

The Proposed Re-development of the Takoradi Market Circle and its likely Implications for Market Traders' Access to Trading Space



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DEDICATION

To my family, especially my dad Mr. Francis Obaeko Amiteye and mum Mrs Grace Amiteye.

Thank you all for your love and support.

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My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour. He who is mighty has done great things for me, and Holy is His Name. All thanks and glory to His name.

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ABSTRACT

Market centres are important state and private institutions in Ghana. Apart from being the main places for buying and selling, they constitute major sources of livelihood for many people in Ghana, especially women. Despite their importance, many market infrastructures in Ghana are in deplorable conditions and in most cases require urgent renovation and upgrading often referred to as re-development. However, market re-development projects are often fraught with controversies and fierce opposition due to the non-involvement of the traders who are the main beneficiaries and rumours that often reinforce public scepticism of likely displacement of the poor and less powerful traders.

After the discovery of oil and gas in the Western Region of Ghana in 2007 and the subsequent oil production and exploration activities, Takoradi city authorities have provided a new development scheme which seeks to renovate and upgrade old buildings within the metropolis. One of the major landmarks to benefit from the re-development scheme is the Takoradi Market Circle (TMC). TMC is the largest market centre in the Western Region and attracts attendants from many parts of the region and beyond. Built many decades ago, the market centre is currently faced with limited space and deteriorating market conditions. The proposed re-development of the TMC therefore envisages upgrading the current two storey market building into a more multi-storey market complex in order to create more trading space for traders. This is in response to the high demand for limited urban space in Takoradi due to increased urbanisation and growth in commercial activities following the discovery of oil offshore the city. However, city authorities lack the financial capacity to implement the proposed plan and seek to achieve this vision through a public private partnership.

The study uses a mixed method approach and theories of gender, informality and urban planning to examine the likely implications of the proposed re-development of the TMC for market traders' access to the market space in the envisioned market. It explores the organisation of trading activities in TMC as well as the challenges encountered by traders, especially in their use of the market. It also examines the participation of traders in the planning processes of the future market and how their involvement can inform the plan in terms of dissipating possible conflicts and enhancing traders' input towards the outcome of the project.

The study found that organisation of trading activities is done basically along commodity and gender lines. The types of commodities sold and trading spaces occupied by traders are influenced by gender and gender ideologies. Also, gender is fundamental to the various

commodity and market associations in TMC. The study also found that the challenges faced by market traders are embedded in gender ideologies and the concept of informality. From a gender perspective women are undervalued, consequently, less attention is paid to the places they work. Also, challenges such as limited access to market space and limited participation in decision making reflects the characterisation of market traders as informal traders. In addition, the study identified that the main objective of the proposed re-development of the TMC and the targeted PPP as the source of funding of the project could have likely implications for the traders as informal workers. The different categories of traders identified show a multiplicity of needs for which the involvement of the traders can be relevant for planning the new market. Meanwhile, the study suggest that due to the heterogeneity of differences among traders, certain groups like illegal traders are more likely to be affected than others.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOT:	Build Operate and Transfer
CBD:	Central Business District
CERGIS:	Center for Remote Sensing and Geographic Information
GSS:	Ghana Statistical Service
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
KCM:	Kumasi Central Market
MGU:	Metro Guide Unit
MOU:	Memorandum of Understanding
PRO:	Public Relations Officer

SAPs: Structural Adjustment Programmes
STMA: Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly
TBA: Takoradi Butchers' Association
TMC: Takoradi Market Circle

NB Ghana Cedi to USD rate – 3.125

CHAPTER ONE :

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of study

Ghanaian marketplaces are major sources of livelihoods for many people, especially women. Marketplaces are centres for commercial activities or economic transactions and avenues for wealth accumulation. Market traders earn their living from markets and are able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country in diverse ways. They sustain local food production due to their significant role in the food distribution chain by serving as the main link between producers and consumers (Awuah, 1997). They also contribute to generating local revenue, create employment, provide household incomes and support human resource development by providing for and educating their children or other family relatives (Baah-Ennumh & Adom-Asamoah, 2012; Owusu & Lund, 2004).

Access to secured market space in strategically located markets is therefore vital for market traders. However, traders' access to market spaces in which to conduct their businesses and contribute to the economy is limited, and many marketplaces are in deplorable conditions. Market traders struggle to cope with heavy congestion, deteriorating market facilities, poor sanitary conditions and security problems (Baah-Ennumh & Adom-Asamoah, 2012; Angmor, 2012; Alfors, 2009; Owusu & Lund, 2004; Awuah, 1997). More so, market authorities in the country; mainly state agents, are often accused of investing little into market infrastructure and being unconcerned about market traders (Owusu & Lund, 2004, Obeng-Odoom, 2013).

Paradoxically, the planning and implementation processes for upgrading market facilities and improving market conditions commonly termed market re-development is often met with contestations not the least from the market traders themselves. For instance, in September 2014 a demolition exercise intended to make way for the re-development of the old Kotokuraba Central Market in Cape Coast was abruptly postponed due to a lawsuit by traders (Daily Guide, 2014). The aggrieved traders made a legal suit against the Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (CCMA) because they were generally dissatisfied with the temporary market structures and facilities provided by the CCMA while implementing the project. The traders described the temporary market facilities as humanly unfriendly and inconvenient for doing their businesses in their temporary location (ibid.). Also, traders in the Kumasi Central Market staged a "naked

demonstration” to challenge the re-construction of the market after a series of fire outbreaks destroyed large sections of the market, demanding to re-build their own stores and stalls (Ghanaweb, 2014). At this point, an important question to ask is this: why did traders protest and contest authorities in each of these cases?

A notable factor is that, many market traders have no alternative livelihoods (Obeng-Odoom, 2013), and usually market re-development involves demolishing and reconstructing old markets, which requires temporary or permanent relocation of traders. Often traders are not adequately relocated (*ibid.*), and they also tend to lose their customers (Owusu & Lund, 2008). These consequently affect traders’s business operations and their income. Market re-development projects therefore pose threats to traders’ livelihoods due to the likely implications they have on businesses.

Another probable reason for the resistance and vehement recalcitrant behaviours associated with market re-developments is attributable to traders’ fear of being marginalised by authorities due to mistrust and possible elite capture. Traders “feel that they are being pushed out for bigger and more influential businesses or for the more privilege people in society to benefit” (Obeng-Odoom, 2013:159). This fear reflects the state-trader relationship in the country. Traders’ experiences with state agents such as the demolition of markets like the Makola No.1 and the various forms of physical abuses, particularly of women traders (Robertson, 1983; Clark, 1994; Stasik & Thiel, 2014), seem to stir up uncertainties and anxieties among them.

Traders in the Takoradi, Ghana’s oil city live in constant fear in anticipation of what could happen to them after the eviction of about 2,000 car mechanics in Takoradi to make way for the construction of a private shopping mall in February 2014 (Myjoyonline, 2014). After the discovery of oil and gas in the Western Region of Ghana in 2007 and the subsequent oil production and exploration activities, Takoradi city authorities have provided a new development scheme which seeks to renovate and upgrade old buildings within the metropolis. One of the major landmarks to benefit from the re-development scheme is the Takoradi Market Circle (TMC).

Built in several stages around 1960 (ENNIMIL, 2011 cited in Obeng-Odoom, 2012), the market is currently beset with heavy congestion, poor sanitary and security problems, and has limited space and infrastructure. However, due to increased urbanisation and growth in commercial activities following the discovery of oil offshore in the region, there is lack of space within the

CBD and no room exists for any form of horizontal expansion of the market. The proposed re-development plan of the TMC envisages the reconstruction of the market into a modern market centre with increased occupancy capacity and upgraded modern facilities such as underground car parks, hospitals, schools, water and electricity. Given the high demand for space in the CBD, this study examines the implications of the proposed re-development of the TMC for traders' access to trading space in which to make their livelihoods in the future.

1.2 Study area

Takoradi is the regional capital of the Western Region, one of the ten administrative regions in Ghana. The Western Region is the fourth largest region in Ghana, covering a total land area of 23,921 km², which is about 10% of the total land area of the country (GSS, 2012). The Western Region is well known to be the producer of several natural resources like minerals, timber, cash crops such as cocoa and recently, oil and gas. The region has many coastal towns such as Shama, Axim, Sekondi and Takoradi which make contributions to the fishing industry in Ghana. There is also a harbour and an airport located in Takoradi. The Takoradi harbour built in 1926 (Dickson, 1969), is the first artificial harbour in West Africa making it the older but the smaller of the two harbours in Ghana.

Apart from the harbour, the famous Takoradi Market Circle is the most striking feature of Takoradi. The TMC is located in the Central Business District (CBD) of Takoradi and like most markets in Ghana; it is the main commercial centre in the city. Market traders in TMC enjoy the advantage of the market's position in the regional capital and as a major central city market. The TMC houses all kinds economic activities (both formal and informal) within and around its circumference. The street surrounding the market circle is also a major ground for various forms of hawking activities. The market is characterised by varying enterprises, commodity specialisation and various forms of social and economic associations.

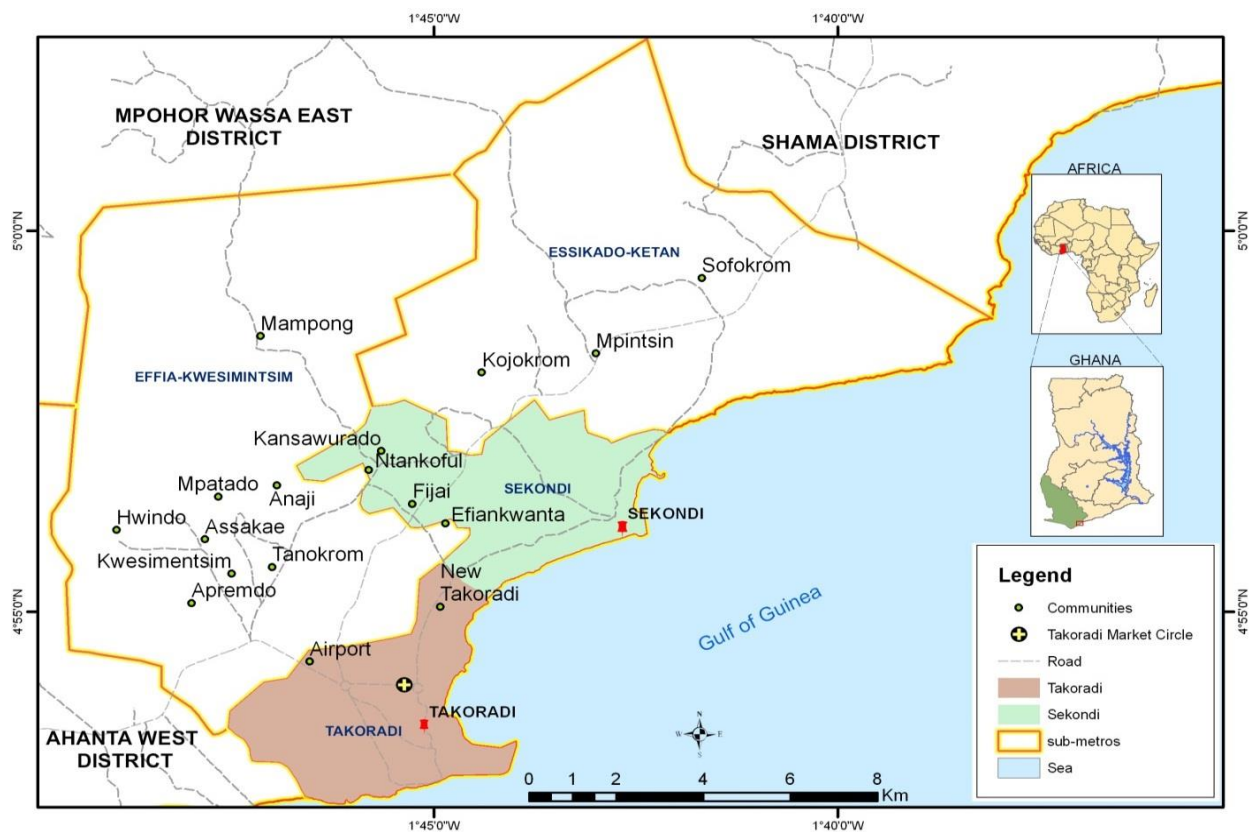
Takoradi is said to have benefited more than any other coastal colonial town from the extensive planning projects undertaken by the British governor Guggisberg¹ (ibid.). After the building of the harbour in 1926, deliberate measures like tax reductions were set in place to attract investors to establish businesses in the town (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). The drive led to bustling commercial

¹ A colonial governor of Ghana known for initiating several development programmes in Ghana.

activities and subsequently attracted migrants from various parts of the country (ibid.). The recent discovery and the subsequent production of oil in commercial quantity has ushered in a new wave of Ghanaian and foreign migrants.

Presently, Takoradi is the largest city in the Western Region and the third largest city in the country. It is within the administration of the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly (STMA). The STMA has a total land area of approximately 219 km² and shares borders with Mponor-Wassa East District to the north, the Gulf of Guinea to the south, Shama District to the East and Ahanta West District to the west (STMA, 2013). The STMA is divided into four sub metros out of the 22 in the region; namely Takoradi Sub-Metro, Sekondi Sub-Metro, Kwesimintsim District and Essikadu-Ketan District and Sekondi is the administrative capital of all (STMA, 2013).

Map 1: Map of the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis and its borders.



Source: CERGIS, 2014.

The 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) report estimated the population of the STMA to be approximately 559,548 (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS], 2012). The city of Takoradi's share of the population was estimated to be 97,352. In 2013, it was speculated that the population of STMA had increased to 629,415 (STMA, 2013). This means that the current population of Takoradi has probably also increased from the 2010 census figure. The increase in population in the city in the light of the new status of Takoradi as Ghana's oil city has had profound impacts on various aspects of the city, especially in terms of access to land which is very pronounced within the city centre (Obeng-Odoom, 2012).

1.3 Problem statement

Development policies such as reorganisation or re-development of urban space have implications for urban land use (Bromley & Mackie, 2009). Development projects aimed at improving transportation networks; undertaking housing projects; providing or improving infrastructural facilities such as schools and health centres (Decardi-Nelson & Abdul-Salam, 2013, Watson, 2009) also affect urban land uses such as markets. This may lead to the re-development, relocation or closure of markets (ibid.). More often, regardless of it being the re-development, relocation or closure of markets, probable challenges and consequences arise (Hansen, 2004; Decardi-Nelson & Abdul-Salam, 2013), as a result of which market traders are the worst affected. The proposed re-development of the TMC needs critical evaluation because of its likely implications for market traders' access to the market space in the future.

Re-development of markets requires extensive knowledge about the traders and how trading activities are organised in markets Morales (2009). What characterises the various traders and their trading locations, how and why the traders conduct their businesses and an understanding of the challenges faced by traders, especially in their use of markets are also essential for planning future markets. Often, the planning and implementation processes of market projects in Ghana are characterised by a low level of involvement and lack of consultations (Awuah, 1997; Owusu & Lund, 2004; Daily Graphic, 2014). This prompts suspicions among traders and usually leads to protest and confrontations between traders and state agents. The involvement of the traders in the planning and implementation processes is therefore crucial for dissipating mistrust among traders and will also allow traders to contribute towards the designing and the structuring of the market.

First, this study makes an effort to understand the complexity of activities taking place in the TMC with regards to what is central to organisation of trading activities. Secondly, it seeks to identify and examine the challenges and the needs of the market traders. Finally, the study examines the level of participation of the market traders in decision making processes and determines how traders' involvement can inform the planning process of the proposed re-development of the market. It also attempts to determine the possible outcomes of the proposed re-development for traders' access to market space in the envisioned market when the plan is eventually implemented.

1.4 Research Questions

The main research question in this study is: *What are likely implications of the proposed re-development of the Takoradi Market Circle for the market traders' access to market space?* To answer this overarching question, the following specific questions will be explored:

1. How are trading activities organised in the Takoradi Market Circle?
2. What are the challenges of the traders in relation to their use of the market?
3. What is the level of participation of traders in the planning of the new market?
4. In which ways can trader involvement inform the re-development plans?

The study uses theories of gender and inter-sectionality, theories of informality and urban planning theories as the frameworks to provide answers to the research questions posed.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. **Chapter one** is an introduction to the study. It comprises the problem statement, the research questions, background of the study area and the organisation of the entire thesis. **Chapter two** presents the theoretical framework underpinning the study. It draws insight from concept of gender and feminist theories of intersectionality and theories of informality and urban planning. **Chapter three** provides a background of markets and market trade in Ghana. **Chapter four** discusses the various methods and approaches used in producing data for the study. **Chapter five** presents the empirical findings on the organisation of trading activities in TMC and **Chapter six** examines the challenges traders face in the use of the TMC and issues of the proposed re-development. Then in **Chapter seven** the findings are analysed in relation to the theories adopted and conclusions drawn in **Chapter eight**.

CHAPTER TWO :

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The essence of research is to find answers to questions and observations. However, it is impossible to justify answers to research questions without any theoretical grounding (Aitken & Valentine 2006). Thus, theories and concepts serve as instruments of persuasions backed by experience and are useful for explaining observations and phenomena in social science research (ibid.). In order to provide answers to the research questions posed by this study, the study uses gender theories, informality theories and urban planning theories as frameworks to examine the anticipated implications of the proposed re-development of TMC on the traders' access to the market space.

2.1 Gender and gender ideologies

Gender is a concept underpinned by theoretical and political concerns (Pollard, 2009; McDowell, 1999), that “seeks to identify, understand and dismantle inequalities between men and women” (Pollard, 2009:29). Ridgeway & Correll (2004: 510) refer to gender as “an institutionalised system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly unequal categories, men and women”. The characterisation of women as “irrational, emotional, dependent, private and closer to nature than to culture” (McDowell, 1999:11) is the opposite characterisation of men as “rational, scientific, independent, public and cultured” (ibid.). Men are therefore assigned agentic and instrumental roles, whereas the roles of women are communal, thus portraying women as less competent in comparison to men in the things that “really matter” (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

This form of categorisation is often associated with unequal social relations in which men usually have the upper hand (ibid.). This categorical difference is based on the assumption that women are the opposite of men (McDowell, 1999), implying that men are superior to women and undertake more productive activities which demand more attention than those often undertaken by women (Raju, 2011; McDowell, 1999). Risman (2004) points out the tendency for women to compare their life choices to those of men in so far as gender creates the notion that men are different from (and superior to) women. Although men and women are two biologically different sexes, gender builds on this biological difference to socially construct

characteristics specific to each sex which underrate or downplay the role of women in the process (McDowell, 1999, Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Gender ideologies are cultural beliefs for creating the social structure of difference and disparity, understood as gender (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Cultural beliefs are therefore central in distinguishing between the social characteristics of men and women; and determine how each group should or should not behave (ibid.). Thus the concept of “maleness” is not a natural identity with particular characteristics, but rather formed out of cultural ideas of what it is to be male in relation to what it is to be female (Dixon & Jones, 2006). Gender is therefore constructed as an identity or a role (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), and many societies expect men and women to do things differently (Pyburn, 2003). Hence, the socialisation of both men and women leads to the performance of specific roles which subsequently leads to choosing gendered career paths (Risman, 2004). It therefore means that “jobs are not gender neutral” (McDowell, 1997:25) and so are the places where they take place. Thus sex segregation of jobs, household division of labour and gendered differences in statuses and authority are all evidences of cultural and socially constructed gender ideologies.

Meanwhile, gender ideologies are dynamic; they change and become adaptive to a changing social, economic and political economy (Overå, 2007), and permeate various aspects of life by creating differences and influencing social relations. Gendered spaces; in homes, in schools, at work and at the societal level as well as gendered social relations often reflect gendered beliefs. Gender therefore serves as an organising principle that determines what men and women can or cannot do. Also, gender ideologies have a “hierarchical dimension of status inequality” and they are “hegemonic in that the descriptions of men and women they contain are institutionalised in the media, government policy, normative images of family and in many other ways (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004:513). Accordingly, social relations between men and women are marked by hegemonic gender beliefs that men are generally more competent than women (ibid.).

2.1.1 Conceptualisations of gender

Gender theories are widely used in analysing work and livelihoods, poverty and deprivation, marginalisation and vulnerability, power and oppression, inequalities, social relations and several development issues in many fields across disciplines. In geography, before feminist ideologies gained grounds the discipline had hitherto operated on purely masculinist epistemology (Dixon & Jones, 2006; Johnson, 2009), with the “underlying assumption that

women were subsumed by studies of men/heads of households/humanity” (Johnson, 2009:54). Consequently, little attention was paid to female-dominated fields and activities in geographic research (ibid.). Feminist geographers challenged this status quo and re-defined the discipline’s assumptions and methods of producing knowledge by drawing attention to women and fields or activities either exclusive to women or dominated by women (Dixon & Jones, 2006). In recent times, the focus of feminist geographers is not only on women’s lives but also on how the lives of both men and women are influenced by aspects of place and spatial relations and also interested in knowing what implications these influences have for the creation of space and place (ibid.).

According to Dixon & Jones (2006), feminist geographers conduct their research from three main perspectives. The differences in these perspectives are a result of the different understandings of the concept of “gender” (ibid.). The first perspective conceptualises gender as difference; this perspective considers the spatial dimensions of how both men and women have different life experiences in relation to the different aspects of life. Gender as a social relation, tries to understand how the social relations between men and women affect their life experiences. The third perspective focuses on how social constructions of binaries such as masculine or feminine, production or reproduction serve as artificial barriers that lead to internalised spaces of inclusion and exclusion (ibid.).

This study draws on the conceptualisation of gender as difference and gender as social construction perspectives to explain the gendered organisation of trading activities in the TMC and to anticipate likely implications of the proposed re-development of the market for men and women traders. The adoption of the gender theories helps to identify and examine the different ways by which men and women in the TMC organise their trading activities regarding; the types of commodities sold, market associations, and to what extent such differences in the organisations have been influenced by socially constructed ideologies. Again, gender theories will enhance the appreciation of the role of gender ideologies in the planning process of the proposed re-development of the TMC.

2.2 Intersectionality

Intersectionality refers to the interconnections between multiple dimensions and modalities of social categories such as age, gender, education, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and various others (McCall, 2005; Valentine, 2007). The concept emerged to address the concerns of Black

feminists who rose up against the use of women and gender as a single and a homogenous analytical category (Valentine, 2007). The proponents of intersectionality argue that it is impossible to interact with people only on the basis of their sex, without the considerations of other personal attributes such as class or education (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Accordingly, intersectionality emphasises the use of diverse identities or sub categorisation as the basis for analysis rather than using broad and generalised categories, so as to enhance the production of case specific reports. With its conformity to postmodern conceptualisation of multiple and shifting identities, intersectionality is acknowledged as a very important contribution of feminist scholars for presenting a better alternative to static and one-dimensional conceptualisation of identity (Davis, 2008). Its success is perhaps the focus on “difference”; which is what sustains the appeal of feminist theory (ibid.).

There can be as many sources of distinctiveness among Ghanaian market traders based on different layers of categorisation. For example age, gender, education, ethnicity, religion, type of commodity sold and the volume and scale of operation. The concept of intersectionality therefore aids the comprehension of market traders as a heterogeneous group with multiple identities and needs. It helps to identify the various social categories of market traders which are likely to produce differences that lead to inclusion or exclusion, enhance or undermine various traders’ access to market space in TMC and in the future market.

2.3 The concept of informality

The coining of the term informal sector is credited to the British anthropologist, Keith Hart (1973) who used the concept in his study of urban employment in Accra, Ghana (Devey et al. 2003; Hansen & Vaa, 2004; Nustad, 2004; Overå, 2007; Lindell, 2010; Chen, 2012). Hart’s use of the term referred to the wide range of economic activities which were outside of the organised labour force (Hart, 1973). Notably, he associated informal forms of employment and income with the urban poor and marginalised groups, especially the illiterate and unskilled (ibid.). The term informal sector has been found to be limiting in scope and quite misleading to adequately capture the dynamic, heterogeneous and complex realities the concept tends to portray and as such, the term informal economy is now widely preferred (International Labour Organisation) (ILO, 2002a, 2002b; Brown et al. 2010).

The concept of the informal economy has evolved over the years in relation to its definition, nature and composition (Chen, 2012; ILO, 2012). For example, the ILO (2002b:10) refers to the

informal economy as the range of “small scale and unregistered economic activities”. A second definition refers to unrecorded and unregulated economic activities that are not recognised by public authorities (ILO, 1972 in ILO, 2002a). Another definition of the informal economy refers to unregulated and untaxed economic activities (Hansen & Vaa 2004). A more nuanced definition given by Portes et al. (1989 cited in Brown et al. 2010) refers to the informal economy as illegal economic activities serving legal purposes. The differences in the definition of the concept suggest a lack of consensus about what exactly the concept represents (ILO, 2002a; Devey et al, 2003; Dewar, 2005; Davis & Thurlow, 2010), but it continues to persist and has served to explain informal activities and policies for researchers, policymakers and activists in many fields like geography, economics, urban studies and development planning. This study draws on the notions of the informal economy as unregistered, unrecorded, untaxed and unregulated economic activities to explain the organisation of market trading activities as informal enterprises market traders as informal workers. The concept also provides the base for explaining the challenges faced by market traders as informal workers.

2.3.1 Compositions and characteristics of the informal economy: informal enterprises and informal workers

The informal economy consists of all forms of informal enterprises (small unregistered and unincorporated enterprises) and informal jobs in both informal enterprises and formal enterprises, households or that which has no fixed employer (ILO, 2002b). Informal enterprises are small-scale enterprises which may or may not have employees, family businesses operated by owners who rely on unpaid family workers and own account operations by individuals (ibid.). Similarly, informal employment relations consist of workers in informal enterprises, domestic workers who have no regular contracts and labourers with no fixed employers, temporary and part time workers, industrial outworkers for formal or informal firms (and their intermediaries) and unregistered or undeclared workers (ibid.).

This implies that the informal economy comprises various categories of enterprises and workers. Informal employers, employees, own account operators (self-employed) to which most traders belong, casual wage workers and industrial workers and homemakers are all categories of informal worker (Chen, 2007). Distinguishing between the various enterprises and jobs in the informal economy is necessary because the vast diversity of activities and workers implies multiple needs and different challenges (ILO, 2002a). For example, traders, mechanics, garbage

and scrap collectors, shoe shiners, paid domestic workers, among others, are all within the informal economy, but they are quite distinct from each other and will therefore have different needs. Besides, there could be further segmentations based on gender, race, ethnicity, and religion. Also the various groups of informal workers may operate at varying scales which could be another source of differentiation, which by implication undermines notions of informal workers as a homogeneous group.

Although informality is not exclusive to the poor, it serves as the main source of livelihood for many urban poor (with women as the majority) particularly in developing regions of the world. For example, informal employment in Africa accounts for about 80% of non-agricultural employment and nearly 60% of urban employment (ILO, 2002a, 2002b, 2012). It is also believed to be sustained by poor economic conditions such as high unemployment, underemployment, inflations, poverty and gender inequality and the failure of the state agents to enforce effective regulation (Hart 1973; ILO, 2002a, 2012). These factors usually characterise developing countries, but they avail in the developed countries too. In fact, it acknowledged that the informal economy is not limited to developing countries only, but it has now become a global phenomenon (ILO, 2002a; Hansen & Vaa, 2004), with locally specific content and boundaries (Lorenço-Lindell, 2002).

People who are unable to start businesses in the formal economy, and cannot find jobs, resort to the informal economy, which offers flexibility for entry and operations (ILO, 2002a). The convenience of the informal economy rests on its low skill requirement, less capital investment, and low level technology (Potts, 2008). This makes entry into the informal economy very easy for many poor people. Notwithstanding the ease of entry, strong social networks serve as useful channels for informal workers, not the least for traders (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005; Brown et al 2010). Social networks such as individuals' family, ethnicity, church affiliations as well close-knit personal affinities are forms of informal traders' social capital, a tenant of the sustainable livelihood concept (see *ibid.*). Such networks prove useful for traders' resourcefulness for access to space, information and capital.

Another characteristic of the informal economy is a high degree of vulnerability due to the lack of recognition or absence of protection under legal and formal regulatory frameworks (ILO, 2002a). Among other things, the ILO notes that informal workers are vulnerable because they lack or receive little legal or social protection, have low property rights, lack effective

representation and have little or no voice to make their work recognised and protected and are often excluded or have limited access to public infrastructure and usually rely on informal and often exploitative institutional arrangement for information, credit, training or social security (ibid: 3). Informal traders depend on the attitudes of state authorities and strategies of large formal enterprises and they have unstable employment with low and irregular incomes (ibid.).

In this regard, a contrast is drawn with the formal economy, which comprises regulated economic units or enterprises which offers protection for workers (see Chen, 2007). Quite interestingly, studies have established linkages between the informal and the formal economy (see Devey et al, 2003; Dewar, 2005; Overå, 2007; Davis & Thurlow, 2010). For example, in a conceptual model of the relationship between the two economies, Davis & Thurlow (2010) depict informal purchase of formal goods and formal purchase of informal goods and informal wage income from the formal economy as part of the interlinkages. The two economies are thus integrally linked (Devey et al, 2003).

As noted, since the various categories of informal workers are distinct from each other, it also means that their vulnerability will be category specific. While casual industrial workers and paid domestic workers may be vulnerable because they do not have any form of social security and are unable to secure working contracts, self-employed informal traders have the option to make personal contributions towards social security and have no need for working contracts. However, informal traders are highly vulnerable, particularly regarding their access to urban space and planning policies (see Bromley, 2009). One key problematic theme with regards to informal traders and planning policies has been that they lack the voice and the right to participate in planning processes of projects or programmes that have impacts on their livelihoods.

Market traders are a peculiar group of traders considering that unlike street and informal petty traders and street hawkers, market traders' activities occur within designated markets controlled by city authorities and may by comparison be relatively more formal. They however, remain largely informal with regards to their mode of operations and limited degree of regulation, registration and taxation. This draws attention to the longstanding informality debates, many of which discuss measures to enhance the transition to formalised economies throughout the world.

2.3.2 Schools of thoughts about the informal economy

At the heart of the informality debate is the notion of dualism, legalism or voluntarism and structuralism (Chen, 2007; Chen, 2012; ILO, 2012). A popular school of thought about the informal economy follows the marginalist or dualistic view, traceable to early neo-liberal and Marxists theories of economic development which distinguish between a modern sector and a traditional sector of a nation (Meagher, 1995). The traditional sector which epitomises present day informal economies was seen as a backward phenomenon present only in Least Developing Countries (LDCs) (Potts, 2008). This is because informal activities are associated with low productivity (ibid.). It was therefore hoped that the informal economy would disappear once such countries begin to attain appreciable levels of economic growth or advance toward modern industrial development (Meagher, 1995; ILO, 2002a, Pott, 2008; Chen, 2012). Potts (2008) notes that policies influenced by marginalist or dualist perceptions aim at getting rid of activities and people within the informal economy in favour of more “productive forms of formal activities” (see Obeng-Odoom, 2013; Bromley & Mackie, 2009). This presents a great challenge for informal enterprises and workers who lack the capacity to meet the requirement of formal operations.

Another view of the informal economy is that it is technically a governance issue (ILO, 2014). Essentially, it is the result of “inappropriate, ineffective, misguided or badly implemented macroeconomic and social policies, frequently developed without tripartite consultation; the lack of appropriate legal and institutional frameworks; the lack of good governance for the proper and effective implementation of policies and laws; and a lack of trust in institutions and administrative procedures” (ILO 2014:7). This view has roots in the legalists and the voluntarists schools of thoughts. Both schools argue that informal traders try to avoid cost and responsibilities by “staying unregistered” (Chen, 2012; ILO, 2012). However, legalists believe that informal workers are unable to register their businesses due to the cumbersome bureaucratic processes (Chen, 2012). They suggest that informal workers are encouraged to become more productive through the implementation of simplified bureaucratic registration processes which would help them to have access to property rights (ibid.). Voluntarists on the other hand, believe that informal enterprises and workers deliberately avoid taxes and by so doing create unfair competition. They argue that informal enterprises and worker should be controlled under the regulatory framework (ibid.).

The arguments of all these three schools of thought seem to suggest and support a transition to formality, indicating an appeal for formal regulation and a lack of confidence in the capability of the informal economy to stimulate economic growth and development. This also throws light on the illegitimacy associated with some informal activities due to the lack of regulations (Chen, 2012). Similarly, Potts (2008) indicates that as far back as colonial times, informal activities became illegal because they did not feature in government statistics due to the absence of records and registrations. Even Hart (1973) associated various forms of illegitimate activities with the study, which brought forth the concept. In his study, Hart drew a distinction between a formal sector; which comprised public sector activities and formal private sector activities and an informal sector; which comprised informal legitimate and illegitimate private sector activities (ibid.). These various perceptions about informality influence policies which have implications for the livelihoods of millions of people, particularly urban informal workers in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The structuralist school is however of the view that the informal and the formal economy are integrally linked (Chen, 2012). Proponents maintain that, informal enterprises and workers operate at low cost due to reduced input and labour cost and therefore increase the competitiveness of formal enterprises (ibid.). This perception is perhaps one of the few positive arguments whose policies probably favour the informal economy. Potts (2008) notes that informal enterprises and workers witness shifts in policies which tend to praise or victimise them depending on trends in opinions about the informal economy. More convincingly, she argues that urban planners will forever see informal activities as “unplanned and [that which] flout regulations” (ibid, 158). She emphasises that urban planners will seldomly favour the informal economy because it inherently has connotations of unplanned activities which contradict what urban planning is ideally supposed to entail (ibid.).

2.3.3 Informality, urban space and planning

Vast diversities of informal activities have transformed the urban landscapes and economic structures of many cities in the world, particularly African cities (Lindell, 2010). This is, however, not to say that the informal economy is non-existent in rural areas, but rather that the informal economy is largely an urban phenomenon. The informal economy, though not new in Africa, intensified following the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) imposed on developing countries by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (ILO 2002b; Overå,

2007). Many people in the formal sector became unemployed during the era of the SAPs and turning to the streets for their livelihoods was the subsequent available option. Over the years, urban spaces, especially within the cities' CBDs have constituted the source of livelihood for many urban poor in many parts of the world (Hansen & Vaa, 2004). Urban spaces are thus perceived by the urban poor as a physical asset to sustain livelihoods (Asiedu & Agyei Mensah, 2008), thereby making access to urban space very critical for poor urban traders. Meanwhile, the use and management of urban spaces have been a source of contestations between informal workers (particularly traders) and city authorities (Asiedu & Agyei Mensah, 2008; Potts, 2008; Donovan, 2008; Hansen, 2004). The relationship between urban planners and informal traders will inform this study in analysing the implications of the re-development plans for traders' access to trading space.

Undoubtedly, urban space in Takoradi is in high demand for various forms of formal investments by private investors, which is highly preferred by planners. In the same way, there is also the informal demand of urban space by the urban poor for survival as well as the rich people who resort to informal activities for wealth accumulation, and on the other is also the formal demand by investors. This puts relatively poor market traders at risk because they have to compete with the rich traders as well as other formal enterprises for the same urban space as the city is undergoing a new development phase. I now present the theoretical underpinnings of planning and then relate them to planning in Ghana and the proposed re-development of the TMC to explain what is likely to happen if the new market plan is implemented.

2.4 Urban planning and urban planning theories

Hall (2002), states that urban planning is the organisation of the spatial structure of activities or of land use which otherwise would have been haphazard. Urban planning is therefore a conscious decision to create spatial orderliness in society; what Fainstein (2005:121) refers to as "creating a just city". This need to ensure spatial order in society has led to the development of different views on what planning processes should entail and how best they should be undertaken (Huxley, 2009). Thus, different planning approaches and theories emerged and became trendy at different periods (Smith, 1973; Özgür, 2013). Planning theories fall under three main headings; planning as the production of urban designs (concerned with structure of cities), planning as a decision making process (concerned with urban development policies) and planning as a means of participatory democracy (Huxley, 2009). Planning as the production of

urban designs and planning as a decision making process rely on earlier models of highly centralised and hierarchical forms of planning and do not allow for citizens' input (Smith, 1973).

Thus the introduction of participatory planning theories came to emphasise the social dimension which considers input from stakeholders or end users in the planning process of a project, programme or policy (Özgür, 2013). The idea of participatory planning is to actively involve the recipients of a project or a program in the planning and implementation processes of the projects or the programs (Naku & Afrane, 2013; Huxley, 2009; Smith, 1973). Participatory planning seeks to promote public consensus in the planning and implementation processes of projects and programmes (Özgür, 2013). In this manner, planners gain the endorsement and support of the beneficiaries of planned projects and programmes (Smith, 1973), and the liveability of projects is ensured.

Although, participatory planning has been widely acknowledged by researchers and policy makers as essential to the planning process (Naku & Afrane, 2013; Özgür, 2013; Morales, 2011; Cornwall, 2002; Chambers, 1983; Arnstein, 1969), it is however not without critiques. Participatory planning has been criticised for its lengthy time requirement to enhance the participatory processes of all the parties involved and inherently liable to conflicting views of diverse interest groups (Özgür E., 2013). Consequently, Huxley (2009) maintains that all three categories of planning theories should be seen as mutually inclusive.

2.4.1 Market planning and participation

Planning of markets requires crucial evaluations because markets are multi-purpose and multi-functional. The effective operation of markets is linked to the availability and effective and efficient functioning of other infrastructural facilities or services such as water, electricity, drainage, roads and transportation services. Apart from these considerations, Morales (2009) insists that a well-designed market should address the needs of all market attendants; the various traders and customers alike. A better understanding of the different types of businesses and the operation of traders is relevant for creating regulatory frameworks which respond to the needs of various traders and customers (ibid.). Participatory methods are important to ensure sustainable outcomes of strategies and design proposals (Nyström, 2002).

2.5 Urban planning in Ghana

Yeboah & Obeng-Odoom (2010) point out that no remarkable conceptual difference exists between urban planning theories used in the developed and developing countries and as such ineffective urban planning in developing countries like Ghana is a matter of the practicability of the theories. This makes March's statement that "... the worth of planning theories often depend on the nature of, governance in given places and times" (March, 2010:108). Following Ghana's decentralisation programme in 1988, urban local governments have been under pressure to plan and manage their towns and cities. However, due to rapid urban growth in Ghana urban local governments are unable to keep pace with the demands of the urban populace and have consequently shifted attention from direct service provision to public-private partnership (Owusu & Afutu-Kotey, 2010:3). The shift to PPP is also a way of promoting citizen participation in decision making processes (ibid.).

2.5.1 Public-Private Partnership (PPP)

The term PPP refers to a joint venture arrangement between a government entity and a private entity to provide public infrastructure and public services through the private entity (Linder, 1999; Sharma and Bindal, 2014). It is a capitalist and neo liberal ideology of stimulating private investment through a spread financial risk venture between the public and the private entity (Linder, 1999). It is also a means of addressing the financial stringency of a public entity by shifting the financial risk in undertaking a venture to a private entity (ibid.). It must be emphasised that the goals of the government entity and the private entity are different. Private investors are profit minded whereas governments are considerate of public concerns and social responsibilities. It therefore means that, in PPP governments must behave like entrepreneurs and similarly, entrepreneurs must also embrace public concerns and expect greater accountability (ibid.).

There are different ways of establishing a PPP (Sharma and Bindal, 2014), and different PPP arrangements (Grimsey & Lewis, 2002; Feust & Haffner, 2007). A common method is through a designed competitive bidding process intended to ascertain the financial, technical and managerial capabilities of a potential investor (Sharma and Bindal, 2014). This process involves the search for investment partners with the best cost effective and cost efficient capabilities (ibid.), since the outcome of PPP is likely to have implications for the end users. Quite sadly,

Feust & Haffner (2007) indicate that PPP arrangements often favour investors, neglect the interest of the poor and increase poverty. Different forms of PPP experiences abound in Ghana, in the areas of infrastructural development and service provision such as urban water supply (ibid.), solid waste management (Oteng-Ababio, 2010). Each case of PPP arrangements comes with different outcomes for end users, in this case the market traders.

CHAPTER THREE :

MARKETS AND MARKET TRADE IN GHANA

3.1 Introduction

Markets and market trade, especially in Ghana and most of the West African countries have long historical roots that predate colonial times (Hodder, 1965; Hill, 1963). The early emergence of markets and their centrality to trade as well as the existence of highly organised market institutions have been distinctive to West African countries with no exceptions to Ghana (Hodder, 1965). The market trade system in Ghana and elsewhere in other developing countries shows a complex network of activities and linkages. Very visible in this intricate structure are markets and the market traders to whom all other players in the system are connected.

In Ghana, marketplaces are economic, social, political and cultural institutions (Overå, 2006). More so, markets are “important political spaces of contestation as market traders’ business activities are directly and indirectly linked to the local and national political economy” (Awuah, 1997:404). A contextual review of markets and market traders in Ghana is therefore essential in order to appreciate the need to be concerned about the proposed re-development of the TMC and necessary for a better understanding of the relevance of trader involvement in the proposed re-development of TMC.

Markets are the main places for buying and selling in Ghana and major are sources of individual and household incomes. Markets also contribute significantly to the local revenues of district, municipal and metropolitan assemblies (Owusu & Lund, 2004). Apart from traders, markets employ several auxiliary workers such as porters, truck pushers, *susu*² collectors as well as revenue collectors, security men among others. Also, Ghanaian marketplaces provide avenues for various forms of interactions that lead to the development of relationships among traders and even between traders and their customers Clark (1994). Some of these social relationships may extend beyond the market and can have long lasting effects. In addition, Ghanaian marketplaces are sites of political influences due to their control and management by district assemblies and to

²Susu collection is a traditional banking system in which a person (e.g. a trader) decides to make a regular contribution to another person, the susu collector, for an agreed period. The contributor earns no interest but rather rewards the collector an agreed fee for enhancing bulk accumulation of money.

some extent the role of traditional leaders. Traditional leaders were the main custodians of markets until the adoption of Western governance and management system in Ghana (Solomon-Ayeh et al. 2011). Lastly, Ghanaian markets serve as places for various forms of cultural exchanges because traders are usually of heterogeneous ethnic backgrounds (ibid.).

3.2 Classifications of markets

Bromley (1998:1315-1316), identified four ways of classifying markets. The first is based on locations; by which she outlined three forms of market locations, namely, open air markets, closed or building markets and street markets or markets in other public spaces. The second classification is based on the frequency or periodicity of market operations. That is the number of days of continuous trading activities (Ofori & Asiedu, 2013). Based on this there can be daily markets, weekly markets and other markets that operate between six days or less. The third form of classification is based on the types of goods on sale (foodstuffs, manufactured) and the volume of goods involved (retail or wholesale). Last but not least, a distinction between markets is based on their sizes (measured in terms of physical sizes and the turnover). In this regard, markets can be classified into small, medium or large markets. Owusu & Lund (2004:116) add that a combination of other factors such as selling capacity (measured in terms of number of stores and stalls), the availability of market facilities, total cost of construction and the average number of attendants (measured in terms of buyers and sellers) are also important in classifying markets.

Almost every village or town in the country has a market and the various markets are distinct from each other as they perform different roles and functions. Ghanaian markets consist of open air markets, building markets and street markets; daily and periodic markets, wholesale, retail and mixed markets. The various categories of markets are in line with the four main elements identified by Bromley (1998) and the combination of factors suggested by Owusu & Lund (2004). Knowledge about such distinctions is important for understanding the organisation of markets and the relationship between respective markets and above all useful for planning purposes, particularly market centres and their economic regions (Ofori & Asiedu, 2013).

Open markets and closed or building markets are the two main formally recognised market locations in Ghana. Open air markets are more common than building markets in Ghana and the biggest of all, the KCM according to Clark (1994) is the largest in West Africa. There are forms of building markets such as the Kaneshie Market and the Makola Shopping Mall, both in Accra.

Street markets are mainly characteristic of urban centers with limited trading spaces in formally designated commercial centers and they are the creations of traders who lack access to trading spaces in formal markets or cannot pay for market spaces. Some traders also take advantage of certain strategic locations to establish street markets which are usually not formally recognised because they obstruct pedestrian movement and vehicular traffic, thereby causing congestion and posing a challenge for city authorities (Solomon-Ayeh et al. 2011).

Most Ghanaian markets, particularly those in urban areas operate on a daily basis, from Monday to Sunday. Highly periodic markets, which operate for less than seven days is characteristic of quite a number of markets in rural Ghana. However, there is also the tendency for some daily markets to have an overlay of some form of periodicity. For instance, even though the Ashaiman³ Market operates as a daily market, Mondays and Thursdays have been set aside as market days (special days) and these days are particularly active days. Another example is the Techiman Market⁴, which operates daily, but has Monday, Wednesday and Friday as its market days. The difference on such days is obvious in the number of market attendants; mostly customers and traders (most importantly, producers and wholesalers) from various parts of the region and the country at large.

Closely linked to periodicity is the use of the time of operations of markets as a distinguishing factor for classification. There are markets that operate during the day (mostly from 6:00 in the morning to 6:00 in the evening) and others that operate in the night (usually after 6:00 p.m.). Day markets are more common, but there are quite a number of night markets, including the Bukom, Osu and Kwame Nkrumah Circle night markets in Accra.

Ghanaian markets are characterised by a high diversity of enterprises (different types of businesses); in addition to trading activities. The enterprises are so diverse that Clark (1994:2) remarks that “formal classification along the scales of modernity, competitiveness, capitalist orientation, legality, or size cannot say enough about this diversity”. Apart from traders, there are tailors or seamstresses, hairdressers or barbers, other artisans and auxiliary workers such as head porters whose services are far from trading. In the same way, there are also formal businesses like pharmacies and secretariat services.

³ One of the municipalities in the Greater Accra Region

⁴ A popular food market in the Brong Ahafo Region

In terms of commodities, market traders sell a wide range of commodities; from foodstuffs, clothing, manufactured and industrial products of both local and foreign sources. Markets offering a variety of goods are more common than specialised markets like the Agbogloshie Market, noted for vegetables and foodstuffs, the Abossey Okai Market, noted for the sales of car spare parts and the Kantamanto Market noted for second hand clothing and the Timber Market noted mainly for wood. There are, however forms of commodity specialization within most mixed markets in terms of sectors or zones. With regards to the volumes of trade, there are wholesale markets, retail markets as well as markets that engage in both wholesale and retail activities.

The sizes of markets also vary from place to place and sometimes correspond to their functions. Mostly, markets in rural communities in the country are much smaller in sizes as compared to those in urban communities in terms of physical size, availability of facilities and average number of attendants. Thus, based on the size and a combination of the other factors, markets in Ghana can be hierarchically classified into central markets, neighbourhood markets or satellite markets and village markets.

Many central markets are characteristically the biggest in the regions in which they are located. They are often open air markets that operate daily and sometimes have overlay of various forms of periodicity (market days). They are usually located in the CBDs and offer a wide range of retail and wholesale activities. Some examples of central markets are the Makola Market in Accra, the Kumasi Central Market, the Takoradi Market Circle and the Kotokuraba Market in Cape Coast. Some metropolises like Accra have more than one central market. A market like the Kumasi Central Market serves the needs of buyers beyond the country (Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger) and thus can be described as a regional market.

Neighbourhood markets such as the Nima and the Nungua markets, both in Accra, and others in Kumasi like the Bantama Market and the Asafo Market are usually medium sized markets in relation to central markets and they serve the needs of communities within certain catchment areas. There are also village markets, which are very small in sizes and as noted may be highly periodic. The functioning of the market system is such that central markets provide higher order goods and services, and have the highest population density that supports them in relation to the neighbourhood, satellite and village markets. Another phenomenon that is becoming quite common is home based mini markets. This is the activity of individuals who sell goods to their

community members. There may be more than one trader in the community, but they operate from different locations, usually from their homes.

3.3 The gendering of market trade in Ghana

Market trade is an economic activity undertaken by both men and women but It is well documented that market trade in Ghana is dominated by women (Robertson, 1983; Clark, 1994; Owusu & Lund, 2004; Overå, 2007). The predominance of women in markets in Ghana has been the outcome of interplay of historical antecedence and gender ideologies about culturally appropriate occupations for women and men. About the 17th century, both men and women engaged in trading activities in Ghana, with men playing the more visible role by trading in imported commodities, whereas women were involved in semi stationary trade in foodstuffs, locally produced consumables and others like beads and cloth (Stasik & Thiel, 2014). The rising of women to dominate market trade in Ghana has been the result of the withdrawal of men from the retail sector to be trained for various positions that served colonial administrative purposes (ibid.). Given the flexibilities and opportunities to rise economically, women gradually solidified their positions in markets and markets eventually became culturally symbolic as avenues of female entrepreneurship.

Following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes in Ghana, there were shifts in gender ideologies about what constituted appropriate occupation for men and women as general norms were undermined by the poor socio-economic conditions (Overå, 2007). Many men were able to cross gendered occupational barriers by venturing into female-dominated occupations like market trade, even though women had limited opportunities in doing the same (ibid.). This is how men came into market trade again and are still increasing their entry gradually. Nonetheless, women still see market trade as a more appropriate occupation and the market as their sphere of control.

Culturally, men have not always considered market trade as work and market trade has subsequently not been considered as an appropriate work for men in Ghana (Dunne & King, 2003). In many Ghanaian cultures there is gender division of household labour, where men are the household heads and must provide for the family. On the other hand, women are expected to supplement the efforts of their husbands through the performance of reproductive roles. Market trade is therefore not seen as “worthy or good enough” to enable men to adequately provide for

their families as heads. However, in comparison to working in formal avenues, the working conditions of market trade allow women to effectively carry out their duties with flexibility.

Mostly, market trade in Ghana is basically organised along commodity associations and ethnic composition (Clark, 1994; Awuah, 1997). According to Awuah (1997) commodity associations are the smallest social and political unit for organising market traders. Commodity associations are often headed by *Ahema* or commodity queens, one of whom is elected by a council of elders in similar ranks as an overall market queen (Clark, 1994). Commodity queens are responsible for determining reasonable pricing, dispute resolution among members and also engage in negotiations and collective bargaining with producers and supplies as well as with the market authorities in relation to decision making processes about the control and management of in order to consolidate their positions as traders in the market (ibid.; Awuah, 1997). It is common for various commodity associations in different markets to come together to form “General Traders Association (GTA)” which is a bigger social and political organisation that represents the interest of traders at the regional or national level (ibid.).

Market traders are of diverse ethnic backgrounds and trading activities are sometimes organised along ethnic affiliations; where certain locations in markets or the trade in particular commodities are the preserve of an ethnic group. For example, ethnic groups along the coast such as the Ewe, Fanti and Ga are more likely to trade in fish. Traders from the Northern Ghana often engage in the sale of commodities such as cattle, kola and grains. Food crops like plantain, cassava and yam are produced in the forest regions of the country, thus dominated by traders from the forest zones. This “ethnic specialisation” in commodities sold reflect uneven resource distribution owing to geographical differences in weather and climatic conditions in the country. Organisation of trading activities along ethnic line is gradually fading out due to improved information about sources of supplies and improved technology.

3.4 Market trade and informality in Ghana

The Ghanaian economy is predominantly informal. The informal sector’s share of employment is estimated to be 86.1% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Market trade in Ghana is classified as an informal economic activity and it constitute a significant aspect of the informal economy. It is associated with easy entry and exit; it thrives on little capital and low technological investment. Market trade does not necessarily require any formal education, but informal training and skills are relevant. As a result, it is often associated with people with little or no

formal education. Market trading activities are neither recorded by traders nor properly documented by the state. Due to this productivity of traders is inaccessible or based on estimations. Also, market traders have no form of formal insurance or social security; they often rely on informal social system and family.

A review of market trade in Ghana includes an era of attacks on markets and the marginalisation of traders which have been well documented by Robertson (1983), Clark (1994) and Obeng-Odoom (2013). In 1979 and 1981 for instance; the beginning of a military overthrow, Robertson (1983) documents that market traders were blamed for the poor economic conditions in the country. They were accused of exploitation, corruption and hoarding, thereby creating shortages (*ibid.*). This subsequently led to the demolition of the Makola No.1, Makola No. 2 in Accra and other main markets in Sekondi, Koforidua and Kumasi. Clark (1994) also records violent forms of physical and verbal confrontations between market traders and state agents like police, soldiers and public officials over price control and other issues within the same period.

3.5 Planning, control and management of markets in Ghana

Market designs are forms of urban planning because markets are essential parts of towns and cities. The planning, siting as well as the control and management of markets in Ghana rests with the district, municipality or the metropolis in which the markets are to be located or located. Assemblies determine the types, sizes and the locations of markets. However, the considerations of city planners in the planning and siting of markets are not at par with those of traders. This leads to neglect of market buildings and increase in street trading and hawking activities (Owusu & Lund, 2004; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Solomon-Ayeh et al. 2011). For example, in March 2014, the Daily Graphic reported that two markets in the Central Region had been abandoned for over six years by traders due to their remote location from the town and also dissatisfaction with the market facilities (Daily Graphic, 2014).

Assemblies control and manage markets through the allocation of stalls or stores, the provision and maintenance of market facilities, levying, providing security and ensuring relatively good sanitation practices (Lyon, 2003; Awuah, 1997). Assemblies are directly represented by market managers or superintendents who oversee the day to day running of the market and also to enforce market rules and regulations (see Awuah, 1997). The authority of assemblies in the control and management of market is vital that changes in their policies can have serious implications for market traders' access to market space and their trading activities (Lyon, 2003).

Also, due to the land tenure system in the country, some traditional leaders may become stakeholders in the control and management of markets. For example, as the main custodian of Kumasi land the Asante King (Otumfuo Osei Tutu II) could not have been left out of the negotiation and planning process of the reconstruction of the KCM. This is particularly important, as Solomon-Ayeh et al. (2011) note that traders pay more allegiance to traditional leaders than Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA).

In a similar manner, there are also public-private partnership arrangements which allow private management of some markets. Markets such as the Makola Shopping Mall, the Kaneshie and Dansoman markets in Accra are privately managed (AMA, 2008). Often the market conditions and facilities in privately managed market comparatively better than state manage (ibid.). Also general perceptions are that there is high degree of formality in privately managed markets than public markets. Given that the proposed re-development of TMC aims at private partnership, it can it likely that the degree of informality will be altered and this can have implications for the average trader.

CHAPTER FOUR :

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an account of the various research methods, tools and techniques used to produce data to answer the research questions. It further provides reasons for the choice of methods and decisions that influenced the entire research process. It begins with a justification for adopting the mixed method. It then proceeds with an overview of my preparations before the fieldwork in Ghana, and shows the statuses I assumed and the roles I played as a researcher during the fieldwork. It then discusses the ethical considerations in conducting the research and concludes with the reliability and validity issues of the study.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods are the two fundamental ways of conducting research in social science. Each of these two methods is distinct in its own way; each having its own pros and cons. They basically differ in terms of their orientation towards the role of theory in relation to research, their epistemological (with regards to how is knowledge constituted) and ontological (with regards to what constitute reality) orientations (Bryman, 2012). The quantitative method is rooted in positivist epistemology and objectivist ontology and has a deductive approach. In contrast, qualitative method is underpinned by interpretivism and constructionism in term of its epistemological and ontological orientations respectively (ibid.). Despite these differences, Brannen (2005) noted that there have been growing concerns to ignore the divide because both methods complement each other. Though not entirely without critique, the mixed method (a hybrid of the quantitative and qualitative methods) tends to bridge the gap between the two.

The mixed method is appropriate for this study because the study aims at producing both quantitative and qualitative data. It is however more qualitative than quantitative in nature. Data for the study was produced using semi-structured questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and informal discussions. The semi-structured questionnaires produced both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative method was used to produce descriptive data for statistical analysis and also to find the existence of associations between variables such as the gender and age of informants and access to space. The qualitative method, on the other hand enabled me to explore the everyday life experiences of the traders, how they organise their trade,

their challenges and fears . It also allowed me to understand how and the market is managed by the STMA and the relationship between traders and market authorities. It was also useful in seeking traders' and customers' opinions about the proposed re-development of the market.

According to Kitchin & Tate (2000:225) case studies “involve studying a phenomenon within its real-life setting”. It provides in-depth studies of issues from various perspectives (ibid.). The whole thesis is a case study of a market place. The study provides in-depth understanding of how trading activities are organised in TMC from different perspectives. The study also provides illustrations of trading practices and traders' daily experiences in markets. Specific cases of how they raise their start-up capital, trading capital and how they access market space are presented in the study. It emphasised that informants in the illustrative cases have been anonymised with pseudonyms.

4.2 Preparations for field work

I began my fieldwork in Takoradi in June, 2014 and concluded in September, 2014. My first time to visit Takoradi was in 2010 when I only made a stop on my way to a course trip. Thus, I was not very familiar with Takoradi. I therefore visited Takoradi the second week I arrived in Ghana with three things in mind; to familiarise myself mainly with the Takoradi Market Circle, which I intended to study, establish the necessary contacts and lastly to secure accommodation for my stay during the fieldwork period.

After a six hour journey the bus stopped and I found myself standing right in front of the popular Takoradi Market Circle. I had read, heard and even seen pictures of the market, but had never set a foot there. Finally, there I was before it. What first came to mind was its circular nature, so I sought to confirm it. I faced the police station and used it as a starting point, and I walked all-round the market till I found myself standing at the same point again where I began. Having satisfied my curiosity, I inquired from a trader to direct me to the office of the market manager. Upon meeting her, I discussed the purpose of my visit with her by presenting my introduction letter and also requested her assistance in meeting the Market Queen. She directed me to the market secretary because the Market Queen was unavailable. She also advised me to go to the STMA office in Sekondi to present my introductory letter to the Chief Revenue Officer or the Public Relations Office (PRO).

I was warmly received by the market secretary that same day and introduced myself as a student researcher from Norway. She offered me a seat and we had a brief but interesting discussion about the market, traders, queens and STMA in general. She suggested that a meeting with the queens could be very helpful as a start. However, she explained that meeting the queens as a group could only be possible at their own general meeting. They meet on every first Monday of the month. Since they had already had their meeting for the month of June before my visit I could only look forward to their next meeting which would be in July. With her promise to notify the queens about my mission and also make arrangements for me to join them at their subsequent meetings, I headed to the STMA office in Sekondi for the same purpose.

I already had the complimentary card of the Metro Development Planning Officer which I got from my supervisor so I went to his office first but I did not meet him. I then went to the office of the Metro Revenue Officer, who had been recommended by the market manager. I met the same situation as in the first office. Apparently, there was a general meeting that day so I could not speak to any of the authorities. The secretary of the Metro Revenue Officer advised that the Coordinating Director would be the right person to contact first, but he was equally in the same meeting. After waiting for almost two hours without any success, I decided to leave since I had not made arrangements for spending the night in Takoradi.

On the issue of accommodation, my search did not yield any success either. Days later, after my return to Tema, I resorted to church members who had relatives in Takoradi to come to my assistance. An accommodation was arranged after a week and I moved to Anaji, a suburb of Takoradi to formally begin my data production process. The difficulty in securing accommodation delayed the commencement of my fieldwork and when I finally got one, the available means of transport from my residence to my study area was by Taxi (more expensive than *trotro*, a mini bus transport system). This eventually increased the cost of the data production.

4.3 Statuses and roles and my insider/outsider perspectives

According to Linton (1936), the status of a person refers to the position he or she occupies in a particular society or setting. Such a position is a collection of rights and duties which, when carried out by the person becomes a role. He refers to a role as the performance of rights and duties and he states that statuses can either be ascribed at birth or achieved through personal efforts (*ibid.*). This means that we can only control the statuses we achieve and not those we are

ascribed. A researcher's ability to anticipate the statuses to acquire in a given society or setting is useful in downplaying statuses that disadvantages the researcher (Berreman, 1962).

In addition, based on the relational construction between researchers and informants, researchers occupy either insider or outsider positions (Carling et al, 2013). A researcher is ascribed an insider position if he or she belongs to the group under study and in the same way, if a researcher does not belong to the group he or she is studying then the researcher is perceived as an outsider (see Carling et al. 2013; Mullings, 1999). Both the researchers and the informants draw on their mental pool of social categories to establish differences or similarities they share (Carling et al, 2013). This means that, similarities in social categories are more likely to enhance insider positions, whereas differences will establish outsider positions (ibid.). Mullings (1999) notes that both insider and outsider positions come with advantages and disadvantages, it is therefore not prudent for a researcher to consistently take an insider or an outsider stance in all issues throughout data production. She therefore recommends researchers oscillate between the two positions if more balanced viewpoints are to be achieved. It also means seeking *positional spaces*, which are areas where the situated knowledge of both the researcher and the researched establish a level of trust and co-operation (ibid, 1999:340).

Among the STMA officials, I anticipated the possibility to be ascribed statuses such a visitor, a journalist and a job seeker. These statuses could delay my acceptance. The journalist position specifically could also prevent me from gaining access to information about the proposed re-development plan because media reports sometimes heightens tensions between market authorities and traders. Therefore, I purposefully presented my introductory and student ID to the authorities to convince them about my intentions, purely academic. In this way, my status as a Ghanaian student researcher from Norway was rapidly established. My status as a Ghanaian student researcher gave me both an insider and outsider positions among the officials. I was an insider based on my nationality and it was easy to discuss the market, its control and management, the challenges of the authorities and the relationship between traders and the market authorities. Also, as a student it was possible to ask for authorities' explanations and clarifications of observations in the market and claims made by traders. This allowed me to hear the authorities' side of issues and their rationale for certain decisions in the market management. My student position also gave me an outsider position, in that I was not a staff of the STMA. This limited my access to detailed information, particularly about the re-development plans. For

instance, my request for previously signed Memorandum and Understandings (MOU) was denied.

In the market, my status as a customer was obvious; it is quite easy to anticipate that because of my familiarity with Ghanaian markets and traders. To traders, anyone who walks into the market is a potential customer. Indeed, the first status I acquired in the market was a customer and this never changed among some traders until I finished my data production process. Traders called out to me just like they would in enticing customers to buy their wares. This status was of course a reflection of the fact that I was sometimes seen buying items from the market. The customer status helped me to interact freely with the traders about the various sections in the market, what was sold where and the sources of the commodities. It also allowed me to observe customer-trader relations among various traders, especially the different techniques in enticing customers.

Other statuses such as a loan officer, a marketing officer, a government official and a journalist were also readily thought of because, I noted they had roles in common with my status as a student researcher and I took measures to erode any such misconceptions when unfavourable. As Berreman (1962) notes, when tagged with a particular status that does not serve the purpose of the research, the researcher must act inconsistently in order to acquire a new status. These included presenting my student ID, introductory letter and asking questions of academic relevance and showing little interest in issues which had no bearing on my study. However, these statuses did not suddenly change and delayed the start-off for my interviews to some extent.

The statuses of a visitor or tourist and a revenue collector were not easily anticipated. I was taken for a visitor and tourist because of my association with a popular head porter and also because of my constant carrying of a backpack. This was noticed because carrying backpacks is not a very common practice, especially among women in Ghana. Also, I employed the services of a head porter upon the advice of a trader to help me become very familiar with the market. The market is such a big place and it could only take a person who was very familiar with it to show another around. For instance, through the head porter, I came to learn about the various names of the gates and which gate led to which lane or sector of the market. Perceived as a visitor, traders were eager to know how they could be of help to me particularly because Ghanaians are very hospitable and as traders they hoped that I would eventually buy something from them. Along the line, I became associated with the position of a revenue collector and an

STMA official because I was regularly seen in the company of revenue collectors. I relied on revenue collectors to get closer to the traders and also to further understand the zoning of the market. Most revenue collectors, especially the daily toll collectors were in constant and direct interaction with the traders and knew some of them even by their names. Being in their company helped me to know the traders and enhanced my familiarity with them.

My meeting with the queens also earned me the status, the queens' visitor and the secretary's visitor. In relation to some informants I also assumed the status of a friend or even daughter. I was once interviewing a plantain trader in sector E, when another trader from sector D passed by and asked me whether I was aware my "mother" (referring to the market secretary) had travelled. At another time a trader asked the secretary "do you know your friend (referring to me) was here yesterday (Sunday)?" She asked that because the secretary does not come to the market on Sundays. As a major key informant, I mostly pass by her store in the morning to give her a hand in displaying her wares on a table in front of her store. I used the opportunity to engage her in informal discussions about observations I make during the day and she in turn provides explanations. These are later verified from other traders for reliability.

My position as an insider/outsider in the field was therefore not fixed. It changed in relation to the type of informant or even issues under discussion as well as my ability to draw on shared social categories. During my interviews, some traders were more forthcoming with information than others. In my encounter with those who were very open; I played the outsider in order to get as much information as possible. I got them to reveal things which they would have otherwise not talked about. When I introduced myself as a student researcher from Norway, most informants thought that I was a permanent resident in Norway and had very little or no idea about Takoradi, the market, traders and their activities in general. They would talk at length by repeating and emphasizing the same issue and would explain that the purpose was for me to get a good comprehension and appreciation of the issues. One trader remarked that she had taken the "time and trouble" to explain things to me because I was a stranger. The challenge with this position was that some traders felt I could help them financially. Others requested that I sought for NGOs to come to their aid.

As a Ghanaian my ability to understand Fante and speak Twi, which is an Akan language quite similar to Fante, was good enough and qualified me as an insider among some traders. Equally, my knowledge on Akan cultural practices gave me another push as an insider. More importantly,

my attribute as a daughter of a trader and my familiarity of other Ghanaian market environments placed me in a comfortable position. I drew on these attributes in different instances to have access to information which an outsider position could not have enhanced. On some occasions, traders were reluctant to talk about their challenges, especially in relation to STMA but after I revealed my identity as the daughter of a trader, they suddenly opened up. They then discussed the details of their challenges on more sensitive issues such as bribery and corruption as well as harassment in the market. Some went ahead to talk about how these challenges even affected their personal lives and livelihood.

4.4 Sampling

According to Rice (2010:230), sampling refers to “acquiring information about a relatively small part of a larger group or population”. It also “involves decisions about how to choose the sample and the sample size” (McLafferty, 2010:85). A sample refers to the subset of the population who are interviewed by a researcher or to whom questionnaires are administered (ibid.). In essence, the sample is the informants; hence, the choice of sample and sampling characteristics is very crucial to the research process because it influences the findings. The sample size therefore, is the total number of people or groups sampled for the purpose of acquiring information.

One of my main sampling techniques for the study was purposive sampling. I used this technique because some of my research questions were directed to specific groups and who are in a better position to answer them. My question on the proposed market re-development demanded information from technical officials in charge of the matter and not just any other officials. This allowed me to interview the planning officers in charge of physical planning and urban development planning. Among the traders, it enabled me to choose only informants with knowledgeable information to answer my researcher questions.

Another technique I used was the snowball sampling, a sampling technique through which the researcher begins with a sample that refers him or her to other informants with relevant information. When I interviewed the development planner and the physical planner, they both referred me to other STMA officials in other departments whom I did not initially plan to interview. Equally, some trader groups referred me to other traders whom they felt were also active in their market politics and could provide necessary information for my study.

In a similar manner, I used stratified sampling because it is helpful in surveys that explore differences among groups or geographical areas (see McLafferty, 2010). There exist several forms of strata in the market. These could be seen in the form of different sector labelling, different commodity lines, different scales of operation and differences in power of influence. While some of these were easy to observe, others were quite invisible and took longer periods of observation and insider assistance in explaining. The contributing effect of this sampling technique was that it helped to explain some differences in divided opinions about certain issues. For example, some traders stated flooding as a major concern whereas other traders in the same market said that they are not affected by floods. I then understood that, flooding in the market is specific to locations and not a general problem.

In all, my total sample size was 71 informants; 16 men and 55 women consisting of STMA officials, traders and customers. They included seven STMA officials, 59 traders and five customers. I included customers because they are the main reason why traders work in the market. I wanted to seek their opinions on the state of the market, that is how they perceive their “shopping centre” and to also know what they think about the re-development of the market into a modern shopping centre. To achieve that I used convenience sampling in choosing the informants, based on their availability and willingness to discuss the issues. Customers only spend a short time in the market so I chose informants who live or work close to the market so that I could make appointments to interview them in their homes or working places. I also had informal discussions with several others who had time to spare in the market.

Table 1: Categories, number and gender of informants samples and interview techniques used

Category of Informants	Gender		Number Male/Female	Data producing tool
	Male	Female		
STMA Officials	6	1	7	Interview
Market Leaders	2	7	9	Interview
Traders	5	45	50	Questionnaire
Customers	3	2	5	Interview
Total	16	55	71	

Source: Field data, 2014.

4.5 Data production tools

Different data production tools were employed to gather data for this study. They include individual and key informant interviews, group interviews, informal discussions and participant observations.

4.5.1 Interviews

An interview is a conversation in which an interviewer gathers information from another person or persons (Longhurst, 2010). It is a social encounter in which both the interviewer and the interviewee bring their own expectations about the content and the role they may play (Kitchin and Tate 2000:215). It therefore requires careful planning and preparation. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000:213), interviews reveal “rich sources of data about people’s experiences, opinions, aspirations and feelings”. The three main forms of interviews are structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews (Dunn, 2010). Each of these forms has its strengths and weaknesses, but usually, what distinguishes one form from the other lies in the degree of flexibility.

I used semi-structured interview guides and questionnaires to conduct my interviews. Semi-structured interviews are very flexible and can allow participants to bring their ideas and thoughts to bear on issues which they consider very important and most pressing. Another importance of it lies in its ability to allow the researcher to probe deeper through open-ended questions to enrich the data more than if the interviews are structured (Longhurst, 2010). I used different interview guides for the different STMA officials, one for market leaders and one for the customers whereas the questionnaire was used for the traders. Apart from the STMA officials whose interviews were conducted in English, all other interviews were conducted in Twi (me) and Fante (informants). Though the market is a heterogeneous linguistic environment, Fante serves as the lingua franca of the traders. Thus, no interpreter was used in the process. Some interviews were audio recorded, whereas others were not because informants declined my request to record. In such cases, I took notes. All audio recorded interviews were later transcribed either in the evening or early the following day before going to the field.

All interviews with the STMA officials were conducted in their offices. With the exception of the Market Queen all interviews with market leaders and traders were conducted in the market while the informants were conducting their businesses. The interview with the Market Queen

was conducted at the fish smoking site which is about 500 meters from the market. This was necessary because usually spends less time in the market. She retails her smoked fish to other younger fish traders and sends the remainder to the market to be sold by her niece or daughter. I went to the homes and shops of customers to conduct their interviews.

Before the start of every interview, I introduce myself, explain the purpose of the research and assure informants about the confidentiality of their responses and image. With the STMA officials, I send the topic areas via e-mails and they in turn decide on the appropriate date and time for a meeting. I had interviews with seven officials of the STMA. The main purpose was to understand their role in the management of the market circle, and also to clarify issues about the proposed re-development of the market. The interviews allowed me to verify and to seek clarification about some claims made by traders. I interviewed the market superintendent, an official from the physical planning office, the metro development planner, head of the metro guide unit (security), the deputy environmental health officer, the revenue officer and the PRO. The various interviews were necessary because no single officer could provide all the relevant information. The durations of the interviews were between 20 and 60 minutes, depending on the type of issues discussed. For example, my interview with the Head of the Metro Guide Unit lasted for 30 minutes, whereas that of the physical planner lasted for 55 minutes and followed by an informal discussion.

Table 2: Profile of market leaders interviewed.

Position	Gender	Type of Trade
Market Queen	Female	Smoked fish
Market Secretary	Female	Utensil
Vice Market Queen	Female	Cloth
Commodity Queen	Female	Vegetables
Commodity Queen	Female	Cassava
Commodity Queen	Female	Plantain
Commodity Queen	Female	Palm nut
Chairman – Stores’ Association	Male	Plumbing items
Secretary – Butchers’ Association	Male	Meat

Source: Field data, 2014.

I interviewed nine market leaders, all of whom served as gatekeepers to their various “groups and sectors”. Gatekeepers are facilitators, who grant researchers access to the researched persons or group and areas (Crowhurst, 2013). Interviews with these leaders gave me insights into the role of market associations and leadership. I also understood how the leaders are chosen and what it takes to become a leader. It also revealed the nature of the market hierarchy and their involvement by STMA on decision making. Equally, the interviews produced what the leaders consider as their major challenges; some of which are only related to specific groups. Out of the officials and the leaders, the two planning officers and the PRO as well as the market queen and market secretary were my main key informants. I relied heavily on them for clarification and explanations.

4.5.2 Group interviews

I had group interviews with seven different groups of traders in the market. However, it was difficult for me to organise the groups myself so I relied on already established groups. I did not have control over the number of participants or their compositions. Some of the participants had already participated in the survey so they were well aware of some of the questions than those participating for the first time. The group interviews dealt with the challenges faced by traders, coping strategies, participation in decision making and traders’ perception of the re-development of the market into a modern shopping centre. The group interviews were very important because it helped produce ideas that reflected general needs and not just individual problems. It also revealed differences in the issues affecting the various groups in the market. It again helped me to understand the operations of market associations and their relationships with the STMA officials.

Table 3: Profiles of the groups of traders interviewed.

Group	Gender	Number	Commodity group
Queens' Association	Women	11	<i>Queens for: Fish, Cassava, Tomatoes, Onion, Kontomire⁵, Vegetables, Palm nut, Cloth, Children's Wear, Shoes, Utensils.</i>
Members of Shed 8	Men	11	<i>Tailors</i>
	Women	6	<i>Seamstresses</i>
Members of Shed 2	Men	10	<i>Onions, Sheep & Goats</i>
Cassava Sellers	Women	4	<i>Cassava</i>
Palm Nut Sellers	Women	5	<i>Palm Nuts</i>
Tomatoes Sellers	Women	6	<i>Tomatoes</i>
Plantain Sellers	Women	5	<i>Plantains</i>

Source: Field data, 2014.

4.5.3 Questionnaires

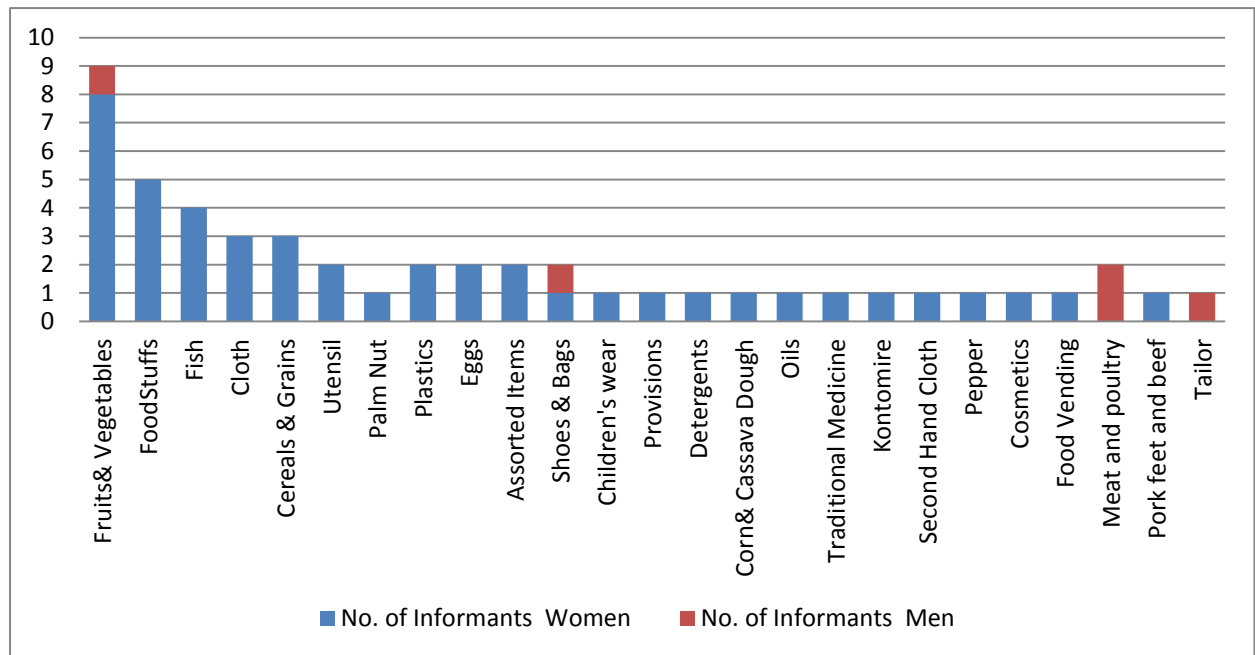
Questionnaires serve as a useful method for gathering information about the characteristics, behaviours and/or attitudes of informants (McLafferty, 2010). Questionnaires were used to acquire data about traders' characteristics such as age, sex, type of trade, years of trading, the number of stores/stalls and amount paid as rent. The questionnaires also produced data on the different type of commodities sold in the market, types of trading locations, acquisition and access to trading spaces in the market.

Questionnaires were administered in the form of face-to-face interviews while traders went about their activities. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours depending on how often we are disrupted and whether or not the informants have assistants. Interview sessions with traders who have assistants were less disruptive than those without assistants and tended to last shorter. Of course, some traders were also very much interested in knowing how I had the opportunity to study abroad and how their own children and family could benefit. This equally extended the time.

⁵ A green leafy vegetable whose usage can be equivalent to spinach

The questionnaires included both close-ended and open-ended questions and this allowed informants to express themselves in their own words. It allowed informants to introduce very interesting themes like harassment, discrimination, dissatisfaction with the reconstruction of burnt stores and reallocation issues. After approximately 6 interviews, I re-designed the questionnaires to include these themes.

Chart 1: Traders interviewed by types of commodities sold and gender (Total No 50).



Source: Field data, 2014.

4.5.4 Informal discussions

Informal discussions served as a very useful approach in my data production process. I employed this means to elicit explanations for issues that needed further clarifications. It was an effective approach when some informants were reluctant to grant me interviews, but were very comfortable discussing issues in an informal situation. Usually most of these discussions were not planned, they just happened by chance. I had informal discussions with different groups of people; revenue collectors, buyers, traders and even some “travellers” Through informal discussions with traders, I gathered data about what Berrreman (1962) referred to as the “back stage” activities of STMA officials, market associations and general practices in the market. Sometimes such discussion revealed very sensitive issues which did not come up in any of the formal interviews.

4.5.5 Participant observation

Another means of producing data for the study was through participant observation. In the words of Fine (2001:11073), “participant observation involves the active engagement of the researcher with the members of the community he or she wishes to study, typically as an equal member of that group”. It means paying very close attention to, and sometimes getting involved with, the everyday activities of the researched (Watson & Till, 2010). It again means engaging with familiar and unfamiliar issues and thus requires carefulness and patience (Laurier, 2010).

In her experience with market traders in the Kumasi Central Market, Clark (1994) explains that participant observation serves as a very useful tool in studying market traders. She notes that since other forms of studies could be very disruptive to traders’ work, observation and participation enables the researcher to learn and discover things as they happen in their natural settings. The participation aspect provided an informal platform to ask further questions, leading to discussions about issues which could not have been discovered only through interviews.



Photo 1. Spending time with the Queen of palm nut sellers.



Photo 2. Young boys hawking in the market.



Photo 3. Traders retailing plantain from the Queen of plantain sellers.



Photo 4. Empty stalls at Aprembo Market

On one occasion, I joined the female market leaders to Sekondi to meet the Metro Chief Executive to register their grievances about some developments in the market. We all conveyed at a point outside the market before setting off. During the few minutes I spent waiting with them, they discussed detailed issues about their challenges as traders and leaders and their relationship with the market authorities. The meeting afforded deeper insight about traders' interaction with the STMA officials. I actively participated in the daily routines of the traders; I assisted them in packing and displaying their wares and ran errands for them. I spent time with different traders to observe how they carried out their trade; I observed how they entice and attract customers to their stores/stalls and learnt about the differences in their bargaining skills and customer services. I also spent time to observe how the traders interact with each other, as well as the relationship between the market leaders and ordinary traders. In addition, I went to Apremo to make observations in the market to understand why traders refused to go there.

4.6 Data Analysis

The study produced both quantitative and qualitative data which were analysed differently. The quantitative data were coded in excel and analysed in the form of a chart and tables for statistical illustrations. For example, data on the ages, educational and ethnic backgrounds of traders, length of years of trading in TMC were analysed to identify associations between these variables and other factors such as access to space and leadership positions. In analysing the qualitative data, responses were coded to identify themes and sub-themes based on the research questions to guide the discussions of this study. The data have been interpreted and explained based on the theoretical frameworks adopted.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations must be critically examined by all researchers regardless of the research method(s) adopted (Dowling, 2010). Ethics relate to “issues of consent, confidentiality, harm (both human and the environment), cultural awareness and dissemination of results and feedback to participants” (Hay, 2010: 39-40). To ensure that ethical issues are not compromised, I provided explanations for the purpose of the study and sought the consent of the informants before recording or taking photos. In cases where access was denied, I put away the recorder and

took notes. These were all rightly respected. Photos⁶ taken for illustrative purposes in the thesis were all done with the consent of the informants. The images were presented to the informants to seek their approval before being used. Again, in instances where others other than the informant's image appeared in the pictures, I sought their approval or ensured that they could not be identified. Also, there were instances when two traders provided me information about other traders I could interview on specific issues, but asked me not to reveal their identities to the traders were rightfully respected.

4.8 Reliability and transferability of field data

Reliability connotes the “trustworthiness” of data (Guba, 1981). To produce trustworthy data, certain precautions must be taken during and after the data production process. Following up on observations over time for confirmations, triangulating as well as constant reflections of the researcher's positionality are very important if reliable data are to be produced. I constantly sought for explanations and clarifications of observations and responses by asking informants the same questions in different ways. I regularly reflected on my position as a researcher to ensure that the data produced was not distorted because as England (2006) notes that how researchers view the world, shapes their research.

According to Bryman (2012: 392), “triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena”. It involves the use of multiple methods of investigation and sources of data so that “diverse viewpoints or standpoints can cast light upon a topic” (Olsen (2004:3). Triangulation thus serves as a cross checking process to validate claims (Olsen, 2004; Bryman, 2012). The data for this study, was produced from different sources and informants with diverse backgrounds like the market authorities, market leaders, traders and their customers. I also combined questionnaires, interviews, informal discussions and observations. I then crossed checked the data from the different sources to ascertain their consistencies and validity. Also, I ensured that questions were well explained to all informants in order to get the right responses. This is because a misinterpretation of the questions could affect the quality of the responses, which could also undermine the validity and reliability of my data. I equally, explained my understanding of responses to ensure that I did not also misconstrue my informants.

⁶ Unless otherwise acknowledged, all photos are taken by the author

An example of the importance that was given to the data validation process is when one male trader provided wrong information about his shed number during my familiarisation process. I was in the company of a head porter when this happened and she alerted me about the incorrect information the trader provided and led me to confirm the right number. I noticed that the trader did not trust my identity as a researcher and probably thought I was a government official gathering information for a demolition or eviction exercise. Due to this, I was aware of the tendencies for some traders to actually provide wrong information or lie about certain issues. The constant attempt at cross checking helped me validate responses and also granted me the opportunity to learn about other sides of issues. For example, suspicion about the amount of rent paid by a trader started a verification process which allowed me to learn about the different tenancy arrangement under renting from other traders. Information about the amounts paid has not been made available in this study because of informants' unwillingness to provide concrete details.

Generalisation refers to the degree of applicability of the findings of a research beyond the confines of the particular context in which the research was conducted (Bryman, 2012). Generalisation is therefore about the extent to which a study can be replicated in another setting. However, there is often uncertainty about the generalisation of finding that use qualitative methods (ibid.). Despite this Geertz (1973a cited in Bryman, 2012:401) argues that providing “thick descriptions” of the research process is important for the study to be replicated in other settings given similar context. Bryman (2012) states that describing the social setting, events and the individual studied is relevant. The general setting within which the study was conducted has been presented. Also, the characteristics of the various informants have been indicated. The methods used in producing the data have equally been explained. Given these conditions, the findings of the study can therefore be applied to similar situations.

CHAPTER FIVE :

ORGANISATION OF TRADING ACTIVITIES IN TAKORADI MARKET CIRCLE

This chapter presents the findings about how trading activities are organised in the Takoradi Market Circle. It begins by providing general background information about the market and how it is controlled and managed. It then presents the demographic characteristics of the traders and what characterises their trading locations and activities. It further delves into how traders get into trading what they consider as the most important elements in their business. It also examines access to trading space and the means of access with case study illustrations. Finally, it examines the supporting role of market associations and leadership in the control and management of the market.

5.1 Background of the Takoradi Market Circle

Takoradi Market Circle is one of the central markets in Ghana. It is the largest market in the Western Region and for that matter, the largest in the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis as well. An STMA official estimated that the market occupies a land area of about one square kilometre. As a central market, it serves the needs of residents in Takoradi and beyond by providing higher order goods and services which are unavailable in other towns and as such, it attracts huge numbers of attendants. Customers come from Sekondi, Aprembo, Kojokrom, Kwesimintsim; all within the STMA and as far as Mpohor which is about 55km from Takoradi; even though all these towns also have markets. TMC is also a destination for itinerant traders from other part of the Western Region and Ghana in general. Itinerant traders are traders who travel seasonally to other markets to trade over a period of time. These traders may not necessarily have stalls or store in their destination markets.

The outside view of the market portrays a one storey circularly shaped concrete building. The ground floor of the market houses a police station and also comprises shops, mostly selling provisions, detergents, cosmetics, cloths and clothing materials, plumbing materials, bags, gift items and electrical appliances. The upper floor of the market is occupied by a school alongside salons, sales outlets and offices. There is also a micro finance bank that occupies both the ground and the upper floor. Enclosed within the inner perimeters of the circular building is the scene of what is characteristic of a typical Ghanaian market setting. This will be discussed subsequently in the chapter.

The market has seven lockable main gates and all these gates have names. With the exception of one gate, all the names of the other gates correspond to prominent features or nearby activities. As a result, more than one name is usually used to refer to the same gate. Moving from the police station to the right, there is the Aunty Kali Gate, named after a popular cloth trader close to the gate and even though she is now deceased the name remains unchanged. The others are *Dakonofumu* [the Kenkey sellers' zone] Gate, Fire Service / *Tomatoesfumu* [the tomatoes sellers' zone] / Commercial Bank Gate, *Kutufumu* [the orange sellers' zone] Gate, *Mekofumu* [the pepper sellers' zone] Gate, *Bankyefumu* [the cassava sellers' zone] / *Akokofumu* [the fowl sellers' zone] / *Abrofumu* [the maize sellers' zone] Gate and *Brɔdefumu* [the plantain sellers' zone] Gate.

Photo 5. Aerial view of the TMC



Source: Frimpong (2013).

In terms of facilities, the market has electricity, potable water, a school, a police station (Market Circle Police Station) and a fire service unit. It also has lavatories, urinals, drains and waste containers or bins. Again, the market has parking space, though not very spacious and it is also very close to the main lorry parks in Takoradi. The location of the market right in the CBD gives it great locational advantages since it is close to various retail and wholesale shops, banks, restaurants, hotels, lorry parks or stations and other business centres in the city. Essentially, the

market serves as a converging point for four major roads in the city centre and could be described as a roundabout in itself.

It is often said that the Takoradi Market Circle is the best planned and organised market in Ghana because the plan of the market was part of the general strategic planning of the Takoradi township project undertaken by Governor Guggisberg (Dickson, 1969; Obeng-Odoom, 2012). The uniqueness of the market however, lies in its circular structure from which it derives its name the “Market Circle”. One trader boastfully remarked that: *“The shape of our market is what makes it very unique in the whole of Ghana because we have the market circle [referring to the circular structure that serves as the outer view of the market] fencing all our stores, stalls and tables inside here. That is why it is so popular. Its name alone attracts foreigners so it is a tourist attraction in itself”*.

The inner perimeter of the TMC comprises sheds (big house like buildings shared by several traders), stores and stalls; partly provided by the STMA and the traders themselves. There are ten sheds in all, and they are all provided by the STMA; the meat house or butcher shop, the fish house and designated Sheds 1 to 8. The meat house and the fish house are open space concrete buildings. Traders in these facilities provide their own trading structures because they are only allocated open trading spaces. Sheds 1 to 8 are partly concrete and wood, partitioned into cubicles. Faded marks on the sheds indicate that they originally housed traders of specific items. For instance Shed 1 initially contained salt traders, Shed 2 was used by onion traders, and Shed 4 was for “*chop bar*” operators and Shed 8 for sowing activities.

A revenue collection officer alleged that, the other sheds were occupied by salted fish traders, cereals and other mill operators and corn traders. Currently, apart from Sheds 6 and 8 which are still fully occupied, the rest of the sheds now serve as warehouse facilities with some few traders conducting their activities inside them. Shed 7 for example, is filled with sacks of corn and Shed 2 onions, but they only serve as warehouses for a few traders. No effective trading activities were observed from these locations. Also, a 79 year old trader who has traded in the market for over 50 years claims that the sheds were initially occupied by Nigerians and that Ghanaians had access to the sheds only after the Nigerians had been “sacked” from the country. This occurred in 1969 when foreign traders in Ghana were hit by the Aliens’ Compliance Order issued by the Busia government, which saw the mass expulsion of foreigners from the country (Brydon, 1985; Clark 2010). Currently, it is not common to identify foreign traders in the TMC. With the

exception of one trader, all of the sampled informants were Ghanaians. However, it is common to find traders from other countries within other parts of the CBD, particularly Nigerian young men hawking and retailing.



Photo 6. Fish house and meat house standing out among the stalls.



Photo 7. One of the eight sheds, Shed 6.



Photo 8. Different types of stalls in TMC.



Photo 9. Inside the Shed 8.

In TMC, stores refer to concrete buildings provided by the STMA. They are mostly used by trading selling cloth, provisions, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, bags, frozen fish and meat. Stalls in TMC common termed as *pata* refers to wooden structures which are partly or fully enclosed. The partly enclosed stalls are often used by vegetable, foodstuffs and mixed goods (mostly an assortment of cooking ingredients) traders. The fully enclosed stalls are used by utensil, cloth, clothing materials, shoes and bag traders. The use of the stores and stalls is not however rigid because there are instances when their use deviates from the general observation.

Comparatively, the Takoradi Market Circle has a complex spatial pattern similar to the KCM as described by Clark (1994). The internal layout of the market can be described in terms of zones and sectors. Zones are marked by a commonality of commodities or activities. The names of the gates mentioned earlier, which pertain to commodities refer to zones in the market. Two or more zones together form a sector. There are ten main sectors in the market: Sectors A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, the New Site (N/S) and the “lock up stores” (L/UP). Sector A is mainly occupied by fresh fish sellers (constituting a zone on its own), vegetable sellers (another zone in Sector A) and the fish house. Sector B is occupied by sellers of provisions, general goods, material cloth, shoes and bags. Sector C is occupied by sellers of vegetables, dresses and children’s wear. Sector D is occupied by utensils, fowls and vegetables sellers. Sector E is occupied by foodstuffs, mainly plantain, cassava, cocoyam, fruits and vegetables sellers. Sector F is occupied by yam sellers and cooked food vendors (“*chop bar*” operators). Sector G is occupied by sellers of mixed goods of cooking ingredients and sector H is occupied by cereals sellers.



Photo 10. Vegetables zone.



Photo 11. Provisions zone.



Photo 12. Mixed arrangement in TMC.



Photo 13. Mixed commodities in the fish house.

Sector labels serve as points of reference for traders and customers and are important for directional purposes, especially for people who are new to the market. Sector labels also aid easy revenue collection because stores and stalls are registered according to sectors. The sectors previously corresponded to commodity departments. However, through traders' own creation and a weak control and management system the departmental arrangement has been altered. Hence, the delineations are not clear and are quite difficult to observe for first time visitors. It requires a conscious effort of observation and seeking clarifications to understand the patterns of arrangements in the market, given the fact that all sorts of commodities are found in every other sector or zone.

Evidently, it is common to find a food vendor among utensil sellers, a cloth trader among vegetable traders or even zones that are not identifiable with any particular commodity. Traders attribute this phenomenon to the consequence of changes in ownership of stores or stalls, and changes in commodities in response to market demands. One trader explained that when there is a change in ownership of trading space, the new owners do not necessarily sell the commodities which were originally sold there. Also, traders switch to other commodities when they find a particular trade less profitable. Furthermore, traders who squat on the lanes, pavements and pathways may sell different types of commodities not necessarily conforming to what is originally sold in the zone, thereby creating mixed commodity arrangements in the various sectors.

5.1.1 The operations of the market

TMC is a daily market; operating from Monday to Sunday. With the exception of Sundays, every day seems to be a busy day for traders in the market. The market opens between 6:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. It is however not uncommon to meet traders arriving at the market earlier than 6:00 a.m. Due to the congested nature of the market, arriving early in the market before the morning rush hours allows traders to restock their supplies quickly to various locations within the market with little obstructions. Also, reporting sooner enables traders to take advantage of early morning sales (rush hour for foodstuffs and vegetables, meat and fish sellers).

Right from the gates, traders occupy every little space in the market, leaving only narrow paths for walkways. Upon entering the market, potential buyers are immediately "greeted" by the bustling noise of traders, drawing attention to their wares or commodities; an indication of the vibrancy of market activities. Different traders have different approaches in enticing customers.

It is common to hear catchy phrases like “*wɔn be hwe bie*” (come and have a look), “*meyɛ wɔn fine*” (I will give you a nice treat) and “*asɔreba bra ɛ*” (oh fellow church member come and have a look). Thus a trader’s verbal ability is very useful in attracting new customers.

Customers can be categorised based on the volume of their purchases and the frequency of their shopping. There are customers who purchase items for direct or immediate household consumption, customers who buy goods to retail in other communities or homes, and those who buy various food items to process before selling them. For example, food vendors, restaurants and hotel operators buy food items from the market and then process them into cooked meals which they sell. There are also institutional customers like school and hospital matrons. Customers shop on a daily, weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis. The most common group is the daily customers. The type of customers a trader has is usually a reflection of a trader’s function and scale of operation. Meanwhile, traders noted that it is advantageous to have a blend of the various types of customers.

5.2 Control and management of Takoradi Market Circle

The STMA controls and manages the TMC. The STMA (Control of Markets) Bye-law, (2000) conferred by section 79 of the Local Government Act 1993 (462) of Ghana stipulates that the local assembly shall control and manage all markets in towns and villages under its jurisdiction. The assembly is consequently responsible for the allotment of trading spaces; open spaces, stores and stalls in all markets in the metropolis. The STMA thus decides the hours of operations of the markets, ensures cleanliness in markets and regulates traders and all other market activities within the metropolis.

The STMA has direct representatives such as the market manager, revenue collection officers and metro guards who oversee the day to day running of market affairs in TMC. This has been made possible by the provision of an administrative office located right in the centre of the market and a Metro Guide Unit (MGU) outside the market. The market manager stated that the market is like any other institution, governed by rules and regulations and her duty as a manager is to ensure that traders comply with the market rules and regulations. The market manager acts as the liaison between the higher authorities of the STMA and the market leaders. Traders are required to channel their concerns through the market manager to the higher authorities of the STMA and vice versa. However, the effectiveness of this medium is limited since market leaders directly approach higher authorities due to lack of trust in the existing channel.

The STMA serves as the primary means of acquiring trading space in TMC. The standard procedure for space acquisition is through an application to the Metropolitan Coordinating Director or other officers the assembly may appoint. The STMA has allocated more than 3500 trading spaces in TMC. These include open spaces, stores and stalls. Apparently, the STMA has allocated more open spaces to traders than stores and stalls. When allocated open spaces, traders determine and provide their own trading facilities or structures. Quite often, traders construct stalls rather than stores as a result, a greater number of the stalls in TMC are owned by the traders. The construction of stalls is relatively cheaper than stores, a reflection of the limited capital investment made by traders. Another point about the type of allocation is that, because traders who are allocated open spaces by the STMA incur the cost of providing their own trading facilities, they consequently pay less rent than those allocated stores and stalls by the assembly. The amount paid by different types of traders will be discussed later.

The STMA is also responsible for major maintenance of the market facilities (particularly provided facilities by the STMA). However, individuals who wish to undertake major forms of maintenance are first required to seek permission from the assembly. This means that once allocated trading spaces, traders “engage in a landlord-tenant relationship with the local government” (Awuah, 1997:403), and are guided by tenancy rules and regulations. One example of the tenancy regulation is that traders must operate within the specified hours by the STMA. In addition, traders are required to obtain certification for the sales of items such as meat; non-compliance with rules and regulations attracts fines. For instance, closing later than the stipulated time leads to a fine of about GhC100 (approximately USD 32). However, traders are able to manoeuvre their ways by paying lesser than the amount in which case no receipts are issued. Also, when an official is magnanimous to traders by not insisting on the fine, he is usually rewarded by traders with an unspecified amount or commodities. Such manoeuvring arrangements are highlights of a weak management and a corrupt system. Individual officers, specifically metro guards enrich themselves while causing financial lost to the assembly.

With regards to security in the markets, the STMA provides security services for two purposes; firstly, protection of the market facilities and traders’ items against burglary or fire and secondly, ensuring the safety of both traders and customers. It also ensures the control of unauthorised persons or animals, unapproved items or substances that may pose danger and affect the safety of traders and customers. The MGU of the assembly supports the police in enforcing security control in the market. As noted the market is quite secure with gates. The gates are locked and

opened at stipulated times. There are also four to six security men who patrol the market at night (between the 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.) to protect the market and the properties of traders from burglary and possible fires. There are regulations regarding the use of fire, electricity and electrical appliances in the market. For example, fridges must have voltage stabilisers and fridge guards and all open fire, put out by 5:00 p.m. The location of a fire service station close to the market helps to relatively control and manage wide fire outbreaks.

The assembly promotes good hygiene practices and also ensures relative sanitary conditions in the market. As mentioned, the assembly has contracted a waste management company (Zoom Lion) that is in charge of collecting all waste generated in the market. There are waste bins at a central point accessed by all traders from different sectors of the market. Through the provision of an abattoir, the assembly controls and certifies the slaughtering of cattle, sheep and goats. In this way, animals are slaughtered and sold under relatively proper sanitary conditions. The meat house and the sector for the sales of poultry are also inspected occasionally to ensure that traders somewhat comply with hygiene regulations. Also, the assembly periodically carries out clean-up exercises to desilt choked gutters and drains and to also get rid of rodents in the market. However, it was found that the last clean up exercise was carried out about five years ago.

Revenue mobilisation is perhaps the most acknowledged role of the assembly. The assembly generates various forms of revenue from the market. This includes business license, market rents and tolls and other fees and fines. The composite budget of the assembly for the 2013 fiscal year showed that the estimated revenue from markets related activities in the metropolis is quite significant. Markets constitute the second highest income from the assembly's property income.

Table 4: STMA's projected property income for 2013

Property Income Component	Expected Revenue (GH¢)
Building permits	190,000
Markets	130,117
Stool lands revenue	62,000
Jubilee park	20,000
Bungalow/quarters	16,095
Franchise transport terminal	12,000
Hiring assembly equipments	10,010
Lorry park	2,040
Total	442,262

Source: STMA, 2010

In addition, out of the estimated Gh ₵ 130,117 to be derived from markets, Gh ₵ 110,046 was expected from the Takoradi Market Circle alone (STMA, 2010). Furthermore, out of the forecasted Gh ₵ 151,000 expected to be derived from market tolls from the four sub metros, tolls from TMC alone was expected to yield Gh ₵ 110,000. The revenue officer estimated that the assembly could mobilise between Gh ₵900 (290 USD) and Gh ₵1000 (323 USD) from TMC per day. This amount excludes the rents and other license fees. These figures clearly indicate that TMC is not only the largest and but also the most important of the many markets in the metropolis. The figures also highlight the significant contribution of traders in the TMC towards the local revenue base of the STMA.

5.3 Demographic profiles; age, gender, ethnicity and levels of education of traders

From observation, there are no age limits for trading in TMC. There are children as well as adults selling in the market. However, most of the traders are adults above the age of 25 years. Traders below the age of 25 years are mainly hawkers and people assisting their mothers or students trading temporarily in the market. Since the study was conducted at a time when most students were on holidays, there were many young traders in the market, some as young as eight. According to one trader, the market serves as a “business field” for children during vacations. She noted that some may not even have their mothers in the market, but they only come there to “conduct their own businesses”. However, when schools are in session, it is uncommon to find many children of school going age selling in the market. School children observed were mainly Primary and Junior High School (JHS) attendants who come to the market after school (mostly after 3:00 p.m.) to help their mothers by hawking within the market or running errands.

Table 5: Gender and age profiles of sampled traders.

Gender/Age groups	34-46	46-55	56-65	66+	Total
Men	4	2	0	1	7
Women	14	15	17	6	52
Total	18	17	17	7	59

Source: Field data, 2014.

Trading activities in TMC are undertaken by men and women of different age categories. However, there are more women than men. The market manager estimated that out of every 100

traders in the market, 95 or more are women. This explains the high range between men and women sampled for the study. Gender is fundamental in the organisation of trading activities in TMC since there are forms of gender differentiation in the types of trading facilities used as well as the types of commodities sold by men and women in the market. While the use of trading facilities such as stores is common to men and women, the use of stalls, particularly the partially enclosed is exclusive to women. As mentioned, stalls are mostly used for the sale of vegetables and foodstuffs, and the trade in these commodities is exclusive to women. The meat house and the fish house also illustrate gender segregated trading spaces in the TMC; men trade from the meat house and women trade from the fish house.

Similarly, certain commodities are the exclusive domain of either women or men. For example, women dominate the trade in foodstuffs like cassava, plantain, cloths, palm nuts and oils. On the other hand, the trade in sheep and goats; meat, electrical appliances and plumbing materials are also exclusive to men in the market. Nonetheless, there are instances where both women and men trade in the same commodity. For example, both women and men trade in provisions, shoes and bags, but it is common to see women selling more feminine shoes and bags. Another area common to both women and men is the trade in second-hand clothes and poultry. The onion trade is also common to both women and men, but the men mostly undertake wholesaling than retailing and petty trading. I only encountered one man retailing onions.

Table 6: Ethnic backgrounds of informants

Ethnicity	Fante	Ahanta	Asante	Mole-Dagbani	Ewe	Nzema	Akyem	Other	Total
No. of informants	29	13	6	4	3	2	1	1	59

Source: Field data, 2014

Trading in Ghana is an ethnically diverse activity. From table 6, it is evident that the TMC is highly diverse in terms of ethnicity. The major ethnic group in the market is the Akan which comprises the Fante, the Ahanta, the Asante, the Akyem and the Nzema. Other major ethnic groups are the Mole-Dagbani, Ewe and the Ga. The ethnic diversity in TMC is in consonance with observations made in markets in other parts of the country. The names of zones such as *Nkranfummu* (the Ga settlers' lane), *Agnonafummu* (the Ewe settlers' lane), *Alatafummu* (the Nigerians' lane) imply different ethnic divisions. From my observation (and this was later confirmed in interviews with traders) the significance of such ethnic divisions is almost lost.

What pertains is probably a slight correlation between ethnicity and the type of trade or commodities sold; this is very strong for some commodities but almost insignificant to others. There is a strong ethnic association between the trade in meat, sheep and goats and the Mole-Dagbani group. Also, the Ewe dominates the trade in corn, corn dough and cassava dough.

Table 7: Level of education of informants

Education	No education	Primary	Elementary/JSS	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
Women	12	4	29	4	3	52
Men	0	0	2	4	1	7
Total	12	4	31	8	4	59

Source: Field data, 2014.

Often market trade is associated with uneducated and illiterate people, but Dunne & King (2003) indicate otherwise. The educational background of traders ranged from traders who have no formal education to those who have acquired tertiary education. Even traders without formal education undergo informal training to acquire the skills of trading. A 51 year old utensil trader commented: *“Trading is just like any other profession. If you don’t have the skills you will be bad at it. Trading requires knowledge about good customer relations, numeracy skills and good marketing ability. It also involves the ability to entice, persuade or coerce customers. You have to be smart too”*. A smoked fish trader also stated that she picked up the skills of trading in fish from her mother. She indicated that she gradually acquired the skills over the years through informal training by taking on responsibilities in stages.

The importance of factors such as age, for traders lies in assuming leadership positions in the market. Leadership roles in the market are open to matured traders who have many years of experience. Other factors like ethnicity and education are commodity and role specific in terms of leadership. For example, for some commodity groups like the fruits and vegetables, the queen indicated that only an Ahanta can become a queen because this ethnic group dominate this trade. Secretarial positions are however open to traders who can read and write and therefore it is common to find educated young traders assuming leadership roles as secretaries. Also illiterate traders who sell on credit employ literate traders as secretaries *“krachie”* to record transactions for debt recovery. A *krachie* is rewarded with an agreed quantity of the particular commodity she oversees. Literacy thus is an advantage for traders.

5.4 Types of traders in TMC

Knowledge about the various categories of traders in TMC is essential for the planning and the implementation processes of the proposed re-development of the TMC because it will help to identify the needs of the traders for considerations when the plan comes into fruition. Apart from differentiating between traders based on their demographic characteristics, variations in the types of commodities, function of trade and trading location or space are also major distinguishing factors among traders in TMC. Traders sell a wide range of commodities, but can broadly be categorised into foodstuffs, vegetables, fruits, cloth, meat, fish, poultry, sheep, goats, cereals, provisions, food vendors, appliances, mixed goods, cosmetics and art and craft products. There are also seamstresses and tailors, hair dressers and corn mill and other operators who are not necessarily traders because they offer services rather than sell items. Nonetheless, foodstuffs and vegetable traders are the most dominant group in TMC.

Regarding the function of trade, there are both wholesale traders and retail traders in TMC. Characteristically, wholesalers are traders who mostly travel to the sources of commodities or items to buy directly from manufacturers or producers and suppliers in bulk quantities and sell in sub or standard quantities to retailers and institutions like schools, hotels and hospital. They also buy commodities from wholesale markets in other parts of the country. They are often called *kwansofoɔ* which literally means “travellers or on the road people” (Clark, 1994). This practice is common to perishable commodity traders like foodstuffs and vegetable traders. Sometimes, wholesale traders, particularly those who sell non perishable and manufactured goods such as cereals, cloth and provisions may place orders and have their items delivered to them in the market rather than travelling to the direct sources of the commodities after establishing strong relationships with their clients. Retailers on the other hand, are traders who sell in smaller units mainly to individuals and other smaller institutions and companies. Many wholesalers are not resident traders in the market, they leave after distributing commodities to their customers. However, there are wholesaler-retailers; these are wholesale traders who also retail commodities in the market and one can mistake them for retailers.

More so, a further distinction can be made between different types of wholesalers and retailers based on their scale of operation. For example a trader who buys 50 *adaka* or boxes of tomatoes and another who buys 20 boxes operate on very different scales have different profit potentials and may organise their trade differently even though they are both wholesalers. Similarly, the

photos below show two cloth retailers operating on different types of scale and trading from different trading facilities; one from a store and the other from a stall.

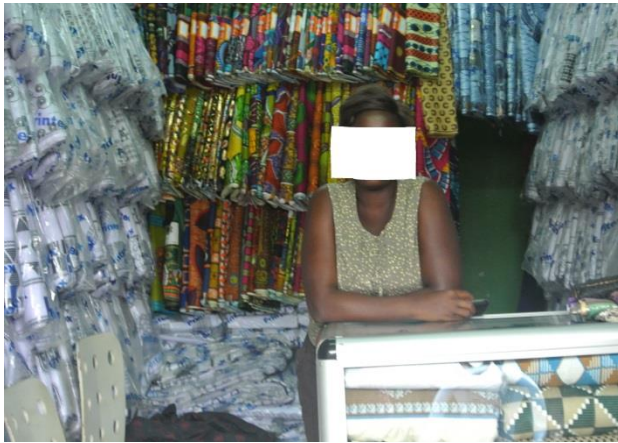


Photo 14. A cloth retailer in a store.



Photo 15. A cloth retailer in a stall.

The various trading facilities identified, namely sheds, stores, stalls and cages indicate that traders trade from different locations and facilities. Trading space is thus another major factor for distinguishing among traders in TMC. Based on trading space occupancy, there are owners (allocated by STMA or inherited), renters, care takers, squatters and hawkers. These distinctions are based on how traders acquired their trading spaces which consequently determines traders' legal claim to their trading spaces. This is relevant because traders' legal claim to trading space can be a determining factor exclusion or inclusion of traders in the future market.

5.5 Access to trading spaces in TMC

Access to trading space remains an important aspect of market trade, especially as the city centre of Takoradi is increasingly becoming congested. Although STMA serves as the primary means to acquiring registered trading spaces in the TMC, it appears that the assembly has lost the right of control over allocations of selling spaces due to the prevalence of other informal means of acquisition of spaces. These include inheriting, buying or renting from other traders, care taking and squatting. By the time of the fieldwork for this study, it was very difficult to find traders who had been allocated trading spaces by the STMA within the last ten years. Out of 14 traders who had been trading in the market in the past 10 years, only one had acquired her trading space through STMA allocation. Four of them inherited their trading spaces from relatives and the remaining nine are renters and squatters. One renter actually pointed out that, subletting is a more effective means of accessing trading space in TMC. She indicated that there are no vacant

trading spaces to be allocated by the STMA because the owners of stores and stalls control access through subletting. It must be noted that subletting without the approval of the market authorities is illegal, yet none of the traders sought the consent of the authorities before subletting.

Table 8: Access to trading space acquisition of the sampled traders and their legal claim to their trading space

Access to space acquisition	No. of traders	Percentage (%)	Legal Claim	Percentage (%)
Inherited	30	50.8	11	18.6
Renting	12	20.3	0	0
Care taking	9	15.3	0	0
Squatting	7	11.9	0	0
STMA	1	1.7	1	1.7
Total	59	100	12	20.3

Source: Field data, 2014.

It is evident from the data that at least half of the traders interviewed inherited their trading spaces and locations from their relatives who also inherited them from their family members. All these traders indicated that they will in turn hand over their trading spaces to their relatives. This means that access to these 30 trading spaces will be handed down from one trader to the other along particular family lines. Interestingly, some of the inherited trading spaces are still registered in the names of their first occupants, some of whom are dead, only 11 inherited trading space have been transferred with authorisation from the STMA. This is noteworthy, since it has been noted that traders' tenancy agreement with the STMA prohibit the transfer of the use or occupancy of space allocated to other persons unless expressly directed by the assembly. This means that other 19 occupants and users of all inherited trading spaces are not legally recognised as owners by the assembly and may not have any legal right of claim of ownership of their stores or stalls. This could be a possible source of exclusion in the planning and implementation processes of the future market.

Trading spaces can also be bought or rented from their original owners. However, it has become rare for traders to sell their trading spaces. A trader must therefore be lucky to find a stall for sale in the market, especially as trading space in the CBD area has become very competitive. One trader explained the conditions under which traders sold their stores or stalls. She noted that

some traders who acquired more stores or stalls in the early stages of allocation by the STMA often sold some of these to other traders. She stressed that the selling of trading space would be determined by whether or not other relatives have an interest in trading in the market. Even under such conditions, for the sake of posterity many stall owners prefer to rent out their stall, than to sell it even if buyers are prepared to pay.

There are two forms of renting arrangements; renting of registered spaces like shops, stores or stalls, and renting of spaces in front of the shops and stores. This means that even squatting comes at a cost to some traders. Apart from paying the monthly rent and or daily tolls to STMA, traders renting spaces also pay fixed amounts determined by their “sub landlords” on a monthly or yearly basis. The amount varied from case to case, but is usually determined by the social relationship between the trader and the “sub landlord”, and the size and location of the space. In some cases, the rents are paid to children or other relatives of the “sub landlord” because he or she is deceased.

There is also another group of traders who are occupying shops, stores and stalls for which they only pay rents to STMA without being required to make any form of payments to the owners. However, they show their appreciation to the owners or to their relatives (if the owner is deceased) by occasionally giving a token. These traders are called “care takers” because the trading spaces are remain registered in the names of their owners.

Apart from inheritance, the success of the other means of access to trading space requires strong social networks or ties with the owners, or persons close to them. The ability to offer more payment than other competitors could also enhance a person’s chances of accessing a trading location; be it accessing it from STMA or from other parties. Currently, the market is highly congested and allocation by STMA is very limited, but traders who are economically, socially and politically influential can still get access to trading spaces in the market. Clearly, an explanation of why some traders are able to secure more than one store or stall whereas others have none lies in the strength of traders economic, social and political connections. I now present cases of how three traders had access to their trading spaces in TMC on the basis of their connections.

Madam Ama is a 43 year old cereals retail trader. She comes from Takoradi and has been living there throughout her life. She has been trading in the market for about ten years now. She started trading by hawking in and around the market but currently trades from a stall. She acquired her

rented stall through the help of her friend. She pays a yearly rent to the owner and a monthly rent to the STMA. She narrated the process as follows, *“I used to hawk in the market, but decided that it would be better for me to get a permanent place. I spoke to a couple of friends who had stores and stalls in the market to assist me. Later, when a trader acquired a new place, one of my friends informed her about the availability of the vacant stall [she has been using] and linked me to the trader who owns it. Apparently, that trader had also rented it from a woman who was dead. So together we went to see the children of the deceased trader and we agreed on the terms of renting”*.

Next is Madam Afia, a 62 year old yam retail trader. She has been trading in the market for over 10 years. She was a cooked rice seller in Tema, but moved to Takoradi when the husband retired and she started a yam trade. She trades from a stall which her friend from the same ethnic group (Nzema) offered her as a caretaker. According to her, she pays no rent to her friend because *“she is like a sister to her”*. In Ghana, it is quite common for people who come from the same town or belong to the same ethnicity to claim that they are family when they meet elsewhere.

Madam Akua is a 42 year old cosmetics and bead trader. She has been trading in the market for four years. Before she got married she used to sell in front of her house. After marriage, her husband who is working for STMA helped her to get trading space in the market. She now trades from a store which is registered in her name and allocated to her by STMA. She only pays monthly rent to the assembly.

The various cases indicate that although access to trading space in TMC is limited, traders with strong networks can gain access to space. A trader alleged that traders with strong political networks are favoured by the market authorities. She claimed further that: *“There are traders in TMC without trading spaces yet; authorities rather allocated trading spaces in Aprembo to their political favourites who already have space in TMC. That is why the Aprembo Market is empty”*.

Based on traders' legal claim to their trading space in TMC, traders can be classified as legal and illegal traders in TMC. Legal traders are registered traders who have been allocated trading space by the STMA. In contrast, illegal traders like squatters are not registered with the STMA and trade from unallocated spaces such as pavements and pathway or walkways. They also include traders who have inherited trading spaces but have not fulfilled the legal requirements for transfer of ownership as well as traders renting from owners who have not obtained subletting rights.

Meanwhile, even though illegal traders pay rent and daily tolls, the STMA has no available data on these traders. Due to this it is impossible to know the exact number of traders in the market. What this means is that the assembly does not have accurate data on the current number of traders in order to forecast the future demands for stores and stalls in the proposed market. It therefore behoves on the market authorities to make a conscious effort to gather data about this group of traders before implementing the proposed re-development plans, that is if they would be considered. Quite alarming, a revenue collection officer speculated that the number of illegal traders, particularly squatters and hawkers are more than legal traders. However, traders alleged that some illegal traders with social and political influence lobby to register their trading spaces and enjoy legal.

Nevertheless, having noted the various means by which traders access their trading spaces, it is also relevant to examine how much rent they pay because it is imperative for planning the envisioned market. An average store in TMC costs Gh ₵ 40.00 (approximately, USD13) a month. The average cost of a stall is Gh ₵3. 00 (approximately, SD 1) per month. However, squatters and hawkers pay Gh ₵ 0.50 (USD 0.16) daily. Also, store and stall owners who display their wares on store or stall fronts also pay Gh ₵ 0.50 (USD 0.16) daily. On a monthly basis, 5 traders out of the 59 sampled informants pay Gh ₵ 40.00, 46 traders pay Gh ₵3. 00, 7 pay Gh ₵ 0.50 and 1 pays Gh ₵ 22 an equivalence of USD 7. This shows majority of the traders in TMC trade from stalls or are squatters who may not be able to afford higher rents and fees in the future market. The next section examines traders' sources of finance to determine possible affordability in the future market.

5.6 Sources of finance

Another relevant factor in the organisation of trading activities is traders' sources of finance. Interviews with traders show that traders rely on various forms of informal sources of start-up and trading capital to sustain their business activities. As table 7 shows, informal source of start-up capital was relevant for all 59 traders interviewed. A female cosmetic trader noted that: *"I inherited the store from my father and I started with my personal savings; very small [small scale] but determined. I ploughed back my profit and here I am today, [now operating on a large scale]. I didn't start with a loan because such a move could cripple an upcoming trader"*. Although she is now operating on a large scale, she insists that she does not access loans because of the high rates and inflexible payment time.

Table 9: Sources of sampled traders' start-up capital

Source	Number of informants	Percentage (%)
Personal Savings	26	44.0
Bought on credit	12	20.3
Husband	7	11.9
Took over from a relative	5	8.5
Brother	2	3.4
Mother	2	3.4
Children and friends	1	1.7
Church member abroad	1	1.7
Daughter	1	1.7
Sister	1	1.7
Uncle	1	1.7
Total	59	100

Source: Field data, 2014.

The various informal sources of start-up capital continue to be the favourite options for many traders in sustaining their trading activities. Ploughing back profit is another means of staying in business. However, only one source of capital is usually not enough to support trading activities, especially when faced with opportunities to expand or to increase trading capacity. What this means is that traders rely on more than one capital source. For example, a provisions trader recounted that she inherited the business from her late mother, but received support from her husband to expand it, but occasionally resorts to bank loans emphasising that she takes loans only when it becomes urgent and necessary. A plantain trader also indicated that she sometimes accesses bank loans to supplement her personal savings, but acknowledged the high interest rate does not make it very desirable. Others traders also explained that even though they have access to loans from micro credit financial institutions, they are unable to access due to the high interest rates and the rigid payment terms. In all, only three out of the 59 traders maintained that they combine bank loans with personal saving and ploughed back profits as trading capital. For some traders buying on credit is a form of “loan”. Traders even admitted that after several years of trading, they still have not saved any of their profits into a capital base because any profit made from the trade is channelled into their family’s upkeep and children’s education.

5.7 Market trade as an occupation

Market trade in Ghana is an occupation that offers decent employment and income. Market trade is the main source of livelihood for many of the traders interviewed. Out of the 59 traders

interviewed, only eight informants indicated that they have alternate businesses and sources of income aside trading in TMC. Six men out of the total of seven men interviewed have alternative businesses. However, only two women out of the 52 women traders interviewed have other sources of income. This does not only mirror the importance of the TMC for the traders but also indicate the livelihood of many traders will be affected by any policy or project will displace the traders.

Table 10. Alternate businesses undertaken by 8 traders

Trade in TMC	Gender of traders	Alternative business
Plumbing materials	Man	Consultancy, Pension benefit
Shoes and bags	Man	Pastor
Tailor	Man	Football Coach (Western Youth)
Onion trader	Man	Labourer, Takoradi Garrison
Butcher	Man	Meat shop at Kwesimetsim
Poultry	Man	Fish trade in Tamale
Cloth trader	Woman	Sowing and catering
Detergents	Woman	Utensils store Takoradi

Source: Field data, 2014

Given the limited employment situation in the country, market trade is a secured and profitable employment for many people. Ama, a 42 year trader of shoes and bags and a holder of Higher National Diploma (HND) in Secretariatship, alluded to the profitability of market trade by stating that: “*I was working as a typist in a company but the salary was not good. My husband was doing well by trading, so I resigned from my job and started trading. Trading offers me more money and flexibility*”. A *kontomire* trader explained that as an orphan, the only way she could survive was to eke out a living by trading. Currently a single mother of two, but she has been able to educate her first child up to the tertiary level.

Market trade as an occupation is a relatively easy for options for many people. With regards to resources such as start-up and trading capital, information, technological investment and business registration. Most traders are self-employed except for a few in the “outside stores”. Basically, they are their own bosses, relying heavily on their immediate family as assistants, with only a few traders having paid assistants. The use of paid assistant is an indication of a higher scale of operation and many traders inside the market have no paid assistant. These assistants are usually given allowances or commissions as payment. Out of the 59 traders interviewed, only 6 trader had paid assistants. Further, trading activities lack proper

documentation and good record keeping. Even though some traders claimed that they issue receipts upon request, issuance of receipts is not the norm for most of the traders. Also, traders have no formal form of social security or insurance system against future eventualities. In the next section to follow, I present how traders come together to protect their interest and provide a kind of informal insurance system for members.

5.8 Commodity associations

Traders in TMC are organised into commodity associations. As noted, commodity associations are the basic unit for organising market traders in Ghana (Awuah, 1997; Clark, 1994). Usually, traders of similar commodities come together to form associations to promote and enhance the welfare of their members, to increase their negotiation and bargaining power as traders of the same commodity and to ensure discipline in the market.

There are more than 25 commodity associations in TMC. There is fish sellers' association (which comprises both fresh and smoked fish traders); cloth sellers' association; plantain/cocoyam sellers' association; cassava sellers' association; yam sellers' association; tomatoes/pepper/gardeneggs sellers' association; okro sellers association; onion sellers' association; *kantomire* sellers' association; cooking oil sellers' association; palm nut sellers' association; palm nut sellers' association; corn and cassava dough sellers' association; fruits and vegetables sellers' association; chop bar operators' association, provisions sellers association; utensil sellers' association, fowl seller' association; butchers' association; children's wear sellers' association; plastics sellers' association; shoes and bags sellers' association; tailors and seamstresses' association (Shed 8 members), hair dressers' association. Among some large commodity groups such as the tomatoes and the plantain sellers, there is usually a separate association for wholesalers and retailers.

Also, there is the stores's association which is not tied to commodity since it has traders selling different commodities. The stores' association comprises traders in the stores and shops that form the market circle. These traders are few and so do not have strong commodity groups as compared to the traders inside the market. They include traders selling provisions, suitcases, pharmacies, electrical appliances, cloth, cosmetics, plumbing materials, and operators of cold stores among others. The association has a total membership of about 50 traders comprising both male and female traders. It has its own ruling body led by an elected president, who is supported by a vice president, a secretary, a financial secretary and a treasurer. They meet on a quarterly

basis and also conveyed emergency meetings when the need arises. The goal of the association is to protect the interest of traders operating from only the outside stores. This means that without an intersection of interest, they have no concerns for what happens to traders who operate from within the market circle. Notably, members of this association are more formally organised than those in the market. Many of the traders have paid employees, document their activities and also issue receipts.

5.8.1 Negotiations and collective bargaining power

Internally, commodity associations help traders to increase their bargaining powers, especially as traders of the same commodity or even of the same market. Association members share pricing information and keep each other updated with current prices. Updates on current prices of goods and commodity is very important for traders because lack of knowledge about current prices can affect a trader's profit margin. Also commodity association members share information about supply sources and how to bargain effectively with their clients as buyers. Also, commodity associations, particularly for tomatoes wholesalers regulate their purchasing trips to prevent clashes and over-abundant supply in the market at the same time. Association members decide on the number of wholesalers who can travel in a month and schedule them accordingly. They also control prices for their members. For example, upon arriving from trips, they meet to discuss their prices so that the highest price is used as the base price by all traders.

Well organised associations such as the tomato sellers and cloth sellers association are linked to other associations in other parts of the country. The queen of tomatoes for instance explained that the organisation of the trip to Burkina Faso is done in conjunction with other tomatoes traders in Accra and other parts of the country. *“We have been going to Burkina for the past 18 years to buy tomatoes from there. Before we go, we have a general meeting in Accra to discuss the pricing so that no single trader or groups of traders go to Burkina to offer outrageous prices”*. The queen of cloth sellers also explained that she is in contact with her counterpart in Accra and she occasionally communicates with her on the phone. She added that years ago under the Rawlings’ administration, when an attempt was made to tax market traders, they joined forces with their colleagues in Accra to protest.

5.8.2 Discipline and dispute resolution

Aside collective bargaining and negotiations, commodity associations and leaders exist to support market authorities in promoting discipline and sanity in the market. Behaviours

considered inappropriate and any form of misconduct among traders are strictly prohibited. Quarrelling, fighting, stealing, gossiping, pronouncing curses and any other conducts considered inappropriate by market leaders were prohibited and offenders were duly punished. It seemed advisable for traders to settle misunderstandings amicably because traders are charged a fee for dispute settlement by the queen or queens.

Punishments ranges from rendering apologies, fines to suspension from trading in the market. However, suspension as a punishment is rarely used except in the case of curse pronouncement because offenders usually plead and pay fines instead. The Market Queen explained “*when it comes to cursing then it may be beyond us so we get local traditional leaders involved. When gods are involved, then that goes to the domain of traditional leaders*”. She also added that “*now the rates of curses have reduced because we ensure that traders who pronounce curses are duly punished*”.

5.8.3 Welfare benefits

Many commodity associations promote and enhance the welfare of their members in various ways. This varies from one association to the other. The welfare packages of most of the associations are in the form of help in times of sickness, death of members or bereavement (usually spouses, children and parents) and in some cases weddings of members or their children. There are usually different contributions made towards members’ in each instance. These include a visit to a sick member with or without gifts; (gifts may be in the form of cash donations to defray cost of treatment or just food items.). When a member is bereaved, association members may attend the funeral or send a delegation depending on the distance and make cash donations to their bereaved member.

If a trader who is not a member of an association dies, members may attend her funeral based on other affiliations with her but not as association members. In such instances friends or close associate may volunteer to mobilise donations through what they called “*etumeaye*”. This is a type of voluntary contribution system whereby traders donate towards a welfare cause out of sympathy rather than by virtue of affiliations.

Also, in the event of great misfortunes like robbery on trips, associations may offer some form of support to the aggrieved members. One trader alleged that some years back, when a member was robbed of her money on a trip to get her supply, members of the cloth association made contributions to support her.

Membership in the various associations is not compulsory and as such there are traders who are not members of their commodity associations. 21 out of the 59 sampled informants are not members of their commodity associations. The traders indicated that the essence of the commodity associations was lost. One trader stated that commodity associations are a waste of time and resources with limited benefits. She remarked that *“All they do is to attend weddings and funerals. I am already married and I don’t hope to be bereaved, so what do I stand to gain by being a member?”* Another trader also pointed out that the effectiveness of the commodity associations in negotiation is limited. *“The market leaders try, but the authorities have the final say so I only hope for the best”*.

Similarly, there are also commodities that do not have associations because the traders are few or they lack the ability to be organised. One such group lacking members is traders in traditional herbs and the arts and crafts. Cereals traders also reported that after the death of their queen they have not been able to reorganise themselves. There are thus, active and dormant associations. Associations like the cloth sellers, fish sellers, cassava sellers, plantain sellers, tailors and seamstresses, the butchers and the stores are very active.

They have regular meeting times and places. The regularity and consistency of association meetings and regulations depends on how well organised an association is. There are some that meet weekly, others that meet fortnightly and even on a monthly basis. For instance, cassava sellers meet fortnightly while the stores’ association meets quarterly.

5.9 Market leadership

The main essence of market leadership as explained by one leader *“is to achieve a strong negotiation and bargaining power in matters relating to our tenureship with STMA”*. Each commodity group in the market has a leadership comprising; a queen (for women traders), or chairman (for the Shed 8, tailors and seamstress group), a vice, a secretary, organizer, financial secretary, treasurer, a police wing and a chaplain. The leaders of the various commodity groups; particularly the commodity queens and their assistants come together to form *“a leaders’ association”* called the Queens and Kings Association. The name of this association suggests an intention of providing a unified leadership in the market. However, commodity groups dominated by men such as the stores’ association, the butchers’ association (an all men group), the Shed 2 association (onions, sheep and goat traders; an all-male group) and members of Shed

8 (tailors and seamstresses; both men and women) and the male poultry traders are not members of the Queens and Kings Association.

The leader of the Queens and Kings Association (*Nana Ohemma*) who is automatically a commodity queen is symbolically the overall leader of all the traders in the market. She is also assisted by a team of commodity queens (*Ahemma*). The current Market Queen is a 56 old years smoked fish trader. She has been trading in the market for over 40 years, of which 10 years was spent trading with her mother. She has been the market queen for close to 12 years. Her predecessor was a cloth trader. The vice market queen is a 79 year cloth trader and the secretary trades in utensils even though utensil traders have no active association. Ascension to these positions is by virtue of hard work and a noble character. This includes, but is not limited to characteristics such as humility, being proactive and having good human relations. It is however common for children or other relatives of leaders to also become leaders. The current market queen's mother was once a market queen even though she did not immediately replace her mother. The current market secretary is the immediate replacement of her deceased aunt.

Mostly, queens reign till their death or until they retire voluntarily. However, members can make charges against an inefficient queen and she could be demoted or even ripped off her position. Any charge against a queen is first submitted to the queens association for further investigations. Depending on the charge, when a queen is found guilty, she could be sanctioned, warned, asked to pacify the offended party or parties involved, or be dethroned. Once a queen is dethroned, she loses the opportunity to lead her members and also to participate in the activities of the queens' association. When the queens' ruling is not accepted by an offending queen, the matter is reported to the market manager or other officers of the STMA (especially when it involves trading spaces).

CHAPTER SIX :

RE-DEVELOPMENT OF TAKORADI MARKET CIRCLE

This chapter is in two parts. The first part gives an account of the challenges faced by traders in their use of the TMC and the essence for the consideration of such problems in the planning of a new market. The second part examines the proposed re-development plan and its related issues. Precisely, it examines the objectives of the proposed re-development plan, the traders' awareness, and participation in the planning process as well as their opinions and expectations about the plan.

Market traders in Ghana face numerous challenges in undertaking their trading activities and this has been well acknowledged (see Alfery, 2009; Owusu & Lund, 2004; Awuah, 1997). For the purpose of this study challenges facing traders is grouped into two broad categories. The first category of challenges pertains to issues related to traders' businesses only. Challenges under this category includes limited access to capital and credit facilities, high cost of goods or items due to inflation, transportation, low patronage, limited and seasonal supply of commodities as well as individual and personal issues. The second category of challenges refers to problems related to traders' access to market space and their use of the marketplace. As the main places for conducting business, problems associated with the markets have consequences on how traders conduct their activities. Examples include lack of access to trading space, congestion, limited and poor condition of market facilities, sanitation and management issues. Even though the two categories may be seen as mutually exclusive, both affect the plight of traders in a reinforcing manner. It is the second category of challenges that is explored in this chapter since attention to this can greatly inform the re-development of the new market.

6.1 Lack of access to trading space and congestion

Access to trading space; particularly in strategic locations such as markets in CBDs is crucial for market traders in Ghana. A study predicted that the discovery of oil in Takoradi will lead to changes in the city which will have implications for access to and control of land (Obeng-Odoom, 2009; 2012). Indeed, increased migration and unemployment coupled with other factors such as increased commercial activities arising from the oil boom in the region has increased the value of land in the city of Takoradi (ibid.), producing fierce competition for space within the CBD. As a major commercial centre, the TMC is equally has been stretched since the number of

traders exceeds the number of stores and stalls in the market. This is evidenced by the degree of congestion and the huge number of traders occupying illegal locations such as pavements and walkways within and around the market as well as the enormous rate of hawking activities.

It is common to hear traders complain that: *“We are very congested now, but we have nowhere to go. This was not the case some few years back”*. Pointing to a certain location, one trader added: *“That place used to be bare. We didn’t have all those stalls there. But now, every available space has been occupied”*. A customer also noted: *“Everywhere is congested. You cannot walk freely in this market. You have to be very careful when moving; if not you may bump into other people every now and then or at worst into traders items”*. Another also indicated that *“I am always afraid for my life each time I step into this market. In the event of fire, how do we escape free”* Congestion in markets in Ghana is no new phenomenon. What might have worsened the situation observed in TMC can be attributed to the decongestion exercise which was undertaken in May 2014 (a few weeks before the start of the study). Some of the traders who were displaced by the exercise refused to go the Aprembo Market (located about 5 km from TMC) which was intended by the authorities to accommodate them only to squat and hawk inside TMC.

Currently, it may be impossible for a new trader to have access to trading space in the market, except for hawkers. The lack of space and congestion can be attributed to poor planning decisions and inefficient control and management practices. The physical planner of the STMA noted that given the current high demand for land in Takoradi, the land on which the two storey market building could be intensively utilised to exceed its current capacity. Clearly, the market has outgrown the capacity the initial planners might have anticipated. Also, the internal configuration of structures inside the market gives little evidence about efficient planning and control. Stores, stalls and other forms of trading locations are haphazardly sited in ways that suggest poor use of the land area.

Despite expectations that increased urbanisation and population increase will put pressure on urban infrastructure and facilities such as markets, an explanation of the congestion in the TMC goes beyond these factors. One source of the congestion lies in the traders’ use of tables and other forms of boxes for displaying wares in front of stores or stalls, a phenomenon intended to attract customers’ attention. Below are two photos showing arranged items in walkways and the

absence of the items taken on Friday and Sunday respectively. From the two photos, it is evident that without the tables and the other objects, that lane would have been less congested.



Photo 16. Arranged items on walkways



Photo 17. Spacious walkways free of items

However, traders insist that the authorities condone this action by charging fees. One trader indicated, *“We [referring to traders] pay Gh C 0.50 (approximately 0.15USD) daily for bringing out tables in the open because they [STMA authorities] say they create congestion and obstruct movement. Why should the authorities charge fees if they are not in support of the act? She added that if authorities do not prohibit the habit, it will be difficult for individual traders to curb the menace because: “is if you don’t display your wares in front of your store or stall, some other traders would and that attract customers so almost everyone is forced to do that because we all want to make some sales”*

On another issue in relation to space, traders alleged that authorities are inefficient in the allocation of space, they argued that that some traders rent stores and stalls from people who are not even traders in the market. This issue was brought up by an STMA official during a meeting with the queens. The official acknowledged the awareness of such a phenomenon and indicated that measures would be put in place to forestall such occurrences.

6.1.1 Bulk breaking regulation

An outcome of the competitive demand for land in the city centre is reflected in the inadequacy of space for parking around the market. Due to the lack of parking space, authorities prohibit the bulk breaking of goods or commodities which are over 1.5 tonnes around the market circle or elsewhere within the CBD. This regulation is intended to reduce the volume of traffic and

congestion created within the CBD. Traders are therefore required to break their bulk items or commodities of over 1.5 tonnes at the Aprembo Market (about 5 km away from TMC).



Photo 18. Bulk breaking process of plantains at the Aprembo Market

Initially, traders' who were bulk breaking loads of over 1.5 tonnes could stop around the TMC and offload their goods or commodities, but the current regulation forbids them from doing so. Traders maintain that the ban on bulk breaking is highly unfavourable to them because it is inconvenient and increases their cost of transportation, which invariably adds to their operational costs. They explained that because of the regulation instead of paying for transportation to the TMC only, they now have to pay for transportation to Aprembo or make a stop there before later transporting commodities back to TMC. At Aprembo, traders pay for off-loading into smaller trucks (1.5 tonnes maximum) which they then have to transport back to TMC where they pay for another off-loading fee.

The traders indicated that the regulation also makes it difficult, especially for wholesalers, to access transportation to Takoradi from supply sources in villages or other wholesale markets. They claimed that transporters complain about the trouble of having to go all the way to Aprembo Market to discharge goods regardless of the time and day. Furthermore, trader alleged

that their drivers are sometimes arrested, even at night and dawn, when discharging at the TMC goods even though they do not obstruct traffic flows at such hours.

In such cases the cost is usually borne by the traders because failure to do that would give them “bad names” among drivers. The queen of the fruits and vegetable association recounted that her driver was arrested offloading around the market in the night when there was no movement of vehicles to be obstructed. Her plea to the metro-guide in-charge was not heeded and she was charged 150 Ghana Cedis (48 USD) before the driver was released. She indicated that the amount far exceeded her total profit margin for that particular trip, thus causing her to run into debt on that trip.

What this means is that traders whose bulk supplies are below 1.5 tonnes are not affected by this regulation. This means that this regulation affects traders who trade in higher volume of commodities most and small volume traders who combine commodities in trucks that exceed the 1.5 tonne limit (see photo 18). At a negotiation meeting with the authorities of the STMA, the market queens accused the authorities of “being unfair and inconsiderate” of traders in the TMC because other “shop” operators around the TMC are allowed to break their bulk goods of over 1.5 tonnes. This accusation was denied by the authorities stating that the metro guides would be called to order to ensure that all other traders abide by the regulation in order to rid the market area free of heavy traffic flow.

6.2 Limited and poor condition of market facilities

The presence of the market facilities itemised in chapter five suggests that TMC is relatively equipped with facilities. Therefore the problem is not just with the absence of certain facilities, but also with the limited supply and the poor condition of the available facilities. The market has no storage facilities, health centre and washrooms to be used by the traders.

The need for storage facilities is very necessary because of the small sizes and design of stalls. Due to this, traders are forced to rent stores which are already in limited supply for trading activities only to use them as storage facilities. At least, a utensil trader and a pork trader revealed that they rent stalls which they use as warehouse and storage facilities respectively for their bulk supplies. This means that these stalls could have been used by other traders if only there were storage facilities in the market.

The absence of a health centre in the market is also a major concern shared by the traders. The Market Queen explained that even though the market is surrounded by many pharmaceutical shops, it is still very worrying not to have any health facility in the market. She remarked that: *“As market traders we constitute a community on our own and it is inappropriate to lack a health centre because this is where we spend most of our time”*. She indicated that the closest public hospital, the Effia Nkwanta Regional hospital, which is off Sekondi road is quite far for emergency purposes.

Although the TMC has lavatories, urinals and standing pipes, these facilities are found to be woefully inadequate in supply. Besides, the locations of these facilities are not very convenient for all the traders, especially those inside the market. Due to this some traders resort to urinating into containers which are emptied into opened drains inside the markets. At the moment, all the standing pipes in the market are owned by private individuals and are not adequate enough to support the huge number of traders in the market. In another regard, traders contended that market facilities such as the lavatories and the butchers’ shop are very old, lack any sense of modernity and are in deplorable states. Indeed, the general sanitary condition in the butchers shop in TMC is relatively unhygienic. The tables and floors are stained and dirty because they are not cleaned regularly due to lack of water supply. Houseflies and rodents, especially mice can be seen running around the entire room. A comparison of the two butchers’ shops in the photos below needs no further emphasis.



Photo 19. Butchers' shop at TMC



Photo 20. Butchers' shop at Apremdo Market

Again, traders indicated that the absence of washrooms especially for butchers and “guest traders” (itinerant traders) is also worrying. The butchers explained they require washrooms

where they can change clothes or take a bath after work because they are stained in the process of working.

Traders also alleged that the market authorities are not proactive in providing and maintaining market facilities and also begrudged the authorities for laying down bureaucratic procedures in obtaining permits to carry out maintenance on their own. Some even asserted that they sometimes have to pay bribes in order to hasten the process to be issued permits to repair their damaged stores and stalls with their own money.

6.3 Sanitation

On the average, sanitary conditions in TMC are quite poor because the surroundings of some many traders are dirty and unhygienic. It is common to find traders selling close to open drains filled with garbage from residues of food items and pieces of papers and plastic bags. Also, even though food items such as fish and meat are required to be at least one meter above the ground, some fish and vegetable traders defile this regulation. The worst of all was a fish trader located close to a gutter who admitted that when her fish falls into the gutter she picks it out, washes it and sells. When asked whether or not she was aware of the sort of things that are thrown into the gutter, her response was *“Yes. I know people pour urine and even feces into the gutters. But when a fish like this [raising a big size and showing to me] falls into the gutter, I always pick it, if not it will be a cost to me”*. This trader believes that since the fish would be cooked before eaten, her action poses no health threat to consumers. This is evidence that food items sold under unhygienic conditions in markets may be a source of public health issues for buyers (see Alferts, 2009).



Photo 21. Poor sanitary conditions inside TMC.



Photo 22. Undisposed waste collection bin outside the TMC.

In addition, traders complained that the stench from undisposed waste sometimes makes conditions in the market unbearable for them and customers have to contend with it too. One source of the stench was attributed to the habit of traders who litter the market with piled up garbage in sacks and other plastic bags. A fish trader stated that the absence of waste bins in the market as well as traders reluctance to pay for waste disposal are the main reasons for the littering in the market. Another source is allegedly, the untimely and irregular disposal of the main waste bins provided by the assembly. A trader speculated that the accumulation of garbage in the market is partly the reason for the high rodent infestation, particularly mice and rats in the market. She recounted that: *“There are rats and mice all over the market; especially in the highly unhygienic sections. Some of them are as big as cats. The rodents abound here because there is always filth for them to feed on. The disturbing issue about them is that they always have a feast day when we leave the market. Sometimes you find traces of their feces and urine on your items”*.

Furthermore, trader reported that they grapple with flooding each time it rains heavily. This is due to the small sizes of the open drains and the fact that some traders cover the drains with various kinds of slabs in order to lessen the emanating stench. Accumulated litters also choke the gutters and cause flooding in some sections of the market. They indicated that the flood makes the market muddy and dirty and squatting traders in particular find it difficult to display their items when their trading space is covered with water. Customers on the other hand are forced to tiptoe their way into the market to avoid stepping into water.

Another area of concern is the inadequacy of lavatories and the appalling sanitary condition that beset the few ones available. A trader claimed that more than half of the traders do not use the lavatories because they are *“stenchy and hardly clean”*. She elaborated that: *“In fact, you need to see it for yourself. The floors of the lavatories are dirty and littered with toilet papers among others”*. She added that since traders pay for the use of the lavatories, *“they [private operators] must improve the cleanliness of the place”*. Observation of traders urinating into containers in secluded places seems to support the claim that the lavatories are indeed less patronised.

Generally, traders claimed that sanitary conditions in the market started to deteriorate with the increase in the trader population. Also, that the decline in proper sanitation in the market corresponds to the ineffectiveness of STMA in providing cleaners for the market. Traders pointed out that the market was cleaner years ago when STMA cleaners were in charge of

cleaning the market. While some traders are quick to admit the poor situation, others tend to downplay it because as one trader noted *“TMC is relatively better off in terms of sanitation than many other markets in the country”*.

6.4 Security

Market fires are a dreadful issue for all traders throughout the country. Interviews with traders underscore their insecurity in relation to their stores, stalls and goods. This is deepened by the absence of insurance protection against either fire or burglary. The fear of fire, thus remains a concern for all traders. The market last experienced fire in 2007 and quiet, recently April 2015 (Starr FM, 2015). Traders stated clearly that due to predominance of wooden stalls, fire can easily gut and destroy huge amounts of items and properties in the market without early detection. Yet, traders pointed that they are unable to subscribe to insurance policies because companies cite high risk factor as a major hindrance. Meanwhile, there is no form of insurance coverage by the STMA either. Only one of the traders interviewed (female shoes and bags trader) claimed that she has insured her items. This explains the mass hysteria among traders whenever there is market fire in the country.

In 2013, series of unprecedented and alarming market fire outbreaks ensued in Ghana. Notable markets affected were Kumasi Central Market, the Kantamanto Market and the Makola Shopping Mall. During the fieldwork for the study, report of fire outbreak in KCM made fire a topical issue throughout the interviews. It emerged that when fire last gutted sections of the TMC, the affected traders had several items and properties destroyed, but the only help offered by the STMA was the reconstructions of the stores and stalls. The loss of items and properties was borne by the victims. In relation to the aftermath of the fire, traders disclosed dissatisfaction with the reconstructed stores indicating that authorities reduced that sizes of their trading spaces in only to enhance their allocations. My personal observation of the reconstructed stalls indicates a lack of concern for the traders' needs. Two adjacent stalls are so close that two people cannot walk side by side along the corridors. Also, it was evident that poor quality materials had been used for the construction work. Apart from that, traders alleged that issues of reallocations were not well addressed as certain traders who lost their trading spaces were not given new allocations.

Again, traders complained that the numbers of security men who patrol the market at night are acutely inadequate. They explained that even though the market is a closed one, various forms of

attempted thefts and break-ins are sometimes reported. Traders therefore suppose that more security, back-up would help to lessen such instances. The head of the head of the MGU shared a similar opinion. He indicated that the six security men (of which all may not be at post at the same time) provided by the assembly are not enough to adequately patrol the entire market area. He revealed that due to this some traders or groups of traders employ their own security men to watch over their properties.

Another form of security concern of traders is occasional harassment by the metro guards. Traders explained that metro guides take the law into their own hands and seized their items at the slightest opportunity. This usually happens in relation to breaking hawking or bulk breaking regulations. Traders whose items are seized are required to pay spot fines for the release of their items. Interestingly, traders claimed that sometimes the fines charged are more than the value of the items so they are forced to lose them after unsuccessful negotiation. Traders alleged that when a trader is unable to pay to redeem her items, the metro guides give them away to prisoners. On my visit to the MGU, I found seized items which were getting rotten owners because the owners were unable to pay their fine.

On another note, the Market Queen accused the metro guards of lacking respect and being inconsiderate of their positions and roles as market leaders, the market queens. She stated that *“We all work together. As the Market Queen, can you believe that the head of the Metro Guard Unit refused to listen to my plea on behalf of a trader whose items had been seized and worst of all he virtually sacked me from his office? How can traders have confidence in us if they continue to treat us like this?”*

6.5 Unfavourable official operating hours, demand for night market and market day

Traders describe the official times for opening and closing the market as very unfavourable. They explain that the closing time in particular is worrying because that is when most workers close and shop from the market. One provision trader explained: *“The closing time is not favourable at all, especially to those of us who deal with bulky and heavy goods. I have to close 30 minutes before the official time in order to pack and arrange my things into my stall before 6.00 p.m. If you delay a little the city guards would “catch you” and issue you a fine. Sometimes, just as you begin packing, customers walk in to request for something you have already packed. Obviously, you just lose out on that sale”.*

Quite different, traders in the “outside stores” are not limited by the closing time because their stores are outside the main gates. The market queens therefore appealed to authorities to extend the closing time of the market or provide traders with a night market. The market queen explained that calls on the authorities to extend the opening hours or at least allow them to sell outside the market after 6:00 p.m. have not yet yielded any success. A study indicates that traders’ in the Kumasi Central Market and Race Course Market in Kumasi also shared similar complaints about the closing time (Baah-Ennumh and Adom-Asamoah, 2012). This suggests that the dissatisfaction with the specified operating hours is not peculiar to the traders in the TMC only. An STMA official indicated that the quantity of waste generated by traders who sell outside the gate after the close of the market is one of the reasons for their prohibition.

The market queen also stated that the TMC is in need of a market day in order to diversify the nature of the operation of the market. She explained that this would help boost trading activities as it would make goods and commodities affordable to traders by attracting farmers, producers and other product suppliers to the market. In her words: *“Market days are associated with potentially cheaper goods and so customers always look forward to such days. As traders, we can also get to buy directly from farmers and large wholesale traders without travelling all the time and thereby avoid all other inconveniences associated with travelling”*.

6.6 Limited levels of participation

Limited participation and non-involvement of traders in decision making are the roots of the challenges faced by many traders in Ghana. Lack of participation and non-involvement in decision making processes have been identified as characteristic of the relationship between traders and market authorities (Awuah, 1997; Owusu & Lund, 2008). Market leaders in TMC, particularly the queens, expressed dissatisfaction about the level of involvement and participation in decision making about issues that affect them. The Market Queen said: *“The market authorities only involve us when it comes to fee fixing. Aside fee fixing, they make all decisions on their own. Even when we go to them with our problems, they only listen to us, but do nothing much to help. Sometimes to even make time to meet us becomes a problem”*. My observation of one of such encounter accentuates this claim. It took over a month for the market queens to gain access to the authorities of the STMA for a discussion on the bulk breaking regulation, request for market day and a night market. The market secretary indicated that the meeting was postponed several times so they decided to “storm” the office of the STMA

uninvited. The secretary of the butchers' association also indicated that their involvement and participation in decision making was not satisfactory even though getting appointments to meet authorities was not problematic. He explained that: "*They listen to us, but they do not work with what we say or suggest*". He indicated that it takes ceaseless effort to reach a common ground with the authorities. He drew attention to the poor state of market facilities, especially in the butchers' shop for which constant reports have been submitted to the authorities but with meagre outcomes.

The persistence of the problems stated in a research report presented to the STMA by the Takoradi Butchers' Association (TBA) in 2012 (see Yankum, 2012), highlights the limited efforts of the market leaders in negotiating with the market authorities. Another market leader, the secretary of the Shed 8 (Association of tailors and seamstresses) also indicated that even though they are involved in negotiations, sometimes their views are not heard. The secretary said their request for an extension of the opening hours is yet to get any feedback from the authorities, and he remarked: "*Our options are very limited, the power rests with them*".

However, the chairman of the stores' association expressed a contrary view on the issue of participation in decision making processes, even though he is one of the leaders of a minority group. He stated that their involvement and participation as leaders of the stores' association in decision making is satisfactory even though their inputs are limited because the authorities have the power to make the final decision.

The views of all four market leaders show that the participation and the involvement of traders in decision making processes in TMC is limited. Even that, male leaders are better placed than female leaders.

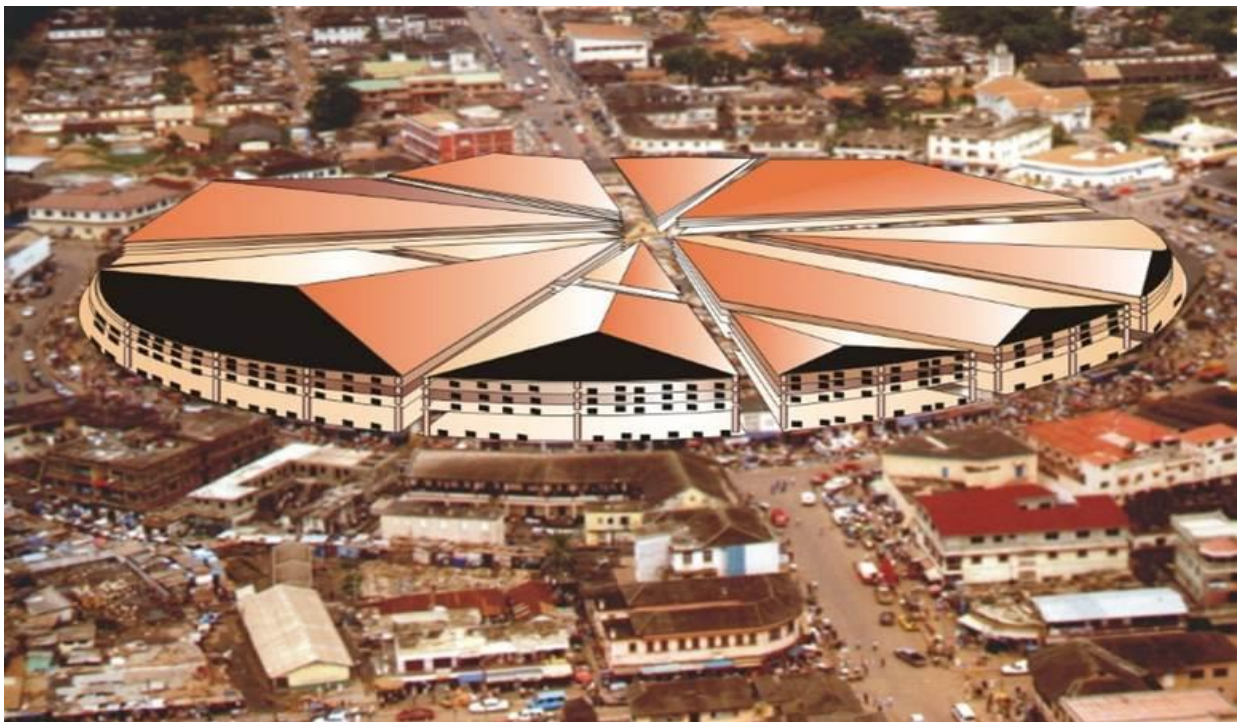
6.7 The proposed re-development plan

Despite the much emphasised problems associated with trading space in the TMC, city authorities are currently handicapped in dealing with issues relating to limited space. This is precisely because there is high demand for land, especially in the city centre whereas supply is limited. Land use intensification, particularly within the CBD, is perhaps one of the readily available solutions. This is why the proposed re-development plan of TMC resurfaced because as indicated by STMA officials the idea was hatched long before the discovery of oil in

Takoradi. This presupposes that renewed interest in the proposed re-development has been boosted by the oil discovery and its attendant outcomes.

The proposed re-development of TMC envisages a reconstruction of the old market into a modern market complex. The plan aims to convert the current two storey market building into a three to five storey market complex in order to create more trading spaces for traders. The envisioned market is to have well designed shops, stores and stalls, planned sectors and improved drainage and waste management systems. It shall have ultra-modern storage facilities, lavatories, clinic, school, banks, an underground parking space as well as improved water and electricity. It is expected that the new market would absorb more traders, ease congestion and traffic movement in the city centre and above all enhance the aesthetic of the Takoradi city.

Photo 23. A model of the proposed re-development plan of the market



Source: STMA, 2014.

As mentioned, the idea to re-develop the TMC is not a present-day decision. The Coordinating Director of the STMA explained that the re-development of the market has long been proposed but has not received much attention due to lack of funds. The recent interest and focus on the proposed re-development of TMC has been revived by the need to reconstruct old buildings within the CBD of Takoradi in order to give it a facelift as an oil producing city (STMA, 2010; Obeng-Odoom, 2012). This has been precipitated by the limited supply of land in the CBD,

heavy congestion and the subsequent deterioration of market facilities. He noted that such a project will involve millions of dollars, which is not readily available to the assembly. The STMA therefore seeks to reconstruct the market through a private partnership.

Regarding the PPP in the re-development of the market, the PRO of the STMA disclosed that the invitation for partnership is ongoing. He indicates that over the past years, the STMA authorities have been approached by at least three investors to discuss possible partnership but all to no avail. He supposed that the huge amount of money involved has been the main deterring factor for these investors. He also identified the content of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) as a possible source of the unsuccessful search. At the moment, STMA authorities hope that the new consortium of investors with whom they have recently signed an MOU would return to eventually finalise arrangements to pave way for the implementation process.

As it stands, the start of the project cannot be ascertained since it is tied to the availability and the success of negotiation with a potential private investor. This is evidenced by the remark made by the PRO “*We are still looking for investors so if you [referring to me] can even bring investors from Norway, we would gladly welcome you*”. Similarly, several investors were reported to have as far back in time expressed interest in re-developing the KCM as 1993 but never returned until 2012 when a consortium of Brazilian investors eventually concluded partnership arrangement with the market authorities (The Chronicle, 2012).

6.8 Awareness of the re-development plan among traders and their participation in the planning process

According to the PRO, traders have been well informed about the assembly’s plan to re-develop the market into a modern shopping centre even though not much has come out of the bidding process. He insisted that: “*If any trader should tell you he or she is not aware of the re-development plan that is not true*”. He indicated further that the market leaders serve as the intermediaries between STMA and all the other traders; once the leaders are informed it is expected that the message will be conveyed to all traders. However, he explained that since the plan is still at the conceptual stage, it is not possible to provide further details.

Only 6 out of the 59 traders interviewed claimed that they are not aware of the re-development plans. This shows that the majority of the traders are indeed aware of the proposed plans to re-develop the market. There are however differences in the sources of information and depth of

knowledge about the plan. Even though some traders admitted to have been informed by their leaders, rumours served as the main means by which most traders became aware of the re-development plan, but they do not know when and how the project would be carried out.

All of the nine market leaders interviewed are aware of the re-development plan. The secretary of the TBA alleged that he had seen the physical plan and that it was once shown to them (TBA leaders) during a meeting session with the STMA authorities. The market secretary contends that although they are aware of the plan, they have not been officially informed. In her remarks, she pointed out that authorities only mention it during some meeting sessions, but that they have not received any official notice with further and concrete information. Again, she added that they have not been consulted in any form regarding the proposed plan. This may probably be because the project still remains a vision by the STMA. In any case, full awareness is necessary because a report commissioned by TBA highlights concerns about the lack of information about the project even although the re-development still remains a vision (see Yankum, 2012).

6.9 Opinions and expectations of traders about the proposed plan

One would expect that traders would welcome the idea of upgrading the TMC with much delight. However, interviews with traders show divided opinions about the proposed plan to re-develop the market with the majority of traders opposed to the plan. Out of the 59 traders interviewed 35 responded no to the proposed re-development plan. The traders believe that a project of this nature would require much time for its implementation and completion as such, they may not be the beneficiaries of the envisioned market. One trader commented: *“When fire gutted the New Site, it took so long before they reconstructed those sections. If they should pull down the entire building, it will take them over 20 years to rebuild. Most of us would have become old and out of business by then”*. Another trader added that: *“Reconstruction will take such a long time; I may not be alive to witness it”*. Meanwhile, the PRO of the STMA explained that the long wait for the rebuilding of the burnt section was due to contemplation on whether or not to implement the new plan at that time. He noted that the assembly was forced to provide temporary structures due to the lack of funds and unsuccessful bidding processes. Concerns arose because of a lack of information or communication with the traders. Traders were not notified about why the reconstruction of the burnt section delayed and this informed their current opinion about the projected market. This also portrays a traders’ lack of participation in decision making.

Equally, traders anticipate that authorities cannot adequately relocate them during the construction phase of the proposed market and this can affect their businesses. Citing the case of the relocated car mechanic in Takoradi, the traders alleged that the new site allocated to car mechanic is not suitable for their business because the location is first of all not convenient due to its remoteness from the city. They also alleged that the land is overgrown with weeds, marshy and lacks facilities such as electricity and lavatories. Thus, traders cannot foresee any potential of effective relocation within the city since TMC has the largest number of traders in the region. A notable remark by the traders: *“In our own case, where can they send us apart from Aprembo? Meanwhile, Aprembo cannot accommodate all of us. Where will the rest go? They should consider the decision seriously before they make any move”*.

Again, traders lamented that the plan is just a means to evict them from the market. They argued that after implementing plan, the cost of renting and user fees in the envisioned market would be very expensive for ordinary traders to afford. More so, they claim that trading space allocations in the future market would be a matter of having power, influence and connections. They believe it would work to the advantage of the rich and those who have socially, economically and politically connected. The traders supposed that power and influence is clearly the reason why some traders with stores or stalls in TMC have still been allocated trading spaces in Aprembo, whereas much consideration was not given to those without spaces. To them, this is likely to be repeated in the allocation of stores and stalls in the new market and obviously disadvantage poor and powerless traders.

Furthermore, the traders asserted that a five storey market building in Ghana is not necessary for them. They noted that the Kaneshi Market in Accra, which is only three storeys, poses many challenges to traders and buyers. They indicated that due to the inadequate plan of this large market, many sections operate in darkness in the absence of electricity. One trader stated that even if the constant power supply is assured, it would add to their trading costs. In another dimension, traders alleged that the number of storeys of the Kaneshie Market is the reason for the intense hawking activities around the Kaneshi Market and that is likely to happen in the Takoradi if the market is re-developed as envisaged. A notable remark was: *“How many customers will be willing to climb all the way to 5th floor to buy fish or cloth when other traders are hawking them? These are all things they should consider, but since they don’t care about us, [she said shrugging] they will do what they feel is right”*.

Another trader said *“they should go to Kaneshi Market and ask the traders if they are comfortable; they would know that we are better off this way. In my opinion, I think and many of my colleagues would agree with me that this market is better than several others in the country. They should find a way to make the Aprembo Market vibrant and it will help reduce the congestion over here.”* Another added *“there are several markets in Accra. Why can’t Takoradi also have more markets? Tell the authorities to use whatever money they have to re-develop TMC, to build a new one elsewhere. That would ease the pressure here”*

14 of the 59 interviewed traders affirmed the proposed re-development plan even though they equally were sentimental about likely negative outcomes. However, they maintain that the proposal is a good idea since it will ensure the creation of more trading spaces, provide improved facilities, ease congestion and enhance the aesthetics of the city. They also believe that the current haphazard layout in the market can be improved with the opportunity to rebuild. It will equally allow the planners to clearly demarcate the market into sectors. Among the most desired facilities in the new market are the provision of all concrete shops, stores, storage facilities or warehouses, a very good drainage system, washrooms, modern toilet facilities, school, banks, clinic or hospital, water, electricity, spacious car parks, and probably a guest house for the itinerant traders.

However, the traders emphasised the importance of their involvement in the planning process right before the commencement of the project. They stated that they should be well informed about how the project will be implemented and when it would begin so they can prepare towards it. They expect authorities to explain to them how the project would be carried out and how issues of possible relocations and reallocations will be addressed. Equally, they emphasised that the current sizes of their stores and stalls should not be compromised. They indicated that new trading spaces could be bigger, but not smaller. They also expect authorities to duly register all existing traders (both those with trading spaces and those without) to ensure that they are allocated new spaces first before other applicants.

Ten of the 59 interviewed traders declared an indifferent opinion about the proposed re-development plan. These traders believe that they are not in the position to decide because their views will not matter anyway. They maintain that whether they agree or not, the authorities would only carry out what they set out to do. In the words of one trader: *“How can the government be contested? The STMA authorities are into this with the government. The*

government has the final say so we can only look up to them and we hope that the intention of the plan will be good in the end”.

The responses of traders in the three categories reflect considerations of their individual needs and their various perceptions about state trader relationship in TMC and Ghana as a whole. The responses of traders do not portray clear cut trend, however there are few commonalities about the traders in each response categories. In the YES category of traders, 9 out of 14 traders have legal and informal legitimate access to trading space in TMC. The remaining 5 have no access to trading spaces. 12 out of the 14 including the 5 traders with no legal claim are Fanti. In the No category, 20 out of the 35 traders are non Fanti. The indifferent group are all female traders over 60 years.

CHAPTER SEVEN :

DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents a discussion of the major empirical findings on the possible implications of the proposed re-development of the TMC for traders' access to market space in light of the theoretical concepts used. The chapter begins by highlighting the key factors in the organisation of trading activities in the TMC. It then examines the challenges faced by the traders as informal workers, with particular regards to their access to market space and their involvement in decision making processes in the control and management of the market. In addition, the study discusses the processes around the proposed re-development plans and its possible outcomes for traders' access to trading space in the envisioned market, and the factors that can lead to exclusion of traders.

7.1 Organisation of trading activities in TMC

As noted, knowledge about the organisation of trading activities is essential for the planning and the implementation processes of the proposed re-development of the TMC. The role of the market and information about the different types of traders; what characterise traders and their trading activities, how traders access their trading locations and the sources of finance available to them are also fundamental.

The study found that TMC plays an important role in the economy of Takoradi and the whole of the Western Region. It is a major commercial centre in Takoradi, comprising both formal and informal activities. The market is the main source of livelihood for many traders, particularly women. It is controlled and managed by the STMA and it contributes significantly to the internally generated revenue of the assembly. Though the STMA controls the allocation of trading space, traders can also inherit, buy or rent trading space. Others also squat and hawk in the market, an indication of the dire need for more trading space. Access to trading space in TMC is therefore crucial for traders and it is determined by how influential and powerful a trader is in terms of strong social, economic and political connections. Market trading activities in TMC are dominated by the trade in foodstuffs and vegetables with high prevalence of retailing activities characterised by extreme variations in the of the scale of operations. The study identified that women dominate in the market and that gender plays a key role in the organisation of trading activities in the TMC. Moreover, the types of commodities sold, trading

facilities used and associations in the market are gendered. The finding is consistent with findings about the organisation of trading activities in other markets in Ghana (see Clark, 1994; Awuah, 1997; Dunne & King, 2003; Owusu & Lund, 2004). Also, traders are organised into commodity associations for welfare reasons, dispute resolution and for internal and external negotiation and collective bargaining power.

7.1.1 Gender as an organising principle in TMC

The gendered organisation of trading activities in the market lies in gender differences and the social construction of gender appropriate and inappropriate work for men and women. In the Ghanaian society, based on the biological difference between men and women, they are culturally expected to appear and behave differently. For example, in many Ghanaian cultures, it is inappropriate for men to publicly cry or express pain because that is “unmanly” (Adinkrah, 2012). Similarly, men must be physically strong and should engage in arduous activities considered “manly”. As a result, work like construction, carpentry and masonry, is culturally the preserve of men because it is perceived that these occupations involve the use of physical strength. On the other hand, women are perceived as tender as and physically weaker than men and thus expected to undertake activities that require less physical strength as opposed to men. Market trade as an occupation does not necessarily involve the use of physical strength, as such; it is culturally considered appropriate for women than men. Also, due to the comparative flexibilities associated with market trade, it is seen as a more appropriate work for women, because women are able to meet cultural expectations of performing reproductive and domestic duties as wives and mothers.

The difference in the types of commodities sold by men and women is an outcome of the gender ideologies about gender division of labour as it pertains in households, fishing and agriculture. Culturally, men and women in Ghana have different duties and responsibilities. With few exceptions, domestic activities such as cooking, sweep and cleaning are the responsibilities of women, whereas men are expected to provide for their families. Another common example is men going to fish and women processing and trading fish. Similarly, the trade in certain commodities is associated with masculinity or femininity. As the findings indicate, the trade in commodities such as foodstuffs, processed fish and vegetables are culturally the preserve of women, whereas the trade in items like electrical appliances, building, plumbing materials and meat is undertaken by men. Observations of men trading in vegetables, which culturally are sold

by women, however shows that gender ideologies are adapted to changing socio-economic conditions in a society (see Overå, 2007).

In addition, the study found that trading from the stalls and the fish house in TMC is exclusive to women, whereas trading from the butcher shop is exclusive to men. The designs of the stall and the fish house in comparison with the design of the butcher shop do not only reflect the different types of commodities sold there but also the different ways in which men and women use space. This reflects cultural beliefs about gender differences between men and women and notions of gendered spaces in society and as Raju (2011:2) notes, “gendered spaces get institutionalised and they have long lasting encoding gender roles and relations”.

The study found that market leadership is based on commodity associations. It also noted that commodity associations are gendered. Due to this, market leadership in TMC is also gendered. The various commodity queens and leaders come together to form a unified market leadership, superintended by an elected Market Queen. However, male dominated commodity associations remain autonomous, and are not influenced by decisions of the Market Queen. Meanwhile, the Market Queen represents the largest groups of women traders in the market. The lack of consensus about the position of the Market Queen as the overall leader of the market, especially among male traders, reflects cultural beliefs about men rather than women as heads of households. Ridgeway & Correll (2004) note that, gender ideologies accentuate hierarchical status inequality based on the perception that men are superior to women. Clark (2010) indicates that market leadership in Ghana is a co-opted aspect of traditional leadership in the country. Traditionally, it is rare for men to be dominated by women in many cultures in Ghana and decision making rests with men. Female traditional leaders are superintended by the male rulers with whom final authority rest, thus the difficult for male commodity leaders to submit to the authority of the Market Queen. Thus, gender ideologies about women’s participation in decision making in Ghana is a reason for market authorities to overrule the involvement of female leaders in the planning and implementation processes of the proposed re-development of the TMC. This can be a major setback for the effective participation of women in policy making.

7.1.2 Informality and organisation of market trade

The conceptualisation of informality classifies market trade as an informal activity and market traders as informal workers (see ILO, 2002a; 2002b). According to the concept of informality, unregistered; unregulated; unrecorded and untaxed economic activities belong to the informal

economy (ILO, 1972 cited in ILO, 2000a; Hansen & Vaa, 2004). Implicitly, the opposite of these features are what characterises formal economic activities. On this basis, the findings of this study suggest that market trade in TMC is characterised by the blurred borderline between formal and the informal economy. Whereas the study confirms that trading activities lack proper documentation by both traders and the state; a characteristic feature of the informal economy, classifying market trade as unregistered, unregulated and untaxed economic activities is contended. TMC like many markets in Ghana is a state institution controlled and managed by local government. Traders in TMC pay rents, tolls and other fees. Also, the study found that there are both formal and informal rules and regulations guiding the activities of the traders in the market. Arguably, elements of regulations in market trade are quite inconsistent with the informality concept.

Of course, given other basis for classifying informal economic activities such as the scale of operation, the level of capital and technological investment and the absence of proper documentation and good record keeping (see ILO, 2002b; Potts, 2008), market trade and market traders are justifiably informal. However, since they are not entirely informal, the unfair categorisation present challenges to the traders because it serves to marginalise and expose market traders to vulnerabilities as well as undervalue their work and contributions to the economic growth and development of the country.

More so, Overå (2007) notes that Ghanaians combine incomes from both the formal and the informal economy to meet their needs. It is therefore challenging to clearly demarcate borders between the two economies (ibid.). For example, market traders in TMC sell to formal companies, institutions and organisations like schools, hospitals and hotels. Also, manufactured goods like provisions, shoes and bags produced by formal companies are sold in TMC. This emphasises the argument made by structuralists that, the formal and the informal economies are integrally linked (Chen, 2012).

7.2 Challenges of market traders

The study identified several challenges faced by market traders in their organisation of trading activities and in their use of the market space. Among the challenges are limited access to market space, congestion, limited and poor market facilities, poor sanitation, inadequate security with regards to personal safety and trading facilities. These challenges are further aggravated by limited involvement and poor participatory processes in decision making processes in the control

and management of the market. These are explained from two perspectives; informality and gender.

A major explanation of the challenges faced by market traders in TMC lies in the categorisation of market traders as informal workers. As Obeng-Odoom (2013) notes, state authorities are not concerned about informal traders and the relationship between traders and the state has often been confrontational. General perceptions about the informal economy as backward and unproductive economic activities as implied by dualists, and as tax evading enterprises and workers as suggested by legalist and voluntarist (as discussed in chapter two), tend to limit the recognition informal traders receive from the state. Consequently, these notions affect traders' access to urban space, social protection, access to property right, effective representation and expose them to exploitative institutional arrangements (ILO, 2002a).

Moreover, informality is seen as a “technical failure” in governance (ILO, 2014), this means that the higher the degree of informality in a country, the less efficient the state is. Therefore, states adopt policies and controlling measures that tend to manage the operations of the informal economy. Potts (2008) notes that the relationship states and the informal economy is often unstable, it is characterised by simultaneous harassment of traders by states and a degree of tolerance. As indicated, informal traders are dependent on the strategies of state authorities and large formal enterprises (ILO, 2002a:3.), any changes in governments or policies have likely outcomes for their livelihood.

As noted earlier, market traders in are a special group of informal workers because markets are controlled by the state. Also, market activities are partly regulated and taxed, though not property documented for effective evaluation of their productivity. The study also shows that markets and market traders contribute significantly to the internally generated revenues of local government. In spite of this, there is little investment in markets and limited involvement of traders in decision making processes. The informal perspective alone is therefore not enough to understand why the market traders are undervalued.

From a gender perspective, it can be argued that the neglect of markets and the non-involvement of traders' decision making processes are because the majority of the traders are women. Gender theories indicate that little attention is paid to domains dominated by women because women are undervalued, and so are the places they work (Raju, 2011; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Feminist scholars have for a long time argued that the dominance of women in market trade makes it

easier for market traders to be victimized (Robertson, 1983). Robertson noted further that women's predominance in market trade corresponds to the marginalisation of market traders (ibid.). The study noted that although both male and female leaders have limited access to participation in decision making, female leaders are more limited than men because they have to even struggle to get appointments with the market authorities. This indicates that the male leaders are taken more serious than the female leaders and this can be a source of exclusion of women traders in the planning the future market.

7.3 Towards the planning process of the proposed re-development of the TMC

The study found that the proposed re-development of the TMC into a modern market centre remains a vision for both market authorities and traders due to the lack of funds and unsuccessful attempts to attract private investors. As noted, the idea to re-develop the market is not recent, yet a successful partnership has still not emerged. Given PPP in areas such as health, education, sanitation, roads, water and electricity supply, private sector involvement in the establishment, control and management of markets in Ghana is comparatively low. With the exception of few privately managed markets in Accra (see AMA, 2008), many Ghanaian markets remain largely public institutions. It appears that, it is difficult for local governments to attract private investments for market re-development. The re-development of the KCM in Kumasi illustrates this point. Plans to re-develop the market started as far back as 1993; however, it was only until 2012 that a private partnership was secured (The Chronicle, 2012). This shows the extent to which the implementation process of the proposed re-development can be achieved.

Admittedly, private investors tend to be profit minded and would want to recoup their investments in the shortest possible time. Given that the STMA has limited information about the traders, the available information for anticipating returns on an investment in the TMC will be blurred and this means that there are greater tendencies for potential investors associate such projects as a high risk venture and therefore unfavourable. Also, due to lack of record keeping, it is impossible to access the income base of the traders in order to determine their affordability of the stores and stalls in the envisioned market. From another angle, given the locational advantage of the land area of the TMC and high demand for land in the CBD for various forms of commercial activities, investors may be interested in re-developing the market rather for more formal economic activities than for market trading activities.

While the search for a successful partnership is still ongoing, this study attempts a discussion on the possible implications of the proposed re-development of the TMC for traders' access to trading space when the plan is eventually implemented. This discussion is based on the objective of the proposed re-development plan of TMC, the model of the envisioned market, PPP as the source of funding for the project, state trader relationship vis a vis traders' participation and involvement in decision making processes and general events in Takoradi as an oil city.

As stated, the objective of the proposed re-development plan is a subset of a general Takoradi re-development scheme which seeks to reconstruct old building within the city to give it a facelift as an oil producing city. The goal of the proposed re-development of the TMC is therefore to add to the aesthetics of the city of Takoradi. As mentioned earlier, market traders are classified as informal traders and general perceptions that informal activities are often "unplanned and flouts regulations" (Potts, 2008:158). The underlying objective of the proposed re-development could result in the market being replaced by "entirely formal" activities such as an office complex. Under this circumstance, traders would lose their access to the trading space in TMC. It must be recalled that over 2000 car mechanics in Takoradi have already lost their space in a shopping mall project. In as much as this would be in the extreme case, it cannot be ruled out because the state-informal trader relationship in Ghana is complex and influenced by political sentiments (Milliar & Obeng-Odoom, 2011). Besides, Middleton (2003) states that informal traders are seen as a barrier to modernisation, and given that the proposed plan is to provide modern facilities, it is likely that certain trader categories will face exclusion in the future market. The subsequent sections present likely implications if the plan is executed as intended.

Based on the proposed design for the re-development of the TMC, the study deduces that the envisioned market will be modern, well planned and structured. The market will have an increased occupancy capacity with good layouts, modern facilities such as improved waste and drainage systems, improved security system, electricity, water, storage facilities, lavatories, clinic, school, banking offices and underground parking space. This means that the current space will be reconfigured and the market centre will be nicer and liveable. However, these changes will come at a cost to the investor(s) and the traders as well.

First, the proposed re-development will require the demolition of market facilities and this will displace the traders. Issues relating to relocation and compensations will arise; it will require adequate preparation and effective planning to efficiently manage the situation. Also, the need to

capture traders' data and plans to adequately settle displaced traders calls deliberation. Another thorny issue will be whether or not illegal traders would be settled. Note that the STMA has no data on illegal traders; yet traders who are classified as illegal currently have access to trading space in TMC and these traders pay tolls and other fees. Again, whether or not illegal traders will qualify for relocation and compensation during and after the implementation process can also be a source of exclusion of some traders. Particularly significant are traders who have inherited trading spaces not registered in their names. These traders claim informal legitimate access to their trading space, whereas this claim is undermined by the STMA's tenancy law. Bromley & Mackie (2009) recounted a similar incidence in Cusco, Peru where traders operating without licenses were left out of a reallocation process following relocation programme even though they had access to trading space in the former location. Also, can traders be assured of access to trading space in the re-developed market?

Upon a successful implementation of the proposed re-development plans, the trading spaces in the envisaged market will be reconfigured, which means that a new form of allocation will emerge. This would probably come with increases in rents and other user fees which may be unaffordable to the average market trader. Without any assurance of secured access to trading space for previous occupants, average traders will be displaced by the rich and influential in a fierce competition for allocations in the market, a phenomenon referred to as gentrification (see Bromley & Mackie, 2009).

Similarly, average traders can be excluded from the supposed market space depending on the type of partnership arrangement. Feust & Haffner (2007) argue that PPP arrangements often protect the interest of the investors at the expense of the beneficiaries. This means that as profit oriented as investors tend to be the probability to create more office and shopping spaces at the expense of the stores and stalls much needed by the market traders will be higher. Obviously, office and shopping space are likely to cost more than stores and stalls, this may be seen as a way to recoup investments in the shortest possible time. More so, given the strategic location of the TMC, it is not far-fetched to presume that several commercial actors are certainly ready to pay for space in the future market. This would lead to fierce competition for allocations in the new market for which average market traders will be disadvantaged.

The reconfiguration of the market space is likely to produce gendered consequences. The study noted that the use of stalls is exclusive only women in TMC, whereas stores are used by both

men and women. It also noted that stalls are less expensive than stores. This means that, making available more stores than stalls can be used as an instrument to exclude women. Besides, more often women do not require stores for the sale of foodstuffs or vegetable.

The study also found that traders in TMC are not a homogenous group. They are different in terms of the types of trade, function of trade, scale of operation and the type of trading space use. Equally they have different social, economic and political networks, which can be activated to gain access to trading spaces. Thus the strength of a traders' network can be crucial to gaining access to trading space in the future market. However, the study indicates that traders with no legal claim to their trading spaces are more prone to face exclusion in the future market. Even so, renters, care takers, squatters and hawkers may be at higher risk than traders who have an informal legitimate claim to their trading spaces.

CHAPTER EIGHT :

CONCLUSION OF STUDY

The main objective of this study has been to examine and discuss likely implications of the proposed re-development of the TMC for traders' access to trading space. In order to achieve this, the study sought to answer the following questions; how are trading activities organised in TMC? What are the challenges faced by traders, especially in their use of the market? What is the level of traders participation in the planning process of the proposed re-development of the TMC? And finally, in which ways can trader involvement inform the re-development plans? The study drew on gender and feminist theories of intersectionality, informality and urban planning theories to answer and explain the questions posed by the study.

8.1 The organisation of trading activities in TMC

Findings from the study indicate that TMC is an important market centre and a source of livelihood for many people, the majority being women. Traders enjoy great advantages due to the strategic location of the market within the CBD of Takoradi. TMC is a mixed market of both locally produced and imported commodities, but dominated by foodstuffs and vegetables. In terms of volumes of trade, retailing, petty trading and hawking are more prevalent in TMC. The study indicated that the market is controlled and managed by the STMA through the allocation of trading space, provision and maintenance of market facilities, security, environmental health and sanitation services and revenue mobilisation. However, there are informal regulations through commodity and market associations.

The study found that there is no age or education limit to trading in TMC, both the young and the old; literate and illiterate are involved in trading activities in the market. Apart from the diverse ethnic backgrounds, the study identified different types of traders based on gender, the different types of commodities sold, the volumes of trade, scale of operation and the types of trading locations. It notes that gender is fundamental in the organisation of trading activities in TMC. Gender and gender ideologies influence the types of commodities sold, the types of trading spaces occupied by men and men and consequently the types of commodity associations and hence market leadership.

The study has shown that organisation of trading activities in TMC is marked by blurred characteristics of the informal and the formal economy. It has demonstrated that TMC operates

as a formal institution because it is controlled and managed by the state, but that aspects of the organisation of trading activities are remarkably informal. The reason is that trading activities are largely based on informal sources for starting and sustaining their businesses. Also, traders rely on informal regulations and means in accessing trading spaces. Due to this traders are unable to subscribe to insurance policies for their businesses or social security and this makes them vulnerable, especially in the event of market fire or robbery; traders lose their investment. Trading activities also lack effective documentation and thus lack records for assessing productivity. Classified as informal traders, one common notion about the informal workers is that they lack voice or representation due to ineffective organisation. The limited negotiation, bargaining and participation in decision making processes is a clear reflection of representation.

8.2 Challenges faced by market traders in TMC

Findings from the study show that despite the enormous contribution of the market traders to STMA's locally generated revenue, very little attention has been paid to providing and improving market infrastructure that would make the market liveable for the traders. The study identified several challenges faced by the market traders and explanations for the lack of attention paid to the plight of market traders have been linked to the predominance of women in the market and to the high degree of informality in the market. Generally, gender theorists argue that less seriousness is usually attached to women and similarly to what women do. From an informality perspective, it is argued that the state is not concerned about informal workers as such less attention is given to traders in participation in decision making processes.

8.3 The proposed re-development plan and its related issues

The study identified and explained the prime objective of the proposed re-development plan. It notes that the aim of the proposed re-development plan is to upgrade the market, provide modern facilities and increase the occupancy capacity of the market in order to provide more trading spaces for the traders. The expected source of funding for the proposed project is through a PPP, which is yet to be achieved. However, based on the information gathered about the market and how they organise their trading activities, the study identified that the objective of the proposed project and the targeted PPP as a source of funding can be inherently problematic for traders access to trading spaces in the future market. Firstly, the study identifies that the idea of planning is inconsistent with what informality is about and as such the classification of market traders as informal workers could undermine and exclude all traders with few exceptions to traders in the

stores that form the market circle. Also, the re-development will reconfigure the land area which could have gendered consequences.

8.4 Concluding remarks

The study has shown that an understanding of the nature of organisation of trading activities and knowledge about the challenges faced by traders in the TMC is crucial for the planning and implementation processes of the new market. The strategic location of TMC and its role as a central market contributes to its importance and high desirability for commercial activities. Despite appalling conditions in the market, majority of the traders interviewed are opposed to the proposed re-development plan which promises to increase trading space and improve market facilities for fear of losing their market space due to mistrust of authorities. Traders believe that the proposed plan has the capacity to displace them from their current market space or bring about increases in rents and other fees which may affect their profit margin and consequently affect their livelihoods. The involvement of the various categories of traders is therefore essential in providing a market that will meet the needs of all. However, it could also lead to the exclusion of mostly illegal traders.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INFORMANTS (MARKET TRADERS)

Q/No

Name of Informant.....

Sex: Male Female

Age:

Marital Status: Married Single Divorced Widowed

If married, indicate for husband

Ethnicity: Age: Occupation:

Level of Education: Never Primary JHS SHS Technical/Vocational

Tertiary Other

Ethnicity: Place of Birth

How long have you been leaving in Takoradi?.....

Type of trade

Volume of trade: Wholesaler Retailer Other

1. How did you get into this trading activity?

.....

2. How did you raise your initial start up capital?.....

.....

a. Do you have a bank account for your business? Yes No

b. How do you sustain your business?

3. For how long have you been trading in the Market Circle?

4. Which type of location(s) do you trade from?

.....
5. How did you acquire your location?

.....
6. How much do you pay as rent?

7. Do you have other business(es)? Yes No

a. If yes, what kind?

b. Where are they located?

8. Do you have a paid/unpaid employee (s)/assistant(s)? Yes No

a. If yes for paid, specify number

b. If yes for unpaid, specify number, indicate relationship.....
.....

9. Where and how do you get your supplies?.....
.....
.....

10. Who are your major or main customers?.....
.....

11. What challenges do you face as a trader?.....
.....
.....

12. Do you belong to any association or union in the market? Yes No

a. If Yes, specify

b. Why did you choose this association over others?

c. How do you benefit from this association?.....
.....

13. Do you think that the market queen(s) represent(s) all the traders in your branch appropriately?.....

14. Are you satisfied with STMA's administration of the market? Yes No

a. If No, how do you want them to improve?.....

.....
.....

15. Have you heard about the redevelopment of the Market Circle? Yes No

a. If yes, how did you hear about it

.....

16. Have you been informed or consulted on the issue of redevelopment? Yes No

a. If yes, what form did it take?

b. When?.....

c. Where?.....

d. Who were present or involved?

e. What is your opinion about the redevelopment plans?

.....

f. What will happen to your business during the re-development?

17. Will you be willing to move if STMA proposes relocation to a new site? Yes No

a. If yes, why?

.....

b. If no, why?.....

APPENDIX 2

Market Leaders/Queens

1. What is your role as a market queen/chairman/president?
2. For how long have you been trading in this market and how did you become the market queen/chairman/president?
3. How does a person become a seller in this market?
4. How do you organize yourselves as traders in this market?
5. How many recognized associations or unions do you have in the market?
6. How is your relationship with the authorities and other traders?
7. What challenges do you face in your trading activities?
8. How would you describe traders' involvement in planning issues about the market by the STMA?

APPENDIX 3

Group Interview with Market Traders

1. What are your sources of capital and how do you keep your trading moving?
2. How do you benefit from market associations?
3. Are you aware of any plans to redevelop the Market Circle?
4. If yes, how did you get to know?
5. What do you think of the authorities' plan to redevelop the market?
6. Would you say that you have been well informed and involved in the planning process?
7. What challenges do you face as traders?
8. How do you deal with issues that affect you as traders?
9. What should be done with the Market Circle now that Takoradi is growing so much?
10. What do you think can be done to make life comfortable for you as traders?

APPENDIX 4

STMA Officials

General information about Takoradi in terms of:

Historic/Economic/Cultural/Political background.....

Who oversees all the activities in the market?

Planning Officers/ PRO

1. What roles do planning officers play in STMA's administration of the Market Circle?
2. Can you give a brief history about the Takoradi Market Circle and your role in its administration?
3. What was the initial plan for the market circle? In terms of sheds/stalls/capacity and other facilities?
4. How can you relate or account for what the market is now and the original plan for it?
5. List the various facilities provided by STMA in the market.
6. What are your plans for the redevelopment of the Market Circle (into a modern shopping centre)?
7. Have the traders been informed about this?
8. In what form, when, where, how were they informed?
9. What is the nature of the investment? Type, nationality?
10. How soon will the plans be implemented?
11. Have you sought the views of the traders on how to plan the new market?
12. How different will the new market be from the current one? In terms of capacity, facilities and operations?
13. How will allocation of stalls in the new market be done?
14. What possible challenges can you foresee in the planning process of the new market?

15. What will happen to the traders during the construction period?

Revenue Office

1. On what basis do you collect the revenue? Do all traders pay the same amount? Do you have a classification for collecting revenue?
2. How many stalls or shops are there in the market?
3. How many traders are registered as shop owners?
4. How much revenue do you derive from the market (rents) and traders (fees) annually?
5. What challenges do you encounter in revenue collection?

Safety and Security

1. How do you ensure that the market is well secured for the traders?
2. What are your regulations concerning general security; fire and burglary?
3. Have you experienced any fire outbreak in the last decade?
4. What are your major challenges as a unit?

Health and Sanitation

1. What role do you play in the market?
2. How do you manage sanitation in the market?
3. How many lavatories are there in the whole market?
4. Are the lavatories managed by the STMA/private individuals or companies?
5. Do traders pay for waste disposal?
6. How are traders billed?
7. What are your major challenges as a unit?

Market Superintendent

1. What is the nature of the administrative ladder of the market?

2. What role do you play as the market superintendent?
3. What challenges do you encounter in performing your duties?
4. How do you address issues of conflict, flout of market regulation among others?
5. What is the estimated population of the traders?
6. What is the ratio of male to female traders?
7. How is the relationship between you and the traders?
8. When was the recent decongestion exercise undertaken and why?
9. Which traders were affected in the decongestion exercise?
10. Were the traders informed about it?
11. How many recognized associations or unions are there in the market?

APPENDIX 5

Interview guide for customers

Gender Age

1. How long have you been staying in Takoradi? Indicate specific location
2. Why do you come to buy in Takoradi?
3. What is your perception of this state of the Market?
4. What do you think can be done to make the market a better place for shopping?
5. Have you heard about re-development of the market? What is your opinion on that?