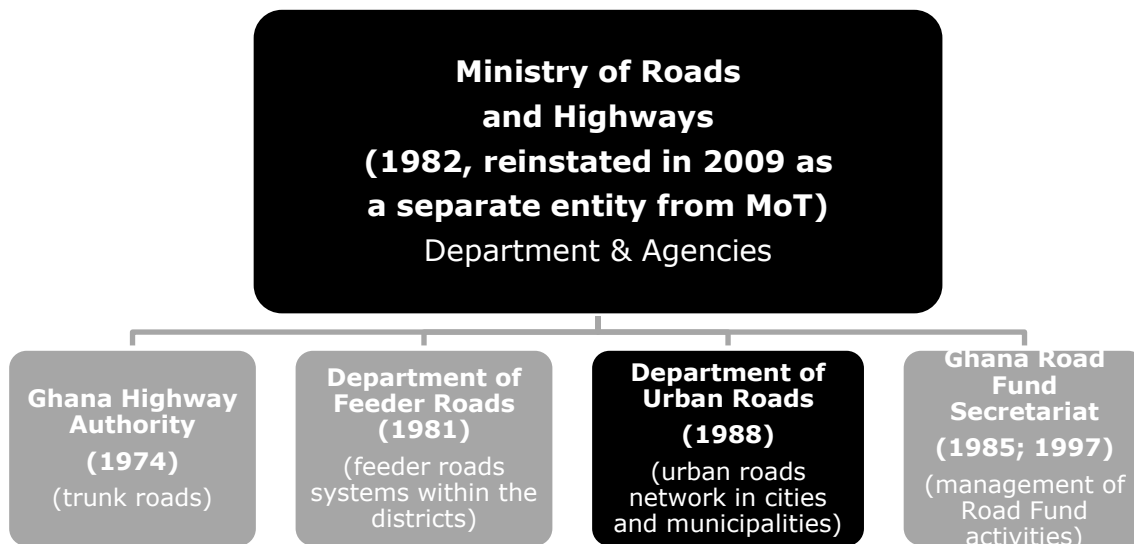
In October 2001, the Ministry was restructured and renamed the Ministry of Roads and Transport (MR&T).[341] In 2005, a new Ministry of Road Transport (MRT) was created from the MR&T. In 2006, the MRT was renamed as the Ministry of Transportation (MoT, Figure 5.4).[342] The Ministry of Roads and Highways (MRH) was reinstated in 2009, as an independent institution under the auspices of the MoT.

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[340] Ministry of Transport, accessed on August 7, 2012, http://www.mot.gov.gh/. The Ghana Road Fund was jointly managed with Ministry of Finance, the Controller and Accountant General's Department until 1997.

[341] Ibid.

[342] Ibid.

Figure 5.4:   Ministry of Transportation Organization Chart[343]
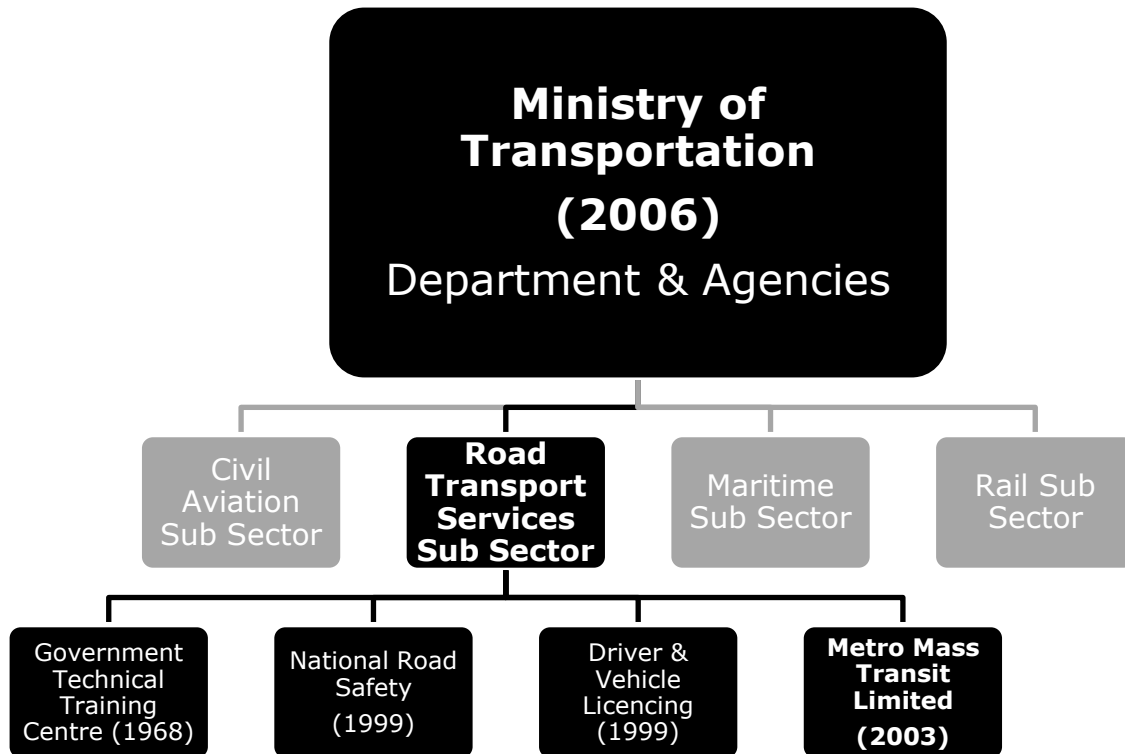
The MoT now supervises and monitors the activities of the various

departments and agencies. The MR&T found that in tro-tro operations "more than

90% of their activities are provided by the private sector who works throughout the

country, employing a large number of professionals, skilled and non-skilled

labour".[344] Over the years, the government has facilitated the participation of

private entrepreneurs in the development and supply of mass transport services.

The most recent key official in the re-regulation and reform process is known

as the Chief Director. The Chief Director is considered "the technical head and

advices the political head on all technical matters".[345] In conjunction with

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[343] Ibid.

[344] Ibid.

[345] Ibid.

international development organizations, the Chief Director and MR&T aim to implement the best practices in mass transport provision. To this end, in recent years, the concept of bus rapid transit (BRT), which has grown in scholarly popularity and governmental application throughout the world, has increasingly been seen as a desirable approach for Accra by government officials.

5.4.   Proposed 'Superbus System': (Bus Rapid Transit)

The current governmental efforts to reform transportation service provision in general and the tro-tro economy specifically have been influenced by years of unsuccessful state-led institutional development and regulation. In recent years, one of the leading approaches for many developing nations and their urban economies has been to implement some type of 'Superbus System'.

Cornelius Nuworsoo (2006) outlines the leading approach to mass transport reform in the Accra metropolitan area. Nuworsoo is credited with the development of "the full concept for a city-wide rapid transit system for Accra, capital city of Ghana".[346] The system was adopted by GoG officials, and the World Bank later approved a loan to the GoG for "a demonstration program as the first step in plan implementation".[347] Nuworsoo lists three premises underlying his conceptualizations for the development of the BRT plan in Accra: a) traffic congestion and mobility, b) lack of large-scale rail transit; and c) "either strong central city cores or

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[346] Cornelius Nuworsoo, "New Public Transit System for Accra, Ghana", *Focus*, Vol. 3, (April 2006): 38.

[347] Ibid.

concentrations of employment and commercial activities linearly along radial corridors."[348]

Building on earlier studies of BRT systems (Cervero 1986, 1998, 1999; Cornwell 1990; Fouracre 1994; Smith 1998), Nuworsoo notes the advantages of BRT systems as the following: 1) "Under appropriate regulation, organization and capital investment, bus-based transit systems are capable of transporting large volumes of passengers at reasonable speeds for relatively low capital and operational costs" and 2) "A busway can provide equivalent capacity to light rail transit (LRT) at a fraction of the capital cost under comparable levels of guide-way segregation and station spacing".[349]

5.5.   **Transportation Re-Regulation**

The tro-tro industry has been difficult to regulate by colonial and post-colonial officials alike. Originating among private entrepreneurs and operating within the informal sector of the colonial economy, tro-tro owner-drivers have played a pivotal role in mobility in the colonial Gold Coast and independent Ghana. Once trucks (lorries) and vans became available in the Gold Coast in the 1930s, the tro-tro industry increased in size and significance. The 1950s and 1960s were characterized by unsuccessful early attempts at regulation by the GoG. As this transport sector grew, tro-tro owner-drivers organized themselves into local and

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[348] Ibid, 39-40.

[349] Ibid, 40.

eventually municipal and national scale driver unions, with the largest being the GPRTU (accounting for well over 90% of all unionized drivers).

The transport sector has been recognized as a potentially beneficial segment of national, regional and municipal economies. By the time the Economic Recovery Program (ERP) began in 1983, the World Bank along with other commentators found that the Ghanaian transport system was hampered by severe neglect in transport maintenance and poor road conditions.[350]

In 1985, the Ghanaian government and the World Bank agreed on the implementation of three projects, the first of which was approved at the end of 1987. The First Transport Rehabilitation Project (TRP I) was implemented in May 1988 and closed at the end of December 1993. The "TRP I was designed to help expand exports, farm production, and labor mobility through physical rehabilitation and maintenance of the transport infrastructure".[351] The World Bank supported project had important large-scale implications, as "[t]he project designers also planned to raise the transport sector's efficiency, promote low cost technology to facilitate rural transport, and reduce transportation costs for both goods and passengers."[352]

The Second Transport Rehabilitation Project (TRP II) was implemented in June 1991 and closed at the end of December 1997. The TRP II was "designed to

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[350] World Bank, Organization for Economic Development (OED), "Ghana Building a Stronger Transportation System", *Précis,* World Bank Operations Evaluation Department (Winter 1999) Number 198, 2.

[351] Ibid.

[352] Ibid.

remove physical barriers to export expansion, farm production, and labor mobility

and to reduce transportation costs, but its design went beyond that of the first

project".[353] During the process of rehabilitation and maintenance of road and

railway infrastructure, another goal of "facilitating private sector development" was

added. The designers of this transport plan also sought "to encourage new methods

of infrastructure rehabilitation and maintenance through the use of appropriate

technology, local resources, and community transportation".[354] This plan was much

more ambitious than TRP I especially in regard to improving public and private

sector management efficiency. Institutional development, market-oriented policies

and manpower training were all promoted.[355]

    During the last decade, the GoG introduced several initiatives to better

organize the transport sector for the sake of economic development. One of the

most important new administrative bodies is the Department of Urban Roads.

According to the Ministry of Roads and Highways website, "The Department of

Urban Roads shall be subject to the policies of the Ministry, be responsible for

administration, development and maintenance of urban roads and related

facilities".[356] The Ministry of Roads and Transport website also provides the 'Vision'

that the DUR would be "Dedicated to the creation of decentralised Road Units in the

Metropolitan/Municipal/District assemblies (MMDAs) for the provision and

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[353] Ibid.

[354] Ibid.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Ministry of Roads and Highways, accessed on August 29, 2010,
http://www.mrt.gov.gh/subsite.asp?ss_id=3..

management of the urban road network in support of quality transport systems".[357]

The 'Mission' is that the "DUR will assist in building capacity in the MMDAs to provide quality urban transport systems for the safe mobility of goods and people".[358] The role of the DUR is to investigate the various forms of transport that are provided in Ghana and to lead the way in devising informed re-regulation approaches and reform efforts.

I interviewed the head of the newly formed Department of Urban Roads within the Ministry of Roads and Highways.[359] We were able to meet once at this office within the newly built Department of Urban Roads complex in Accra in 2009. Even though he is now an independent consultant working on behalf of the GoG, he is considered the foremost expert on transportation in the country.

In Ghana, the leading individuals that are responsible for tro-tro station operations are known as either the 'welfare chairman' or 'station manager'.[360] The regulation of private mass transport services has been lax for a long time. He indicated that the tro-tro industry is "self-regulatory" and that there is "no proper relationship between local and federal regulators".[361] The effectiveness of government efforts to improve Ghana's transit system at all scales depends on its

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[357] Ibid.

[358] Ibid.

[359] I met with this individual in conducting preliminary research in Accra during the Summer of 2007 when I attended a World Bank meeting about Accra's efforts to meet the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals. I interviewed him in 2009.

[360] Department of Urban Roads official, Interview, 2009.

[361] Ibid.

ability to create a supervisory atmosphere that has not existed since perhaps the 19th century before local authorities (kingdoms and chiefdoms) lost control of the government administration to British colonial administrators. The challenge facing the Department of Urban Roads is "how to shift from self-regulation to regulatory environment".[362] He stated that the "institutional setup of the Department of Urban Roads" is the following: Process /Approach; Hardware (Roads); and Software (finance, buses, drivers (licensing) and insurance).

The national government's efforts to reform mass transport provision in Ghana focused on replacing the dominant small buses/minibuses (14 seaters) and mid-sized buses (25 seaters) used by most tro-tro owner-drivers with larger capacity vehicles. He stated that one of the leading proposals as of 2009 was to bring online large buses (75 seaters) and gradually take offline the small buses and most of the mid-sized buses.

Part of the rationale for reducing the number of tro-tros on the roads is the desire to reduce traffic congestion. He estimated that 15% of Accra's road space was used by private cars (a much higher proportion than the number of private car owners).

Another rationale for the reform of the tro-tro industry is the aim of formalizing important parts of the informal economy. He also mentioned that the GoG was assessing the benefits of reforming and re-regulating the tro-tro industry using a similar methodology as found in the examples of the Grameen Bank from

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[362] Ibid.

Bangladesh and Susu Collection in Ghana (non-banking microfinance financial institutions).[363]

He stated that the NPP (New Patriotic Party) assumed all GPRTU were NDC (National Democratic Congress). He asserted that the former Ghanaian President John A. Kufour of the NPP was not very knowledgeable about mass transport provision in Ghana. He stated that "The past president did not understand the way GPRTU operated".[364] He also noted that in Ghana, "Roads are not conducive to PRT [public rapid transport]".[365] One of his suggestions to reduce traffic congestion and improve mobility was that "cars be taken to the village",[366] meaning some vehicles should be sold to rural inhabitants to reduce urban congestion, while improving rural mobility.

In reference to the effectiveness of existing regulatory measures, he stated that the basis for expanded regulation of tro-tro service provision by government is evident in the law that requires that tro-tro operators must apply to the Accra Metropolitan Authority for approval. He asserted that in the current climate of market reform, tro-tro owner-drivers preferred to receive compensation for their old vehicles. He explained that tro-tro owner-drivers felt they deserved financial

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[363] "Ghana Co-operative Susu Collectors' Association (GCSCA) was established in 1994, as an umbrella organization of all Regional Susu Collectors Co-operative Societies in Ghana. The Association has ten regional co-operative societies in all ten regions of Ghana-Greater Accra, Western, Central, Eastern, Ashanti, Volta, Northern, Upper East, Upper West and Brong Ahafo Regions, with regional offices." Source: http://ghanasusu.com/.

[364] Interview, 2009.

[365] Ibid. He identified three important neighboring areas and services that impact the flow of traffic in Accra: Madina-Accra; Labone-Accra and Mallam-Accra.

[366] Ibid.

assistance because they established the transport system that was being reformed. He added that tro-tro owner-drivers preferred to be able to buy a new large vehicle in order to economically survive, rather than simply exiting the mass transport provision business.[367]

5.6. Recent Public Mass Transport Problems: Ghana Private Roads Transport Union's Resistance to Regulation

In the late 2000s, BRT approaches have become a central strategy in government transportation reform and regulation policy. Conflict has emerged over this approach between government (various ministries, departments and agencies) and private mass transport providers (tro-tro owner-drivers). The following two lists identify important stakeholders in government and current transport providers.

List of government transport reformers[368]

Municipal
Accra Metropolitan Assembly
Central Business District
Greater Accra Metropolitan Assembly

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[367] Ibid.

[368] Republic of Ghana, Ministry of Roads and Highways and Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development implemented by the Department of Urban Roads, *Urban Transport Project: Abbreviated Resettlement Action Plan For Bridges on Graphic Road Accra Pilot Bus Rapid Transit Route* (Tema, Ghana: Centre for Environment and Health Research and Training, 2010), 2.

The 'List of Government Transport Reformers' is based on analysis of Department of Urban Road's report on the Urban Transport Project's Accra Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) Pilot Project, "a component of the Urban Transport Project (UTP) is being implemented to improve the flow of traffic within the city", p. 3.

National
Department of Feeder Roads
Department of Urban Roads
District Assemblies
Ghana Highway Authority
Government of Ghana
Ministry of Transport
Ministry of Roads and Highways
Town and Country Planning Department

International
Bus Rapid Transport proponents
United Nations
Urban Transport Project
World Bank

List of tro-tro owner-driver stakeholders

Drivers and mates (Tro-tro industry employees)
Owners (Tro-tro industry investors)
Collectives
Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (98% of registered tro-tro drivers are members)
Progressive Transport Owners Association (PROTOA)

In order to implement the Accra BRT system, the Government of Ghana has devised a number of spatial reforms, including "The Abbreviated Resettlement Action Plan". This particular part of the BRT Pilot Project calls for the resettlement of persons in the project zone on Graphic Road. To achieve this aim, the GoG and the World Bank in accordance with the laws of Ghana and the World Bank Resettlement Guidelines proposed two projects: 1) the construction of "a flyover bridge over the railway crossing near the Odaw Canal on the Graphic Road, including access ramps onto the bridge and access roads to adjoining properties" and 2) "Widening of the existing Odaw Bridge to include the void in the median of

the present existing bridge and the construction of 3.0m wide footbridges on the North and South sides of the bridge".[369]

Of the two GPRTU officials (station welfare chairmen) interviewed, each had the same concerns about government reforms and forthcoming regulations yet different views about the prospect for success. The first welfare chairman consulted at the Madina Station GPRTU office made it clear that he was in favor of transport reforms but only with the inclusion of GPRTU officials in the process. He said "Oh yeah if the government can relate the tro-tro through the GPRTU executives it will be good for all of us (everyone)." The second welfare chairman had a contrasting view, he stated the government's BRT plan will not work because the "the government can't compete" and the "cost of operations is too much and takes too much time".

5.6.1. Stakeholder Conflict: Physical Altercation between GPRTU and GRTCC

As part of my field research I was interested in gathering a variety of opinions and insights about the functioning of the tro-tro industry, ways to participate in the industry and various views about government regulatory approaches and market reform efforts. To this end, I was able to meet with GPRTU officials, government officials and a bi-partisan stakeholder, the GRTCC.

On July 13, 2009, I arranged to meet with the GRTCC president, following a scheduled meeting with the Regional Chairman of the Accra GPRTU at his office in Central Accra. The Regional Chairman's office is located within a half mile of most of the Government of Ghana's transport-related Ministries. The meeting with the

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[369] Republic of Ghana, 3.

Regional Chairman of the GPRTU, who will be referred to as GPRTU official #1 for anonymity, did not start on time, therefore the GRTCC official instructed us to wait for him at the GPRTU offices following our meeting with GPRTU official #1. I was not aware that this simple act of waiting for a representative of a non-partisan stakeholder, the GRTCC, in the offices of leading stakeholder, the GPRTU, would result in the physical assault of the GRTCC official. I will summarize the events that led to the confrontation I observed in the Accra GPRTU offices.

It must be noted that upon arrival, the two administrative assistants who greeted me and my research assistant/language interpreter were not very welcoming and seemed suspicious of my intentions. My research assistant, Gladys, told me that "they were not nice people". As we sat and waited to meet with the GPRTU president in his Accra office, Gladys said that she overheard them speaking Ga (the language of the original inhabitants of the greater Accra area). She stated that they "They do not think you are a researcher but that you work for the government". She added that the GPRTU was worried that the government was working to undermine GPRTU control of the tro-tro industry.

After about fifteen minutes I was able to meet with GPRTU official #1. During the brief meeting, I was able to request and receive verbal and written permission to conduct interview with GPRTU members. GPRTU official #1 asked me what was the nature of my research and I told that I was examining the tro-tro industry in Accra. He mentioned that the government was attempting to reform the transportation industry at the detriment of the GPRTU tro-tro operators who established the country's transportation system long ago. However, GPRTU official #1 did not offer many specific statements about the tro-tro industry, but he did

179

state that the tro-tro drivers should be given loans to buy new vehicles so that they can participate in the tro-tro industry after government reforms are instituted. After ten minutes, GPRTU official #1 brought our meeting to a close since he had an upcoming meeting immediately after we were done. I thanked GPRTU official #1 and followed the Second Trustee of the GRPTU, who he instructed to type the official letter of introduction and provide me with appropriate GPRTU information. After the Second Trustee prepared and gave me the GPRTU-approved Introduction Letter, Gladys and I sat down and waited for the arrival of the GRTCC official, next to GPRTU official #1's office. We waited approximately five minutes before he arrived.

Upon arrival, The GRTCC official did not notice Gladys and me (and we had never met him), therefore proceeded into GPRTU official #1's office when several GPRTU members had gathered for an upcoming meeting with the GPRTU official #1. Once the GRTCC official entered the office, Gladys and I heard loud shouting and noise that sounded like a physical altercation was occurring as chairs were bumped against the office walls that were not very thick. Although I was not able to see the initial physical assault of the GRTCC official, after a few moments the door openly quickly and a newly disheveled GRTCC official emerged followed by two men that were shouting and swinging at him as he rushed outside the building. Gladys and I tried to help reduce the commotion by stating that the GRTCC official was there to meet with us. As we got out of our seats to follow the GRTCC official, one of the GPRTU's female administrative assistants began to swear in the local language Ga (I was told by Gladys) and also implied that I was working for the government and that I was simply an agent aiding them in taking over the tro-tro industry.

Some of the GPRTU members along with the two administrative assistants we encountered upon our arrival, shouted at us to "Take him away from here!" once we were outside the Regional Chairman's office. One also shouted "He's a traitor" and other members of the GPRTU present supported the statement by saying "Yeah" and "He must go".

I was not worried about Gladys or my safety but with each moment I did become more concerned for the GRTCC official. Once Gladys retrieved the hat that the GRTCC official was wearing upon entering the GPTU offices, we promptly left the Accra GPRTU offices. The GRTCC official was disappointed with his reception at the Accra GPRTU offices, however, he said he does not fault them. He said that they are "looking out for their families' livelihoods" but are misinformed about the GRTCC.

After the GRTCC official regained his composure, he shared that the GRTCC is popularly viewed as a pro-government organization among the GPRTU rank and file membership. As chairman of the GRTCC, the GRTCC official did not share the GPRTU's view. He believed the GRTCC serves an important role as an advisory group and non-partisan monitor of both government and private transport provision.[370] At the time of the meeting with the GRTCC official, he was not definitive about his position regarding the new BRT plan. He stated that he "wants

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[370] Interestingly only a few months after my meeting with the GRTCC official he is quoted by Ghanadailynews.com for issuing a directive that commercial drivers do not increase their charges after a 5% increase in the price of petroleum products. The article stated that The GRTCC official "says the GRTCC will be on the lookout to deal with Drivers who flout the Directive". He is directly quoted as stating "When we factor it into the computation we can only increase transport fares by 1.3% and that is insignificant".

what's best for Ghana and Ghanaians" not only the tro-tro operators and the GPRTU.

5.7. Summary of Results

The main findings presented in this chapter are 1) the tro-tro industry is seen by all stakeholders as an essential economic sector within Accra's transport economy, 2) the central government of Ghana (GoG) seeks to control a greater share of the nation's road transport provision services, and 3) there are a range of opinions about mass transport reform among GPRTU members.

Tro-tro businesses are regulated by multiple layers of government (municipal and to a lesser degree central) through licensing, and the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU) through site fees at tro-tro stations. Since the creation of the public-private partnership, the Metro Mass Transit (MMT) in 2003, the Government of Ghana (GoG) has focused significant efforts on entering and controlling the mass transport market of Accra and Ghana overall. The leading GoG approach to market reform is the development of a 'Superbus system' and a BRT plan for Accra. Over the last decade, the GoG has introduced several initiatives to better organize the transport sector for the sake of economic development. The challenge facing the central and municipal governments is the shift from a self-regulated informal industry to one that is formally regulated and publicly controlled. One possible strategy for public institutions is to provide tro-tro owner-drivers with incentives, such as compensation for old vehicles. The Bus Rapid Transit approach has become a central strategy in government transportation reform and regulation policy, which has led to conflict between government (various ministries,

departments and agencies) and private mass transport providers (tro-tro owner-drivers and their unions). This has led to or exacerbated a deep-rooted animosity between the GPRTU and government officials whether from the GRTCC or municipal and national institutions. There are a variety of views about the intent and prospects for success of government mass transport reform and tro-tro industry regulation among GPRTU officials and rank-and-file membership, which has not been addressed by government agencies at any scale.

The results presented in this chapter illuminate the complexity of policymaking confronted in re-regulating Ghana's public mass transport sector at the national, regional, municipal and local levels. All of the key stakeholders have been maneuvering to obtain the necessary politico-economic and at times simply public support to back their interests. Simply stated, tro-tro owner-drivers (entrepreneurs) want to remain involved and invested if not directly employed in any government-led public mass transport provision efforts.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of Major Findings

The major findings in this dissertation demonstrates the integral role informed post-colonialist governance now plays in the development of transportation systems in Ghana, the diversity of owner-drivers participating in the tro-tro industry and the re-emergence of GoG led bus operations.

Chapter 3 dealt with the research question, "how are colonialist and post-colonialist governance reflected in Ghana's transportation governance structure?" The initial colonial-era focus on railway development over an automobile based system characterized the transportation environment in the Gold Coast. The informal jitney industry using mamie wagons and now minibuses and medium-sized buses was not officially recognized as a viable means for mass transport until the postcolonial period. Since its inception in the 1930s, the tro-tro industry has experienced intermittent reform and support from national and municipal government agencies. During the 1970s, the government-permitted the importation of minibuses and medium sized buses allowed the 'informal' transport industry to fill service gaps left by the public sector which could not meet the transport demands of its citizens. The importance of the informal sector in efforts to repair the national economy of Ghana as part of the Economic Recovery Programme was realized in the 1980s. The 1990s witnessed the continuance of reliance upon the private, partially informal, semi-regulated jitney services in many African cities including Accra. In recent years, the public sector has reemerged as a key player in transport provision in Ghana in general and Accra specifically. Nonetheless a variety

of transport entrepreneurs have expanded the provision of jitney services to the tune of an estimated 75% coverage of mass transport ridership in Great Accra Metropolitan as of 2009. In this environment there has been a growing resistance to government reform and re-regulation efforts which are aimed at claiming more of a market share in mass transport provision for the national government via public-private schemes like the 'Superbus system'.

The growth of the tro-tro (jitney) industry, an informal transportation sector in Accra (and Ghana in general), is consequently the result of demand driven by rural-to-urban migration. The next set of findings relate to questions about the motivations behind owner-driver involvement in the tro-tro industry as addressed in Chapter 4. First, "why individuals get involved in the tro-tro industry as entrepreneurs?" It is clear that a variety of entrepreneurs value the tro-tro industry as a viable economic endeavor with the most common response about their participation being "To make money" among interviewees. The second question is "What is the demographic composition of tro-tro owner-drivers in Accra, Ghana?" participation ranges from drivers who save to start their own businesses, government officials and foreigners who recognize the money-making potential. Although not a requirement experience as a driver was a common form of business training among owner-drivers who simply stated that they were trained as a "driver" (14 out of 25 interviewees) prior to their professional involvement in the tro-tro industry.

Another important research question addressed in Chapter 4 was "How do they [tro-tro owner-drivers] operate (supply) their services?" I found that there are a number of business arrangements between owners, drivers and owner-drivers.

Some interviewees were part of driver collectives while other tro-tro entrepreneurs were financial backers, participant owners/drivers, or employers of drivers.

The questions addressed in Chapter 5 was how is the tro-tro sector regulated, and what conflicts are occurring over the Ghanaian government's efforts to introduce Superbuses? The finding related to this question is that the national government wants to reform mass transport provision in Ghana by replacing the small buses/minibuses (14 seaters) and mid-sized buses (25 seaters) used by most tro-tro owner-drivers with larger capacity vehicles. As a result of their possible exclusion by and large in the reformed transport environment the largest private transport union, the GPRTU has challenged the government's regulatory efforts and threatened to strike if they are not more involved in the proposed 'Superbus System' as owners and drivers. Overall the main findings in Chapter 5 are 1) the tro-tro industry is seen by all stakeholders as an essential economic sector within Accra's transport economy, 2) the central government of Ghana (GoG) seeks to control a greater share of the nation's road transport provision services, and 3) there are a range of opinions about mass transport reform among GPRTU members.

6.2.   Implications of Findings for Policy

The finding that tro-tro entrepreneurs come from a variety of socio-economic and professional backgrounds should better inform policy prescriptions in future developmental efforts and academic research. The notion that jitney services such as tro-tros are provided by and used primarily by the poor does not fit the realities on the ground in the Greater Accra metropolitan area. As noted earlier, both users and service providers made it clear that tro-tros meet the needs of many segments

of Ghanaians, from students to manual laborers to government employees to professional individuals. Better informed policy may aid in the drafting of regulatory legislation and industry requirements which are cognizant of the diversity of ridership and the complexity of service provision. Oversimplified analysis of the tro-tro industry in some past research may have slowed the arrival at the currently popular realization in transport research that the informal sector is closely related to the formal sector.

The findings presented in this dissertation offered one main surprise, the involvement of foreign actors in the tro-tro industry as owners and financial backers. Nonetheless, my findings confirm expectations about the socio-economic background and educational level of tro-tro drivers versus owner-drivers. Owner-drivers tended to have more professional experience and more educational compared to drivers. The implications of this research is a more informed characterization of jitney service providers who meet the transport demands of well over two-thirds Accra's residents. In terms of both consumer and driver welfare the improved regulation of tro-tros already in operation along with enhanced driver training requirements will surely aid the situation.

I recommend a thorough understanding of historical occurrences by policy makers and planners involved in any development projects. Policy makers and planners should also consider the implications of state-led initiatives, which thwart arguably more effective private ventures like jitney services. Undoubtedly in the case of the tro-tro industry, there is space for increased regulation for the sake of safety and traffic reduction. However the hasty obliteration of a long-existing, fairly responsive/flexible mass transportation system which evidently meets the needs of

most of Accra's citizens, in favor of an unproven, static/less responsive mass transportation system does not seem like a recipe for developmental success. A hybrid approach might include one in which the large government buses runs on some routes in the city center and intermediate distances with appropriate road design and traffic flow, while the small buses/minibuses meet the demands of lower income citizens, hard to reach areas and the overflow of ridership from government buses.

6.3. Future Research

Researchers on transportation planning in developing nations will benefit from the aforementioned articulation by Hart (1970) of the importance of the informal sector and what he termed "small-scale entrepreneurs" in the development planning of Ghana and most certainly other nations. Universal recognition of the significance of informal sector in the development process and within many national economies around the world has led to more scholarship about the implications of both government-sanctioned endeavors and efforts to regulate and even replace informal economic activities in places like Accra, Ghana.

In the last two decades, government institutions and international development policy-makers have provided a large amount of research-based literature and data, which need to be more thoroughly examined. Historically, the impact of the informal sector in general and jitney services in particular as one of the principal informal occupations throughout many parts of the world must be better understood. Based on the findings in this dissertation, two future research questions should be explored. First, "What is the long-term feasibility/sustainability

of informal, semi-regulated jitney services versus public-private transport services in Ghana?" Second, and more broadly, "How does development planning benefit from continued scholarship on informality?" In each case, I want to explore the notion of bottom-up development in an environment in which the state does not have the required economic capital to (re)build what it considers the necessary transportation infrastructure to meet the demands of its citizens.

In line with emerging policy discourse regarding the need to be more cognizant of the local and national impacts of state-led developmental approaches. In general, informal entrepreneurship such as jitney services in Ghana seem no different than elsewhere. Since the 1990s, a complex system of ownership and operational approaches has appeared, which challenge long-held institutional views (ex. World Bank) regarding the possibility of the informal sector being the focal point of economic development efforts.

In future research I will consider whether or not there is a significant impact associated with a diversity or the lack of diversity among jitney owners and drivers. I suspect there to be some difference in rates of diversity between the two groups and possibly some significance to the ratios of diversity, which may impact on the ground implementation planned transportation reform. Competition from other modes of transport such as private cars and taxis is much the same as in other parts of the world yet the quality and quantity does not reach the same levels of some of the most rapidly growing global cities. In Accra, the economic system is returning to stability after years of weakening, due in part to the discovery of off-shore oil deposits which have encouraged direct foreign investment.

Alternative operation structures are just coming online in Accra and will undoubtedly impact the nature of mass transport in the city. Will transportation planning approaches such as the Bus Rapid Transport 'Superbus' system work best for the long-term economic development of the city, region or nation? One can not foretell the future yet planners must make hard developmental choices. I believe in the case of the mass transport in Ghana, there is space for local, regional and national collaboration among key stakeholders including the owners, drivers and riders of tro-tros whether the industry is extensively reformed or completely eliminated as a transport sector. Whichever development decision the GoG moves forward with the local entrepreneurs and urban population of Accra must have a central role in the process.

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