Conceptualizing the Effects of Neoliberal Urban Policies on Housing Rights:
An Analysis of the Attempted Unlawful Forced Eviction of an Informal Settlement in Accra, Ghana

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FIGURE LIST

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Increasing economic globalization and the spread of neoliberalism have drastically shaped the way cities are developing across the globe. Whilst a vast array of political economy writing has focused on dissecting the effects of these processes on urban development and housing rights in industrialized countries as well as emerging markets such as India, the Asian Tiger states and Latin American countries, there is a marked lack of scholarship on the impacts of these global forces on Sub Saharan African (SSA) cities.

The remainder of the introductory chapter will present the research approach and limitations and provides definitions of the concepts "globalization" and "neoliberalism" in order to situate the analysis in its broader context.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework within which the analysis will be conducted. It introduces the main tenants of political economy theory on city development in the era of globalization and neoliberalism. As such the investigation aims to uncover how the quest to increase international city competitiveness (as previously done in cities like London, NY, Tokyo and more recently Mumbai, Shanghai and others) in many cases leads to "gentrification, waves of property development, and the increasing "high-endness" of construction, which means that cities become increasingly shaped as places for higher classes" (Harvey 2008 (2), p.1), and through this process marginalize and remove citizenship rights of lower income groups. The notion of "forced evictions" in the name of urban regeneration and public benefit will be explored as one of the most pronounced forms of marginalization in this context.

The analysis then turns to Henry Lefebvre's "Right to the City" theorem as a powerful theoretical notion and starting point to develop meaningful alternatives to existing power relations in urban areas. The analysis will be complimented with an examination of practical attempts by civil society, to counter the increasing marginalization of residents in cities around the globe, and to (re)claim citizenship rights.

Chapter 3 examines the case of "Old Fadama", the largest slum in Ghana capital city Accra, where residents successfully used collective community action with the help of Shack-dwellers International and various local and international NGOs to halt an illegal forced eviction attempt by the local authorities. As highlighted above, the analysis seeks to contribute to the academic literature on the effects of neoliberalism on African cities, and to this end the theoretical framework set out in chapter two will be used to uncover the circumstance in which the government sought to evict, as well as to present and analyze the subsequent local urban movement that formed as part of a larger international housing rights movement in order to contest the eviction and find alternative solutions. Chapter 4 concludes the paper by using the case study analysis to draw broader conclusions, in order to provide some thoughts on the scope for consolidation of a global right to the city movement.
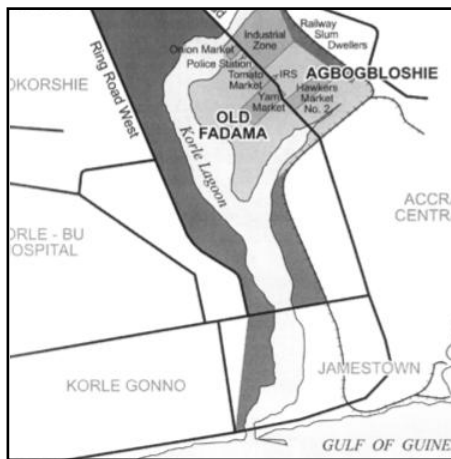
Research Approach and Limitations

The analysis of this paper was conducted using secondary academic and professional literature, including articles published in peer-reviewed journals, NGO and CBO reports, newspaper articles and official documentation from UN Habitat.

The author acknowledges the limitations of analyzing a case study without conducting primary research. More specifically, the lack of direct accounts from the community either in the form of primary data or secondary literature, presents a significant limitation to this research. In order to curb this shortcoming, academic literature has been supplemented with secondary literature written by the stakeholders listed above, in order to ensure a balanced representation of the case.

A further issue to note refers to initial difficulties in naming and defining the settlement area of the case study. The reviewed reports, and articles use three different names for the same settlement, "Old Fadama", "Agbogbloshie" and "Soddom and Gomorrah", as well as differing total areas and settlement boundaries. The author concludes that the case study area is the informal settlement of "Old Fadama" that sits adjacent to Agbogbloshie (See Figure 1), a formal settlement that has degenerated into a slum (Grant 2006).

Figure 1: Old Fadama Settlement

Source: Grant 2006

Concepts and Definitions
Globalization
There has been a considerable scholarly debate about whether the late 1970s and early 80s mark the beginning of globalization or whether this process has been ongoing for centuries (Appadurai 2001). Smith (2002) argues that globalization is an age-old constantly changing process, to which the globalization of production capital was added in the 1980s. As Marx and Adam Smith had already recognized the existence of commodity capital and a global market, as global financial capital exchanges were at their height prior to World War I and as culture has always been a hybrid ever changing phenomenon he proposes that "the new globalism can be traced back to the increasingly global – or at least international – scale of economic production" (Ibid p.432).

Harvey (2008) also contests the notion of globalization as a new phenomenon and highlights the flaw of perceiving it as an intangible force that is not place bound, as it is inherent in the capitalist project to amend existing and create new territorial configurations to increase capital accumulation. The quest for investment opportunities is inherent in the logic of capitalism and has been expanding rapidly beyond nation state boundaries since the dismantling of capital controls in the 1970s. Thus, globalization is a central facet of capitalist expansion to increase capital accumulation (Ibid).

> Capitalist development … unfolds through the production of historically specific patterns of socio-spatial organization in which particular territories, places, and scales are

mobilized as productive forces - whether in the form of agglomeration economies, regional production systems, infrastructural configurations, transportation and communications networks, or spatial divisions of labour. It is in this sense that the long-term survival of capitalism is premised upon the "production of space" (Brenner and Theodore 2002, p.7).

Neoliberalism
Neoliberalism can be defined as a flexible, constantly changing programme to advance capital accumulation. Free market and trade principles, flexible labour laws, the protection of private property, privatization and deregulation are some of its most poignant features (Routledge 2003, Peck and Tickell 2002). As such neoliberalism and the globalization of economic production and capital flows are both essential tools for capital accumulation.

The current era of neoliberalism stands in stark contrast to the "Fordist-Keynesian Golden Age" (Ibid 385), which was characterized by a state engaged in macro-economic management, institution guiding and social integration. "Whereas neoliberal ideology implies that self-regulating markets will generate an optimal allocation of investments and resources, neoliberal political practice has generated pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarization, and dramatic intensification of uneven development at all spatial scales" (Brenner and Theodore 2002, p.5). Whilst neoliberal ideology has become the primary mode of capitalist accumulation, its form and content change whenever such market failures become too apparent. The most significant shift transformed the initial "roll-back" neoliberalism of the 1980s, characterized by a focus on market led economic growth and the removal of the welfare state in the US and Europe, and the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) on developing countries, into "roll-out" neoliberalism, where the state again assumes a greater role, but primarily as a gatekeeper of the neoliberal project, to ensure a stable investment climate and keep in check those marginalized during the period of roll-back neoliberalism (Ibid, Peck and Tickell 2002). Neoliberalism's strength and main survival technique then is its dynamism and the ability to adjust and bring about institutional and policy changes to curb and displace crisis encouraged by market and state failures generated by its on political framework, and to

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profit from such adjustments at the same time (Ibid).

What we are currently witnessing is a process of neoliberalization that takes a different shape in each nation state, depending on pre-existing institutional practices, regulatory environments, socio-political power relations and space use (Ibid). Neoliberalism is not monolithic in its application, but is producing hybrid, constantly changing forms that are geographically and historically contingent (Ibid). Nevertheless, there are certain patterns by which the neoliberal paradigm is spreading globally. These dominant patterns will be highlighted and analysed below in order to gain a better understanding of how neoliberalism and globalization have affected the development of cities and citizenship around the globe.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
Globalization, Neoliberalism and the City
Increasing economic globalization and the spread of neoliberalism have drastically shaped the way cities are developing across the globe. In the early 1990s Sassen's Global Cities theorem (1991) presented a stepping-stone in the analysis of the increasing importance of strategically located and specially resourced cities for the emerging globalized production system. Sassen argued that the increasingly global nature of production, finance and information systems have led transnational corporations (TNCs) to develop agglomeration economies of control and command functions in strategically important cities, which were at the time New York, London and Tokyo (Purcell 2003, Sassen 1995). Corporations, she argued, take advantage of economies of scale and use these "Global Cities" as the central marketplace for key industries, as central hubs for research and development and as head office for the organization of the world economy (Ibid).

Mirroring the effects of these fast pacing global economic processes, Sassen (2002) expanded her list of global cities to include Paris, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Sydney and Hong Kong among others and suggested that a vast array of cities of newly industrialising countries and Asian Tiger states such as Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Bangkok, Taipei, Bombay and Mexico City are gaining increasing importance in the global economy.

In her 2009 article, Sassen revisits her global cities theorem to explain the growing importance of non-command centre cities. She now argues that while only a small number of cities have the prerequisites to become "Global Cities", we are witnessing the increasing importance of cities in providing central service functions for their surrounding regions. As most production sectors increasingly rely on intermediate legal, IT, consulting and other services, these smaller regional cities are developing the necessary professional class and urban environs to provide them. "Global Cities" set themselves apart only in that they have the resources to deal with the complex requirements of TNCs (Ibid).

Whilst Sassen provides a useful starting point for the analysis of the increasing importance of cities for global capital accumulation, her account remains largely focused on production processes without a complementary analysis of the socio-political issues these developments create. Her global cities theorem falls short of explaining the increasingly complex relationships between cities and does not provide an analysis of how these emerging spaces are (re)constructed (Smith 2002), especially bearing in mind the increasing competition between them. The next section provides an analysis of how neoliberalism and globalization have shaped cities and which socio-political and socio-economic outcomes this has created.

Effects of Neoliberal Policies on Cities
A significant body of political economy literature analyses the changes in urban governance that accompany neoliberalization. Brenner, Peck and Theodore (2009) highlight that we are witnessing the interiorisation of neoliberalism in urban policy through the reorientation from redistribution to competition, institutional rescaling (giving greater powers to sub- and supranational levels) and through the revitalization of the urban economy through privatisation, liberalisation, decentralisation, de-regulation and increased fiscal discipline. Mechanisms of:

> international and inter-local policy transfer which take place along channels that have been created, structured, and lubricated by technocratic elites, think tanks, opinion-formers, consultants, and policy networks have been rapidly established as one of the principal modes of policy development in strategically critical fields such as

systemic financial stability, the management of urban "underclasses" the regulation of contingent labour markets, and the displacement of welfare entitlements with socially authoritarian packages of rights and responsibilities (Peck and Tickel 2002, p 394).

Harvey's notion of urban entrepreneurialism is a valuable concept for the analysis of socio-political issues that arise with these urban governance and policy changes. According to him, we are witnessing a shift from the urban managerialism of the Keynesian city to the urban entrepreneurialism of the neoliberal city. In order to attract global production and investment capital, cities are increasingly entering into global urban competition. "During the … phase of neoliberal entrepreneurialism, urban governance has moved more … into line with the naked requirements of capital accumulation." (Ibid, p.393). This is done by redeveloping existing and building new consumption oriented urban space to attract the global urban elite, by reproducing perceived ideals of waterfront developments, cultural spectacles and enterprise and trade zones (Ibid).

> Zero-sum competition at the interurban scale rests on the economic fallacy that every city can win, shored up by the political reality that no city can afford principled non-involvement in the game" (Ibid, p.394)… "In selling themselves, cities are therefore actively facilitating and subsidizing the very geographic mobility that first rendered them vulnerable, while also validating and reproducing the extra local rule systems to which they are subjected" (Ibid, p 393).

In addition we are witnessing changes in existing articulations of citizenship. Formal citizenship refers to formal membership to a nation state, whereas substantive citizenship refers to civil, economic, political and cultural rights citizens enjoy within a given society (Appadurai and Holsten 1996). Whilst access to substantive rights are in theory dependent on full formal citizenship, globalization and neoliberalization are increasingly challenging this correlation. Urban development policy increasingly grants substantive citizenship rights to owners of global capital that lack formal citizenship rights, whilst substantive rights are increasingly withheld from marginalized residents that have de facto formal citizenship rights (Ibid).

Urban Regeneration, Gentrification and Marginalization

The regeneration of strategically vital city space is developing into one of the most essential means by which cities attempt to increase their competitiveness to attract global capital. Harvey (2008) notion of "accumulation through dispossession" provides a powerful account of the role of urban regeneration and gentrification that helps to illuminate the social, political and economic effects of such policies on city dwellers.

He argues that the transformation of urban space through the process of creative destruction is the means by which capitalism achieves surplus absorption. This process has a vital class dimension, as low-income groups and those lacking political voice usually suffer the repercussions. Mid 18th century Paris was the first city to experience such fierce urban planning, characterized by the destruction of inner city slums and the displacement of most of the Parisian working class to the outskirts, by expropriating land and housing from residents in the name of public benefit. We are today witnessing the effects of this process of gentrification in Paris, through regular unrests and revolts in the banlieues (French suburbs) that trap the French underclass (Ibid).

Smith (2002) describes a similar, albeit less ruthless process of gentrification in post war London. During the 1960s middle class residents began occupying typical working class areas. Once leases expired, the rundown housing structures were renovated and passed on to higher income groups. "Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it advances rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Ibid, p 439).

> The growth of the big modern cities gives the land in certain areas, particularly in those areas which are centrally situated, an artificially and colossally increasing value; the buildings erected on these areas depress this value… because they no longer belong to the changed circumstances…This takes place above all with workers' houses which are situated centrally and whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never… increase above a certain

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maximum. They are pulled down and in their stead shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected (Harvey, 2008, p 34).

Startlingly this process described by Friedrich Engels in 1872 still holds. It is now applied much more systematically to advance global capital accumulation, through the implementation of urban regeneration policies that "disguise" the project of gentrification (Smith 2002).

This practice that began in the global North, has become non discriminatory and is increasingly affecting cities around the world. Most cities now have a "City Development Strategy" and employ western international consultants that take exorbitant fees for transferring western planning ideas across the globe. With international organizations and consortia such as the World Bank and Cities Alliance pressing for and co-developing such strategies, we are witnessing the globalization of urban regeneration and with it the gentrification of a vast array of city space. "Gentrification as global urban strategy" (Smith 2002, p 446) has become the "consummate expression of neoliberal urbanism" (Ibid). The origins of the term "regeneration" lie in ecology and biomedicine and it is generally used to describe developments of organs, species or plants. The term is drawn on in this context to suggest that urban regeneration is a natural process to disguise the inequalities, marginalization and unjust power relations inherent in regeneration strategies (Ibid).

Forced Evictions
Forced evictions refer to the process of removing people from their home without their consent. They are generally "planned, formulated and …announced" prior to execution (Ibid, p 2) and are conducted against both individuals and groups. In most cases the process violates a variety of human rights and whilst a great number of different actors, including governments, private developers, planners, landlords, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and aid agencies can potentially be involved, the responsibility to prevent such evictions lies with the government (Ibid).

Forced evictions are prevalent in both developed and developing countries across the globe. According to COHRE (2006) over 5,6 million cases were reported between 2003 and 2006 alone, 2 million of which occurred in

Figure 2: Forced Evictions by Region

Estimated Number of Reported Forced Evictions by Region: 2003-2006	
Africa	2,004,171
Asia and the Pacific	3,452,093
Europe	16,127
The Americas	174,180
Total	**5,646,571**

Source: (COHRE 2006)

Africa. Forced evictions often displace entire communities and are targeted at poor residents living in informal settlements and slums (Ibid). They have a multiplicity of often interrelated causes, including infrastructure and development projects, international sporting events, such as the Olympic Games, political conflict and ethnic cleansing, environmental restoration projects, social exclusion and demographic control (Ibid, Du Plessy 2005, UN Habitat 2007). However, the practice is increasingly used as a tool to rid strategically located sites of low-income groups and free valuable land to attract global capital. It is this phenomenon that this paper will focus on.

According to COHRE and UN AGFE, at least 60 country governments used forced evictions as a development tool between 2003 and 2006, many of which have adopted international human rights covenants that protect the right to housing (COHRE 2006).

Lawful Versus Unlawful Forced Evictions
As highlighted above, most forced evictions are in breach of a large number of human rights, such as the right to adequate housing, which "has been expressed in …numerous human rights instruments, most notably the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights" (ICESCR) (UNCHR 2005, p 8). The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child are additional covenants that facilitate the protection of persons from forced evictions (Ibid).

There exists an important distinction between lawful and unlawful forced evictions (Ibid). Forced evictions are lawful where exceptional circumstances apply and international human right standards (including

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the exploration of alternatives to eviction, community consultation prior to the eviction and the preparation of a resettlement plan) are respected to allow for the protection of the right to adequate housing. Forced evictions are unlawful where exceptional circumstances do not exist and/or international human rights standards are not adhered to. (UNCHR 2005).

Whilst, international treaties are legally binding, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) still lacks an effective international complaints procedure. Law enforcement is thus left to national authorities. It is an unfortunate fact that many governments have signed the ICESCR, without adopting housing rights legislation in their municipal law, which leaves citizens with little domestic legal remedies to contest evictions (Ibid).

Socio-economic Impact of Forced Evictions
Illegal forced evictions increase poverty and asset vulnerability (UN Habitat 2002), and directly counter the efforts to fulfil target 4 of Millennium Development Goal number 7[1]. The lack of adequate compensation regularly results in homelessness, social conflict and disproportionately affects the poor and marginalized, such as children, women, and minority groups (COHRE 2006). Many evictees develop distrust in the political system, and suffer from emotional, physical and psychological trauma that are at times so bad that attempted suicides are regular occurrences once eviction orders have been served.

As stated above, an adequate resettlement plan is essential in order fulfil minimum international human rights standards. However, even where communities are resettled residents seldom receive financial compensation to rebuild dwelling units and the new sites are often distant from income generating activities and lack basic infrastructure and services, such as schools, health services and shopping facilities (UNCHR 2005). The impacts of such resettlement are often detrimental and include increased poverty, higher transportation costs, inferior housing conditions and social and cultural isolation (UNCHR 2005). Forced evictions increase inequalities, discrimination, and ghettoization (COHRE 2006) and can thus be characterized as a process of "de-housing…[with] families…often set back years in their struggle for survival and development" (UN Habitat 2007, p. 60)

Forced Evictions in Africa
Despite the lack of scholarly research on the effects of globalization and neoliberalism on African cities, there is substantive evidence that many SSA nations are using forced evictions as an urban development tool. According to COHRE (2006) 19 African countries conducted forced evictions between 2003 and 2006 and Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe all forcefully evicted residents in the name of urban regeneration, albeit having ratified the ICESCR.

Figure 3: Forced Evictions Over 10 years

Reported Forced Evictions, Selection of 7 Countries, 1995-2005 (Total Number of Persons Evicted)								
Year	Zimbabwe	Indonesia	China	Bangladesh	Nigeria	India	South Africa	Total
1995	6500	300	336 754		17 300	6 550	86 965	454 369
1996		272 182	336 754	25 580	253 105	165 790	112 151	1 156 562
1997	200	272 182	336 754	22 000	15 000	65 000	128 996	840 132
1998			336 754			172 000	65 771	574 525
1999			336 754	100 205	300	2 460	88 223	527 942
2000			336 754		1 201 100	177 455	57 230	1 772 539
2001	8300	49 205	336 754	63 750	7 500	450	27 924	498 883
2002	250 000	3 000	439 754		165	950	62 878	756 747
2003		5 184	686 779		12 000	150 850	138 380	993 121
2004	5000	39 184	467 058	21 552	7550	20 715	56 813	617 872
2005	704 300	4 425	187 064	9 355	820 413	363 795	1420	2 090 772
Total	974 300	645 662	4 142 933	242 442	2 334 433	1 117 015	826 679	10 283 464

Source: AGFE 2007

Figure 3 presents the pervasiveness of forced evictions in three African countries. Between 1995 and 2005 South Africa's eviction record counts almost 900,000 evicted persons, Zimbabwe's almost 1 million, and Nigeria, the worst housing rights violator in Africa (COHRE 2006) and most likely second in the world after China, evicted a staggering 2.3 million people during this period.

Urban Resistance Movements

Forced evictions in the name of urban regeneration and public benefit then embody one of the most sophisticated forms of marginalization and a clear removal of substantive citizenship rights. The following section presents Lefebvre's "Right to the City" as a powerful theoretical notion and starting point to develop meaningful alternatives to existing power relations in urban areas. The analysis will be complimented with an examination of practical attempts by civil society, to counter the increasing marginalization of residents in cities around the globe, and to (re)claim substantive citizenship.

(Re)claiming the "Right to the City"
Lefebvre's "Right to the City"
The "Right to the City" paradigm, developed by the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre in 1968, severely challenges 20th century urban political and social structures (UNESCO and UN Habitat 2009). In the context of the continuing marginalization of the Parisian working class, Lefebvre sought to empower urban inhabitants to participate in the use and production of the urban space they live in, to shift the increasing importance of the city exchange value relative to its use value (Purcell 2002). Lefebvre contended that the city belongs to all those that work and live in it rather than to capitalist firms, hence the right and responsibility to shape this future should be shared amongst the inhabitants (Goldberg 2009).

Two essential citizens' rights lie at the heart of Lefebvre's ideas, the right to appropriate urban space and the right to participate in the production of this space (Purcell 2003).

In a move away from protecting individual property rights, the appropriation of urban space refers to residents' rights to use, occupy and shape urban space to work, play, and live (Ibid). Participation, the second essential component of Lefebvre's paradigm gives citizens a central role in the decision making on issues related to the production of urban space. The meaning of Lefebvre's notion of "centrality" is twofold, as he refers both to the central role citizens are to take in urban decision making processes, as well as the inhabitant "right to physically occupy, live in, and shape the central areas of the city" (Purcell 2003). Hence, the concept of "appropriation poses a direct challenge to …political-economic relationships that have been critical to the valorisation of urban space and the accumulation of capital in the modern era" (Purcell 2002, p 103).

Lefebvre's "Right to the City" is not a method for reform, but a quest for profound urban change that calls for the granting of full substantive citizenship rights at all levels of urban decision making. His paradigm was not developed as a solution to a specific problem, but to fundamentally challenge existing capitalist social relations and to allow for a new "urban politics of the inhabitant" (Purcell, 2002).

Whilst many scholars have adopted Lefebvre's radical ideas, there has been little theoretical exploration of what the "Right to the City" would look like and which challenges it may generate. Purcell (2002) argues that the complexities and outcomes of a fully executed version of Lefebvre's paradigm are manifold and impossible to predict. The fundamental shifts in power relations called for would signify that important decisions such as investment decision of foreign firms, would be made communally, as they influence the production of urban space. In contrast currently existing liberal democracies only provide basic decision-making powers to citizens, which are further limited by the state's restricted power over capital investments.

> Inhabitants may pursue the use value of urban space, but they may not necessarily pursue a Marxist notion of use value in contradistinction to exchange value. This indeterminacy and potential for undesirable outcomes has gone unchallenged in the bulk of the literature on the right to the city because of a pervasive and uncritical assumption that rights are inherently positive (Purcell 2002, p 105).

Right to the City Movements
Sassen (2002) argues that the new corporate city users hold an almost uncontested claim to the city, with which they seek to appropriate

strategic space. Where these claims are contested, citizens "use urban political violence to make their claims on the city, claims that lack de facto legitimacy enjoyed by the new business city users" (Ibid, p 169).

Whilst Sassen is right in asserting that these two extreme cases of city users exist, Lefebvre's "Right to the City" concept, has actually become the working slogan for a large variety of local and international urban and housing rights movements that are situated in the liminal space between these two extreme types. The following sections seek to analyze how the spread of economic globalization and neoliberal policies has led to the development of counteracting globalized social movements and collaborative efforts of Community Based Organizations (CBOs), national and international NGOs as well as the UN system in a struggle to claim urban citizens' rights around the globe.

Whilst there is no unified "Right to the City" movement, it can be divided into two characteristically different broad strands, one that incorporates formal, top down and institutional approaches largely focused on the (re)establishment and protection of individual rights (in particular human rights). This movement is largely led by the UN system in collaboration with NGOs and city governments to develop institutional frameworks to safeguard those rights and increase participatory processes (Mayer 2008).

The second strand incorporates a diverse set of more radical, bottom-up approaches of social and political urban contestations around the globe that are often centred around collective rights, each striving to (re)claim their substantive citizenship rights (Ibid). In many instances urban movements develop out of location and issue specific needs that often relate to the redistribution of social and economic resources. The opportunity lies in that some movements transcend their initial claim to economic, social and cultural rights to claim greater civic and political rights (Foweraker 2001).

> Struggles over the control and distribution of material and communal resources finally come to challenge the legitimacy of the dominant system decisions over this material control and distribution. Thus, in authoritarian conditions, specific struggles and universal rights are linked through the citizenship process, since the spotty

presence of social demands catalyses the struggle for these rights. (Foweraker and Landman 2000, p 30).

However, Stammer warns that changes requiring a considerable increase in state power (such as Marxism and Social Democracy for instance) would jeopardize the potential for changing the existing authoritative system. Instead the quest should be, and often is, one of increasing democracy by searching for political alternatives to the state (Stammer 1999).

Globalization from Below
The negative externalities and detrimental social costs of the globalization of capital and the neoliberlization of cities then are creating "new forms of translocal political solidarity and consciousness amongst those marginalized and excluded from the city they inhabit. The globalization of the neoliberal project has therefore been tendentially … associated with the partial globalization of networks of resistance" (Peck and Tickel 2002, p 399).

Appadurai (2001) and others (Purcell 2003, Holsten 2001) assert that we are witnessing the denationalization of citizenship, which is intrinsically linked to the politics of scale. The scales at which and between which politics is conducted are fluid and shift and change according to the needs of those in power. Globalization and neoliberlization have led to the declining importance of the national scale (which was of primary importance during the Fordist era) and the increasing importance of local and global scales (Ibid), both in terms of governance and in terms of citizenship and belonging.

Just as the Westphalian political model, with the nation state as primary political community, was too limiting for the increasing global process of capital accumulation, its accompanying liberal democratic citizenship is configured too restrictively to allow for resistance against the dominance of capital (Purcell 2003). Hence,

> a series of social forms has emerged to contest, interrogate, and reverse these developments and to create forms of knowledge transfer and social mobilization that proceed independently of the actions of corporate capital and the nation-state system… Social forms rely on strategies, visions, and horizons for globalization on behalf of the poor that

can be characterized as "grassroots globalization" (Appadurai 2000, p 3).

This "cross-border activism" is conducted through transnational networks striving to reconstitute substantive citizenship, through what Appadurai calls "deep democracy", characterized by "new horizontal modes for articulating the deep democratic politics of the locality" (Appadurai 2001, p 26) that may be issue based (with a focus on the environment, child labour, or housing rights for instance) or identity based (e.g. feminist, indigenous, diasporic). Each movement is (re)claiming a locally specific set of rights, with some calling for the execution of their officially existing substantive citizenship rights, others asking for reforms of the existing system or even for a complete transformation, they all request changes towards Lefebvre's ideal type "Right to the City".

Right to the city movements thus often span across the globe in the quest for solidarity, idea sharing and other forms of exchange and collaboration. There is no vertical hierarchy in the "Right to the City" movements. There is no central administration, no overarching goal channelled from a head office to subordinate local branches. Instead the network is a complex web of a multiplicity of small local movements, all fighting for similar issues, with some coming together to form a more global movement in the fight for a particular right. As such the global "Right to the City movement" is comprised of a set of horizontally aligned movements, with a complex set of relationships to one another.

Aligning Militant Particularism and Global Ambition
Being comprised of many horizontally aligned movements, Harvey suggests that some of these activist groups are extremely place based and express a "militant particularism". He sees scope for the militant ideas developed out of a particular place based experience to "get generalized and universalized as a working model for a new form of society that will benefit all humanity – what he terms "global ambition"" (Routledge 2003, p 337). In order to develop successful global networks of resistance, movements need to achieve a balance between their militant particularism and learn to understand the ambiguities that are intrinsic to transnational collaborations (e.g. different gender or race relations of participating movements) in order to create "a more transcendent and universal politics, combining social and environmental justice,

that transcends the narrow solidarities and particular affinities shaped in particular places" (Routledge 2003, p 337).

Whilst Harvey presents a strong vision for societal transformation towards Lefebvre "Right to the City" the reality on the grounds is quite different. Whilst existing small scale local, national and international networks and movements all work on similar issues, they have not formed one broad "Right to the City" movement that incorporates all of the pressing issues the individual movements are fighting for. Harvey (2008) himself states that existing urban opposition movements are not connected to one another. They each deal with one or several issues, such as environment, shelter, social exclusion, production systems and employment laws, but fail to address the underlying system that has created them. He suggests that a concerted "Right to the City" movement will need to address all of these issues and form one internationally coherent movement to gain momentum (Mayer Brenner and Marcuse 2008).

However, there are a number of hurdles before the formation of such a revolutionary unified movement. As asserted before, the neoliberal agenda has successfully adapted institutions and encouraged specific policies to weaken existing and prevent the development of new global networks of resistance. Mainstreaming and co-option of individual movements and causes by governments and international organizations plays a large role in this process. Many social movements engage in negotiations with local authorities and agree to solutions that result in minor shifts within the existing system. In their analysis on participatory approaches in Latin America (LA) on Gilbert and Ward (1984) point out how participatory development approaches can easily be used by governments to maintain existing power relations and to prevent a shift towards greater citizens" rights. Furthermore, whilst mainstreaming issues such as "housing rights" is an important process to ensure global awareness and protection of rights through the international legal system, these mechanisms often focus on individual rights, provide very little de facto protection (as highlighted above on the limited powers of the international legal system to get involved in forced eviction cases), and cause movements seeking more radical solutions to die down.

Furthermore, many movements are unable to transcend the local particularism of their

cause. And whilst some activists may in principle want to become part of a larger global movement, even after they have successfully fought for their specific cause, they may not necessarily be willing to engage in a global struggle on issues that lie beyond their everyday experiences.

The issues raised above highlight the complexities of creating a unified right the city movement. The next chapter presents the case of "Old Fadama", the largest slum in Ghana capital city Accra, where residents successfully used collective community action in collaboration with Shack Dwellers International to halt an unlawful forced eviction attempt by the local authorities. The chapter concludes by using the case study analysis to draw broader conclusions around the possible scope for consolidation of a global right to the city movement.

CHAPTER 3. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS
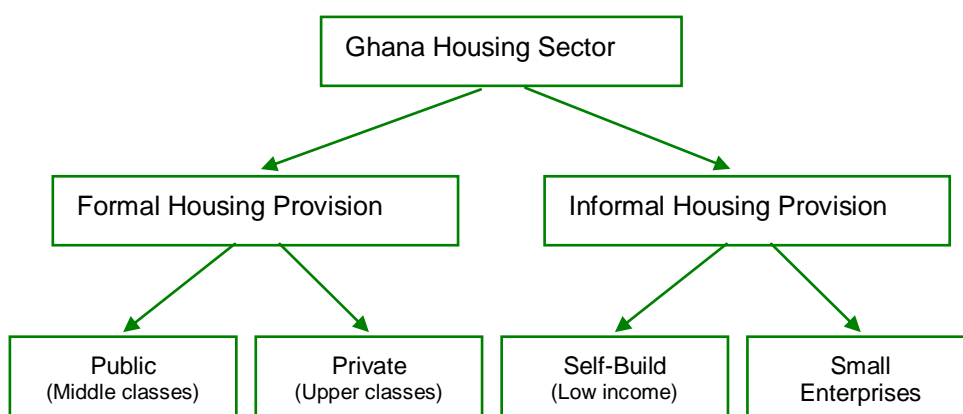### Case Study Background
Ghana's Housing Sector
According to UN Habitat (2008) 70% of Ghana urban residents live in slums that are characterized by poor shelter, infrastructure and sanitation and are frequently subject to flooding and fire outbreaks. Whilst the roots of Ghana's urban problems are multifaceted, an overview of the country's housing policy history sheds light on some of the causes of these negative developments.

Ghana's housing supply is provided by a combination of the formal and informal sectors, each of which consists of two "sub-sectors". The formal sector is provided for by both the public sector (state owned enterprises that supply social housing primarily for the middle classes) and a formal private sector (which as

profit maximizer primarily provides housing for high income groups). The informal sector, is comprised of self-builders and small-scale enterprises and has been responsible for around 80% of Ghana total housing provision as it is the only alternative available to low income groups (Arku 2009). The country operates a customary land system alongside a relatively small formal state land tenure system, and a large percentage of housing stock is built without official freehold rights. Despite these issues, the Government of Ghana (GoG) has continuously channelled its resources towards the formal sector, believing that it is better positioned to deal with the country's unmet urban housing needs (Ibid).

In line with the global spread of the first wave of neoliberalism, the GoG implemented International Monetary Fund and WB "sponsored" SAPs in the 1980s. Policies affecting the housing sector included the fostering of the private real estate sector and the provision of incentives to the formal private sector to entice the provision of social housing, the liberalization of the building material industry and land markets, reform of existing housing institutions and the retreat of the state in the direct provision of public services including housing. Whilst SAPs encouraged significant overall economic growth of the Ghanaian economy it also caused negative effects through the neoliberal shifts from a state as primary provider towards a state as facilitator (Arku 2009). The country now faces an overproduction of housing for high-income earners (built by profit motivated developers) and an underproduction of housing for low-income earners. Hence, the continued dependence on the informal sector for housing provision in urban areas (Konadu-Agyemang 200, Arku 2009).
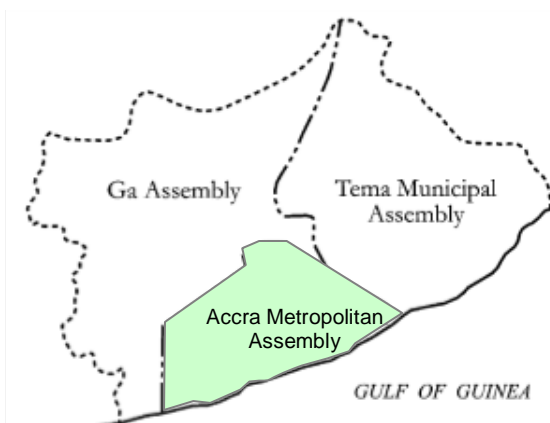
Figure 4: Ghana's Housing Sector

Source: Authors own graphic illustration of Arku 2009

Figure 5: Map Of Ghana
Source: Enchanted Learning

Figure 6: Greater Accra Metropolitan Area
Base Map Source: Grant and Yankson

The Greater Accra Metropolitan Area
(GAMA) comprises the *'Accra
Metropolitan Assembly'* (AMA) area
(which is primarily made up of the
city of Accra), the *'Tema Municipal
Assembly'* and the *'Ga District
Assembly'* (Grant and Yankson
2003).

Housing Rights in Ghana
Chapter 5 of the Ghanaian constitution
protects all citizens' human rights and
freedoms (UN Habitat 2008), including "the
right of non-interference with the privacy of
one's home as well as protection from the
deprivation of one's property" (Ibid, p.1). In
addition the GoG has ratified the ICESCR, as
well as the International Covenant on Civil and
Political Rights (ICCPR). However, the
Ghanaian authorities have not adopted
international housing rights legislation in the
national constitution, which results in a lack of
national legal mechanisms Ghanaians can use
to claim their right to housing.

Furthermore, despite the constitutional
protection of human rights and the ratification
of international housing rights agreements, the
GoG has not shied away from large-scale
illegal forced evictions in the name of public
benefit (COHRE 2006). Between 2003 and
2006 alone, 7000 people were forcibly evicted
from Lake Volta in Digya National Park to free
up the area for the implementation of
alternative land use plans, 800 persons were
forcibly moved from Legion Village by the
Ghanaian armed forces and 2000 traders lost
their livelihoods through an unlawful forced
eviction from Accra's Kantamanto Market
(Ibid).

Accra Overview
With an official population estimate of almost
1,7 million [2] (the actual population figure is
likely to be significantly higher due to to
prevalence of informality that is not captured in
official census data) and an annual growth rate
of 3.4% (AMA), Accra is Ghana official capital
and largest city, as well as its main economic,
financial and transportation hub (UN Habitat
(1)). The city developed from a collection of
fishing villages into a town when the colonial
headquarters were relocated from Cape Coast
in 1877 (Konadu-Agyemang 2001).

Heavy urban bias policies during the colonial
period, in particular those fostering Accra into
the country's economic powerhouse, led to
steady flows of migration to the capital. This
policy approach was sustained by post
independence administrations after 1957,
which "led to a further widening of the socio-
economic and spatial disparities between
Accra and the rest of the country, and
enhanced the city's ability to pull migrants from
all over the country" (Konadu-Agyemang 2001,
p.18).

The results of this migration alongside the
incapacity of the changing city administrations
to manage existing spatial issues and plan for
future growth has led to a capital that is
predominantly unplanned and overcrowded
and is serviced by the informal sector. Accra
faces serious social, infrastructural,
environmental and housing related
deficiencies, including high poverty levels, a
lack of adequate solid waste management,
obsolete infrastructure in low income areas,

loss of green space and natural water bodies, frequent flooding caused by inadequate drainage systems and unsanitary and overcrowded bus and truck depots and markets (UN Habitat (1), Obetsebi-Lamptey). Just as the informal housing sector has become essential to low-income earners the informal economy has become the only source of income for over 40% of the city's residents (Grant and Yankson 2003, p 70).

Whilst living costs have been rising, wages were frozen with liberalization and user fees for essential welfare services, such as education and health were introduced (Konadu-Agyemang 2001). The result is a price to income ratio for private sector housing of 67:1 for a senior civil servant (Konadu-Agyemang 2001). The inability of the city administrations to deal with the housing supply shortages and the low levels of housing affordability of low income groups it has itself co-created, have directly contributed to the development of informal settlements, such as Usscher Town, Nima, Zongo, Maamobi, Labadi, Teshi and Old Fadama (Konadu-Agyemang 2001). In addition to hazardous housing structures and the lack of sanitation, infrastructure and services, low-income housing in these neighbourhoods is characterized by overcrowded housing units, with an average occupation rate of 5 households with 4 persons per household (Ibid).

Old Fadama

Old Fadama stretches across 146 hectares [3] and houses an estimated 25-40.000 residents, which makes it Accra's (and perhaps Ghana's) largest informal settlement (Grant 2006;

Old Fadama Settlement

Fig 7: Settlement Location Within Accra
Base Maps Source: Grant 2006

Homeless International (2)). The slum is located in the heart of Accra, to the North-west of the city's Central Business District (CBD), with the Odaw River, the Agbogbloshie Drain and the Abossey Okai Road serving as approximate settlement boundaries (see Figure 7). The settlement is built on public property and most residents do not hold titles to the land they have built upon. However, its existence as an informal settlement was officially recognized in 1981 (Shack-dwellers International (2)).

Old Fadama is comprised of a mix of residential and commercial informal developments that "contain a large number of niche food markets (e.g. those specializing in yams, onions, tomatoes, etc.), hawker markets, and small economic enterprises, and services… (hairdressing, food production, dressmaking etc.)" (Grant 2006, p.6). An estimated 10.000 local residents earn their living from business activities within the slum (Homeless International (2).

The politics of land and belonging in Old Fadama are highly complex and exceed the scope of this paper. It suffices to state that the settlement grew significantly throughout the 1990s. Much of this growth is attributed to official planning decisions, such as the AMAs "decongestion exercises in 1991 and 2005 to "temporarily" remove hawkers from the major intersections around Accra", as well as the relocation of the yam market to Old Fadama (Ibid, p 6), which brought with it a need for trustworthy labour that migrated from the country's yam producing areas. Furthermore the settlement received internally displaced people that fled to the capital from land conflicts in Northern Ghana in 1995, as well as middle class families that moved to the settlement from more costly housing due to the financial impacts of SAPs and population spill-over from the adjacent Agbogbloshie market area (AGFE 2007). Hence, Old Fadama turned into a popular residential and work place for many, due to its low rents and proximity to the city centre and central markets that provide ample income generating opportunities (Homeless International 2))

Present day Old Fadama is a high-density area primarily made up of self-built wooden kiosks and shacks that lacks adequate water and sanitation facilities. Due to the area's location between the Korle Lagoon and the banks of the river Odaw, flooding is a frequent issue (Ibid). Although the AMA implicitly recognised the settlement by providing

electricity and other services in the 1990s (AGFE 2007), residents live in precarious living conditions and have been facing the threat of illegal forced eviction since 2002, "when the local authority issued an eviction order to the residents with no provision for alternative land or housing" (Ibid, p 1), which was primarily justified as a necessity for the execution of the Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP) (COHRE 2004). Residents appealed against the order to the High Court, without success. In response the community sought international support from Shack-dwellers International (an umbrella organization of a network of international community based organizations) with which it succeeded in halting the unlawful forced eviction and created a constructive dialogue with the local authorities to develop alternative solutions (Grant 2006).

Analysis

Reasons for the Forced Eviction Attempt

A study of the Old Fadama settlement produced by COHRE (2004), suggests that the GoG had three reasons for the eviction order, the "illegal occupation" of the settlement, "health risks" for the residents and the settlements "physical location" adjacent to the Korle Lagoon. This section seeks to analyze the legitimacy of these claims and investigates whether there are additional motives that may have led to the attempted illegal forced eviction.

Illegal Occupancy

The GoG has identified Old Fadama's residents as squatters that have built illegal structures on public land allocated for alternative uses. The authorities insist that the settlement's existence prevents the execution of governmental restoration and rehabilitation plans and sets a negative precedent for urban land management (Grant 2006).

Despite Ghana unsustainable housing policies and the huge reliance on the informal sector for shelter provision the government is indifferent to the fact that the eviction of 25.000 to 40.000 residents without compensation would only exacerbate their current socio-economic and dire housing conditions. The position of Old Fadama residents" "exposes the GOG's failure to address the housing situation of the poor...People squat because there are no alternatives given the land and housing market" (Grant 2006, p13).

Health Risks

The GoG is concerned about the physical health risks associated with the recurring flooding and environmental degradation of the lagoon as well as the soil quality of the land the settlement is built on. However, COHRE's (2004) analysis concludes that restoring the lagoon and upgrading the settlement on site would mitigate all legitimate health concerns without requiring resettlement of the community. In addition, I contend that the GoG has failed to substantiate how the community health risks would be lessened if residents were forcibly evicted from their homes without adequate, alternative shelter and employment provision.

Physical Location

The Environmental and Social Impact Assessment commissioned by the GoG concludes that Old Fadama is the primary polluter of the Korle Lagoon (Ibid). On the contrary, COHRE's counter-study illustrates that "the assessment exaggerated the negative impacts of the settlement and... made demonstrable false statements...In fact far from being the main contributor, it was found that... [the settlement] accounts for less than 5% of the lagoons pollution load" (Du Plessis 2005, p 130).

An unrelated study on urban waste pollution in the Korle Lagoon conducted by the Department of Biological and Environmental Sciences at the University of Jyvaskyla, Finland supports this conclusion. "The lagoon receives water from a catchment area of 400 square metres [and 95% of Accra's wastewater] is discharged into open gutters and drains which flow into the Korle Lagoon, [as] none of the approximately 20, small-scale sewerage systems and sewage treatment plants in the city are operated or maintained in accordance with engineering designs" (Boadi and Kuitunen 2002). The city's waste management department only collects 60% of Accra daily garbage and the remaining 40% are released into surface drains, open spaces and water bodies that all flow into the Korle Lagoon. The discharges originate from a variety of sources and consist of untreated industrial waste effluents from garment and textiles, chemicals and cosmetics, and electrical and electronics industries, as well as schools and the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital and Polyclinic (which lacks a separate waste treatment facility) (Ibid).

Much of the lagoon degradation can be retraced to the GoG's inadequate environmental policy planning and legislation enforcement. Boadi and Kuitunen (2002) point

out that there "are many pieces of environmental legislation relating to marine areas. These include issues such as pollution control, environmental assessment, tourism and development and general conservation…Lack of co-ordination has however led to sectoral interests and non-implementation of decisions" (Ibid). In addition, a short-term refuse dump along the Lagoon shores (established in the early 1990) and the Waste Departments untreated human waste disposal plant at a beach near the southern Lagoon outlet, have all further exacerbated the dire environmental conditions of the Lagoon.

In summary, both the COHRE and Boadi & Kuitinen reports suggest that Old Fadama's residents are a minor pollution contributor to the Lagoon. COHRE highlights that an upgraded settlement could co-exist with KLERP. Boadi and Kuitinen conclude that the successful implementation of KLERP depends on political will and sufficient resources to ensure project sustainability as well as community involvement in the planning and implementation process. In addition they highlight the need to improve the Environmental Protection Agency's capacity to implement and enforce environmental standards on industrial activity in the catchment area of the lagoon to curb industrial pollution. The report further contends that adequate sanitation facilities should be provided to Old Fadama in order to reduce residents' contributions to the pollution of the lagoon. There is no reference to the settlement jeopardizing the restoration efforts. Furthermore, a concerted effort form the GoG to solve the prominent Old Fadama settlement issue in a sustainable fashion, "could provide the government with a model for informal land development that could be of major benefit to the future development of Accra" (Du Plessis 2005, p130).

Other Reasons for the Attempted Unlawful Eviction
As highlighted above, whilst presenting genuine concerns, the issues relating to Old Fadama's physical location, the residents' illegal status and potential health risks could all be mitigated with in-situ upgrading techniques. Furthermore, Old Fadama is clearly not the only illegal settlement in Accra. Informal communities exist throughout the region and have been tolerated by the GOG due to its own inability to supply alternative housing options (COHRE 2004). Residents of other settlements have not been threatened with forced eviction, which suggests that Old

Fadama represents a special case. The next section seeks to understand whether there are any additional reasons that led the GoG to serve the residents of Old Fadama the eviction note.

Grant (2006) argues that the Ghanaian authorities are under pressure due to "additional costs in the form of extra interest payments that are being incurred…due to delays in completion of the [KLERP] project, …[as the existing] loan terms require the removal of settlers to assist in the completion of the restoration" (Ibid, p 12).

This issue is of great concern. The OPEC Fund for International Development, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa and the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development directly fund KLERP. In turn KLERP is part of a larger environmental project titled the Accra Sustainable Project, which is jointly implemented by UN Habitat and the GoG (Boadi and Kuitunen 2002). According to these facts, the UN system is on the one hand producer and safeguard of universal housing rights and on the other hand is involved in an environmental restoration project that requires the involuntary resettlement of a large low-income community, despite the fact that two essential environmental counter studies have suggested that resettlement is not central to the successful implementation of the programme. This issue is especially sever as the ICESCR specifically calls for International Organizations to 'scrupulously avoid involvement in projects which …involve large-scale evictions…without the provision of all appropriate protection and compensation . . . Every effort should be made, at each phase of a development project, to ensure that the rights contained in the Covenant are duly taken into account ..." (UNCHS 2005, p 10).

Furthermore, the GoG believes that the settlement's existence "undermines urban planning efforts around the CBD. For instance, the current Strategic Planning Map, designates the entire area as a green space for future recreational use" (Grant 2006). It is evident that the AMA's urban regeneration strategy is based on the neoliberal approach to urban development. In order to rid the city of "menaces" such as street kiosks and informal settlements, Accra's city authorities have devised a planning strategy to create an environmentally sensitive and green city (Obetsebi-Lamptey). Using neoliberal planning lingo, Accra's Minister for Tourism

and the Modernization of the Capital City points out that:

> The modernization of capital cities all over the world have always been viewed from the stand point of social engineering…with the primary aim of making such places most competitive and turn them into the…destination of choice for international gatherings, tourism, investment etc. Ours is no exception. The National Capital Territory Planning Committee will have the appropriate authority to stop and cause the review of any project…that has the slightest impact on the catchment area. This is to facilitate cohesion and homogeneity. (Obetsebi-Lamptey) Furthermore he suggests that a modern capital city should be centred around a CBD and must be secure, safe and well structured through adequate zoning laws. It should boast historical monuments and tourist sites, provide adequate social amenities and public open space to its residents and must have adequate sanitation and waste management facilities (Obetsebi-Lamptey, p 3).

Furthermore he suggests that a modern capital city should be centred around a CBD and must be secure, safe and well structured through adequate zoning laws. It should boast historical monuments and tourist sites, provide adequate social amenities and public open space to its residents and must have adequate sanitation and waste management facilities (Obetsebi-Lamptey).

In line with Smith's (2002) assertion that language borrowed from ecology and biomedicine is used to disguise the negative effects of regeneration, Obetsebi-Lamptey describes Accra as a defective body that needs "regeneration".

> The CBD is the heart of a thriving city like the human anatomy, once the heart becomes defective, the body degenerates in tandem. Such is the tragedy of the national territory [4] (Obetsebi-Lamptey, p.8).

If we apply the GoG rational, Old Fadama becomes the antipode of the modern capital city, but its location right in the heart of Accra, adjacent to the CBD, provides opportunities for gentrification through regeneration. And so

the government (as well as much of the country press) has officially adopted derogative language and attitude toward Old Fadama, in order to diminish the settlement and its inhabitants, to the degree that they appear to have an alternative status within society, that of the sinner and outlaw.

The Ghanaian authorities have officially named Old Fadama "Soddom and Gomorrah" (COHRE 2004, Grant 2006, Boadi and Kuitunen 2002), as evident in presentations and official documents and maps (See Figure 8 which originates from the Survey Department of Ghana).
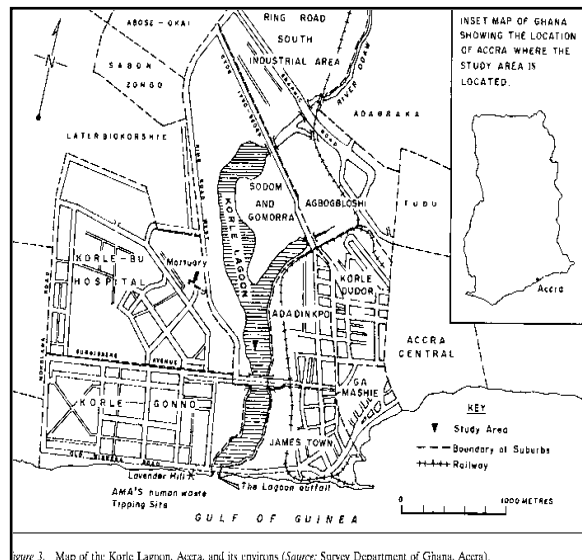

Figure 8: Accra Map
Source: Boadi and Kuitunen 2002

The feature Article "The Untold Story of "Sodom and Gomorrah"" published in a Ghanaian weekly News Magazine in 2002, depicts the following picture of the settlement, completely ignoring existing community spirit, advanced political and social configurations, the neighbourhood income generating opportunities for Accra poor and the settlement significant contribution to the city's food provision:

> On a … mid-Thursday afternoon stands a lady, almost nude, throwing water on her body. A group of young men sit idle meters away from her, chatting and puffing marijuana. Not far from her and just by a ramshackle that passes as a place of convenience besides a huge pile of refuse dump, two young men stick their knives into the carcass of a slaughtered sheep. Sex is nothing here; rape is

normal…Life here is the survival of the fittest. It unlike anywhere else. In short, the community, born barely 10 years ago, has emerged as an albatross, with its attendant cases of social vices. (Ogbamey 2002, p 1)

According to the Old Testament, Sodom and Gomorrah were ancient cities near the Dead Sea destroyed by god because of their "indecency and perverse sexual practices of their inhabitants… In Christianity and Islam, their names have become synonymous with impenitent sin and their fall with a proverbial manifestation of God's wrath" (Encyclopedia Mythica).

In depicting the settlement as Soddom and Gomorrah, the government is openly portraying its limited lifespan, as destruction is both forthcoming and legitimate. The law does not protect outlaws, as the crimes they have committed result in the removal of their substantive citizenship rights. They are physically within, but conceptually outside the boundaries of society. Legitimizing the eviction of outlaws from a place that even god would ultimately destroy due to the vices occurring within, is easily justifiable to a constituency, especially if the accompanying propaganda has resulted in the settlement being a no-go area for other residents due to fear of insecurity.

Halting the Old Fadama Eviction through Grassroots Globalization Efforts
The Old Fadama settlement has been socially and politically well organized since early settlement formation, even if the "community frameworks were not legible to the formal policy community" (Grant 2006, p 14). The settlement clearly resembles any other political community in that there exit power struggles, but it suffices to note that residents created "a common political front to oppose the threat of eviction" (Ibid). The community sought support from the Centre for Public Interest Law (CEPIL, a local NGO) and COHRE to contest the eviction note through official legal procedures. The first step was a joint letter of contestation from COHRE and others, which highlighted the four main transgression points of the eviction order from Ghana legal obligations:

- The GoG failed to consider reasonable alternatives to the eviction
- Residence were not consulted prior to the eviction order
- The advanced eviction warning period of two weeks was too short

- The GoG failed to provide alternative accommodation or sites to the residents (Du Plessis 2005, Centre for Public Interest Law)

Following the complaints letter, CEPIL appealed to the High Court on the basis of these violations. In responds the court issued a conclusion that represents a number of grave errors in international law and rejected the appeal (COHRE 2002). The failure of the Ghanaian authorities to adopt international housing rights legislation in its national constitution resulted in a lack of national legal mechanisms available to adequately fight the case.

The rejected appeal led the residents of Old Fadama to investigate alternative methods of contestation, which led to a collaboration with Shack Dwellers International (SDI). SDI began as a local grassroots organization named "National Slum Dwellers Federation" in Mumbai in the mid 1970s and gradually expanded through relationship building with federations in South Africa and Thailand. The organisation was officially founded as SDI in 1996, when it included federations in 14 countries across 4 continents, and is now a global horizontal network of local "urban activist movements" (Appadurai, 2001). The core task of SDI is to "organize and unite the poor to influence the way governments, international non-governmental organizations and TNCs discharge their obligations to the poor, particularly urban poor" (Shack-dwellers International (2)).

The publicity around the Old Fadama case and the residents" contacts with COHRE led to the involvement of the South African branch of SDI, with two coordinators visiting Old Fadama in 2003, while in Ghana for an international housing conference (Grant 2006). At the time of the exchange visit residents had already set up various savings groups in order to improve the physical environment of the settlement (Braimah, 2002). Hence, the visiting team concluded that Old Fadama inhabitants were sufficiently organized and willing to form a community based NGO that would be tasked with providing the necessary professional, technical and administrative support to create local CBOs that would provide support to residents in informal settlements to create savings and loan schemes and "ultimately build and support a federation of urban poor in Ghana" (Shack-dwellers International (2)).

For SDI the eviction note was merely a

symptom of the effects of poverty, marginalization and the lack of civic and political rights facing the residents of Old Fadama as well as many other informal settlements in Ghana (Appadurai, 2001). Hence, SDI did not focus specifically on halting the eviction, but instead sought to develop the socio-political and socio-economic strength of the community to enable them to claim their full substantive citizenship rights.

The NGO "People's Dialogue on Human Settlement" (PD) was created in 2003, in order to assist the community in setting up a national federation, formally known as "Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor" (GHAFUP) (Homeless International (2)). The GHAFUP leadership assisted the Old Fadama community in organizing and provided official representation before the GoG.

Within the first three years of inception PD and GHAFUP could lay claim on a number of political achievements for the Old Fadama community as well as more generally for Ghana urban poor. They had created a constructive dialogue with the Ghanaian authorities in order to stall the eviction and develop alternatives, and began addressing issues of marginalization of Ghana urban poor (Grant 2006, Homeless International (2).

The SDI model that began in Old Fadama in November in 2003, spread to the Agbogbloshie settlement a year later and has since been replicated in many informal settlements in Ghana. By 2005 the combined federations had 52 savings and housing schemes in 82 communities with a total membership of over 6,000 families. By 2005 PD and GHAFUP had expanded operations to four of Ghana largest urban localities, Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Ashaiman (Shack Dwellers International 2005b).

The SDI model crucial strategies and instruments are group exchanges, savings and loan schemes, local upgrading projects, settlement profiling and collaborative efforts with NGOs to create dialogues with government officials and other formal institutions (Grant 2006, Shack Dwellers International (2)). These instruments are applied to fulfil the organization overall mission to improve the urban poor's socio-economic and shelter conditions. PD activities are expanding to include upgrading of informal settlements, the development of adequate resettlement programmes to ensure the provision of decent housing for Ghana poor,

and setting up a special fund that enables financing of community driven development.

In 2005 around 12 federation members attended the Cooperative Housing Foundation Conference uninvited and were encouraged to join the discussion table with representatives of various ministries, national and international planning experts, consultants of the HFC Bank and others (Shack Dwellers International 2005b). During the event a large number of conference delegates acknowledged the need for greater community involvement in solving the countries housing crisis and welcomed the formation of PD and GHAFUP, as well as the international collaboration with SDI (Ibid).

Furthermore, the founding of both PD and GHAFUP and SDIs involvement in Ghana have secured collaborative efforts and support from a variety of international organization. Homeless International, a UK based charity that supports community led housing and infrastructure projects is providing financial support with grants from the UK Department for International Development and the Waterloo Housing Association, in a quest "to enable Ghana urban poor to realise rights to adequate housing, safe settlements, secure tenure and affordable infrastructure (Homeless International (3). Talks at the 2004 World Urban forum in Barcelona, resulted in a UN AGFE mission to Old Fadama in collaboration with the GoGs Department of Local Government and Rural Development in 2006. In addition a meeting of relevant Ghanaian ministries in 2005 resulted in the initial development of a relocation plan for Old Fadama's residents and the GoG requested UN Habitat and AGFE support to further develop the plan (AGFE 2007).

In summary, the Old Fadama community had managed to engage in collaborative efforts with the GoG in order to develop a viable alternative to the unlawful forced eviction. Whilst the community activism centred around a very situation specific issue, namely the planned unlawful forced eviction, it led to the development of a national urban movement that is now engaged in improving the lives of Ghana urban poor with a vast array of national and international support.

Despite these initial successes, Ghana urban poor have encountered numerous hurdles in their quest to claim full citizenship rights, and it remains to be seen if the resulting shifts in power-relations are real and long-lasting. One of the latest setbacks for Old Fadama

residents occurred as a result of severe violent clashes between supporters of different political parties within the settlement during the summer of 2009. Accra local authorities, under the city new mayor, immediately took the opportunity to label the settlement as a "risk to national security" and re-ordered the eviction that had been on hold since 2002. The threat of illegal forced eviction had once again returned to the community (Braimah, 2009).

However this time around, relationships between the residents and the Ghanaian branches of COHRE and Amnesty International prompted an immediately successful campaign against the AMA's renewed eviction plans. Furthermore, Ghana central government, the media, and the general public have all drastically changed their opinions about the community and now support the residents" requests for alternatives to the illegal forced eviction (Ibid)

Reporting on the latest developments in the Old Fadama case, Farouk Braimah from PD highlights that within three weeks the anti-eviction campaign has managed to create renewed dialogue with the municipal authorities, as the new mayor is now open to discussions and partnerships with representatives of the Old Fadama community (Ibid). Although the renewed eviction attempt poses questions regarding any changes to power-relations the Ghanaian urban movement has been able to achieve, the speed of the collective response and support from the central government, the media and Accra's wider community are a clear sign that Ghana urban poor have come a long way in the process of claiming their right to the city.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper set out to open up the debate on the effects of neoliberalism and globalization on cities in SSA. To this aim, the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 2 was used to analyse the attempted forced eviction of an informal settlement in Accra, in order to gain a greater understanding of the political economy processes taking place. The analysis clearly suggests that the GoG and Accra's city authorities are focusing on the main tenants of neoliberal urban policy, such as city competitiveness and master planning with a focus on environmental sustainability and to this end are making use of the practice of illegal forced evictions in order increase the city's appeal to international capital.

The emerging Ghanaian urban movement, formalized through PD and GHAFUP and supported by the international horizontal urban housing rights movement Shack Dwellers International, supports the argument that the negative effects of neoliberal urban policy have encouraged the development of globalized resistance networks as suggested by Appadurai, Smith, Peck and Tickel and others. However, what we lack is an understanding of how these individual political movements, can transcend their local particularisms and consolidate their quest for specific rights into one large global coherent "Right to the City" movement in order to gain momentum and change the existing unequal global economic system that lies at the heart of much of the marginalization felt in those different localities. The case of old Fadama clearly demonstrates that there is scope for international urban movements to fight for citizen's rights and encourage change, but it also raises the question of how these movements can consolidate, scale-up and prevent cooption of their cause by governments.

There is scope for the urban movements fighting against the practice of forced evictions to play a key role in scaling up the efforts to create a momentum for the "Right to the City" movement. The severity of large scale forced evictions and the publicity they receive from the media and international organizations such as the UN system, Amnesty International, Witness and others, as well as the fact that the practice violates various different human rights, offers a platform for consolidated and supported action. The human rights violations that occur during forced evictions are much more obvious, then the more hidden effects of market based evictions for instance. The main task is to further highlight the underlying reasons for forced evictions and begin portraying it as a global process rather than presenting each case as a country specific issue. Whilst there are always locally specific socio-cultural and political issues involved in the process of displacement, we need to start drawing links between the low income families that have been forced to move away from Brooklyn New York, London East End, or Berlin Kreuzberg due to increasing costs of rent and services and those that are evicted from informal settlements in cities like Accra, Lagos, Johannesburg and Kigali. Only once we understand the global forces that have contributed to the local issues communities around the globe are facing, can we turn Harvey's militant particularism successfully into a global ambition.

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ENDNOTES

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[1] Millenium Development Goal 7, Target 4: "By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers" (UN Website)

[2] Figure taken from last census in 2000.

[3] The size of Hyde Park in Central London and a little less than half the size of New York Central Park (Royal Parks Website, Central Park Conservancy)

[4] The terms "National Territory" and "NCT" (National Capital Territory) are alternative designations for Accra

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