The Impact of Shopping Malls in a Neoliberal and Globalising City Context on Nearby Traditional and Existing Retail Forms. Case Study of the Accra and West Hills Malls in Accra, Ghana.

Iddrisu Yakubu

A Thesis Submitted to Newcastle University for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Newcastle University.

June, 2023

Abstract

This study situates two of Accra's iconic shopping malls - the Accra and West Hills Malls in their neoliberal and global place-making processes to explain how they impact nearby informal traders and local small store operators respectively. Urban development values have significantly shifted from governments addressing the most intractable problems such as the urbanisation of poverty and inequalities in third-world cities to pursuing policies that seek to make cities highly competitive for global capital investments. Accra, Ghana's capital, epitomises this ideal, as the city is increasingly positioned as an investment gateway in the West African sub-region. Consequently, Accra's urban form has changed tremendously at the turn of the 21st century as private capital investments, particularly from global sources transform and modernise the city's urban built form. Shopping malls are one such investment, and since 2000, they have become ubiquitous and significantly diversified Accra's retail landscape. This study investigates how the emergence of these two Regional Shopping Centres (RSC) impacts existing and traditional retail forms in their respective locale by attempting to understand; (i). The emerging consumption cultures around the use of malls and the surrounding retail forms. (ii). The trading effects of the transformation on existing traditional retail operators. (iii). The resilience of traditional retail operators in the evolving retail environment.

The study used the mixed-method research approach for data collection and analysis. It specifically used surveys, interviews, personal observations, and the review of official documents, media, and academic publications as tools for analysing mall impacts. The key finding was that shopping malls play an important role in enabling and sustaining neoliberal processes shaping urban development in Accra, with ramifications on its immediate surroundings, including the traditional retail environment. I argued that, in the case of the Accra mall, its development has increased the viability of informal retailing in its surroundings. At the same time, a form of 'revanchist governance' (forced evictions) is in place, and it's being used by the local authority to protect the integrity of the mall as an iconic landmark capable of engendering further capital investments. In the specific case of the West Hills Mall, its conception by private capital investors as a catalyst for closing a rent gap by extracting value from cheaper lands through investments in luxury real estate in a peri-urban setting is changing the urban form and the demography of a neighbourhood through urban speculation, and triggering a gentrification process. As such, the study finds these neoliberal urban development ideologies embedded in malls have exclusionary effects on the traditional retail forms around them. Traditional retailers are mostly threatened by displacement, which has repercussions on their trading activities in varied ways, and also their coping strategies. However, it emerged from the study that while informal traders had relatively better coping mechanisms to weather the storm, small local store operators were highly vulnerable, and faced an existential threat.

This study suggests that the prevailing neoliberal ideologies around malls have important ramifications in engendering exclusion and compromising the ideals of a sustainable urban future in notoriously informal and poverty-endemic cities such as Accra, particularly in the context of high levels of urbanisation and unemployment.

Acknowledgements

Indeed, it was an arduous journey, and I would like to thank the Almighty God for seeing me through thick and thin to the successful completion of this study. I kept faith in Him and He provided me with the spiritual and mental fortitude to pursue my dream to its logical conclusion. I am most grateful to you Almighty God for constantly taking care of me.

My profound gratitude also goes to my lead supervisor, Dr Raymond Abdulai, for his immense support in diverse ways. His supervisory guidance was superb, and the patience he exhibited when things were getting tough was extraordinary. Ray, I appreciate all the sacrifices and the various support you gave that helped sustain me. And to my co-supervisor, Dr Neil Powe, I am profoundly thankful for your advice and support which contributed significantly to the progress I made at various stages of this dissertation. I am equally grateful to my Annual Progress Review panel, Professor Geoff Vigar, and Dr Paola Gazzola for their comments and valuable feedback. My gratitude also goes to Professor Helen Bao of Cambridge University and Dr Gabriel Silvestre of Newcastle University, examiners of the thesis for their insightful post-viva feedback, which proved very useful in enriching and making the thesis better. My deep appreciation also goes to the School of Architecture, Planning, and Landscape, Newcastle University for funding my studies, and not the least the initial support I received from Liverpool John Moores University. The administrative support provided by Marian Kyte of the School of Architecture throughout my studies is also deeply acknowledged.

I owe those who contributed in diverse ways to make the fieldwork and data collection possible a huge debt of gratitude. Special thanks to my research assistants, Felix Odartey, and Nurudeen Manaf, for their hard work, diligence, and support which made the fieldwork less difficult for me. My greatest gratitude also goes to the staff, particularly the chief executives and planning officers of the La Dade-Kotopon and Ga South Municipal Assemblies for the assistance and the invaluable information they provided. My special thanks go to Mr Stephen Abrokwah, HR Manager of Ga South Municipal Assembly for all the leads to accessing vital official information. To all the participants and respondents, who generously devoted their time to share their knowledge and experience with me, I say a big thank you to you all.

I also give full praise to my family for their support throughout my studies. To my father, Alhaji Yakubu Haruna, and my mother Hajia Amina Fuseini, your material and spiritual support which laid the foundation for my educational journey is deeply appreciated. I am also thankful to my siblings for their constant prayers and encouragement. To my wife Adiza Salami and children, Bilal, Hanif, and Mahfuz, I thank you for your forbearance given the quality time you were denied because of my studies.

A big thanks to all my friends for their exemplary contribution in diverse ways in achieving this feat. My special gratitude goes to Dr Nuhu Braimah for his advice and encouragement throughout this PhD study. The valuable contribution of my colleagues, Dr Julius Nchor, Dr Charles Makun, Dr Abdulrahman Al-Majadiah and Mustapha Manga at the School of Architecture, Newcastle University, with whom I discussed and shared knowledge on a range of issues relating to our studies, is also well acknowledged and deeply appreciated.

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AAC	Accra Airport City
ASM	Accra Shopping Mall
CBD	Central Business District
CPI	Consumer Price Index
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAMA	Greater Accra Metropolitan Area
GAR	Greater Accra Region
GHA	Ghana Highways Authority
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Council
GLA	Gross Leasable Area
GPRTU	Ghana Private Roads Transport Union
GOG	Government of Ghana
GSMA	Ga South Municipal Assembly
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ICSC	International Council of Shopping Centres
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KFC	Kentucky Fried Chicken
KLERP	Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project
LaDMA	La Dade-Kotopon Municipal Assembly
MCE	Municipal Chief Executive
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NSDF	National Spatial Development Framework
NUP	National Urban Policy
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PwC	Price Waterhouse Coopers
RSC	Regional Shopping Centre
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
SSNIT	Social Security and National Insurance Trust
TNC	Transnational Corporation
UAC	United African Company
WB	World Bank
WHSM	West Hills Shopping Mall
WTCA	World Trade Centre Accra

Chapter1

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

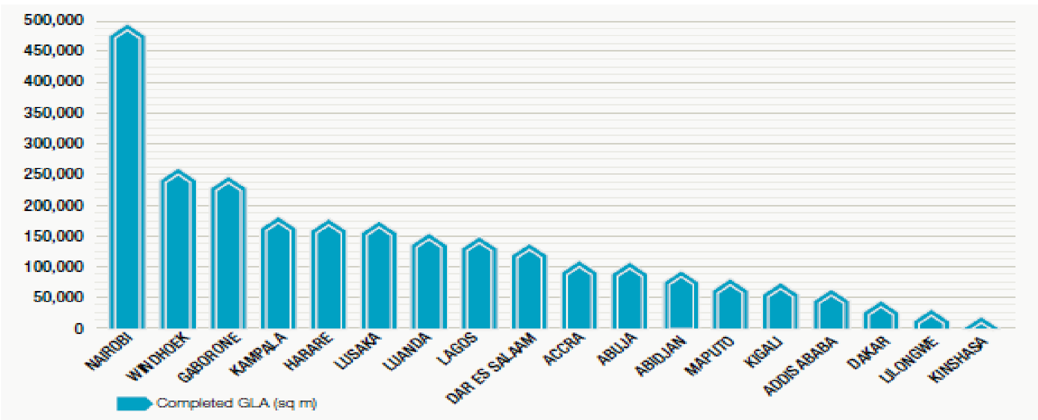
Sub-Saharan African primate cities like their peers in Latin America and Asia are dramatically undergoing unprecedented transformation, mainly driven by the development of high-valued consumption-oriented real estate projects (Hobden, 2014; Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer, 2018). While there are huge shortfalls in investments in critical social infrastructure such as healthcare, educational, and housing facilities for the predominantly poor urban populations, the majority of whom live below the poverty line, investments in luxurious private property development in niches such as gated communities, luxury hotels and high-end commercial spaces including shopping malls and office complexes are ubiquitous at the dawn of the 21st century and it is fast reconfiguring the urban landscape and creating new urbanism (Arthur, 2018; Hobden, 2014; Grant, 2009; Knight Frank, 2019). In the prevailing neoliberal environment, the combined effect of globalisation and market forces continue to play a pivotal role in the reconfiguration of the contemporary urban landscape, and as Grant and Nijman (2002), have rightly characterised the phenomenon- the global phase of urban regeneration have dawned on cities in the developing world. Major cities in the global south are strategically being positioned to catalyse sustained Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) inflows. As Lemanski (2007) puts it, the goal of contemporary urban development has been to market cities to attract more investments rather than solve existing problems.

Consequently, neo-liberal and entrepreneurial values have assumed greater roles as authorities try to align urban planning to the dictates of the market-driven urban development trajectory. Planning in this sense is focused on creating an enabling environment for the private sector to take a commanding role in urban re-development (Drovova and Brunn, 2008). In some cases, the execution of such projects has been a collaboration between the state or local government and private investors in what is popularly termed public-private partnerships (PPP), albeit with the role of the state reduced to mere facilitation of the process (Hobden, 2014). The resultant effect of neoliberal globalisation in southern cities is the emergence of completely privately owned 'new cities' often framed as smart, eco, global, or satellite cities. The Eko Atlantic City in Lagos (Nigeria), Tatu City in Nairobi (Kenya), Vision City in Kigali (Rwanda), the airport and Appollonia cities, and the envisioned hope city in Accra, Ghana are but a few examples of modernised urban spaces that have emerged through processes of contemporary urban regeneration ideologies in sub-Saharan African major cities.

With the commodification of urban space and increased investments in luxury real estate property, which mainly targets the burgeoning middle to high-income city dwellers, the stage has been set for the emergence of bifurcated or binary cities on the African cityscape - one in which urban citizenship or right to the city is now keenly contested and negotiated by the urban majority sitting on the periphery of the new urban development processes (Grant and Oteng-Ababio, 2019; Falt, 2016; Grant, 2009; Srivastava, 2015; Obeng-Odoom, 2013). Increasingly, Africa's primate cities are turning into what Hobden (2014) succinctly describes as a "planet of skyscrapers and slums", scenes also depicting what Jonathan Barnett earlier labelled in his book as "the fractured metropolis", referencing American cities (Barnett, 1995). With the role of state and local authorities reduced to enablers of private capitalist investment in urban development, the aspirations of UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number 11 *"Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable Enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries"* remains doubtful in most African cities by the 2030 deadline.

With Africa increasingly becoming an emerging market for both local and global capital investors, the retail property market has become a focal point for investors in Africa's major cities. Investments in modern retail properties spearheaded by global investors, and in some cases in collaboration with local entrepreneurs are somewhat diversifying the retail fabric in major cities on the continent. Consequently, a burgeoning shopping mall phenomenon is increasingly taking root in Africa's urban landscape with more planned developments in the pipeline. According to a leading African retail market research organisation, the number of shopping malls in Africa excluding South Africa increased two folds between 2011 and 2018, topping almost 600, which is mainly driven by "urbanisation, population growth, increased interest from international retailers, changing consumer lifestyles and rising household incomes" (Sagaci, 2018). Figure1.1 below shows completed shopping centre space in some selected sub-Saharan African major cities as of 2018, excluding South Africa which is already considered to have a matured retail market with over 23 million square metres of shopping centre space, compared with just over 3 million sq. metres for the rest of the sub-region

(Knight Frank, 2019). This is indicative of the nascent nature of the shopping mall phenomenon for the greater part of sub-Saharan Africa but with a prospect of growing to consolidate its position in the retail market. Cities such as Nairobi, Windhoek, and Gaborone have emerged as the front runners in this feat with a Gross leasable area (GLA) of completed shopping centre space well over 200, 000 sq. metres bearing ample evidence to this.



Source: Knight Frank Research
Graph excludes South African cities
Floor space estimates include schemes with a minimum gross leasable area (GLA) of 5,000 sq m

Figure 1. 1 Completed Shopping Centre Space in Some Selected Cities in SSA as of 2018

Meanwhile, the traditional retail systems have not been completely uprooted by the proliferation of these Western-style retail formats. The two are co-existing and are thriving now. But the rate at which global forces and neoliberal policies are reconfiguring the retail landscape with the growing number of shopping malls and other modern retail formats, there is a cause for concern for the future sustainability of traditional retail forms. Shopping malls are increasingly shaping new urban forms and urbanism in the 21st-century African city. And yet very little is known empirically about how these emerging trends are affecting existing and traditional retail forms. Because contemporary urban development has focused mainly on modernising cities and marketing them on the global stage, the economic and social ramifications of development projects on urban life remain secondary in urban planning discourses in third-world cities (Obeng-Odoom, 2010). Similarly, not enough scholarship has been generated on the implications of such urban interventions on city life, and while there is a modest number of studies on contemporary urban regeneration projects in third-world cities and their effects on, for example, slum settlements in Africa, the implications of the proliferation of shopping malls on existing and traditional retail systems is an under-researched area.

1.2 Focus on Accra

It is impossible to understand Accra's development trajectories without recourse to the political history of Ghana from the colonial period to the present. Accra emerged as the capital city of Ghana in 1877 when the colonial administration moved the seat of government from Cape Coast. The planning and development of Accra at the time focused on building infrastructure for the evacuation of Ghana's natural wealth to the metropolitan cities of the colonialists and creating a congenial environment for the colonial administration to live and govern (Grant and Yankson, 2003). Thus, colonial Accra like many other colonial cities in sub-Sahara Africa was a binary city from the cradle, with areas inhabited by the minority white population well planned and served with adequate infrastructure while the rest of the city, particularly areas inhabited by the indigenous population remained unplanned and lacked basic infrastructure (Mabogunje, 1990; Grant and Yankson, 2003). After independence, attempts were made to correct the imbalances in spatial planning and development of Ghana through the first president, Kwame Nkrumah's socialist development policies. However, not much was achieved as his regime was toppled by the military and subsequent regimes failed to pursue his ideology.

Decades of economic challenges following the period after independence eventually forced the government in the early 1980s to turn to multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and IMF for monetary aid and policy directions. Economic liberalisation policies were introduced which saw the opening of the economy for foreign investors to participate in rebuilding the economy as part of the Economic Recovery Programme (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Barwa, 1995). Economic liberalisation also meant the deregulation of financial services which saw Ghanaians in the diaspora transferring money with ease from abroad for investments in capital projects such as real estate and the establishment of businesses back home, in addition to supporting family and friends through remittance. Yeboah (2000), argues that the exposure of the country to the global economy around this period marked the beginning of the physical expansion of Accra beyond its metropolitan boundaries with "quality residential sprawl" at the periphery of the city owned by the rich.

For the past four decades or so, Ghana has experienced political stability and sustained economic growth since the introduction of liberalisation policies. Aided by the discovery of oil in commercial quantities in 2011, the country has been spurred into a lower-middle-income economy (World Bank, 2011). A burgeoning middle-income class population has emerged and is growing exponentially in Accra. For example, from 27% in 2000, the middle-class population had increased to more than 46% in 2013 (Lentz, 2013, as in Eduful, 2019). The transformation of the built environment in Accra, particularly in the affluent eastern corridor which has seen a tremendous flow of foreign capital investments in gated communities, shopping malls, and hotels has been attributed to the surge in the middle-class population with disposable income (Grant and Nijman, 2002; Grant, 2009).

At the same time, it's also been argued that the liberalisation of the economy triggered high urban unemployment and poverty, rural-urban migration, and the growth of the urban informal economy in cities (Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Barwa, 1995). Privatisation of state enterprises and structural adjustment policies which were key programmes under economic liberalisation did not only reduce the size of public sector employment but also created a pool of unemployed labour force in cities and urban centres. Overa (2007), for example, noted an increasing number of unemployed males seeking employment in the informal retail sector in Accra, hitherto a sector regarded as a "female occupation". The uncertainties that characterised the economic reforms also compelled some formal sector employees to seek other forms of livelihood in the informal sector to support their incomes. According to Oosterbaan et al. (2012), the pursuit of multiple economic livelihood strategies by many urban residents due to the economic uncertainties partly explained the exploding conversion of parts of residential properties into retail shops in Accra. Current estimates show around 74% of Accra's labour force works in the informal sector of the urban economy (Acheampong, 2021). Thus, economic liberalisation and the increased exposure to the global economy exacerbated the existing socio-spatial and economic polarisation in Accra.

Accra is also touted as the "gateway" to the West African sub-region (Grant and Nijman, 2004; Grant, 2009; Gaisie et al., 2019). Since 2000 this narrative has been supported by frantic efforts by successive governments to transform Accra into a world-class city through massive infrastructural development when multi-party democracy was restored in 1992 after decades of military rule. The two leading political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the

National Democratic Congress (NDC), who have taken turns governing the country during this period have laid claims and counterclaims as to which of them has presided over more development projects in the city. But the argument has tended to centre on which party has built more road interchanges and flyovers in the city than the other. The narrative has focused on the beautification of the cityscape and the delivery of projects that benefit middle- and high-income residents, and not interventions that tend to resolve the structural problems causing urban poverty and inequality (Obeng-Odoom, 2010). Lofty promises have also been made by politicians about re-engineering Accra into a world-class city comparable to Dubai and Singapore. These include a campaign promise made by then opposition leader in the run-up to the 2016 general elections, Nana Akufo Addo, who is currently the president of Ghana to contract a renowned Singaporean urban planner to redesign the architecture of the city, introduce a sky train system in the metropolis, and make Accra the cleanest city in Africa. Whether these and many others are realistic visions and achievable or not, they encapsulate the aspirations of authorities to build a world-class city to enhance its international competitiveness. Urban scholars like Obeng-Odoom (2011a), who have been following development trends in Accra have had cause to ask the question; in all these is the city being developed for all? The answer is not hard to find as it manifests in the overproduction of luxury urban spaces affordable to the elite class amid soaring unemployment levels and a lack of affordable housing for the poor.

It is in this neoliberal climate that modern retail formats, that, decades ago were unimaginable in a third-world city like Accra began to proliferate. The retail geography of Accra has significantly changed since 2000 when the first modern retail facility, the A&C Arcade was opened at East Legon, an affluent suburb of Accra. The floodgates then opened, and the number of shopping malls developed over the years has increased with more developments still in the pipeline (Oxford Business Group, 2015). Apart from having a global character in terms of ownership, architectural design, development, and management, most of them have become the raison d'etre for the increased presence of high-profile international retailers in the Ghanaian market, mainly from South Africa. Notable among these international retailers are Shoprite and Game- the anchor shops for most shopping malls not only in Ghana but in other SSA countries, including Nigeria and Zambia (PwC, 2016).

1.3 The Accra and West Hills shopping malls

Unlike neoliberal cities in the global north where the development of shopping centres has mostly been initiatives through public-private partnership (PPP), with local authorities playing a critical role in the planning and development to boost local economies, in Accra, like many other cities in the global south, shopping mall development are largely the initiative of local or international private investors. Private investors have been at the forefront of the planning and development of shopping centres in the neoliberal city. Local Ghanaian entrepreneurs with "cosmopolitan dispositions" are the brains behind the pioneering of the mall concept in Ghana (Eduful, 2019; Hobden, 2015). Although local governments in Ghana are decentralised agencies with vested powers to plan and initiate development projects in their localities, they do not have absolute autonomy (Ahwoi, 2010). They are headed by national government appointees who are accountable to the appointing authority and depend mainly on state funding for development projects. Concerning shopping malls, the only stake local authorities have in such developments in their jurisdiction is the collection of tax revenue (Eduful, 2019). The granting of permits for shopping mall development is facilitated at the national level and political influences have been very instrumental in the development of shopping malls in Ghana (Hobden, 2015).

Among the numerous modern retail developments across the city, the Accra and West Hills malls stand out as distinct and the most iconic retail landmarks in Accra, and by no means the most popular to residents of Accra and beyond. The number of people who patronise the two shopping facilities compared with the other malls in the city attests to this, and of course, their national importance as iconic landmarks places them well above the other modern retail centres, although privately owned and managed. This can be seen in clear terms in the use of state resources to establish permanent police posts with armed security personnel at the two shopping centres to protect these investments. The irony is that this is happening against the backdrop of the state's inability to provide adequate policing services for several communities around the country. The presence of the county's leaders at the inauguration of the two private retail facilities is also ample evidence of their national importance. In the case of the WHSM, the retail centre was jointly inaugurated by the Ghanaian president John Mahama and his visiting Togolese counterpart Faure Gnassingbe. Ideologically, this shows how the mall is being used to promote the image of Accra internationally. In a city with inadequate recreational facilities such as public parks and the deterioration of the few available, shopping centres, particularly the Accra and West Hills malls have assumed even greater importance beyond retailing to an emergent public recreational centre of national significance. Consequently, the two malls can be described as regional shopping centres in every respect, considering their extensive market areas. They draw customers well beyond the local market areas, and in the case of the Accra Mall, studies show its catchment transcends beyond Accra and even Ghana (Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2015).

1.4 The Traditional Retail Sector

Generally, the traditional retail system in the developing world, and for that matter Ghana consists of small retail business entities operated mainly by the indigenous population. Usually, the capital required to set up such businesses is quite small. It does not involve the use of sophisticated modern retailing technologies as is the case with Western formats like hypermarkets and shopping malls. In Ghana the traditional retail system consists of agglomerations of small traders operating in stalls in designated public markets, independent small and medium store operators, and by far the largest group who operate under what is popularly referred to as the urban informal economy, which includes street hawkers and petty traders. Informal traders as they are called usually appropriate public spaces to eke livelihoods. The concept of ‘urban informal economy’ as it was first introduced by the Anthropologist Keith Hart (Hart, 1973) denoted an ‘irregular’ yet pervasive economic sector in Accra that offers livelihoods to the city’s proletariat but is not recognised and sanctioned by the state as legitimate. Under economic liberalisation and high levels of urbanisation caused by rural-to-urban migration, the informal economy has grown to become the dominant economic sector in cities and urban centres around the developing world. Harsh economic policies such as structural adjustment programmes not only brought about the downsizing of public sector employment but created a pool of unemployed and underemployed urban labour force, who found the traditional retail sector as a pathway to livelihood. It is these traditional retailers, who, although small in their operations constitute the biggest sector of the urban economy that this study focuses on. As neoliberal urban policies and the forces of globalisation transform cities and urban centres in the global south, shopping malls have emerged and proliferated as one of the manifestations of cities edging towards global status. However, very little is known about how this transformation is affecting existing and traditional forms of urban life. This study, therefore, specifically focuses on the development of the Accra and West Hills Malls and their impacts on the surrounding informal traders and small local store operators respectively.

1.5 Research Problem Statement

Major cities in sub-Saharan Africa are experiencing unprecedented modernisation of the built environment through the injection of capital from global and local sources as authorities aim to make cities highly competitive. The emergence and proliferation of shopping malls, which is changing the retail structure and the urban form in these cities is the product of neoliberal processes and the globalisation of urban development. However, the existing retail systems have not been completely uprooted as they are still striving alongside the new retail forms (Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2015). However, very little scholarly work has interrogated the relationship between these new retail formats and the traditional retail forms that preceded them as the process of urban transformation continues. The nascent nature of the shopping mall phenomenon in African cities makes it imperative to research and understand how this emerging trend in the context of neoliberal globalisation is restructuring traditional urban forms. Perhaps, except for South Africa, where shopping centres have been in existence for several decades, and there appear to be few studies examining their impacts on traditional retail forms in the post-apartheid era, very little is known about the phenomenon in other African countries, where malls appear to be relatively new. Since 2000, Accra, the capital city of Ghana has seen the proliferation of shopping malls as the city began to experience major transformations at the turn of the 21st century. Accra therefore provides a veritable case for this study to be conducted.

Some researchers argue that exotic and modern retail facilities are not entirely new to Ghanaian urban settings. They argued that their emergence did not adversely impact previously existing and traditional retail outlets (Murillo, 2012; Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2015). In making her argument about the emergence of shopping malls in Accra, Murillo (2012), for example, attempted to liken them to the colonial era Department stores like the Kingsway stores in Accra. She argued that, although the new stores introduced new ways of shopping and provided a one-stop shopping space in the colonial era and the period after independence, it did not change the behaviour of Ghanaian consumers as even the elite shoppers continued to shop from the traditional retail centres. She further argues that akin to the post-independence department stores, it is important for history to guide us in understanding “contemporary commercial developments such as shopping malls and the role of consumer politics in shaping discourses about African cities” (Murillo, 2012 p. 389). While Murillo’s assertions can be understood from the perspective of a history scholar, it is important to note that the demographic and socio-economic dynamics of the city have changed significantly since independence, and the forces of globalization and neoliberalism, are radically transforming African cities and therefore puts what is happening at present beyond historical antecedents. Moreover, comparing shopping malls with Department stores is fundamentally problematic as they are completely different retail formats in many respects.

Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015) also assert that there are positive and invigorating impacts of shopping mall development on informal retail activities and the local economy. Their study focused on the implications of shopping malls for Ghana’s retail structure, using the Accra mall as the case study. The authors observed that, contrary to the notion that the advent of shopping malls in Ghana will spell doom for traditional retailers, the latter is thriving and in fact, it’s sustained by the existence of the shopping mall. However, this study only focused on the development of informal retailing activity growing around a shopping mall and the mutual benefits thereof resulting from their interactions. Informal retailing only represents just one component of the traditional retail sector in Accra. The question of how the advent of shopping malls impacts traditional retail forms has not been adequately answered. A study that takes into consideration the varied existing traditional retail systems in Accra is required for a clear and holistic understanding of the effects of shopping malls on traditional retail systems.

To Anning-Dorson et al., (2013), shopping malls in Ghana have become “escape routes” for Ghanaian consumers from the daily hectic conditions associated with the chaotic traditional market centres and have as well become a place of relaxation for most shoppers. The authors, however, failed to account for the impact of the changing consumer behaviour on traditional and informal marketplaces.

The literature from the advanced economies has mainly focused on assessing the impacts of shopping centre developments in the regeneration of cities and their existing retail structures, and the findings are mixed. The economic, social, and environmental impacts of new retail developments have been assessed in this regard and are fraught with complexity and ambiguity. Impacts vary from one case study to another even within a country, which clearly shows that impact is rooted in place and is shaped by contextual factors surrounding the specific case study. Concerning existing retail structures some of the studies report adverse impacts on land use and decrease in footfall, turnover, profit margins, and employment. In contrast, others found the impact to be positive, and yet others found it to be benignly competitive or complementary with the existing retail outlets. Even where one case looks like another, the impacts are not completely similar, but nuanced, which makes it almost impossible for findings in one study to be generalised and applied to other contexts. This gives the impetus for the phenomenon to be examined in an entirely different context including developing cities such as Accra as urban theory building is extended to the peripheral cities (Robinson and Roy, 2016).

A small body of literature on the impact of shopping malls on commercial activities in traditional retail areas exists in Africa, but its geographical scope is limited (Ligthelm, 2008; Tustin and Strydom, 2006). Ligthelm's (2008) study, for example, focused on the impact of shopping mall development on small local retailers in a post-apartheid South African Township. Almost three in every five of the 100 small-scale retailers surveyed reported a decline in their shops’ profitability, turnover, stock movement, and product range since the advent of the shopping mall. While this study makes an important contribution to understanding the effects of shopping mall development on commercial activities of small African retailers, its wider applicability to the understanding of the phenomenon in African cities can be problematic as South African townships do not mirror typical African urban settlements due to their historical formation as segregated enclaves from the apartheid era. Although it has been established that racial and ethnic segregation was also rife in many African cities in their formative stages during the colonial era, they fizzled out after decades of independence. Moreover, the wave of shopping mall developments in African cities is not located in slum-like township settlements as in South Africa.

This project, therefore, aims at filling major gaps in research by contributing to the building of an understanding of how trends in neoliberal globalisation in third-world cities are configuring the retail landscape from the African perspective by using the West Hills and the Accra shopping malls in Ghana's capital city, Accra as case studies.

1.6 Research Aim and Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to situate the two shopping malls in Accra's neoliberal and globalising place-making context to examine the extent to which they are impacting nearby existing traditional retail forms. By far, these two centres are the most iconic retail landmarks in the city, with patronage well beyond their immediate surroundings. They are regional centres in their right, and it is important to understand what that status means for the surrounding retail forms. To achieve this aim, the study pursues the following objectives:

1. To examine the attitude of mall users towards the surrounding traditional retail forms.
2. To examine the impact of the shopping malls on the trading performance of nearby traditional retail forms.
3. To examine the extent to which the surrounding traditional retail systems are adapting to the transformed and new retail environment.

1.7 Methodology

The philosophy underpinning this study is the critical realist ontology which conceptualises social phenomena as complex, moving, and layered (Bhaskar, 1979). Consequently, a multi-strategy in a multiple-case study design was adopted for the study. A combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods in a single study was used to unearth the complex processes structuring the effects of the Accra and West Hills Malls on the neighbouring retail systems in their respective locations. Surveys, personal observations, in-depth interviews with key informants, field notes, and relevant information from secondary sources were the data collection methods used to explore the impacts.

Two-week reconnaissance fieldwork was undertaken at all the major shopping malls in early August 2019 after which the Accra shopping mall which opened in 2007 and the West Hills malls which opened in 2014 were selected as cases to be studied. The preliminary field study allowed visiting all the sites to familiarise and understand the character and operations of the malls and the surrounding retail systems in the respective neighbourhoods. The location and the neighbourhood characteristics of the Accra and West Hills malls rendered their selection more appropriate for a comparative study to gain an overall understanding of the dynamics of urban regeneration and shopping mall impacts in Accra. The preliminary fieldwork also allowed collecting and analysing preliminary information which was very useful in designing the rest of the methods used in collecting more information for the study.

An extensive field study followed from mid-August 2019 to February 2020 in which information was gathered from varied sources for the study. A total of 114 mall users were surveyed through mall intercepts, a method often used in marketing research to survey customers in the mall environment. This represents 36% of the total number of mall users who were non-randomly sampled for the study. 71 respondents at the ASM and 42 at the WHSM were conveniently sampled to understand patterns of shopping behaviour among residents of Accra before and after malls became part of their shopping life. It was not possible to randomly sample respondents in an environment where it is difficult to establish the actual number of people who visit the malls on any given day. 13 mall users from the two shopping centres were also interviewed for an in-depth opinion from shoppers' perspective on how shopping malls have impacted their shopping life and experiences. 93 retail operators within a kilometre radius of the shopping malls were conveniently sampled to provide information about trends in their trading activities before and after the development of the malls. 27 formal retail managers were also interviewed, and focus group discussions were held with informal retailers for their views on the effects of the malls on their business activities. Two Planning officers each from the La Dade-Kotopon and the Ga South municipal assemblies whose jurisdiction the Accra Mall and West Hills Malls respectively fall were interviewed extensively on a wide range of issues on local policies and retail development within their areas of oversight control.

1.8 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into nine chapters and a summary of each chapter is presented below. A schematic diagram showing the major process of the research and how the chapters are linked is shown in Figure 1.2.

Chapter One- Introduction: It gives a general overview of the study by presenting its background, the neoliberal processes and global forces transforming Accra, and the emergence of shopping malls. It also gives a brief account of the traditional retail sector in the era of neoliberalism, the statement of the research problem, the aim and objectives of the study, and the methodology adopted. A guide to the structure of the thesis is finally presented in this chapter.

Chapters Two- Neoliberal Accra and Urban Policies: This chapter focuses on Accra as an emerging neoliberal and globalising city and what that means for the traditional urban setup. It begins by outlining the key contemporary and progressive urban policies in Ghana that have been proposed to address structural issues perpetuating urban inequalities, poverty, vulnerability, and human rights that have become so pervasive as market forces and the quest to transform Accra into a world-class city continue unabated. I argued that despite these policies having the potency to make urban redevelopment projects all-inclusive and put the city on a sustainable footing, neoliberalism continues to dominate the urban development discourse and has overshadowed these policies. This chapter, therefore, sets the tone and the context in which the proliferation of shopping malls can be understood and the kind of impacts thereof as prevailing global forces and neoliberal tendencies continue to transform cities.

Chapter Three- Retail Development and the Policy Context in Ghana: This chapter tracks the developments in Ghana's retail sector and the policy context that shaped them. I used a historical approach to structure the discussion. Thus, it began by briefly reflecting on retail development in the colonial era when foreign retail conglomerates like the Kingsway stores and the United African Company shaped the retail landscape and the political economy of the British colony. The second part briefly focused on retail development in the post-independence era where nationalist policies shaped the country's economic development. The salient part of this era is the nationalisation of the retail sector, with the government playing a leading role in the distribution of goods and services, and the fixing of prices for retail commodities. The final part of the discussion centres on retail development in the contemporary neoliberal and globalisation era where increasingly private capital, both local and global is transforming cities including retail structures. It specifically looks at trends in the retail sector in Accra by focusing on key retail regeneration projects, particularly the proliferation of modern retail formats including shopping malls.

Chapter Four- Studies on the impact of shopping malls: This chapter reviews closely related literature focusing on the impacts of shopping malls and shopping centres on existing and traditional retail forms. Given that most of the literature on retail impact is from studies conducted in Western countries, this review particularly focuses on studies in the United Kingdom where the phenomenon has been well-researched. It focuses on the methodologies used in assessing retail impacts and the key concepts and variables they attempt to measure as the impacts. The chapter also explores the gaps and weaknesses in retail impact assessment and argues that they do not provide the theoretical basis for examining the phenomenon in third-world cities.

Chapter Five- The theoretical and conceptual framework for the study: This chapter lays the theoretical and conceptual basis on which the study is grounded. It explores the literature on the effects of urban neoliberalism and global city-making as the theoretical framework. It particularly focuses on theoretical debates on globalisation, the re-ordering of cities, and the spatial and economic transformation in the global south. These debates emphasised urban governance processes aimed at creating competitive cities through the modernisation of the built environment, which effectively invent mechanisms to safeguard the interests of private capital investors. I discuss these mechanisms that are mainly intended to bring order to the city, and how it produces winners and losers in cities in the global south. A second theoretical viewpoint which explains how Transnational retail corporations get embedded and impact the economies of developing countries including real estate, technology, supply, and consumption cultures was also explored as part of the theoretical framework underpinning the study. I synthesised the key theoretical issues to build a conceptual framework that guided the rest of the study.

Chapter 6 discusses the methodology for this study. The study employs a mixed-method approach, using both quantitative and qualitative methods in gathering and analysis of data. The study emphasises the latter to get a deeper understanding of the relationship between the development of shopping malls and traditional retail forms in Accra. This is a complex relationship shaped by multiple ‘structures’ and ‘mechanisms’ of global city-making and the reproduction of space. As such, the qualitative research methods were hugely significant in unravelling both the observable and the unobservable nuances in these complex relationships.

Chapters 7 & 8 discuss the two empirical case studies, the impact of the Accra and West Hills Mall respectively. The presentation of this chapter is guided by the objectives that the study sought to achieve and is discussed in light of the evidence collected from the field. The argument that these two chapters sought to advance in this study is that the emergence and proliferation of shopping malls are the manifestations of neoliberal and entrepreneurial urban governance processes embraced by city and state authorities to transform a predominantly informal city into a world-class city. In this context, investments by global capitalists and their local counterparts in modern retail formats and practices in the new city-making agenda consciously or unconsciously shape the space in which other city dwellers use urban space to reproduce themselves.

Chapter 9 is a summary of the major findings of the study and the concluding remarks relative to the theoretical debates underpinning the study.

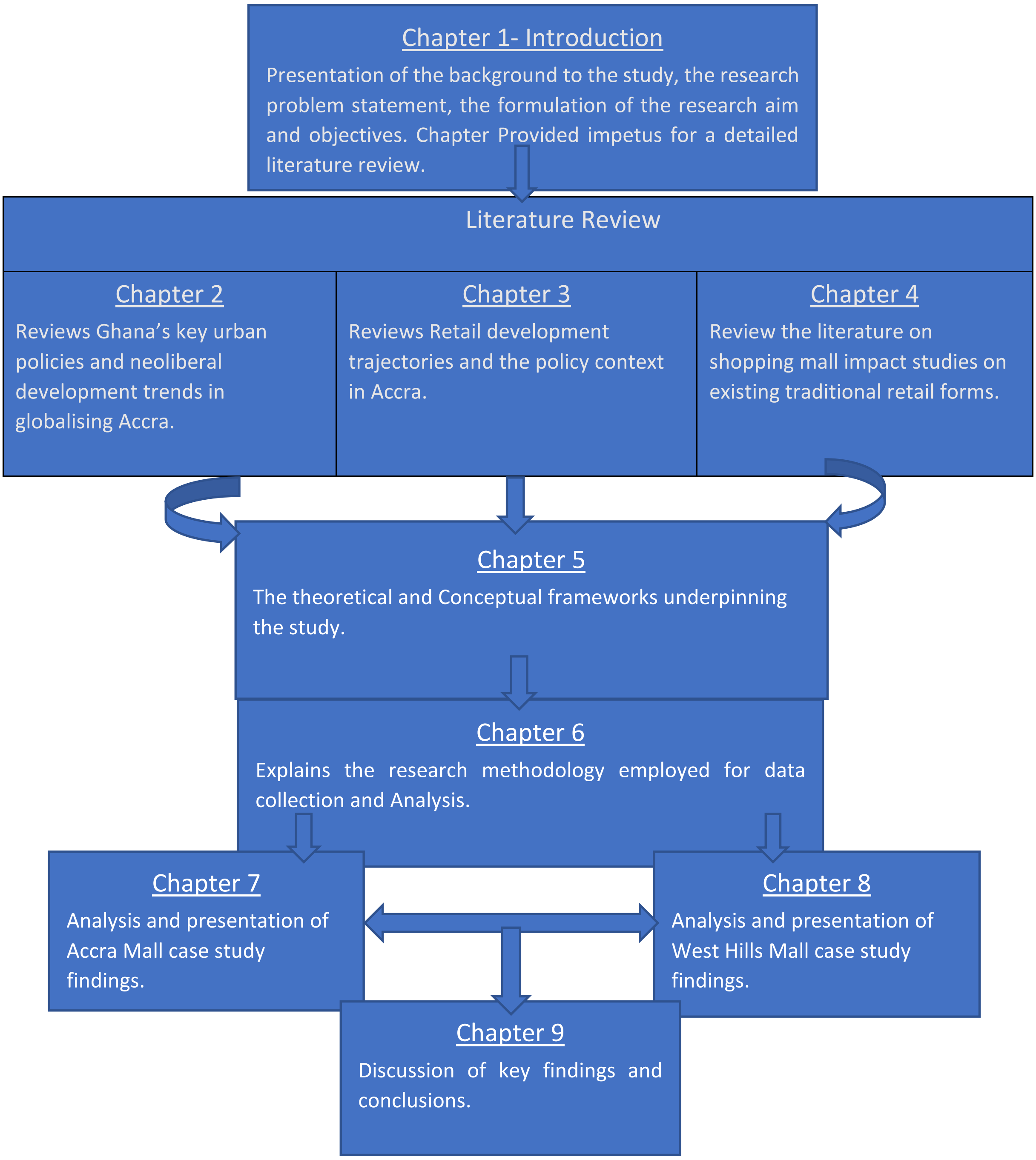


Figure 1. 2 Schematic Presentation of the Research Process

Chapter2

Accra: The Neoliberal and Globalising City

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews Accra's evolving spatial and economic form right from its formation as the administrative capital of the colonial state, Gold Coast through its transition to the national capital of an independent nationalist state – Ghana, and its current neoliberal and globalising form. It starts by giving an overview of the city's historical development as the capital of a British colony and its present demographic and administrative structure. This is followed by a brief account of the city's spatial and economic form during the colonial period and the immediate aftermath of attaining political independence. The rest of the presentation focuses on Accra's economic and spatial transformation since Ghana embraced economic liberalisation policies, particularly at the turn of the 21st century when neoliberal urban processes are increasingly pushing the city towards greater integration into the global economy. The implications of these transformations for the existing traditional urban setup and processes are also discussed. The chapter then highlights the key issues relating to Accra's sustainable future.

2.2 History of the City

Accra became the capital city of Ghana in 1877 after the seat of government of the then British colonial administration was relocated from Cape Coast (Grant and Yankson, 2003; Grant, 2009). According to Owusu (2013), the relocation marked the beginning of the transformation of what was a predominantly rural settlement described by Stanley (1891) as in Grant and Yankson (2003) as a mass of "thatched buildings" haphazardly arranged and connected by "narrow crooked streets". The original inhabitants of Accra were primarily the Ga and the Dangme tribe who are thought to have migrated from present-day Nigeria in the 16th century. Today, Accra has not only grown into a multi-ethnic society but also a cosmopolitan conurbation. History also has it that its choice by the colonial administration stemmed from the relatively low prevalence of native-borne diseases which made it more friendly for habitation (Grant, 2009). However, Adarkwa (2012) argued that the choice was a strategic economic decision because of the existence of natural harbours that could facilitate the evacuation of the country's rich natural resources to the Metropole. Thus, Accra emerged as an entrepôt city connected to the hinterland by rail networks to facilitate the export and import of goods. Colonial Accra, therefore, established its economic importance as a commercial rather than an industrial hub, which continued after independence (Grant and Yankson, 2003).

2.3 Demographics and Administration

The Greater Accra region (GAR) also sometimes referred to as the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) has a total land surface of about 2,345 km^2 and it's bounded to the south by the sea (Gulf of Guinea), north by the Eastern region, East by the Volta region and West by the Central region. It is the most urbanized region in Ghana with over 90% of the population currently living in urban centres (see Figure 2.1 below). Although Accra constitutes just about 1.4% of Ghana's total landmass, it is currently the most populous of the 16 administrative regions in Ghana with a total population of 5.4 million, with the highest density of 16,783 persons per km^2 (GSS, 2021). With an intercensal change of 35.8%, the population of Accra grew by over a million from the last census in 2010, which was 4.1 million. On average, the annual growth rate is around 3.5, which is well above the national average of 2.5. Accra's high population growth rate and urbanisation are mainly driven by natural increase, which is excess births over deaths, and migration from other parts of the country (GSS, 2014). International migrants mainly from the West African sub-region are also a contributory factor to the city's population growth (Otiso and Owusu, 2008; Owusu, 2013). Provisional results from the 2021 population and housing census (PHC) show a male population of 49.1% as against 50.9% female (GSS, 2021). In terms of the age structure, the 2010 census indicated a very high youthful and working-age population compared with just 5.3% of residents over 60 years (GSS, 2013).

Figure 2. 1 Administrative Map of Ghana Showing the Location of GAR. Source: GSS (2021)

The overall administrative function of the GAR is under the purview of the Greater Accra Regional Co-ordinating Council (RCC). However, the introduction of the local government concept in the late 1980s saw the delineation of the administrative regions in Ghana into decentralised local government areas, which include Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies (MMDAs). It was meant to facilitate governance and decision-making processes at the grassroots level rather than the top and to ensure that development fairly reaches every part of the country. From an initial division of GAR into 3 MMDAs, namely the Accra Metropolitan, Tema Municipal, and Ga District Assemblies in 1988, the number of local government delineations has progressively risen in line with increasing trends of urbanisation. Currently, the GAR has 29 MMDAs as shown in Figure 2.2 below:

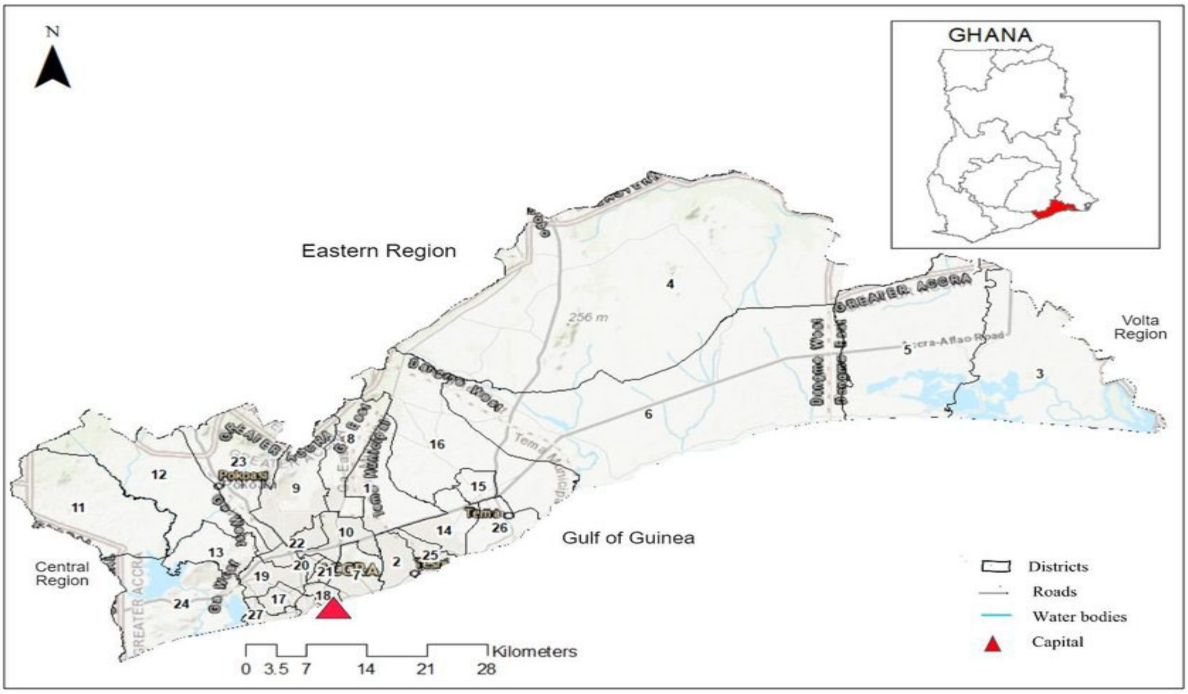


Figure 2. 2 Map of GAR Showing the 29 MMDAs. Source: Donkor et al. (2021)

Name of MMDAs in GAR with the study locations highlighted:

1. Adenta Municipal.
2. Ledzokuku Municipal.
3. Ada East District.
4. Shai Osudoku District.
5. Ada West District.
6. Ningo/Prampram District.
7. **La Dade-Kotopon Municipal.**
8. La-Nkwantanang Municipal**.**
9. Ga East Municipal.
10. Ayawaso West Municipal.
11. **Ga South Municipal**
12. Ga West Municipal
13. Ga Central Municipal
14. Tema West Municipal
15. Ashaiman Municipal
16. Kpone Katamanso Municipal
17. Ablekuma Central Municipal
18. Korle Klottey Municipal
19. Ablekuma North Municipal
20. Ayawaso North Municipal
21. Ayawaso East Municipal
22. Okaikwei North Municipal
23. Ga North Municipal
24. Weija-Gbawe Municipal
25. Krowor Municipal
26. Tema Metropolitan
27. Ablekuma West Municipal
28. Ayawaso Central Municipal
29. Accra Metropolitan.

2.4 Accra's Spatial Organisation and Development Trajectory

According to Grant and Yankson (2003), the city's spatial form and development have evolved through three distinct phases in Ghana's political and developmental trajectory. As they noted, colonial-era Planning and development of Accra focused mainly on building a functioning port city linking the country's economy to the outside world, particularly England. As such, docks, and rail terminals link the hinterland with the port and warehouses to aid the function of Accra as a trade, distribution, and storage hub of the Gold Coast economy. The Colonial administration also pursued a policy of "residential segregation" which culminated in the development of well-planned and orderly residential and commercial spaces with strict zoning codes for the European population in places like Cantonments and Ridge. These areas were quite removed and separated by Greenfields from the largely unplanned and chaotic settlements where the indigenous population lived. The native settlements used traditional markets, one of which was developed in 1924 to become the Makola No. 1 market, which remains the city's largest and primary traditional commercial centre in central Accra. Thus, a dual city was formed by the colonial administration, and this is what Konadu-Agyemang (1998) referred to as "a city within a city".

Nationalist policies characterised post-independence development, with the promotion of Accra as the Nation's capital city and economic powerhouse. Policies following the immediate aftermath of political independence were aimed at shedding the city of its colonial legacy by de-Europeanising the city through the promotion of indigenous Ghanaian businesses and at the same time curtailing foreign involvement in the economy (Grant, 1999). Native elites also took over control and management of the administration of the country with senior civil and public servants occupying colonial residential neighbourhoods (Grant and Yankson, 2003). Another significant development in post-independence Accra was the expansion of the central market district (Makola market) with the proliferation of many small-scale local businesses in the area. According to Grant and Yankson (2003), the uncontrolled expansion of Makola began to engulf the entire CBD creating congestion and with no proper planning in place, the boundaries between the indigenous district with its commercial functions and the "European corporate CBD" started to blur. However, a planned city extension culminated in the development of Tema as a satellite city 29 Km away from central Accra in 1962 to ease Accra's congestion (ibid.). Around this period, Tema emerged as a well-planned residential and industrial city, with a new harbour built to replace the colonial harbour at Accra. Nationalist policies also saw the creation of a "parastatal economy" with the establishment of about 400 state-owned enterprises mostly in Accra, while at the same time, the state was at the forefront in the construction of public housing for senior civil servants and low-cost houses for low-income workers in Accra (Grant and Yankson, 2003).

Post-independence economic mismanagement and the ensuing military interventions in the country's governance processes brought untold hardship to the people. Nationalist policies not only significantly reduced the activities of foreign companies in the country but also created a shortage in foreign currency supply, which meant that indigenous business owners found it extremely difficult to import goods (Grant and Yankson, 2003). It is also reported that the economic challenges and deteriorating standard of living in Accra contributed to appalling housing conditions and the general decay of urban infrastructure all over the city (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001; Larbi 1996).

However, in the early 1980s government sought a new policy direction which saw the IMF and World Bank introducing liberal policies to open the economy for foreign participation and the promotion of the private sector as the panacea for economic recovery and sustainable development (Grant, 2001). As a result, Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP) and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) were pursued to salvage the ailing economy. Grant and Yankson (2003) argued that the liberalisation of the economy had a significant impact on Accra's spatial organisation and transformation. According to Gillespie (2015), Accra started experiencing a boom in the construction industry following the liberalisation of the economy in the 1980s. For example, the introduction of market-led approaches to urban development and the granting of tax incentives by the government rekindled the interests of foreign and domestic property developers as the government scaled back its involvement in the real estate sector (Arku, 2009).

2.5 The Neoliberal City and the Transformation of its Economic and Spatial Form

Neoliberal processes have introduced new dimensions to Africa's major cities in terms of their economic and spatial restructuring. Indeed, new city visioning (global city ideologies) has led to the vigorous pursuit of investment-friendly policies by governments to attract private capital for urban renewal. For the last two decades, private capital investments, and sometimes in partnership with governments have significantly transformed and modernised cities in the global south. These include large-scale master plans for new projects including the development of entirely new cities (Watson, 2014; Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer, 2018; Carmody and Owusu, 2016). The global and neoliberal city ideas have also resonated with 21st-century Accra, with private sector investments in urban regeneration projects significantly reconfiguring the city as the authorities seek ways to enhance the competitive profile of the country. Famous among these mega projects include the Accra Airport City (AAC) near Accra's only international airport, the gateway to Ghana, which has also been dubbed as Accra's global CBD because of the dominant presence of international corporate organisations within the enclave (Arthur, 2018). The ongoing Accra Marine Drive Project is another large-scale redevelopment scheme being executed through public/private partnerships. It will see the emergence of a leisure and tourism enclave along the city's coastal belt with luxury hotels, casinos, and conference centres overlooking the sea (Gillespie, 2016).

Grant and Nijman (2002), also noted a significant expansion of Accra's corporate geography since the liberalisation of the economy began, which saw largely transnational organisations involved in the extractive industry establishing offices in the city to serve as their headquarters. Another significant transformation that characterised the liberalisation era was the emergence of the so-called World Trade Centre Accra (WTCA) enclave in central Accra hosting mainly domestic and international financial institutions and other commercial organisations (Yeboah et al., 2020).

It is estimated that the extent of Accra's urban built-up area has expanded rapidly, increasing from 162.4km^2 in 1985 to 1,340km^2 in 2017 as lands that were previously considered rural and economically agrarian were rapidly changing into residential and commercial urban agglomerations (Møller-Jensen et al., 2020). However, the city's residential expansion into peripheral areas has been described as "quality residential sprawl" (Yeboah, 2000). They are mainly luxury residential properties either in gated communities developed by real estate companies, targeting high-income people, or built by rich individuals. Significantly, the liberalisation of Accra's development has also seen the proliferation of luxury commercial spaces including office complexes, shopping malls, and hotels built with capital from global sources.

A salient part of Accra's transformation under economic liberalisation is the ability of governments to secure funding from international sources to improve the city's transport infrastructure, particularly the construction of first-class roads and flyovers around the city, linking the city to the other regional capitals. Notable among these is the N1 Highway, also known as the George Walker Bush Highway, which was commissioned in 2012 as part of the Trans-West African Highway stretching from Nigeria to Cote d'Ivoire. Similarly, the mobilisation of international funding was instrumental in the upgrading of the Kotoka International Airport and the Tema Harbour as part of the government's agenda to promote Accra as the gateway city to West Africa (Grant, 2009).

It is clear from the above observations that Accra's development trajectory under neoliberalism, like other major cities in sub-Saharan Africa, is Skewed towards the modernisation of the city's infrastructure to enhance its global competitiveness. In this sense, the ubiquity of megaprojects and luxury real estate properties have become synonymous with development in the neoliberal city. The mass production of consumption-related spaces places middle-class urbanites and international visitors at the core of the contemporary development agenda. Indeed, Africa's attractiveness as the new global investment frontier escalated when the 2008 global economic crises adversely impacted Western economies, with Africa presenting a new lease of life for multinational investors, who found the continents' economic growth driven by natural resource extraction, rapid urbanisation, and an emerging middle-class as something that can't be ignored (Grant, 2015; Goodfellow, 2017; Watson, 2014; Gillespie, 2020). A report by the African Development Bank, for example, indicated that in a space of 30 years, Africa's middle-class population had tripled to 310 million by 2011 (AfDB, 2011). In Ghana's case, the surge in the middle class was partly explained by the discovery and production of crude oil in commercial quantities which propelled the country into a middle-income economy (World Bank, 2011). The boom in the real estate market in Accra is also attributable to the high demand for Western-style residential properties in gated communities by Ghanaians who are domiciled abroad (Grant, 2005). While there appears to be a considerable rise in the middle-class population which is the source of market for the emerging consumption spaces under neoliberalism, the stark reality is that most African city dwellers are the poor, who live and work informally.

Accra's urban economy like others in the third world is predominantly informal, providing livelihoods for between 70-80% of the urban workforce (Cities Alliance, 2016; GSS, 2014). Generally, this is explained by the fact that the formal labour market shrunk under economic liberalisation as state enterprises were privatised and mass redundancies also led to the retrenchment of public sector workers. As the formal sectors have failed to create enough job avenues for the increasing population, many people have had to eke up livelihoods in the informal sector (GSS, 2016). And informal retail trading, particularly petty trading and street hawking have become the most visible and dominant economic activities engaged by the city's proletariats. It has also been argued strongly that Accra's neoliberal development trajectory has exacerbated the incidence of slum settlements as "land commercialisation and commodification of housing" means poor informal workers can't participate in the formal housing market and must find an alternative (Addi and Ayambiri, 2022).

2.6 Neoliberal Accra, Redevelopment Projects, and Urban Marginalisation.

The reality in 21st-century Accra is that the urban form is deeply fragmented, with neoliberal processes and market forces producing luxury urban infrastructure for the few elites on one hand, and an overwhelming poor majority living precarious lives at the margins of contemporary development on the other hand. Thus, Accra has effectively joined the League of Cities described as the "planet of skyscrapers and slums" (Hobden, 2014). While the capitalist mode of urban production has been touted as the panacea for economic growth and development, there is a sense that it has not transformed the lives of the masses of Accra's population who are confronted with poverty and marginalisation daily. According to Obeng-Odoom (2011a), contemporary Accra is "characterised by tensions and contradictions". He argued that, while the city appears to be economically buoyant aided by foreign direct investment and a robust real estate and construction sector, social inequality, unemployment, and poverty levels have also worsened (Obeng-Odoom, 2011a). For Watson (2014), Africa's new master plans which seek to transform cities to the likes of Dubai and Singapore are nothing but "urban fantasies" as they do not improve the living standards of the poor urban majority. Indeed, it's been argued that in most cases these megaprojects create different forms of urban marginalisation. In Accra, the effects of neoliberal urbanisation have been analysed with the theoretical lenses of city restructuring and urban regeneration from global north perspectives, which also help to explain urban processes in the global south (Yeboah, 2020; Gillespie, 2020; Gillespie, 2016; Fält, 2016; Afena, 2012; Grant, 2009; Grant, 2006).

Gillespie (2016) explores Marxist theories of 'primitive accumulation' and Harvey's (2003) theory of 'accumulation by dispossession' to explain how the visioning of Accra in neoliberal and global terms by authorities is further exacerbating poverty levels and marginalising indigenes. He argues that to make Accra competitive for FDI flows, the state has adopted an entrepreneurial governance strategy to create "enclosures" which denies the city's proletariat the right to use public spaces to reproduce themselves. Here, privatisation of communal lands, force evictions, and the use of a 'discursive narrative', which frames urban informality as the cause of disorder, vices, and underdevelopment have become mechanisms employed to help private investors accumulate further capital at the expense of the poor. He calls this "accumulation by urban dispossession" (Gillespie, 2016). citing the case of La, an indigenous community east of Accra where the indigenes have lost a significant portion of their land through state privatisation to elite developers, Gillespie (2016) demonstrates how the mechanism of dispossession has impoverished indigenes of the community who are now surrounded by the imposing elite real estate developments and an emergent globalised central business district (the airport city) which is populated by multi-national corporate organisations. He concludes that overcrowding in homes, mass unemployment, and poverty are stark realities for inhabitants in the La township who have lost most of their living space and source of livelihood to private investors (Gillespie, 2016).

While forced eviction of people deemed as 'urban squatters' by city authorities is not an entirely new phenomenon in Ghana's urban governance system, it has become more prevalent in the context of urban regeneration and building a globally competitive city. As such, uprooting informality from the cityscape is intended to create the enabling environment for global capital to find space in the urban redevelopment agenda. Notable among the high-profile regeneration evictions that have caught the attention of urban scholars include the forced eviction and displacement of the Old Fadama and Agbogboloshie informal settlements in central Accra to make way for a regeneration scheme- the Korle Lagoon Ecological restoration project (Grant, 2006; Grant, 2009; Afenah, 2012; Gillespie, 2016), and the Mensah Guinea, a coastal informal settlement that was uprooted to make way for the ongoing Waterfront redevelopment project along the coast (Fält, 2016; Gillespie, 2020).

'Discursive narrative' is an ideological mechanism that frames informality as an urban pathogen stifling progress and development, and a reason for which it should be uprooted (Gillespie, 2016). To this end, diseases, crime, prostitution, and other social vices are squarely blamed on informal urbanism. Just like giving the dog a bad name to hang it, this ideological framing has been used as an excuse to clear slum settlements and denied urban proletariats the use of public space to eke livelihoods, just to pave the way for urban regeneration. In the case of Old Fadama and Agbogboloshie, the discursive narrative also involved the use of the derogatory name "Sodom and Gomorrah" by city authorities to criminalise the territorial space and to justify the need to apply force to evict its occupants to restore its ecological integrity (Gillespie, 2016). This reminisces the biblical story of the twin cities Sodom and Gomorrah which was destroyed by God for the immorality of the inhabitants. Similarly, the spread of Cholera in Accra was the discursive narrative used by the local authority for the demolition of the informal settlement, Mensah Guinea, which coincided with the "national government's advance plan to redevelop the area to a (fenced) exclusive tourism enclave" (Fält, 2016). Before the development of the airport city, the green field was described by city authorities as a derelict appropriated by criminals for their nefarious activities, although there is evidence to suggest that some of the city's proletariat used the land to engage in urban subsistence farming as a means of livelihood (Gillespie. 2020).

Yeboah et al. (2020), noted that, while Accra is fast establishing itself as a peripheral global node connecting the activities of global corporate organisations in Ghana with the outside world, the irony is that the city is also establishing itself as host to a growing number of urban proletariats struggling to eke a living. Specifically, regarding the redevelopment of West Ridge in central Accra into a global financial hub with high-profile international financial institutions, commercial centres, and luxury hotels, which has given the place the accolade 'World Trade Centre Accra' (WTCA), Yeboah, et al. (2020) describe scenes outside the glamorous facades where hawkers run after luxury SUV cars to sell their goods, and scenes of young ladies who have migrated from northern Ghana to work as head porters *(Kayayei)* cooling off their bodies under shades of trees lining the streets in the scorching sun as the "urban fantasy with nightmares". Comparing the daily experience of these poor urban dwellers who struggle on the streets to make a living with the city's upper-middle-class population who work in the air condition offices in the WTCA enclave, Yeboah et al. (2021) questioned the right of the former to use the city of Accra. Thus, as Accra is developing through the marketisation of land and the modernisation of the built environment, most of its citizens who live informal lives are being marginalised and denied equal rights to the city.

However, some urban scholars have provided counterfactual evidence which suggests that contrary to the widely held notion that the privatisation of land for megaprojects such as luxury real estate developments causes marginalisation by denying a certain group of people livelihood sources (enclave urbanism), the reverse is the case. Drawing on "assemblage thinking" to analyse the socio-spatial impacts of Appollonia City, a newly established gated community in a peri-urban location, 30 KM from central Accra, Korah, et al. (2021), observed that where different stakeholder groups or actors come together to plan and develop a project, it turns out to create a win-win situation. According to the authors, the project was initiated by the traditional leaders, the custodians of the land who partnered with an international real estate developer to promote the orderly development of the built environment and at the same time boost the local economy (Korah et al., 2021). The authors concluded that the benefits of the project to the community which included job creation for the indigenes, and refurbishment of educational and health facilities outweigh the loss of, for example, agricultural land.

2.7 Concerns about Accra's Sustainable Future in a Neoliberal Context

Some urban scholars have queried the sustainability of the trajectory that contemporary urban development has assumed in cities in the global south (Jenks and Burgess., 2000; Reddy and Wissink, 2020). In Accra, similar sentiments have been expressed (Obeng-Odoom, 2011a; Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Owusu and Oteng-Ababio, 2015; Grant, 2015). Obeng-Odoom (2011a), in his analysis of the state of Accra's development, couldn't help but specifically pose the question "developing Accra for all?". This stems from the deepening socio-spatial and economic segregation that has characterised development in the city since the adoption of neoliberal ideologies in the quest to transform Accra into a world-class city. While Accra has experienced sustained economic growth mainly driven by foreign direct investment in the real estate sector, development has not trickled down to the majority of the urban underclass. In the context of the high urbanization rate, urban poverty and slum settlements have increased spontaneously as development is focused on the execution of master plans which

Watson (2014) had earlier referred to as "urban fantasy" in Africa. Owusu and Oteng-Ababio (2014), contend that with the rapid urbanisation rate in Ghana, particularly in Accra coupled with the prevailing urban development trajectory, "a bipolar urban society" is eminent in the foreseeable future. The authors envisage a city in which the middle to high-income population inhabits world-class areas with quality infrastructure services on one side, and the other side is inhabited by the poor who constitute most of the urban population in informal settlements and struggling to make a living. With such urban scenarios where most people live under deprivation, the well-being of the affluent is also threatened by the sheer scale of poverty levels in the city, which means the path that contemporary urban development has taken is unsustainable as it does not take into consideration the vulnerability of a critical mass of the urban population. To achieve sustainable urban development by the year 2030, Owusu and Oteng-Ababio (2014) therefore suggest proper planning and investments in cities in Ghana.

Obeng-Odoom (2011b p. 388) finds three major structural issues problematic among a host of others as perpetuating the cycle of inequality in Accra. First is the "historic, perennial and continuing attempt to forcefully eject workers in the informal economy and those who settle illegally" in the city. For him, this constitutes the dispossession of the urban proletariat as their source of livelihood and denying them a place to call home. While this is often done with the excuse of 'city modernisation', it only serves the interest of corporate investors and their clientele. According to Obeng-Odoom (2011b), this further widens the gap between the urban proletariat and the affluent in urban society, and for those who live and work in slum communities, it constitutes a double agony of losing home and livelihood. Second, is the "expropriation of communal lands" in the interest of the public without adequate compensation being paid to the original landowners. Losing land to the state without receiving the right compensation is complete dispossession which denies people livelihoods and a place to live, which also leaves indigenes of Accra in precarious conditions. Such lands may either lie idle or sold to the political class or affluent in society, which further opens the gap between the rich and the poor (ibid.). The third and final structural problem Obeng-Odoom (2011) talked about is what he described as the "inaction" of state or local authorities concerning property rates which is not based on the value of the "landed property". The net effect is that the middle to high-income groups who live in affluent neighbourhoods such as gated communities are privileged as they pay no tax when the value of their property appreciates through state or local authority investments in "public goods" such as roads in these neighbourhoods. For Obeng-Odoom (2011b), this represents an earning that is an "unearned income" to the rich which further strengthens their privileged position.

It is in this context that the United Nations placed a premium on Cities and Human Settlement as one of the cardinal Sustainable Development goals in its 2030 agenda for achieving "peace, prosperity for people and the planet" from now and into the future. It is estimated that by 2050 two-thirds of the world's population will be living in urban areas with 90% of urban growth projected to happen in the developing world, mainly in Africa and Asia (United Nations, 2015). The United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 11 "Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements" (SDG 11) therefore implore member states to make cities and communities "safe, inclusive, resilient and sustainable" (United Nations, 2015). As a member state of the United Nations successive governments in Ghana have shown some level of commitment to the ideals of the SDGs and have taken steps towards achieving them. But the question remains if enough has been achieved in moving cities and towns on sustainable paths.

The government of Ghana acknowledges the challenges associated with urbanisation and development in cities and towns in Ghana and has been proactive in initiating pro-poor policies to address some of the intractable problems of urban growth such as inequality. This includes affordable housing projects and the regeneration of slum settlements in inner cities. In Accra, such housing projects have seen the development of several housing units in different parts of the city by the State Housing Company and the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), a quasi-state institution to address the housing deficit in the country. Notable among the high-profile ongoing projects is the Saglemi affordable housing project, a 200-million-dollar investment that is expected to deliver 5,000 housing units (Peace FM Online, 2019). However, it is a known fact that these so-called affordable houses are not within the means of the poor and ordinary civil or public servants in Ghana considering wage earnings as compared with the prices of these houses (Ghanaweb, 2021). With the majority of the urban population unable to participate in the formal housing market, these so-called affordable houses end up becoming properties affordable to only the wealthiest and the political class in Accra (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001; Arku, 2009). In the absence of social housing and mortgage schemes like what prevails in the Western world, the poor in Accra continue to rely on the informal housing market for their housing needs, with overcrowded and unsanitary conditions. It however remains to be seen if the Ghana National Housing Policy framework which was launched in 2015 will help address the challenges the urban poor face in accessing decent shelter in the formal housing market, although studies suggest that modest achievements have been made at its initial implementation (Gillespie, 2018).

The New Patriotic Party (NPP) led by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo in assuming power after the 2016 general elections set up the Ministry of Inner City and Zongo Development (MICZD) purposely to focus special attention on regenerating deprived communities in towns and cities mostly inhabited by migrants from Northern Ghana and of the Islamic faith. This was the fulfilment of a campaign promise in the run-up to the elections to bridge the development gap in major urban centres across the country by investing in capital projects and human resource development. The overarching goal of the initiative was to empower indigenes of these deprived communities through coordinated social and economic policy initiatives to "facilitate a prosperous, inclusive, and sustainable social transformation" of these communities (Government of Ghana, 2017). While this is laudable considering the deprivation and poverty levels in these communities, critics of the government believe that after four years the initiative has only succeeded in building AstroTurf football pitches for the youth and toilet facilities in a few of such communities and wonder how these address the teething and endemic problems in these communities which are illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty (Citi News, 2020). While these criticisms often come from the opposition NDC party which has benefited electorally from these deprived communities, the NPP government has touted their achievements and has described the criticisms as politically motivated without any basis (Ghanaweb, 2019). The competing urban development ideologies and policies pursued by the two main opposing political parties since constitutional rule returned in 1992 have been critiqued as focusing on the "physical beautification of cities" and lacking the necessary tools to deal with the structural issues around the political economy of land, rising poverty levels and inequality in the wake of rapid urbanisation in cities and towns in Ghana (Obeng-Odoom, 2010).

It is in light of these that some urban scholars have called for a rethinking of the normative philosophy underpinning the trajectory of contemporary urban development in sub-Saharan Africa, which prioritise showcasing mega-projects including satellite cities, new central business districts, and luxury real estate developments as the panacea for Foreign Direct Investment flows, economic growth, and prosperity for all (Watson, 2014). With government and local authority planning mainly focused on such projects which have tended to benefit just a few urban elites and the middle class, investments in public goods for most of the urban under-class whose survival is dependent on the informal sector has stifled, pushing them further to engage in unsustainable activities inimical to the environment and their economic survival. Grant (2015) therefore suggests a new urban development paradigm that takes into consideration the peculiarity of urbanism in Africa by incorporating for example, "slum urbanism" into contemporary urban planning and development. Grant (2015) further contends that such a move will see a dual pathway to sustainable urban development in a holistic manner as Africa's major cities navigate the path to hopelessness.

2.8 Summary

This chapter reviewed Accra's development trajectory, with a special focus on its current neoliberal status. It considered the historical development of the city from its inception as the capital of the colonial administration and how the governance processes produced a segregated urban form, with well-planned European settlements on one hand and chaotic indigenous settlements on the other. The chapter also focused on the period immediately after independence when nationalist policies were pursued in an attempt to de-Europeanise the city and create an all-inclusive national capital city. The economic and spatial transformation of the city which occurred when Ghana embraced neoliberal economic policies from the early 1980s was also considered in this chapter. The exclusionary effects of the emerging urban form were then discussed, and an overview of the city's future sustainability was also highlighted.

Chapter3

Neoliberal Accra and the Transformation of the Retail Industry

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the diversification of Ghana's retail structure, particularly in Accra under economic liberalisation. The first part of the chapter gives an overview of key investments in modern retail facilities that have occurred in Ghana since economic liberalisation was introduced, particularly those developed with foreign capital. It also looks at the involvement of global capital in the redevelopment of traditional markets and its impacts on some categories of traders. The second section presents the changing retail landscape in neoliberal Accra, which includes inner-city retail regeneration projects, investment, and expansion of modern retail formats owned by indigenous business operators. It then reviews the globalisation of the retail industry which began in early 2000 with foreign capital investments in shopping malls and the increasing presence of international retail companies in Accra. The geographical location and the characteristics of the major shopping malls are also discussed, with a detailed account given of the Accra and West Hills Mall.

3.2 Investments in the Modern Retail Industry

Pre-COVID-19 investment indices suggested Ghana was on a promising trajectory as the most preferred investment destination in the West African sub-region. The country ranked number one in terms of ease of doing business and the second-highest recipient of FDI in West Africa in 2019 (UNCTAD, 2019). Ghana was also ranked as the fastest-growing economy in the world in 2019 by the World Bank. The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), the state agency responsible for promoting investments in Ghana has over the years fashioned out investor-friendly policies to make Ghana a more attractive investment destination and competitive globally (PWC, 2020). The centre's 2013 investment ACT 865, for example, guarantees the security and protection of the interest of local and foreign private investors including the ease of transfer of capital, profits, and dividends out of the jurisdiction of Ghana.

However, investments in the retail sector and some other enterprises are subject to strict rules that prohibit foreign participation in some sectors of the retail industry. Section 27 of the ACT prohibits non-Ghanaians from engaging in trading in traditional, petty retailing or hawking or selling goods in stalls (See GIPC ACT 865, Section 27. P.10). In recent times this contentious provision in the investment ACT has generated conflicts between Ghanaian small-scale retailers and foreign operators in the industry, particularly Nigerian retailers who have taken advantage of the free movement of citizens of member states of the West African economic union (Ecowas) to run petty retail businesses in the country. The gross violation of the law by foreigners has seen small-scale trader associations like the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) mobilising their members to 'enforce' the law by attacking and forcefully closing shops belonging to foreigners, whom they perceive as a threat to their livelihoods (Citi Newsroom, 2019; Radio France International, 2019).

While the Investment Act prohibits foreign nationals from engaging in petty retailing, section 28 of the ACT stipulates that foreign investors with a minimum capital of two hundred thousand US dollars can enter a joint venture with a local partner to invest in some businesses, with the latter having not less than 10% stake in the business. A foreigner can, however, solely own such enterprises with an investment capital of not less than five hundred thousand US dollars. One hundred million US dollars is the minimum requirement for foreign investors who wish to set up retail businesses that require the importation of goods into the country. Investments in formal and modern retail formats are moving at a faster pace in Ghana. Clearly, this shows that Ghana's investment climate is more favourable to international capital investors. The 2019 Global Retail Development Index (GRDI) ranked Ghana number one in Africa and fourth in the world in terms of retail investments, with an estimated market value of US$24 billion, which was also projected to increase to US$35 billion in the years ahead (Kearney, 2019). Ghana's stable political environment, growing middle-class population, and high rate of urbanisation have largely been cited as contributing to the surge in investment in modern retail development (Kearney, 2019).

Since the turn of the century, there has been an unprecedented increase in the number of Western-style retail formats particularly shopping malls in the Ghanaian retail market. This is introducing new dynamics to the retail industry, previously dominated by the traditional and informal retail system. As foreign participation in the commercial property market is surging, so also is the number of international property service companies, mainly of South African origin establishing their dominance in the management of the burgeoning real estate property market in Ghana. Although up-to-date data on the total retail space in Ghana's formal retail sector is generally lacking, there is evidence to suggest that foreign direct investment in the sector has increased over the years. The number of modern retail formats opened with foreign capital since 2000 and those still in the pipeline bears ample testimony to the fact that the footprint of international investors in the Ghanaian retail trade industry is expanding. Table 3.1 below shows the major shopping malls developed in Ghana from 2000 to 2018, with the majority in the capital city, Accra.

No	Name	Year	Size	No. of Shops	Location
1	A&C Mall	2000	6,000 m^2	30	Accra
2	Accra Mall	2007	25,500 m^2	65	Accra
3	Marina Mall	2013	12,250 m^2	45	Accra
4	Junction Mall	2014	11,597 m^2	40	Accra
5	Oxford Street Mall	2014	6,230 m^2	27	Accra
6	West Hills Mall	2014	27,500 m^2	65	Accra
7	Achimota Retail centre	2015	14,000 m^2	51	Accra
8	Kumasi City Mall	2017	29,000 m^2	60	Kumasi
9	Takoradi Mall	2018	11, 000 m^2	74	Takoradi

Table 3. 1 Major Completed Shopping Malls in Ghana as of 2018. Source: Authors compilation from various sources.

There is also evidence to suggest that indigenous Ghanaian businesses operating in the formal retail sector have also modernised and expanded their investments since economic liberalisation was introduced. A typical example is the Melcom Group, which from a humble beginning in 1989 has established itself as a leading player in the retail market in Ghana, with its chains of stores and modernised in-store operations across the country. It currently operates 38 retail outlets with a presence in all 16 regions of Ghana (See Melcom Ghana website). Others like Palace hypermarket and Maxmart supermarket are also establishing their footing in the market and expanding operations, particularly in Accra. Palace hypermarket which began in 2005 is fast expanding its operation in Accra with currently five outlets and has since extended its franchise outside Accra with one more centre opened in Ghana’s second city, Kumasi as of 2019. MaxMart supermarket which was established in 2001 is currently limited to the Accra market with four chains across the Greater Accra metropolitan area.

3.3 Regeneration of Existing Public Markets in Ghana

Major public markets in Ghanaian cities and urban centres have recently been at the centre of redevelopment activities as part of the broader urban regeneration strategy. Private capital from both local and international sources has often been mobilised towards this cause. Often cited by local authorities as the reasons for these regeneration projects is the need to create efficiency in the retail sector for revenue mobilisation and solving the problem of market fires that have become so rampant across the country due to structural defects and poor wiring systems in old market buildings (Asante, 2017). Such redevelopment projects have also courted the interest of the central government as it sits within its urban modernisation framework and the political leverage of using infrastructure to win votes from the citizenry (Asante, 2017). The state has therefore been at the forefront of facilitating the mobilisation of funding to execute these projects. Financial arrangements for the redevelopment of such projects have often been done through the Public-Private partnership policy framework, with the private sector providing the capital for the reconstruction, and in some cases managing the completed project for the capital invested to be recouped with interest (Okoye, 2020). Notable among the high-profile market re-development projects include the ongoing Kumasi Kejetia and central market redevelopment projects, and the Kotokuraba market project in Cape Coast in the central region of Ghana. The Kumasi project is being financed with a $298 million loan obtained by the government of Ghana (GOG) from the Brazilian government. The project which began in 2015 and is to be completed in three phases also has a Brazilian construction firm, Contracta doing the construction and engineering works (Okoye, 2020). The Kotokuraba market project which started in 2014 on the other hand was financed with a $1.3 billion loan from the Exim Bank of China for a major redevelopment project which included the construction of a new sports stadium in Cape Coast (Nwakalor, 2016 as in Okoye, 2020).

3.4 The Impact of Marketplace Regeneration Projects on Retailers

Gonzalez's (2020) attempt to conceptualise contemporary marketplaces, including informal retail areas as contested urban spaces at the margins of globalisation hinges on three generative but interconnected lenses, which situate marketplaces at the contested urban margin. This is re-stated below:

First, is the emerging trend worldwide where “marketplaces are increasingly becoming spaces for the extraction of profit… through the redevelopment of the physical infrastructure of marketplaces and the gentrification of their customer base and traders”. Following this, is “marketplaces becoming sites for political mobilisation, sometimes directly to resist the processes of gentrification…or as battlegrounds for a wider struggle of groups fighting for the right to the city of the most vulnerable”. And thirdly, marketplaces becoming “sites for the reproduction of alternative social and economic practices that can transcend consumerists values and practices” (Gonzalez, 2020 p.880).

Indeed, emerging trends and events following market redevelopment projects in Ghana resonate with Gonzalez’s notion about marketplace redevelopment and its implied gentrification effect. As the state seeks to modernise urban infrastructure in the quest to make cities attractive, marketplaces in Ghana, particularly those in central business areas have not only become the focus of redevelopment activities but also places invoking conflicts and contestations between key actors in the industry, including the state and local authorities on one hand, and retailers on the other. Such contestations have occurred at different stages of the redevelopment scheme, right from the construction phase to the allocation of stores after the completion of the redevelopment project.

The redevelopment of marketplaces makes it imperative for existing traders to be either displaced or relocated to make way for the construction of the new infrastructure. This can destabilise traders with negative implications for livelihoods as they are uprooted from their base. While some displaced traders may be completely thrown out of business and lose their source of livelihood, others may be relocated to satellite markets elsewhere in the city where business may not be as brisk as compared to the previous location. This has often been the norm regarding market redevelopment projects in Ghana (Asante and Helbrecht, 2019a; Asante and Helbrecht, 2019b; Awuah, 1997; Gillespie, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2013; Obeng-Odoom, 2011b). In response, traders and their affiliated trader associations have often contested displacement and relocation using varying methods (Asante and Helbrecht, 2019a; Okoye, 2020). In the case of the Kejetia and central market redevelopment project in Kumasi, Asante and Helbrecht (2019a) contend that traders used different resistance strategies, including street protests, press conferences, petitions to state and local authorities, litigation, and social media to win public sympathy. Asante and Helbrecht (2019a) further demonstrated how through such resistant practices non-state actors like traders have been able to participate and influence urban governance in Kumasi.

Similarly, the redevelopment of the Kotokuraba market in the central regional capital, Cape Coast also caused the displacement of traders which consequently led to a series of losses by traders, including customers, capital, savings, and inability to shoulder household responsibilities, and deterioration in health (Asante and Helbrecht, 2019b). However, traders who accept to be relocated to temporary markets in obscure places often had to use coping strategies, including trading at multiple sites in the city, diversifying the products they sell, or completely switching to different products (ibid.).

Under liberalisation and the operations of market economy principles, capital investment in infrastructure development including market regeneration projects is subject to full cost recovery, and with a profit if the investment is private sector led. As such, completed projects tend to be exclusively for retailers who can afford to rent a space in the refurbished market. And the rental cost can be so prohibitive to deny some previous users of the space the right to re-occupy the redeveloped market. For example, Okoye's (2020) study of the exclusionary effects of the Kejetia redevelopment project on petty traders and street vendors noted that, apart from the dubious registration tactics used by the city authorities to exclude some legitimate traders from re-occupying the refurbished market, she reckons the anticipated high demand for spaces was likely to drive up rental prices and "price out many street vendors from accessing these spaces".

Market redevelopment projects have also assumed a political dimension in Ghana. Asante and Helbrecht (2020) introduce the concept of "politically induced displacement" (PID) in their analyses of the impacts of infrastructure regeneration projects in cities in the global south, where political parties in government favour their members by allocating stores in redeveloped retail infrastructure by dispossessing occupants perceived to be supporters of opposition parties. Working through the lens of a case study in a secondary city in Ghana, Cape Coast, the authors found that the allocation of spaces in the refurbished Kotokuraba market was motivated by what they referred to as 'clientelism' in Ghana's political discourse. The two leading political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) have taken turns when in government to allocate stores to their supporters by evicting traders perceived to be members of the opposition party (Asante and Helbrecht, 2020).

3.5 Accra's Changing Retail Landscape

As Accra edges towards the status of a competitive and world-class city, the retail landscape has also been the focus of major transformations to reflect the character of a globalising city. New and modern retail formats have proliferated across the city's metropolitan area, while at the same time, some existing retail formats have also seen major facelifts. Meanwhile, the pervasiveness of informal retail activities including hawking and street vending along the cities' major thoroughfares has given cause for new urban governance systems to check the 'unruly' city. Driven mainly by the high rate of urbanisation and lack of employment in the formal sectors, the urban proletariat's only means of reproducing themselves is appropriating the 'urban commons' in the city's thoroughfares (Gillespie, 2016). The retail structure of contemporary Accra like most global south cities is fragmented and consists of an array of modern and informal retail fabrics co-existing in a seemingly fluid and changing urban landscape. This section highlights some of the key transformations in Accra's retail landscape since the liberalisation of the economy.

3.6 Retail Regeneration in Central Accra (Traditional CBD)

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) with jurisdictional authority over Accra's inner-city area, has over the last two decades pursued vigorous redevelopment, decongestion, and beautification initiatives to enhance its function as the administrative and business hub of the city. This is largely within the framework of the "Millennium Cities project", a global initiative of which Accra is a member. Key among its objectives is the beautification and decongestion of the CBD, which also has expression in the National Urban Policy Framework (Spio, 2011). Arguably, that can also be regarded as an attempt to instil a sense of proper planning and orderliness in a thriving, but chaotic downtown that has largely been ignored and remained unplanned since colonial times. The Millenium Cities initiative therefore presented the opportunity for the regeneration of Accra's CBD, with a significant focus on the redevelopment of the retail sector.

One such retail regeneration project in central Accra is the conversion of the Makola market into a shopping mall (MSM), which was completed in 1997. According to the company managing the property, the 15,000 sq. m shopping facility is jointly owned by a quasi-state pension fund management organisation, Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) with a 90% stake and the local authority (AMA) holding the rest of the share has 623 stores with 90% occupancy (see MMC Property Management website). The second phase of the MSM which started in 2015 was completed in 2017 on a 1.28-acre land adjoining the existing Mall. The multi-story shopping facility has 209 shops, banks, restaurants, and a 3-level 300-capacity car park among other state-of-the-art facilities. It currently has 75% occupancy (MMC Property Management website). The Makola Mall project was the first initiative by the city authority to introduce sanity and a sense of formality in a hitherto chaotic market environment in the heart of the city. It also follows from the 1993 devastating fire that engulfed the Makola No. 2 market destroying property and retailers' wares and subsequently displacing many traders.

However, like most redevelopment projects, the Makola market project was not without some scuffle between the city authority and traders who were sceptical about being allocated space upon project completion. The National newspaper, the Daily Graphic, for example, reported in 1997 about 800 grocery traders refusing to relocate to a new space provided by AMA to make way for the completion of the mall project. The traders cited a promise made by the city authorities to allocate them spaces in the new facility and therefore relocating them will constitute an attempt to dispossess them of their stalls (Ghanaweb, 1997). This shows how urban regeneration projects could delegitimise the activities of poor traders. In such situations, reluctant traders have often been forcefully ejected and displaced.

Figure 3. 1 The Makola Shopping Mall in Accra Inner City. Source: MMC Property Management Website (2021)

The Octagon is yet another high-profile redevelopment project in downtown Accra. The 75,000 sq. m. luxury mixed-used property is situated in a prime location in Accra's central business district, and it consists of office, retail, hotel, and other commercial spaces. It is entirely a private initiative executed by Dream Reality Limited- a joint venture between a foreign real estate company based in Beirut, Lebanon, and a local company, Interplast PVC Limited, with support from AMA (Daily Graphic, 2013). The project which started in August 2011 was completed and commissioned in November 2017 by the president of Ghana, Nana Akufo-Addo (Joy Online, 2017). Previously, the land was the 'commons' for petty traders, popularly referred to as the Novotel market, which also served as a hub for intra-city commercial vehicles (Habib, 2013; Spire and Choplin, 2017). Before the commencement of the project, the traders using the public space to earn a living were evicted and relocated outside the CBD by the local authority, which sources indicated was against the wish of many of the traders (Spire and Choplin, 2017). AMA was instrumental in assisting the private developer in securing the space with the hope that it would complement the inner city's modernisation and beautification befitting its Millennium status. In return, Dream Reality built a new ultra-modern office complex known as the Accra city hall for the AMA on an adjacent piece of land (AMA, 2018). According to Dream Reality, the gesture was part of its corporate social responsibility to give AMA a new and 'elegant structure' to 'befit its name and status' (Dream Reality, 2018). Before then the Assembly's offices were housed in a dilapidated colonial building. This can be interpreted to mean the company putting the AMA in the right frame to continue pursuing its vision of modernising the city.

While the city authorities provided an alternative location for the traders to continue their business, many were reluctant to relocate to the new place for the obvious reason of losing a strategic place where they have been plying their businesses for years. However, in July 2010 they were forced to move to a location close to the Kwame Nkrumah Circle (Spire and Choplin, 2017). The forced eviction of the traders re-echoes previous comments made about regeneration projects in Africa, as offering the opportunity to rid the city of informal activities including petty traders from strategic places (Falt, 2016; Afena, 2009; Du-Plessis, 2005).

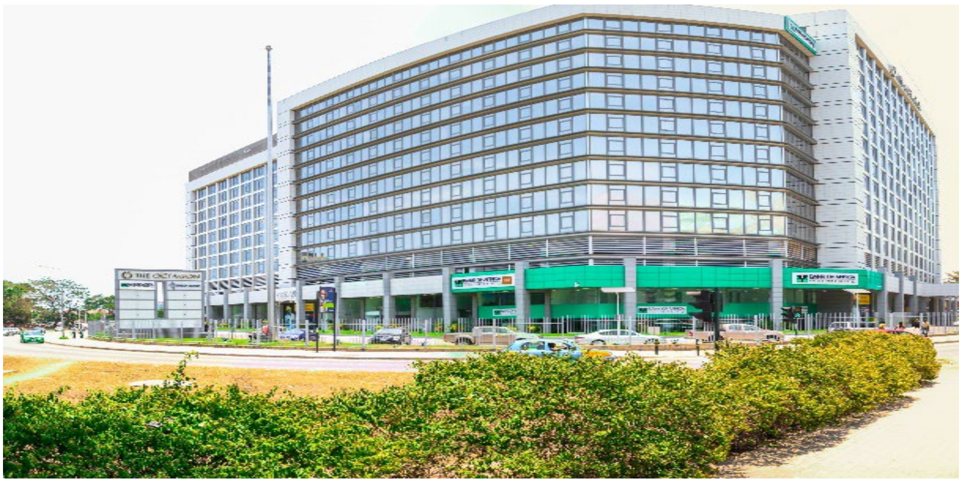


Figure 3. 2 The Octagon Multi-Purpose Building. Source: Dream Reality (2021)

Figure 3. 3 The New AMA Building. Source: Dream Reality (2021)

3.7 Indigenous Modern Retail Chain Operators in Accra

This section gives an overview of the extent to which local investors in the modern retail sector have expanded their operations in a highly competitive retail market in Accra. While Ghana has fewer locally owned retail establishments operating modern retail chain outlets, there is every indication that the few existing ones have taken advantage of the enabling investment climate under economic liberalisation to expand their investments. Key among these indigenous retail establishments currently making the waves in Accra include Melcom stores, MaxMart supermarket, and Palace hypermarket.

3.7.1 Melcom Stores

Melcom has expanded its stores to cover greater parts of the country in a relatively short period and embraced modern methods of retailing in its operation to become a leading retailer of consumer choice in Ghana. From one shop in Accra Central in 1989, the family-owned retail conglomerate currently has more than 60 stores nationwide with a combined total retail space of about 2 million square feet (Melcom Group, 2022, Oxford Business Group, 2015). Melcom has also diversified its operations and ventured into other businesses, including hospitality, and travel and tours.

With 20 store branches established across the city as of 2020, Melcom by far remains the largest retailer with chains of stores around Accra. It's been argued that the success of Melcom in the Ghanaian retail market over its competitors, is its strategic position within the industry in Ghana (Asiedu, 2015). The company's long experience in the Ghanaian market, a wide range of assortments, quality brands, promotions, aggressive marketing, cost reduction, and the widespread refurbishments of its stores have been identified as the key factors giving Melcom the competitive advantage (Asiedu, 2015).

Melcom currently has stores in the following locations in the Greater Accra region; Accra Central, Adabraka, Kaneshie, Dansoman, Spintex, Madina, Tema community 1, Ashaiman, Achimota, Teshie Nungua, Kisseman, East Legon, Abeka Lapaz, Weija, Ashongman, Nanakrom, Ablekuma, La, Frafraha, and Afienya. Figure 3.4 below shows the location of Melcom stores in Accra.

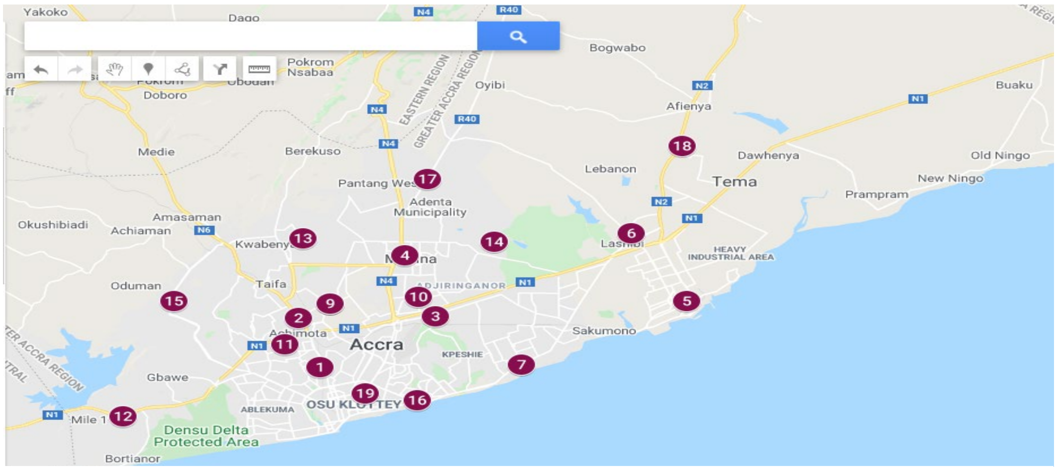


Figure 3. 4 Location of Melcom Stores in Accra. Source: Google Maps (2019)

3.7.2 MaxMart Shopping Centre

Maxmart Shopping Centre is a chain of supermarkets operating in a few suburbs in Accra. It is a subsidiary of Kwatsons Ghana Limited, a fully owned Ghanaian wholesale supply company. It ventured into retailing in 2001 with one store close to the 37 Military Hospital on Liberation Road, and its mission was to fill the void in the absence of "world-class and standard facilities in the Ghanaian retail space" (MaxMart Shopping Centre, 2021). It has subsequently opened three more branches in middle to high-class neighbourhoods in Accra-East Legon, Tema, and Dzorwulu and created jobs for about 400 employees (MaxMart Shopping Centre, 2021). Figure 3.5 below shows the location of Maxmart stores in Accra.

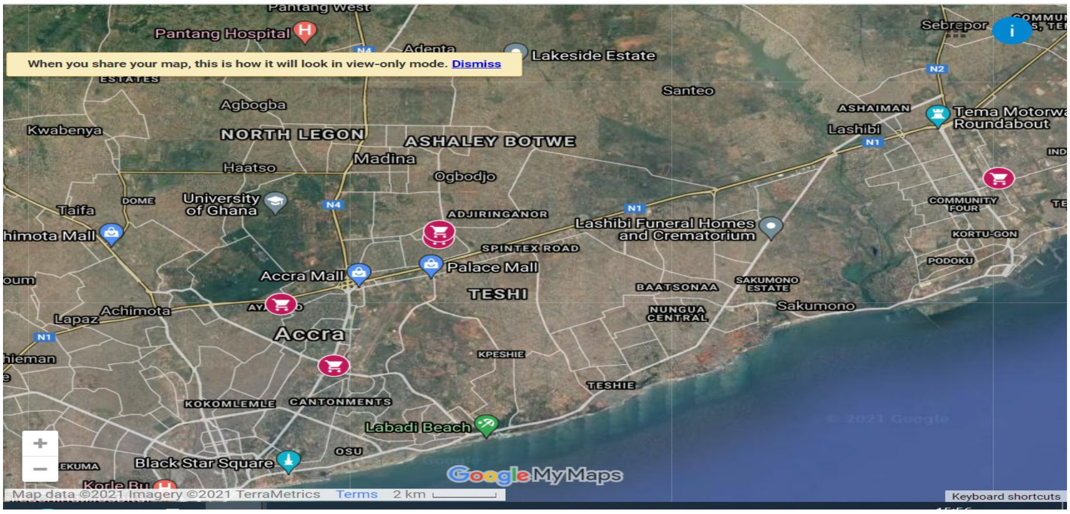


Figure 3. 5 Location of Maxmart Shopping Centres in Accra. Source: Google Maps (2019)

3.7.3 Palace Hypermarket

Palace entered the modern retail market in Ghana in 2005 with the introduction of what it claims to be a novel retail concept on the Ghanaian retail landscape, which is a fusion of hypermarkets and department stores. It started with an 11,000 square meters hypermarket along the Spintex Road in Accra and has since grown to be among the leading modern retailers in the country. With four more branches at Weija, Tema, Labone, and Atomic Junction in Accra, it has also expanded to Ghana's second city, Kumasi with an additional store. Like its competitors, Palace Hypermarket deals in top international brands as well as quality local brands. The figure below shows the location of Palace hypermarkets in the Greater Accra region. Figure 3.6 shows the location of Palace stores in Accra.

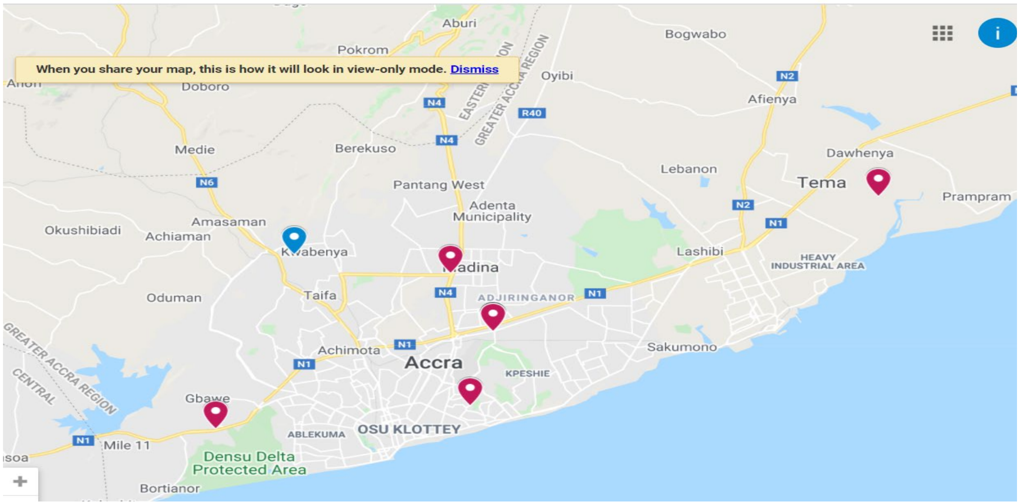


Figure 3. 6 Location of Palace Hypermarkets in Accra. Source: Google Maps (2019)

3.8 The Emergence of Shopping Malls as a Global Consumption Space

Victor Gruen's pioneering architectural design which culminated in the opening of the first post-war American shopping centre, the Southdale shopping mall in Minnesota in 1956, marked the beginning of a revolution in consumer behaviour. Although, as Malherek (2016) pointed out, Gruen's original concept was to create a new social and democratic space in emerging suburban communities after the Second World War in America that lacked community centres, the idea was appropriated and reconceptualised in more capitalist terms as spaces for promoting the mass consumption of goods in a post-Fordist economic era. The success of the mall concept in North American suburban communities is known to have however stifled the viability and vitality of most traditional downtowns as new investments and economic activities were diverted to the new centres (Jackson, 2003). Drawing an analogy from the concept of "habitat" as used in the ecological sciences, Bloch et al (1994) describe the shopping mall as the new 'consumer habitat' in America. This stems from the fact that consumer satisfaction is not only found in the goods they purchase but more importantly the hedonic and experiential satisfaction derived from using the mall. Thus, the mall's attributes which often include an attractive façade, good customer service, an all-around temperature-controlled environment, cinemas, restaurants, security, the car park, etc. have become the motivations driving modern consumption cultures.

The success of the mall concept and its popularity in North America in the mid-20th century saw the movement of the new concept beyond America, and first, across the Atlantic to

Western Europe in the late 20th century. In the United Kingdom, where it is commonly referred to as 'shopping centres', malls first appeared in the late 1980s (Guy, 1998). The Shopping mall concept has since grown to become a global phenomenon as the concept travelled beyond the Western world to emerging and developing economies. As previously discussed, the emergence and proliferation of shopping malls in much of sub-Saharan Africa is recent, and as the trend shows they are beginning to form an integral part of the retail fabric in major cities across the continent at the turn of the century, while there are also many in the pipeline waiting to come on stream.

3.9 Definitions and Classifications: The 'Shopping Mall' and 'Shopping Centre' Conundrum

While the terms shopping mall and shopping centre have often been used interchangeably to refer to a building complex containing several stores, there appears to be a geographical polarisation in the usage of the terms. In North America and most countries in the developing world shopping malls are commonly used, while in Europe, particularly in the UK and Ireland, the term shopping centre is generally used. However, the International Council of Shopping Centres (ICSC) offers a definition that suggests that a shopping mall is an enclosed building complex with a "climate-controlled walkway between two facing strips of stores". In the literature, the term shopping centre is also used as a generic term, which refers to an area designated for retail. However, as noted by Guy (1998b), opinions are divided about the usage and meaning of the terms. While one school of thought suggests that a shopping centre refers to a group of shops in a given locale irrespective of whether they are "old, new, planned, unplanned, purpose-built or converted", the other school of thought limits the term to only "planned and purpose-built retail development" (Dawson, 1983; Dawson and Lord, 1985). Guy (1998b) concurs with the latter and deems "retail areas" as the appropriate term for a description of "unplanned clusters of retail outlets". In this frame, shopping malls fall into the category of shopping centres since they are planned and purpose-built retail developments, albeit with a unique physical form. Guy (1998b) gives a vivid description of a shopping mall which sets it apart from other shopping centres as:

- A group of shops "contained in one very large building, although some of the internal spaces may not be roofed over", with a minimum Gross Leasable Area (GLA) of about 10,000 m^2.
- It includes one or more large anchor stores which may be a department or a variety store and several other smaller retail units.
- Larger and modern shopping malls may have "food court(s) and leisure facilities such as cinema and ice rink".
- Shopping malls try to mimic long-established traditional shopping areas, with smaller units dealing in comparison goods such as clothing, footwear, leisure, and luxury items.

Shopping malls are generally classified hierarchically based on their functions into Super-regional, regional, community, and neighbourhood shopping malls. There are also variations in the definition and characteristics of each type of shopping mall or centre between countries and regions. However, the ICSC has adopted the U.S. classification model as the template for the world which is shown in table 3.2 below.

Type of Center	**Typical GLA Range(sq. Ft)**	**Number of Anchors**	**% of Anchor GLA**	**Typical No. of Tenants**	**Trade Area Size**
Super-Regional	800,000+	3+	50-70%	N/A	5-25 miles
Regional	400,000 to 800,000	2+	50-70%	40-80 Stores	5-15 miles
Community	125,000 to 400,000	2+	40-60%	15-40 Stores	3-6 miles
Neighbourhood	30,000 to 125,000	1+	30-50%	5-20 Stores	3 miles

Table 3. 2 The US Shopping Centre Classification. Source: ICSC (https://www.icsc.com/uploads/t07-subpage/US-Shopping-Center-Definition-Standard.pdf)

South Africa, a country ranked among the nations with the highest number of shopping centres in the world uses a slightly different classification model from the ICSC's, especially about the size of a shopping centre (GLA). According to Prinsloo (2010), the South African Council of Shopping Centres (SACSC) uses the following classifications. A Super-Regional centre has a GLA of above 100,000 m^2, a regional centre has GLA between 50,000 – 100,000 m^2, a Small Regional centre has GLA between 25,000 – 50,000 m^2, a community centre has a

GLA of 12,000 – 25,000 m^2, and a Neighbourhood centre has GLA of between 5,000 – 12,000 m^2.

For land use and planning purposes in UK towns and cities, the government added another dimension to the classification of shopping centres based on location (Guy, 1998b). In this context, shopping centres are classified into 'edge-of-centre', 'out-of-context, 'out-of-town', and 'town centre developments. An edge-of-centre development is close to an existing shopping area, usually within a walking distance of about 200-300 metres. An out-of-centre development lies outside a traditional town centre but not necessarily outside the urban area, whilst an out-of-town development is usually located on a greenfield site or outside the urban boundary. Town centre developments are in the existing traditional or central retail area of a town or city (Department of Environment, 1996 as in Guy, 1998b). Concerns about the negative impacts of new regional and bigger out-of-town shopping centre developments on UK towns and cities from the early 1990s necessitated policy intervention to save existing towns and revitalise them. This has culminated in the promulgation of a series of policy guidance prioritising traditional town centres for new regional shopping centre developments (Findlay and Sparks, 2012).

3.10 Retail Globalisation: The Proliferation of Shopping Malls in Accra.

The beginning of the 21st century marked a significant turning point in Ghana's quest to further its agenda of asserting itself as an investment destination in a highly competitive global market. The retail sector had become a major focus of new investments, particularly Western-style retail formats. With Accra as the hub of these investments, the city's retail landscape has seen a major transformation as modern retail complexes such as shopping malls have become ubiquitous. Neo-liberal policies and an enabling investment climate meant local entrepreneurs and their foreign counterparts were at the forefront of shopping mall development in Ghana. However, because they are private sector-led investments, the availability of market and profit motives have been the driving forces determining their location. As such, most of the shopping malls in Accra are in middle-class suburban areas, outside existing town centres. However, there is also an emerging trend where malls are deliberately being developed and used as catalysts to transform peri-urban areas in Accra into high/middle-income neighbourhoods. Here, shopping malls have provided the impetus for real estate developers to invest in luxury residential apartments and gated communities next to malls, which are much sought after by urban elites. A typical example is the WHSM.

It is also worth noting that South African property developers and retailers are at the forefront of the burgeoning shopping mall industry in Ghana and other SSA countries. Access to the African retail market by South African investors has grown over the years due to the relative ease and investment opportunities afforded by the African Union charter which promotes intra-regional investment in member states of the union. South African businesses have accordingly taken advantage to extend their investment portfolios in the retail sector beyond the southern African region. Until 1994 when apartheid was abolished, South Africa was a pariah state. It has since risen over the years to become a regional economic superpower in SSA (Carmody, 2012). Not only are South African real estate companies leading the investment bandwagon in the development of shopping malls across SSA, but their major retail enterprises have also expanded internationally to other African countries by filling spaces in these shopping malls as anchor tenants (Das Nair, 2019). South African retail giants such as Shoprite, Game, Pick n Pay, Woolworths, and Mr Price have increasingly become household names in other African countries over the years.

3.11 The Policy Environment and the Character of Shopping Malls in Accra

Perhaps due to the novelty of the shopping mall phenomenon and the fact that the industry is still in its "infancy" stage in Ghana and many other SSA countries, no overarching model has been adopted for the classification of shopping malls or centres. Apart from South Africa which has many times more shopping centres than the combined total for the rest of the continent, and where shopping centres have existed for a very long time, none of the countries in SSA has a classification model for shopping malls. What is often available is a grading system that puts shopping centres into categories A, B, C, D, etc. without any comprehensive and scientific justification. However, one thing that is clear with shopping malls in Ghana is that there is a remarkable distinction between a generation of shopping malls that are more international in character in terms of ownership, management, and store representation, and burgeoning indigenous versions inspired by globalisation. The former which I would like to refer to as the 'globalised' shopping malls are the major and modern shopping centres in the city that are anchored by foreign retail enterprises mostly of South

African origin and quite a good number of representations from other countries. It is these ‘globalised’ centres that are the focus of this study. The rest of this section focuses on the profile of these globalised shopping malls in Accra that have taken the city by storm.

3.11.1 Achimota Retail Centre

The Achimota Retail Centre is in north-eastern Accra and in the middle-class suburb of Dome, which is along the main Accra-Kumasi highway (N2). It is about 23 kilometres or 40 minutes drive from central Accra. It is the only modern shopping centre in the city that is not fully roofed. The $60 million shopping facility was developed by Atterbury Property Development, a South African company and it is owned by Delico Property Development Limited, another South African property development company. Management of the facility is in the hands of Broll Ghana Limited, a subsidiary of the South African property management company, Broll Property Group. The 15,000 M^2 retail facility would qualify as a community shopping centre based on the South African shopping centre classification model. The shopping centre which opened to the public on 29th October 2015 has the following offerings:

- Two South African retailers as anchor stores (Shoprite and Game)
- 51 line stores offering convenience, fashion brands, banking, and other services, as well as restaurants and food courts.
- A basement parking for 250 cars and another 335 open-air parking spaces.

3.11.2 The Marina Shopping Mall

The Marina Mall is in the Airport City enclave, dubbed Accra’s global central business district. It is 10-minute drive or 8 kilometres away from central Accra. It is owned by Marina Market, an affiliate of the Marina Group which was founded in neighbouring Burkina Faso. Its proximity to Ghana’s main international airport makes it strategic for traveling consumers, both expatriates and Ghanaians in the diaspora who use the port. The mall is housed in a mixed-used 6-level tower complex which is also shared by other international and local corporate organisations. The 12,500 m^2 shopping facility which is spread across three floors was established in 2013 and has the following offerings:

- A huge supermarket, Marina supermarket is the main anchor shop.

- 45 retail outlets dealing in all sorts of goods including designer fashion brands, different food courts, and children's entertainment areas.

3.11.3 The Junction Shopping Mall

The 11,597 m^2 Junction Mall is in Nungua, a suburb in the Greater Accra region which is about 30 minute drive or 24 kilometers from Accra central. It is a neighbourhood shopping centre that according to the centre's website serves a catchment population of about 665,000. The Junction shopping mall is currently owned by Lango, a South African real estate company with an investment portfolio in other African countries. It is under the management of Broll Ghana Limited, a subsidiary company of Broll Property Group, South Africa. The centre was commissioned in November 2014 and has the following offerings:

- It is anchored by Shoprite (South Africa) and Decathlon, a French sportswear company.
- It houses 40 stores offering products ranging from groceries, electronics, clothing, and textiles. It also boasts of having the first LC Waikiki store, a leading international fashion dealer in Ghana.
- Its food court also houses global fast-food outfits like Barcelos, KFC, Pizza Inn, and Chicken Inn.
- It has a parking space for 374 vehicles and playing facilities for children.

3.11.4 The A & C Shopping Mall

The A & C Shopping Mall is reputed to be the first modern retail centre to be established in one of Accra's affluent neighbourhoods, East Legon in 2000. The 6,000 m^2 shopping centre fully owned by a Ghanaian couple Andrew and Cecilia Asamoah, was developed by A & C Development, a property development company that is also owned by the couple. The neighbourhood centre which is located 14 kilometres or 30 minutes- drive from Accra central is managed by Broll Ghana Limited. The mixed-use retail facility has the following offerings:

- It is anchored by an indigenous supermarket, Maxmart.
- It has 63 stores and spaces offering varying services including a health and fitness centre, fashion, education, banking services, restaurants and food kiosks, and a playing ground for kids.

3.11.5The Oxford Street Shopping Mall

The Oxford Street Mall is located on the popular commercial street of Accra, Oxford Street in the neighbourhood of Osu, which is about 11 minutes' drive or four and a half Kilometres from central Accra. The mall is housed in a 13-story mixed-used building owned by the Ghana Libyan Arab Holding Limited (GLAHCO), which is a joint venture between the Libyan Arab Investment Company and the government of Ghana. It was opened in 2014, and the complex has a total of 6,230 m^2 of retail spaces, restaurants, and food courts. It is anchored by the South African retailer, Shoprite and has a two-level underground car park.

3.12 The Regional Shopping Malls in Accra: The Accra and West Hills Malls

Using the South African criteria, the Accra and West Hills malls fit into the small regional shopping mall category with their GLA area of 25,500 m^2 and 27,700 m^2 respectively. However, it is important to note that in the Ghanaian context, the two shopping centres are not just the largest malls by far in the city, but they have assumed an important position in the city's retail hierarchy in terms of where they draw their market from, which there is evidence to suggest goes far beyond the Greater Accra region (Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2016). The popularity of the two shopping malls is also reflected in their status as the new public spaces not only for shopping but also socialisation among the residents of Accra and tourists, which in a sense makes them, iconic landmarks of national importance. This can be seen in, for example, the state's commitment to national resources to provide security with the establishment of a permanent police post with the presence of armed police personnel at the precinct of private investments. Probably this is a precautionary measure to avert what happened in the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya on 21st September 2013 when masked armed men believed to be members of a terrorist group, Al Shabab stormed the shopping centre and killed more than 60 people of different nationalities, including a high-profile Ghanaian government official professor Kofi Awoonor who were in the mall at the time. In the context of the attack, Mirgani (2016), conceptualises the shopping mall as one of the representations of global capitalism that have been targeted by anti-capitalist groups such as Islamic terrorists, reminiscing the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York. While the Accra and West Hills malls may not pass as regional centres per the ICSC classification, they exhibit the other features of a regional centre, and in the local context, it will not be out of place to accord them that status.

3.12.1 Planning and Development of the Accra Shopping Mall (ASM)

The Accra mall which was commissioned in July 2008 has been described as the first enclosed modern shopping centre in Accra. According to Hobden (2015), the 25,500 m sq. retail centre was the initiative of an enterprising Ghanaian investor called Joseph Owusu-Akyaw who used his contacts both internationally and locally to fulfil a dream he had nurtured for years. Sources indicate that the local entrepreneur managed to secure the interest of a UK-based private equity firm Actis and major South African shopping centre anchors, Shoprite, and Game to develop a large parcel of land he had acquired on the north-eastern periphery of central Accra in the 1960s into a modern shopping centre (ibid.). Sources also had it that the planning approval process for the project was somehow side-stepped or better still fast-tracked with the aid of the Ghana Investment Promotion Council (GIPC), a state agency responsible for courting international investors into the country (ibid.). Another interesting issue surrounding the development of the mall was the undue political influence that was at play. It is on record that Owusu-Akyaw and the then president of Ghana, John Kufuor were long-time friends back in their secondary school days, for which reason the president had a special interest in the project (Eduful, 2019). The siting of such a massive retail format next to a major road intersection notoriously known for perennial traffic congestion raises more questions than answers. Was any serious environmental impact assessment conducted before the approval of the plan? Could it be that there was an overriding political influence that relegated planning processes to the background? Be it as it may, it is a well-known fact that the development of the mall has exacerbated traffic congestion in the area. Addae-Bosompra (2009), took note of this and called for a comprehensive retail policy in Ghana that prioritises shopping mall developments in existing town centres to forestall similar problems in the future.

The Accra Mall is near a location where major arterial roads in Accra converge (The Tetteh Quarshie interchange). It is also located close to the most affluent neighbourhoods in the eastern part of the city which makes it strategic in terms of access to a potential market for ostentatious goods usually associated with shopping malls. The mall is about a 6-minute drive away from Ghana's premier international airport and just at the edge of the Airport City, a globalised central business district. The US$36 million shopping facility has 65 shops, the majority of which are operated by foreign retailers dealing with international brands. South African-owned stores including the malls' anchor shops, Shoprite, and Game constitute most of the international retailers operating in the mall. However, there are also a few local retailers operating in the mall. It has nine restaurants in addition to a cinema plex to entertain visitors. There is also a parking space outside the mall which can conveniently accommodate about 900 vehicles. The mall currently has a South African property development company, Atterbury as the majority shareholder, which it acquired from Actis in 2012. Management of the mall is also in the hands of a South African-owned facilities management company, Broll Limited.

Following the development of the mall is the intensification of other land-use activities in the adjoining areas. Key among them is the Villaggio- a high-rise luxury apartment building a few hundred meters away from the mall (Hobden, 2015), and a mixed-use commercial property (the City Galleria) just about 50 meters away, which was still under construction at the time of the fieldwork. Ironically, the mall is also surrounded by a thicket of informal commercial activities, including street vendors, petty traders, and local restaurant operators whose activities are constantly under the radar of municipal guards stationed at the periphery of the mall to uproot them. A major transport terminal which provides bus services to other parts of the city and beyond has also emerged. Known as the Accra Mall station, it is operated by the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU).

3.12.2 Planning and Development of the West Hills Shopping Mall (WHSM)

The West Hills Mall is by far the largest shopping mall in Accra, with GLA covering approximately 27,700-metre sq. Like the ASM, it was the initiative of a Ghanaian businessman by the name of Kofi Sekyere, who once lived in South Africa. Sources also had it that he took advantage of his social networks to court the interest of South African property developers in the Ghanaian retail market. He entered a joint venture through his local real estate firm, Sandpark Limited with Atterbury, a South African property developer to form Delico Property Development Limited. Delico Property currently has a 60% stake in the mall, while SSNIT, a quasi-state institution in Ghana holds the remaining 40% share (Eduful, 2019). According to

Hobden (2015), the success of its predecessor, the Accra mall might have inspired investor confidence in mall development which made it easier for the West Hills project to take off successfully. However, lessons might have also been learned from traffic congestion compounded by the development of the ASM. As part of the planning and development of the mall, $ 8.8 million was spent on designing and constructing an underpass over the N1 highway to the mall to forestall any eventual traffic issues that might result from such a huge project (Ghanaweb, 2014).

The $93 million retail centre was opened in 2014 in a peri-urban area, Southwest of Accra, and adjacent to the N1 highway which runs from Accra to the western region of Ghana. The mall is about 29 kilometres from Accra's CBD. The mall is situated in the Dunkonah community, which few decades ago was part of Accra's rural fringe communities in terms of the character of the population and the built environment. It is currently one of the fastest developing areas in Accra and as Quagraine et al. (2016) put it, the development of the mall has not only spurred the rate of residential and commercial property development but also attracted an increasing number of middle-class residents to the area from other parts of Accra and beyond.

Like the ASM, most of the tenants are international retailers mostly from South Africa, with Shoprite and Game as the main anchor retailers. The management of the mall is in the hands of a subsidiary of the South African property management company Broll Ghana Limited which also manages the Accra Mall, Achimota Shopping centre, and the Kumasi and Takoradi malls. The mall has 1,147 parking spaces (Honu and Jeffrey, 2016). There are also banking, mobile phone companies, restaurants, and entertainment centres in the mall as complements.

Unlike ASM, the WHSM has more formal retail outlets than its immediate neighbours. They consist of mainly small and independent stores, local retail chains, and foreign-owned shops. The choice of the two retail centres for the study is therefore appropriate as it provides the opportunity to understand retail impacts from a broader perspective. The contrasting environment helps to examine the dynamics of the impacts of mall developments in the transformation of the retail structure in Accra which consists of informal and formal retail systems. Figure 3.4 below shows the major shopping malls developed in Accra over the last two decades.

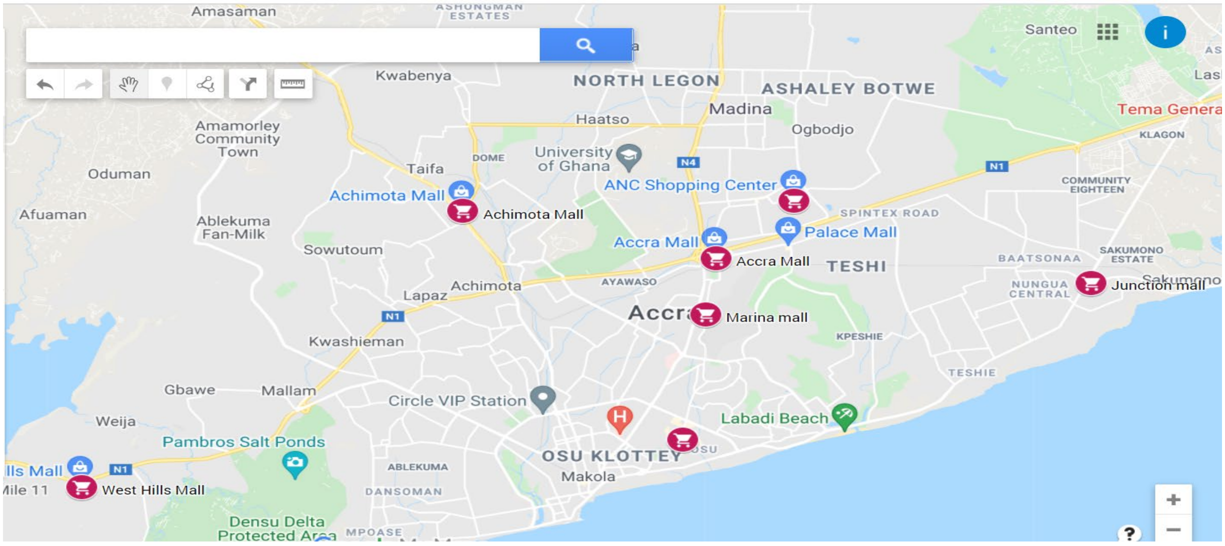


Figure 3. 7 Location of Major Shopping Malls in Accra. Source: Google Maps (2019)

There is a sense in which neoliberal tendencies are creating new and powerful actors shaping contemporary urban development in global south cities. Accra epitomises this as global capitalists and their local collaborators have been at the forefront of regenerating the city through investments in quality urban infrastructure. The retail sector is one area of the urban economy that has continued to see such major transformation with investments in modern retail formats like malls, courting the interest of transnational retailers into the Ghanaian retail market. At the time of conducting this study, new spaces have been added to the existing stock of modern retail facilities in Accra, including more recently the Legon City and the Oyarifa shopping malls. With about 20,000 m^2 and 10,000 m^2 of retail space respectively, they are both indigenously owned. The City Galleria, a mixed-use luxury property just a street crossing and overlooking the Accra mall also adds 2,700 m^2 of retail space when completed. It is also estimated that another 37,000 m^2 of planned retail development is in the pipeline (Broll, 2020). The international retail giant, Spar is the latest global retailer to enter the Ghanaian market with the takeover of 17 supermarkets in Accra that belonged to Citydia, a joint venture between a Ghanaian and a foreign investor (Spar, 2020).

While there is every indication that this development trajectory in the retail sector is going to continue into the foreseeable future as Accra increasingly becomes integrated into the global economy, the effects of retail globalisation, particularly the proliferation of shopping malls on traditional and existing retail forms is a poorly understood area. In the absence of any comprehensive policy guidelines for the retail sector, apart from those that criminalise the activities of informal and petty traders, the planning and siting of large modern retail formats in Ghana are largely led by developers and retailers. Consequently, major shopping malls have sprung up outside Accra's traditional business centres and more are in the pipeline waiting to come on stream. The literature on the impacts of such major out-of-center retail developments suggests that they have negative consequences for other retail developments and the viability and vitality of existing town centres. However, these are mainly theorisations from cities in the Western world. There has been an attempt by some scholars to suggest that the wave of shopping mall developments in Accra has no impact whatsoever on existing and traditional retail systems in Accra (Murillo, 2012; Oteng-Ababio et al., 2015). Murillo (2012) argues from a historical perspective, framing the modern-day shopping malls in the same categorisation as the Kingsway stores of the colonial and postcolonial eras which did not have any adverse impact on indigenous retailers. This assertion demonstrates the lack of understanding of the political economy of urbanisation in contemporary cities and how forces of globalisation and neoliberalism are reconfiguring contemporary urbanism in the global south. This study, therefore, situates the two regional shopping centres, the Accra, and West Hills malls in their neoliberal and globalising place-making processes to fill a knowledge gap in the understanding of the impacts of modern retail formats.

3.13 Summary

This chapter focused mainly on the current evolution of the retail trade industry in Ghana, particularly in Accra, where neoliberal urban processes and global forces have significantly configured the city's retail structure. It argued that the visioning of the city in modernist terms as a means of asserting its global competitiveness has seen considerable capital investment in the redevelopment of existing traditional retail markets and the development of modern retail formats including shopping malls. The injection of private capital in the redevelopment of some key traditional markets, the regeneration of the city's downtown, and their exclusionary impacts on the poor petty traders were duly discussed in this chapter. The expansionary investment portfolio of indigenous retail entrepreneurs was also elucidated. The global phase of Accra's retail development trajectory was also considered, particularly foreign capital involvement in the development of shopping malls, their proliferation, and the increasing presence of transnational retail operators in the Ghanaian market. The chapter concludes by arguing that despite the ubiquity of shopping malls in Accra they have not been interrogated enough to understand the impact they have on traditional retail systems.

Chapter4

Retail Impact Assessment: Malls and Shopping Centre Studies

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the impacts of new retail developments on existing and traditional ones, and how the relationship has been conceptualised, analysed, and understood. Generally, what we know about retail and urban development comes from Eurocentric and North American conceptualisations and theorisations, which have also influenced the way similar phenomena are observed in the developing and emerging economies of the world. The chapter begins by reviewing these thoughts and how they've influenced retail planning and development elsewhere. This is followed by an exploration of the concept of retail impact and what it means in the context of planning and urban development in general. The methods used in assessing retail impacts are also considered in this review. The second part of the chapter reflects on studies closely related to this topic and highlights the approaches to impact assessments, the key concepts that have been interrogated, and the findings. It then concludes by identifying the key knowledge gaps in retail impact studies that this study fills.

4.2 From Retail Planning and Urban Development to Concerns about Impacts

The analysis of the relationship between retailing and urban development has evolved from earlier concentration on the development of retail and shopping models through to the application of rational planning to retail development, and then to discussions on the unintended impacts of retail development and the quality of places (England, 2000). Christaller's (1933) central place theory provided the theoretical background for the rationalisation of retail hierarchies in urban areas- an earlier retail planning concept that was popularised in Western countries (England, 2000; Rao and Summers, 2016; Spierings, 2006). Central place theory explains the spatial distribution of settlements and the functions of central locations in providing goods and services to surrounding settlements. A host of behavioural assumptions including the cost of transport and distance provided the impetus for the hierarchical structuring of the function of retail locations at different thresholds (Jones, 2021). At the top of the hierarchy are the core retail areas or central business districts (CBDs) providing a wide range of goods, particularly 'high order' and luxury goods which are patronised occasionally and therefore require less frequent visits to the city or town centre (Brown, 1993). At the lowest end of the hierarchy are small neighbourhood shops offering convenient goods and daily essentials which require frequent visits to the nearest shop. Colonial and post-colonial spatial planning also mimicked the retail hierarchy model with city centres occupying the top tier of the hierarchy (See Sim et al., 2002). Until recently, when large-scale retail establishments started springing up outside central business districts, Ghana's traditional retail structure and spatial distribution followed the central place model, with core retail areas offering a wide range of comparison shops at the CBD.

4.3 The Changing Retail Context: The Development of 'Out of Centre' Retailing

In the wake of the post-World War II economic order when American entrepreneurs began to seek innovative ways of maximising profits through the promotion of mass consumption, suburban locations emerged as attractive investment destinations with the emergence of the shopping mall. Large and modern retail formats and all kinds of superstores emerged as new retail forms in suburban or out-of-town locations in much of the developed world as living standards improved and the dependency on privately owned automobiles also grew (Thomas and Bromley, 2001).

In North America, large-scale retailing began drifting away from city centres or downtowns to suburban locations precipitously (Jackson, 1996). In the United Kingdom and other Western European countries, a wave of modern retail formats also became popular outside existing town centres, following in the American footsteps (Guy, 1998a). Prevailing market forces, therefore, posed a major challenge to the planned retail hierarchy model as neoliberal planning practices took centre stage in spatial planning and development with private investors driving decision making while planners and city authorities facilitated the process. Invariably, these have resulted in traditional city centres losing their top-tier retail functions to out-of-center large-scale retail developments. The unintended consequences of the development of out-of-center planned shopping centres have been the diminishing viability and vitality of traditional downtowns or town centres (Schiller, 1994; Thomas et al., 2004). Indeed, the unattractiveness of core areas of cities for investment raised serious concerns about their sustainability as some experienced significant deterioration or decay. Lessons learned from such experiences led to the adoption of more restrictive retail planning policies that priorities the regeneration of traditional centres with large-scale retail schemes after experiencing a decline (Lowe and Jonathan, 2007; Judd, 1995). However, the success of such retail-led regeneration schemes has been highly contentious.

Recent trends in third-world cities suggest that retail development also seems to be following the free market trajectory with the proliferation of new large-scale, and modern retail formats outside traditional centres. Neoliberal processes and global forces have seen the emergence of shopping malls outside Accra's central retail areas, with the Accra and West Hills malls as typical examples. The unregulated way in which these large-scale shopping centres are springing up in out-of-centre locations should also raise critical questions about their implications for both existing centres and the local communities where they are located. However, very little research has been conducted to understand the impacts of the emerging dynamic processes in the retail sector in Accra.

The decentralisation of large-scale retail development and the emergence of major shopping areas outside existing centres under neoliberalism have raised concerns about the consequences for urban development in general. These have elicited the attention of academics, urban planners, city authorities, and even retailers and real estate developers concerning the impacts of new retail projects on cities and town centre and existing retail. Subsequently, copious literature on retail impact assessment or studies has been produced in its conceptual and empirical forms, albeit mostly from the Western world experiences.

4.4 The Meaning of Retail Impact and Methods of Assessment (RIA)

While the term retail impact in a more generic sense may sound like an amorphous concept, in the planning literature there seems to be a clear-cut definition of what it entails. This is taken from the basic assumption that spatial planning is to safeguard the interest of the public by preventing the development of projects 'which may produce harmful external effects' (Guy, 2007). Relating this to the development of a new retail scheme, the retail impact is conceptualised in terms of the 'visual appearance of the new development and its relationship with neighbouring buildings and other land uses' (Guy, 2007). Guy (2007, p. 121.), therefore, defines 'impact' in very broad terms "as the competitive effect of new retail facilities upon existing retail facilities elsewhere, and any other effects upon local people and the built environment arising from these competitive effects". Broadly speaking, therefore, the assessment of the impacts of new retail development can be interrogated from the economic, social, and environmental perspectives (England, 2000; Guy, 2007).

The economic impact of new retail development as the literature suggests generally relates to its effects on the trading performance of existing retail systems and employment levels in the local economy. Hypothetically, such an impact could be positive or negative. A positive scenario may arise where because of adequate planning the new retail development helps to improve the retail structure and diversity of an existing retail area, making the place more appealing and attractive to consumers. This invariably leads to an increase in footfall and boosts the trading performance of not only the new retail format but also nearby retailers and other retail centres in the catchment area. Consequently, the employment level may also rise with a multiplier effect on income in the local economy. A negative scenario may arise when trade is diverted from existing retail areas to the new centre leading to loss of trade and employment for the former. The economic impact could also mean the diversion of new investments intended for existing retail areas to the new centre because of the loss of vitality and viability of the traditional centre.

The social impact of a new retail development relates to changes in the demographic and behavioural patterns of shoppers occasioned by the new development. The inclusion and exclusion of certain demographic groups in terms of accessibility of the new retail development or existing retail centres are part of the focus of social impact assessment. A new retail development could have a positive social impact by improving access to retail shops in deprived communities and improving the health of the population as a variety of food and other consumables become readily accessible to a community. A negative social impact of new retail development could be a widening disparity in access to a retail centre between different social groups. For example, the location of a new retail development out of existing town centres could be more accessible to affluent shoppers who have their means of transport as against the poor less mobile or disabled, and the older segment of the population.

The environmental impact of a new retail development mainly focuses on the effects of the new development on the physical environment surrounding both the existing retail centres and the new retail development itself. A positive impact on the environment of new retail development could take the form of gentrification of a town centre as the place attracts further investments to the centre. However, a new retail development in a town centre could also have negative environmental repercussions as the competitive advantage of the new store results in some existing shops closing which could also end up in a place becoming unattractive for further investment, a situation that can also lead to the deterioration and decay of the existing centre. A new retail development in off town location could also have a negative environmental effect on an existing centre as trade is diverted from the centre to the new development resulting in vacant stores. The relationship between new retail development and the transportation system of a place may also have environmental implications. Time spent traveling to access a new retail development in off town location, the traffic congestion associated with such trips, and air pollution could be some of the negative environmental consequences a new retail development could generate.

Bromley and Thomas (1993) also comprehensively outlined the impact of new retail development in a hypothetical scenario. They envisaged the positive impacts to be:

- Provision of a wide range of shopping facilities in a community or town centre for shoppers.
- Increased competition results in cheaper products and, in those centres adversely affected by new developments, reinvestment, and refurbishment resulting in the revitalisation of centres.
- Reduced traffic congestion from town centres if the new retail development is in an out-of-town location.

The negative impacts include:

- A decline in the competitive position of existing centres and associated problems of environmental deterioration.
- The inability of less mobile sections of the community to make full use of out-of-center facilities.
- And Problems with traffic congestion at the new centre.

From the understanding of what retail impact entails, effective spatial planning which incorporates retail into the urban development process is essential if the positive effects of a new retail project were to be realised. Therefore, proposals for the development of large retail schemes require a lot of considerations for a proper understanding of their likely impacts on existing retail systems and other land-use activities before approval is granted.

The retail sector does not only create employment and generate tax revenue for the state and local governments, but it also reflects the general health of cities and towns. The retail sector is so important in determining the success of places as it plays a crucial role in shaping the economic, social, and environmental processes of towns and cities. It is in this regard that in some western countries retail impact models have been developed to understand the impacts of large-scale retail projects before development. Commonly referred to as '*predictive impact studies'* (England, 2000; Guy, 2007), it is different from *post hoc studies* which directly focus on the actual impacts of new retail development on existing retail forms. While this study is aligned with the post hoc genre, it is worthwhile highlighting predictive impact studies.

4.5 Predictive Impact Studies (Theoretical Assessment)

A predictive study is intended to measure the likely effects of a proposed retail project well before a decision is made regarding its development (Guy, 2008). In most European countries such studies have routinely become a key component of spatial planning and requirement for the approval of large-scale retail developments (Jana, 2010). Predictive assessments are quantitative models developed to determine the potential trading impacts of planned retail development on existing commercial centres and the surrounding areas. Retail gravitational models including market area analysis and spatial interaction models developed loosely around the concepts of central place theory underpin these assessments (Khawaldah et al., 2012). These theoretical models are founded on assumptions about the likely trading effects of a proposed new retail development on existing centres. Guy (2008) contends that the fundamental point in this assumption is that the proposed new retail development is not going to generate new consumer spending but rather, it is going to draw from the existing market through competition with retail centres already in operation in the catchment area. In this regard, the assessment involves information and analysis of the trading or sales performance of the existing firms in the surrounding area and the potential trade diversions that will go to the proposed development if it is built. Generally, as outlined by Guy (2008), as in Drivers Jonas's (1992, pp.60) report on the Scottish Office Commission on impact assessment, six steps are followed in predicting retail impacts using the traditional market area analysis model (MAA). These are:

- Identify the catchment area of the proposed development.
- Estimate expenditure within the catchment area.
- Estimate turnover of existing shopping outlets within the catchment area.
- Estimate turnover of the proposed retail development.
- Estimate the expenditure in all existing centres within the catchment area that will be diverted to the proposed development and identify the source of the spending.
- Express the diverted expenditure from each of the existing retail centres as a percentage of the estimated pre-impact turnover of that centre.

Shopping flows are then modelled based on the above information using spatial interaction models. Thus, predictive impact studies are purely quantitative and focused mainly on trading and turnover effects that new retail development is likely to have on existing retail centres.

According to Guy (2008), these kinds of impact studies are mainly carried out by consultancy firms on behalf of developers and retailers to gauge the feasibility of a proposed project and for local authorities to also understand the potential impacts of the proposed development on existing retail areas and the health of existing town centres before a permit is granted or otherwise. Invariably, predictive impact studies become an obvious yardstick for planning application decisions for planned retail development in countries where comprehensive retail planning is considered a matter of utmost importance for the delivery of successful places (ibid.).

It is therefore clear that retail planning is a major area in urban development that should be given attention in urban policymaking due to its effects on many aspects of urban life. For any proposed retail project to be approved for development, it must be subjected to intense scrutiny through predictive impact assessment to ascertain not only the trading impacts but also how such a project will contribute generally to the sustainable development or regeneration of places including existing town centres and local high streets. In UK planning policy guidelines (PPG6), for example, evidence of impact is required for all proposed retail developments over 2,500 square metres of floor space (England, 2000).

4.6 Post-hoc Retail Impact Studies (Empirical Assessment)

Unlike the predictive impact assessment, post-hoc studies involve the collection and analysis of empirical data on the actual economic, social, or environmental impacts of new retail developments on existing retail areas (Guy, 2008; England, 2000). Since this study is aligned with the post-hoc tradition, this section is committed to giving a detailed and general overview of what these studies entail, by reviewing the fundamental issues that have been interrogated about the actual impacts of malls and shopping centres on traditional and existing retail forms. Nonetheless, the review is significantly skewed towards experiences from Western countries, particularly in the United Kingdom where the phenomenon has been well studied, and the literature abounds. Perhaps, with South Africa as the exception, and probably some few countries in North Africa, research generally appears to be patchy on the African terrain, and it is unclear how malls are impacting existing retail areas in other parts of SSA. Perhaps, given the novelty of the mall phenomenon in many SSA countries, this is understandable. However, with the proliferation of shopping malls in major cities, particularly outside traditional retail areas, there is a sense of urgency for academics and other groups interested in urban development issues in Africa to begin interrogating the phenomenon from the African perspective for conceptual clarity.

It is worth noting that most *post-hoc* studies tend to focus on specific cases, often large-scale developments outside existing retail areas. Nevertheless, the impacts of new town centre retail schemes, often branded as retail-led regeneration projects have also been the focus of other studies. It is also important to emphasise that research on the impact of such developments has produced highly ambiguous findings. That is to say that impacts tend to vary from one case to the other, although similarities also abound. There are often specific contextual factors at play that seemingly define the uniqueness and the nuances of the impacts in this regard. However, whether the impact was positive or negative, the studies are largely quantitative assessments focused on measuring the effects of the new retail project on consumer behaviour, Employment effects, trading effects, and vacancy rates in existing retail areas.

4.7 The Impacts of Out-of-Town Retail Centres

This section reviews the literature on the impacts of out-of-center retail developments on existing retail areas. Often dubbed in the literature as developer or retailer-led projects, such large-scale out-of-town retail developments are said to be mainly driven by the economic interests of private investors and less linked to the wider regeneration of existing urban forms and successful place-making. As such, there is a broad consensus in the literature suggesting that such large-scale retail development impacts negatively on existing retail systems and other central urban functions. The whole argument about the impact is premised on the evidence which suggests that such off-centre retail developments divert trade from existing retail centres which in turn have repercussions on the general health (viability and vitality) of these centres. In Western Europe for example, Guy (1998a), noted how from the 1960s the decentralisation of large-scale retail formats significantly altered traditional patterns of retailing which were previously anchored by the domineering role of town and city centres as shopping destinations. The implications of these changes meant that town centres were losing their position on top of the retail hierarchy as they became less attractive shopping destinations, a development which subsequently necessitated the promulgation of restrictive retail planning policies, prioritising town centres for the development of such centres (Guy, 1998a).

4.7.1 Impacts on Shopping Behaviour

The surge in household car ownership in the Western world is said to have significantly altered consumer shopping practices with the popularisation of large shopping centres outside traditional retail areas (Guy, 1998a). The ease with which household mobility afforded such trips for comparable shopping is also known to have had devastating consequences for downtown or inner-city retailing and other traditional retail areas (Cohen, 1996; Wrigley and Lowe, 2002; Biba et al., 2020). The competitive edge these regional shopping centres have over traditional retail areas also stems from their agglomeration effect – a cluster of shops offering varied merchandise in a climate-controlled environment under a single roof, in addition to the availability of free parking (Teller, 2008; Eppli and Benjamin, 1994; Thomas and Bromley, 2002). Largely, in impact assessment, shoppers' growing interest in RSC is often interpreted as a trade that has been diverted from existing retail areas. Thus, much of the analysis of changing shopping habits in impact studies has sought to understand how shoppers reacted to the new centres and their commitment to the existing ones, although only a few studies have attempted to interrogate shopping habits this way (Cohen, 1996; Howard and Davies, 1993; Howard, 1993; Sciara et al., 2018). Surveys have generally been conducted to understand the attitude of consumers towards both the new RSC and the existing retail forms.

4.7.2 Impacts on Existing and Traditional Retail Areas

The impacts of large-scale and off-centre retail development on traditional shopping areas have been assessed through the sales and employment performance of the latter. Trade diversions triggered by the development of a major retail centre outside existing shopping areas would have some implications for these traditional retail areas. Indeed, as the Western literature suggests, in most cases, sales and employment levels had declined in stores within the catchment area of the new centre, particularly where the new RSC had the competitive edge (Howard, 1993; Howard and Davies, 1993; Thomas et al., 2006; McGreevy, 2016; Padilla et al., 2017; Daunfeldt et al., 2022).

In the most extreme instances, off-centre retail developments are known to have caused the extensive closure of shops with detrimental impacts on the general health (vitality and viability) of traditional retail centres and high streets (Guy, 2007; Jackson, 1996; Cohen, 1996; Jones, 2010). While the diversion of shopping trips from these centres has been the primary cause of the decline, the relocation of stores by major multiple retail operators from the neighbouring centres into the new centre is said to have further turned the bad situation worse (Guy, 1998a).

The power of out-of-town shopping malls in altering the urban form of cities by creating new central business areas to rival existing centres have been highlighted as developments requiring urgent planning review. In the United Kingdom for example, Lowe (1999) noted a growing trend where these new off-centre RSCs were becoming the nucleus of emerging new town centres as the surrounding areas became the focus of investments in infrastructure and development to the detriment of the existing and traditional centres, which suffered considerable decline and importance. In Western Europe and North America, where the devastating impacts of such large-scale retail developments on existing retail areas have attracted much attention, restrictive policies to discourage such investments have found relevance in contemporary retail and urban development policy frameworks, which place a premium on traditional centres for RSC development (Guy, 1998a; Spierings, 2006; Guimaraes, 2016).

However, the evidence against the RSC as having negative economic impacts on traditional retail areas has been challenged from some quarters (William, 1995; Robertson and Fennell (2007). The media and both central and local governments have been blamed for hyping the negative discourse surrounding RSCs. William (1995) argues that the evidence supporting such claims is weak and can't justify Britain's restrictive policies on the development of RSCs. On the notion that off-centre retail developments do not create new jobs but rather cause the transfer of employment from existing shopping areas, William (1995, argued that these are unfounded and the evidence against RSCs is mere speculation and not real impacts.

4.8 The Impact of Inner-city Malls and Shopping Centres

Generally, large-scale regional shopping centre developments in existing or traditional town centres are considered schemes supported by central and local governments to maintain or revive the declining vitality and viability of inner cities or downtowns. As such, they are often dubbed as retail-led regeneration projects, particularly in the UK literature (Lowe, 2005; Findlay and Sparks, 2009; Geyer, 2011). However, opinions are divided regarding the impact of such inner-city redevelopment schemes as empirical studies have produced contrasting and ambiguous results. While some of the studies point to their positive effects in the improvement of the general health of town centres, others have given a debilitating account of their impacts, particularly on existing retail forms. This section reviews some of the major inner-city retail development schemes and their impacts.

In assessing the impact of the Eldon Square shopping centre, one of Britain's first-generation inner-city retail developments in Newcastle city centre, Bennison and Davies (1980), conducted a series of consumer and retail surveys to understand the short and long-term impacts of the new RSC. In the short-term the authors noted a remarkable negative impact on existing retailers in the city centre as the new centre generated roughly £63 million in sales, representing 30% of total trade in the city centre in its first year of operation. Bennison and Davies (1980) interpreted this as trade lost by existing retailers on traditional shopping streets in Newcastle city centre. Consequently, the authors reported a reduction in the number of retail establishments and a shrinkage in the shopping territory used by consumers in the city centre. However, they identified other contributory factors responsible for the short-term negative effects, which included the initial clearing of the site for the commencement of the project which displaced some traders, and the relocation of some traders to the shopping centre.

However, the authors reckoned a remarkable improvement in the long-term as the initial adverse impacts had significantly reduced (Bennison and Davies, 1980). Additionally, the number of vacant shops had also dropped significantly from the initial stages and had reduced by 50% in the long run (ibid.).

Michelle Lowe's (2005) study of the West Quay Shopping Centre in Southampton, United Kingdom represents yet another interesting assessment of the positive impact of an inner-city regional shopping mall. Lowe (2005) describes a considerable "synergy" between the new centre and the existing retail fabric in the city centre. The RSC had increased the overall retail market share of the city substantially. This was attributed to trade diversions from other centres and the retention of previous outside market leakages to places like London. Although Lowe acknowledged some initial negative effects on existing stores, including decreased footfall and high store vacancies, these were temporal setbacks that were later offset by high occupancy and increased commercial activity. However, Lowe's analysis of the impacts of the new shopping mall was based on only narratives from the developers and managers of the shopping centre, and to some extent opinions elicited from the city authorities. The study failed to account for the impacts from the perspective of retailers and shoppers.

Similarly, John Emery's article on the development of the Bullring shopping centre in England's second-largest city, Birmingham, recounted how through a series of coordinated plans, the building of the centre had a broader impact in revitalising the entire city. Not only did the development boost the city's reputation as the second-best retail destination in England, but its impacts were also felt in the form of increased retail jobs throughout the city, which significantly benefited the city's tourism industry, and increased use of public transportation system in the city (Emery, 2006).

In stark contrast, Crosby et al.'s (2005) study of the impact of the Oracle shopping centre on retail activity in Reading's inner city in the same country (United Kingdom), shows a detrimental impact on most of the existing retailers, as most of them experienced a decline in footfall and sales volume. The authors noted that the attraction of the shopping centre itself, the relocation of key and attractive stores from the traditional retail area to the new shopping mall or closer to it, and the provision of an additional 2,300 car parking spaces by Oracle shopping centre further significantly diverted pedestrian flow away from the traditional retail centres, severely harming trading in certain retail locations which affected footfall and sales. However, Crosby et al. (2005) also observed that a small number of retailers experienced an increase in turnover due to the impact of the Oracle and most of this group of retailers used new marketing strategies to strengthen their competitiveness against the new shopping centre.

More recently, a study of the impact of Liverpool One, a regional shopping centre in the heart of Liverpool's Central Business District on existing shopping centres and other retail businesses also shows an adverse impact on the latter, manifested in "loss in annual sales, alterations in footfall patterns, fluctuations in vacancy rates, and changes in occupation of retail space" for the latter (Dmochowski, 2016 pp. iii). However, Dmochowski also noted that the scale of the impact varied from one retail area to the other.

Studies in the United States of America have also shown contradictory impacts of new shopping centre developments. For example, Weisbord and Pollakowski's (1984) study of the impacts of downtown revitalization projects on retail activity in six cities in the United States observed that the revitalization projects which took the form of new retail centre developments in the central business districts (CBDs) had varied impacts. They attributed the different impacts to local economic dynamics, how the projects were designed, and the management strategies employed. While some of the projects facilitated positive improvements in retail activities in some downtowns, other CBDs continued to experience downward trends in retail activities after the revitalization projects (Weisbord and Pollakowski, 1984).

It is important to reiterate the key issues of retail impact studies, particularly malls, and shopping centres. The first is that experience from the Western world where the concept was first introduced shows that the emergence of shopping malls broke the hierarchical model of retail planning and development which emphasised central locations for such large-scale retail formats. The second point is that malls are the products of the capitalist mode of urban production driven by the need to promote consumerism and profit accumulation by private capital investors. The third point is that the consequences of urban development processes are obvious, particularly their impacts on existing and traditional urban systems. Therefore, the conceptualisation of the impact of shopping malls on existing retail forms and the methodological approaches to its understanding is largely based on market competition. Shopping centres built outside existing centres as most of the studies indicated have a competitive edge over existing retail areas and subsequently divert trade from these centres. However, these impact assessments which categorise out-of-centre retail developments as retarding development in traditional retail areas have been disputed as lacking the 'hard evidence' to pin down RSC as the cause of town centre woes. Indeed, counter-assessments that show RSCs as having positive effects on nearby centres have been produced in this regard. This leaves the prevailing conceptual and methodological approaches underpinning retail impact assessment in an uncompleted situation or better still, it is a work in progress. But these Western constructs have also provided the theoretical lens for the analysis and understanding of the phenomenon in other parts of the world.

4.9 Shopping Malls and the Developing World Experiences

There is no gain in saying that malls are fundamentally embedded in the 'world-class city-making' ideology that has taken much of the third world by storm, particularly SSA major cities. Malls are increasingly becoming useful artefacts of globalisation in the 'worlding' of cities as they are emerging as important catalysts for enhancing the global image of cities and boosting their competitiveness. However, its designation in the 'global city making' has raised very contentious and critical issues in contemporary urban development discourses. Its centrality in the modernist and international visioning of cities in the global south has particularly played into the foray of critical urban scholarship, more profoundly in cities that have won the right to host global sporting events. Malls have particularly been in the limelight in discussing the subversion of existing legal, planning, and democratic principles that previously safeguarded the economic interest and rights of the urban proletariat (Maharaj, 2023; Ghertner, 2011).

In Durban, South Africa, Maharaj (2023), exemplifies this by giving us deep-seated knowledge about how even a proposal to build a mall could redefine the course of urban development, and into what he calls a shift into a 'new spatial paradigm'. Indeed, this is the paradigm of accumulation and dispossession, following Harvey's lead. South Africa winning the hosting right for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup presented the opportunity for investments in world-class urban infrastructure before the eventual global fiesta. Durban was one of the host cities and as part of the preparation a proposal was submitted through a public-private initiative for the development of a shopping mall at the Warwick junction, a commercial district that had evolved over a century to become one of the most successful post-apartheid 'urban commons' in the city, where the poor working class ekes a living as street vendors through a participatory planning process, which enabled the traders to play a vital role in shaping the development of the Early Morning Market (EMM) in the enclave (Skinner, 2009).

However, a plan to replace the market with a mall changed the course of urban planning, leading to what has been described as the 'subversion of the participatory planning' regime (Maharaj, 2023). Instead, a collaborated 'top-down' liberal planning process by an alliance of city authority and mall investors had emerged to extract value from a viable commercial area. According to Maharaj (2020 p.2), the ensuing new power relations which prioritise the mall over the traditional market is nothing less than a 'neoliberal strategy to favour capital/big businesses, at the expense of the poor traders and consumers in the area.' Maharaj (2023 p.501) subsequently employed the concept of 'structural violence' to critically analyse the dispossessory effect of the modernist visioning of cities on the poor, which includes 'deprivation, poverty, inequality, forced displacement, psychological harm and lack of public participation.'

However, the Warwick study also demonstrates how the agency of the urban proletariat could lead to popular mobilisation - both political forces and legal recourse to resist attempts by city authorities to demolish the market to make way for the development of a mall, which they eventually succeeded (Maharaj, 2023; Maharaj, 2020; Maharaj, 2017; Skinner, 2009).

In India, Ghertner (2011) points to the world-class city-making process in Delhi in the run-up to the city hosting the 2010 Commonwealth Games, where 'aesthetic governmentality' became the norm in urban governance, subverting existing planning processes, laws, and democratic procedures. Ghertner (2011) argued that in transforming Delhi into a global city, the visual appearance of the urban form became the sole criteria or rule for determining its legality and whether it conforms to planning or not. In such a scenario:

"A shopping mall, even if it violates planning law, is legal because it looks legal. A slum, even if its residents have been formalised at their current location, is illegal because it looks like a nuisance" (Ghertner, 2011 p.289).

Thus, Ghertner (2011) further demonstrated this with evidence by recounting how a lawsuit brought to the Supreme Court in India by environmentalists against a proposal to build one of India's iconic shopping malls, the DLF Emporio on a 'protected green space', which completely violated the city's masterplan, was successfully defended by the city authority as "planned" and subsequently judged as "legal". The authority's defence was largely based on the malls' attributes as a world-class commercial space, a capital-intensive and high-quality project that was going to enhance the city's 'architectural profile' (ibid.).

Meanwhile, as the mall was receiving approval for construction to commence, an adjacent space which Ghertner (2011) described as an "intergenerational slum settlement" had been declared as 'unplanned' and 'illegal' at the same court hearing, although it conformed to the "land-use designation in the city's Master Plan". The argument for its demolition which was approved by the court was that it was a "nuisance" to the surrounding middle-class neighbourhoods (ibid.).

From the above representations, the mall in southern cities can be conceptualised as a key candidate in the new image construction for the envisioned global city, which promises to engender more economic growth and development. Thus, the mere presence of a mall or even plans to build one is enough to render existing and traditional urban fabric as not fit for purpose. But this appears to be nothing more than the idealised representation of the shopping mall and its exclusionary effects on existing and traditional forms of urban life in the context of world-class city-making. However, a post-hoc study analysing the real impacts of actually existing malls is also needed for a better understanding of how they are furthering the neoliberal place-making processes in southern cities.

The arrival of the mall as a new retail concept in emerging and developing countries occurred much later through globalisation and the retail internationalisation processes (Erkip, 2005; Kalirajan and Singh, 2009; Yeboah et al., 2023). Perhaps, it is for this reason that studies on their impacts have not been exhaustively interrogated as is the case in the global north.

Although knowledge about the phenomenon is beginning to emerge from cities in Latin America and Asia to add to the urban discourse, malls remain understudied in the global south in general. However, Salcedo (2003) provided a comprehensive overview of the diffusion of the concept from the West into other geographical contexts by arguing that the mall still possesses the attribute of the capitalist logic of mass consumption, profit accumulation, and exclusion, but they have been 'glocalised', - that is they have been adapted through the agency of local political, cultural, economic, and social influences. As such, a hybrid form of the mall has emerged in the developing world.

New perspectives have emerged about the consumption culture of mall users, providing different understandings of how consumers appropriate and use these hybrid malls (Stillerman and Salcedo, 2012; Salcedo, 2003; Rajagopal, 2008; Abaza, 2001). Unlike its seductive and consumerist appeal, Stillerman, and Salcedo (2012) observed that in the Chilian context malls are emerging social spaces where every day urban practices in Chile have been transposed, giving a new interpretation to the meaning of malls other than their function as shopping spaces. Thus, they have largely been adapted for non-commercial use which allows people of different socio-economic status to converge and engage in informal interactions.

Comparing the shopping behaviour of Chinese and American consumers in shopping malls, Li et al. (2004) noted that while mall patronage among Chinese consumers was comparable to that of US mall users, a trip by US mall users resulted in the purchase of items more than their Chinese counterparts. This presupposes that the intentions of mall users in China may be for reasons other than shopping, and malls have not changed their shopping behaviour to a greater extent. It is therefore not surprising that the scale of diversionary power of the shopping mall in wrestling trade from traditional retail areas and decimating the vibrancy of existing town centres as has been reported by the Western literature does not appear to be the case in the global south. The co-existence of shopping malls and traditional retail systems has been highlighted in the global south literature, for example, as reported by Rajagopal (2010) for Mexico and Ozuru et al. (2014) for the case of Turkey. However, in both cases the authors also noted that retail regulatory policies have largely favoured shopping mall developers, giving them a competitive edge over traditional retail forms.

Drawing from a post-colonial discourse to explain consumer behaviour and identity construction by young Indian consumers in shopping malls, Varman, and Belk (2012) conceptualise shopping malls in third-world countries as “post-colonial settings” in which the colonised subjects seek to become modern like the coloniser and to break away from the constraints and realities that characterise underdevelopment in third world countries. In this regard, patronising shopping malls enables third-world consumers to shed or disguise their third-world identity and take one that can be described as Western and associated with modernity and progress (Varman and Balk, 2012). The extent to which the newly constructed identity translates into new forms of shopping culture and lifestyle in third-world countries has been subjected to critical interrogation and analysis. After drawing a comparison between shopping malls in Malaysia, Singapore, and Egypt, Abaza (2001), finds the most fascinating thing about shopping malls in the developing world as not shopping per se, but rather as an emergent public space in the third world where ‘the crowds are formed’ and where the crowd also ‘finds warmth and friendliness. Abaza (2001) further notes the democratized environment it creates through its accessibility to all manner of people.

Postmodernist scholars also see shopping malls as retail spaces that perfectly match the changing shopping and consumption lifestyles of urban consumers in third-world countries. Globalisation and advancement in technology and communication means greater awareness and exposure to alien cultures including shopping and consumption lifestyles. The new lifestyle acquired translates into greater affinity with global brands which are commonly found in shopping malls in developing countries. As such, Erkip (2003) was of the view that the emergence of shopping malls in Turkey’s urban settings was timely and coincided with the changing shopping and consumption requirements of Turkish urban citizens, which have further driven people to consume more international brands like those they’ve seen in “Hollywood movies” or western countries. As he further intimated, even in times of economic downturn when generally consumption seems to be dwindling, global brands and high-quality local goods in Turkish shopping malls maintained high patronage (Erkip, 2003). In other words, the new consumer culture adopted by the Turkish required new and innovative spaces of consumption and leisure which most Turkish traditional high street and small-scale retailers did not offer (ibid.).

4.10 The African Shopping Mall and the Emerging Urban Form

In Africa, except for South Africa and probably a few North African countries where malls have existed for much longer, it was only at the turn of the 21st century that most countries started having the shopping formats. Similarly, research on their impacts is generally patchy as there is no clear understanding of how these proliferating formats are reconfiguring Africa's urban forms and urbanism, particularly their impacts on existing retail forms.

It's been argued that while the development of Western-style malls in SSA cities follows the same trajectory as those of the global core cities (globalisation), capital from the periphery, notably South Africa has been the driving force behind the spread of the mall concept to other parts of the continent (Yeboah et al., 2023). The uniqueness of these malls is that the developers, owners, managers, and most of the retailers operating in them are from South Africa. Similarly, the products sold by these retailers are mainly South African imports which are quite distinct from those available in the typical traditional retail markets. Broadly, SSA shopping malls do not appear to conform to the kind of competitive retail environment that was created by their counterparts in Western cities.

Given the pervasiveness of poverty in most SSA urban settings, it is preposterous to assume that the emergence of malls would significantly change shopping behaviour and divert trade from existing and traditional retail areas. This then raises the fundamental question about the appropriateness of using Western retail impact theories and methods in explaining phenomena in a different context. How these burgeoning retail centres impact traditional forms of retailing and how these can be interrogated for a better understanding of the relationship between malls and the traditional retail fabric is critical to the understanding of contemporary urbanisation processes in African cities.

The use of theoretical and analytical frames developed in the global north in different socio-cultural and economic contexts, particularly cities still at the fringes of globalisation is highly contested by some urban theorists, who argue that urban phenomenon in the global south should be examined within their specific local context for better explanations and theory building (Myers, 2011; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009; Pieterse, 2011; Ernstson et al., 2014). Admittedly, while this view is justified considering the structural differences between cities in the global south and the north, it is equally important for us not to lose sight of the fact that cities in the developing and emerging economies of the world are changing in many respects.

The 21st-century urban life and planning systems in southern cities are increasingly reflections of ideas borrowed from the global North with the intensification of globalisation. In this regard, western theories cannot be ignored entirely and may be relevant in the explanation of some contemporary urban development issues in the global south to a certain extent. This study, therefore, fills a major gap in retail impact research by situating two of Accra's iconic shopping centres within their neoliberal place-making processes in a city that is globalising to explain their impacts.

4.11 Summary

This chapter provided a detailed and insightful review of the key dimensions of retail impact assessment as it is understood in the urban studies discourse, particularly from the Western world perspective, where the phenomenon has been exhaustively analysed and literature abounds. An overview of retail decentralisation and the emergence of shopping centres, and how it challenged the existing central place model of urban planning and retail development was first highlighted. The meaning of retail impact and the methods used for its assessment (predictive and post-hoc) were thoroughly discussed in this chapter. It then examined some of the major post-hoc impact or empirical studies concerning off-centre and inner-city shopping mall development. A review of the emergence of shopping malls in developing countries, particularly as part of the world city-making processes was also highlighted. to understand their effects on shopping cultures. Their effects on shopping cultures and inherent adaptations of the mall to local and cultural consumption practices and usage in the global south were key points emphasised in this review. The distinctive character of the African mall and its urban context was also discussed in this chapter. Most importantly, this review brought to the fore the geographical disparities in the literature on shopping mall impact studies which is biased towards Western cities, and the conceptual and methodological issues that needed to be reconsidered in assessing the effects of malls in the African context.

Chapter5
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of the Study

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual lenses underpinning this study. It draws on theories of neoliberal globalisation, urban redevelopment, and retail internationalisation in third-world cities to build a conceptual framework that appropriately structures the arguments made in this study. As explained in the previous chapters, the transformation of Accra's urban form is the culmination of global processes that have seen unprecedented levels of foreign capital investment in urban redevelopment. Neoliberal urban processes are at the core of this changing urban form as new urban governance regimes facilitate and protect foreign and private capital investment in urban development. The precarity of existing and traditional urban forms in this new urban development trajectory has been the reference point of the discussions about the future sustainability of urbanisation in many third-world cities. I conceptualise the shopping mall as both the product and an agent for sustaining the neoliberal and globalising place-making agenda in Accra and elsewhere in SSA's major cities.

5.2 The Global Cities Discourse

While 'globalisation' is a very complex and evolving concept that continues to be the focus of interrogation by different academic disciplines, cities have recently become central points in which the dimensions and processes of globalisation are being observed and analysed in the field of urban scholarship. Western cities like New York, London, and Tokyo have provided the empirical basis for theorising the global city (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 2013). Coming from this perspective, the global city literature mainly centres the argument on the dominant role these cities play in global affairs, which includes being the command-and-control centres relative to global economic, cultural, and political affairs. While these cities are described as core to the global cities discourse, other cities mainly in emerging economies in the global south have also risen to the global limelight, albeit down the hierarchy, and have equally been subjected to critical analysis to broaden the understanding of globalisation from different contexts. In this regard, cities like Beijing, Shanghai, Dubai, Singapore, Mumbai, and Sao Paolo have recently risen to prominence due to their standings in world economic affairs, particularly their growing influence on other developing economies.

African cities are still in the shadow of urban theory making as they are considered less important and peripheral to the globalisation discourse (Adeleye et al., 2018). However, recent developments show that the SSA major cities are increasingly becoming connected to the global economy through foreign direct investment flows, mainly from the core cities of globalisation. A combination of factors including political stability, natural resource endowment, high rates of urbanisation, and a burgeoning middle-class population puts Africa's primate cities in what has been described as the emergent frontier of FDI (UN-Habitat, 2018). With investment opportunities in the developed economies coming to a saturation point, SSA cities present new opportunities for transnational corporate organisations to expand their investment portfolio. Consequently, Africa's major cities have now entered the throws of globalisation and are beginning to attract the attention of urban scholars. However, the analyses of the dimensions of globalisation of African cities have been discussed in different frames, which distinctively sets them apart from the mainstream global cities (Yeboah et al., 2021; Grant, 2009). The phrase *'globalising cities'* has been used in this regard to highlight the contextual nuances of globalisation in these emerging cities (Grant, 2009).

5.3 Theorising the Globalising African City

Over the past few decades, the spatial forms of cities in the global south have generally been facing major configurations following their exposure to the forces and imperatives of globalisation. Capital flow and transfer of technologies from the global north facilitated by local political institutions and processes have enabled these changes to be sustained in third-world cities. Cities are therefore increasingly becoming the same in terms of their development aspirations (Marcotullio, 2003). Understanding the city from a globalising perspective in southern cities is, therefore, replete with an array of complex processes and interactions which is producing new urban forms and urbanism in these cities. However, the trajectory of these processes and interactions seems to be a harmonious one across cities, and it is the focus of discussion in subsequent sections.

5.4 Entrepreneurialism and the Capitalist Mode of Urban Production

It is important to emphasise the evolution of urban governance processes that have occurred since economic liberalisation policies were introduced in SSA countries through the Bretton Woods institutions in the early 1980s. With liberalisation came entrepreneurial forms of urban governance predicated on the private sector as the fulcrum of economic growth and development. Like what Harvey (1989) characterised as a transition from "managerial" to "entrepreneurial" urban governance processes in the advanced capitalist states in the early 1970s, national and local governments are increasingly preoccupied with inventing new ideas that can help create the enabling environment for private capital investment in urban (re)development. In SSA countries, this includes tapping into the global economy for foreign capital. Therefore, strategies to market cities in a globally competitive environment have taken the central stage in urban planning and development in third-world countries, including those in Africa. As Friedmann (2005) puts it, cities are on a collision course in a race for a share of global capital and investment.

The original conceptualisation of the entrepreneurial city conceived by Harvey (1989) in his seminal work was constructed from a north-centric background, where local authorities facing economic difficulties use entrepreneurial ways to harness local resources from the private sector to create economic and social opportunities for their populations. However, in the global south, Friedmann (2005) contends that entrepreneurialism is driven by an obsession to create 'world-class cities' that "leaves little scope for creating cities that also serve the interests of ordinary people."

Indeed, part of this marketing strategy is the surge in urban master plans designed by international architectural firms and real estate development companies for several major cities in SSA (Watson, 2014). These plans are often modelled similarly to cities such as Singapore and Dubai and have seen the emergence of entirely new cities, often referred to variously as smart cities, satellite cities, or eco-cities (Carmody and Owusu, 2016). These mega real estate projects which also include skyscrapers, luxury hotels, gated communities, and shopping malls are reconfiguring the spatial form of major cities in the continent. With private investors- both local and foreign at the forefront of the production of these emerging neoliberal urban spaces in SSA major cities, these upscale projects have been described as Africa's urban 'utopias' or 'fantasies' as they only serve the interest of urban elites and do not address the structural problems of urbanisation and poverty in these cities (Watson, 2014; Carmody and Owusu, 2016). In his treatise on urban processes under capitalism, Harvey argued that “accumulation” and “class struggle” are the two contradictory faces of capitalism and yet, the windows through which a holistic understanding of the capitalist mode of urban production can be made (Dear and Scott, 2018). Thus, capitalism is constructed as a kind of social relation existing between a capitalist class who have the means of production, but whose motivation for investing in the built environment is driven by profit and overaccumulation of capital on one hand, and a struggling working class whose labour is controlled and exploited by the capitalist class for production. Situating these in the context of SSA imaginary cities, the production of urban space has been framed as an accumulation by capitalist investors through the dispossession of the urban proletariat (Gillespie, 2016; Mbiba, 2017). The trajectory of contemporary urban development in African cities has succinctly been characterised by some scholars as exclusionary (Obeng-Odoom, 2011a; Watson, 2014).

5.5 Mechanisms Producing Winners and Losers in the Neoliberal City

Harvey’s (2007) articulation of the mechanisms through which neoliberalism becomes a “creative destruction” for the masses and accumulation for the capitalist institutions included “the commodification and privatisation of land, the forceful expulsion of peasant populations”, “conversion of various forms of property rights into exclusively private property rights”, Suppression of rights to the commons” and the suppression of indigenous forms of production and consumption” (Harvey, 2007 pp.14). He further notes the monopoly of the state in the definition of what constitutes “legality” as critical in promoting and sustaining these mechanisms (Harvey, 2007).

It is in this context that Saskia Sassen (2010), also sees the penetration of advanced capitalism in the global south as equivalent to Marx’s notion of “primitive accumulation” as existing and traditional economic systems in the developing world are being destroyed in the quest “to expand the operational space of advanced capitalism”. As she further noted, land is becoming more valuable to the global market than the people living on it (Saskia, 2010). This also resonates with the notion of ‘speculative urbanism’ which Goldman (2011) talked about in his seminal work in Bangalore, India, which has also influenced studies in other global south cities including in SSA (Watson, 2014).

Harvey's articulations also provide a useful framework for understanding the mechanisms of the neoliberal processes of urban development in cities in the developing world. Privatisation of state resources including urban lands, public-private partnership ventures, and the granting of tax incentives has given private capitalists; global and local alike, the impetus to transform the built form of cities and their socio-economic dynamics (Narsiah, 2002; Jou et al., 2011; Boano and Vergara-Perucich, 2017; Navarrete-Hernandez and Toro, 2019). In the globalising SSA major cities, the manifestations of these processes are the emergence of the so-called well-planned 'new cities' of global standard within city regions, and high-quality real estate developments, including gated communities, high-rise and mixed-use complexes, and shopping malls. However, the depiction of such flamboyant cityscapes as urban development in the neoliberal context is more of a smokescreen covering the real African city, which is defined by high urbanisation rates and its associated heightened informality and poverty levels. There is a sense that neoliberal urban development is known to have further exacerbated informal urbanism and the incidence of poverty, leaving an agglomeration of deeply fractured urban forms in cities in the global south (Portes and Roberts, 2005; Grant, 2009; Afenah, 2009; Recio and Dovey, 2021).

As urban lands are increasingly being commodified and valorised through neoliberal urban governance processes, those who are perceived by the local or national state authority as possessing the needed capital to bring about urban transformation and economic development hold the trump card to unfettered access to prime urban spaces for reproduction and further profitable accumulation of capital. This entrepreneurial governance stance is a clear departure from the earlier managerial practices which focused on the provision of essential public goods for the benefit of the urban population (Harvey, 1989). Subsequently, Harvey, (2007) has argued that neoliberalism is nothing more than reinforcing "the restoration of class power" in modern society as it only benefits the elites. Increasingly, Marx's notion of 'primitive accumulation, which was subsequently adapted to the accumulation by dispossession theory originally espoused by Harvey (2005) has also provided the theoretical and conceptual basis for the analyses and understanding of southern cities, as the logic of neoliberalism and capitalism spreads from the global north to transform the spatial form of the urban landscape in the south.

5.6 Neoliberalism and 'Right to the City'

The implications of neoliberalism and its capitalist mode of urban production as economic development imperatives have evoked yet another discussion about urban citizenship and the right to the city. A protagonist of the 'right to the city' concept was the French philosopher and sociologist, Lefebvre, whose intellectual discourse on the subject provided the theoretical basis for the analysis of urban space and social justice in capitalist cities. He argued that in the production of space in neoliberal cities, urban citizenship is acquired through private 'property rights, which effectively supersedes all other forms of claims to space in the city (see Purcell, 2014). For Lefebvre, this hegemonic system alienates urban space from the city's inhabitants who are the rightful owners of the land. The right to the city for Lefebvre is, therefore, a "struggle by inhabitants to de-alienate urban space and reintegrate it into the web of social connections" (ibid.). He further conceptualised 'property right' as inferior and nothing more than *'expropriation'* of urban space from inhabitants and the only means inhabitants can reclaim ownership of what belongs to them was to *appropriate* it. The right to appropriate urban space is, therefore, a normative right to the city which Lefebvre thought was important for inhabitants not only to reclaim their bona fide but also to "reorient" the capitalist city away from its role as the engine of capital accumulation towards a more "cooperative social relation among urban inhabitants" (Purcell, 2014). Closely linked to the right to appropriate urban space is what Lefebvre also conceptualised as the right of inhabitants as citizens to actively participate in the production of urban space. By effective participation, Lefebvre meant inhabitants of the city becoming managers of the production of space. Effectively the right to the city that Lefebvre conceptualised is of two types: The right of inhabitants of the city to use urban space and the right to put it to use the way they deem it appropriate. Right to the capitalist city is therefore a struggle between the "market value" and "use value" of urban space in the city (Purcell, 2014).

5.7 Neoliberalism, Globalisation and Urbanisation in the Global South

The core issues at the fore of contemporary global south urban studies have centred around the processes of globalisation and neoliberalism and the emergence of cities as places of accumulation. These processes are the driving forces shaping new urban forms and urbanism in much of contemporary southern cities. And behind the transformation is the agency of powerful rent-seeking capitalist institutions, collaborating with the state in determining the future of cities. These enduring processes are also deepening social and economic relations of marginalisation and inequalities in diverse ways. Consequently, these critical issues have caught the attention of scholars who have engaged with different aspects of the urbanisation processes in the global south. The very issues which emerged earlier as critical themes in the analysis of global north cities in the 20th century have also found relevance in 21st-century global south urban theorisations, as the neoliberal place-making processes spread to the south through globalisation. Cities throughout the world are increasingly becoming the same in terms of approaches to governance and modes of urban production. As Roy (2005 p. 147) puts it; "planning processes are constantly borrowed and replicated across borders." There is a prevailing sense of understanding that concepts and theories explaining social and economic inequalities in neoliberal cities in the global north are becoming relevant in the analysis and understanding of contemporary transformations in SSA cities (Morange and Spire, 2019). Thus, concepts associated with the northern neoliberal and capitalist urban processes have also found expression in the lexicon of contemporary urban discourses in the global south. It is in this regard that calls for the use of post-colonial research approaches in the global south in a comparative sense with the north towards a global theorisation and general understanding of how cities function has been made (Robinson, 2011). In this section, I review the pertinent literature dealing with these putative urban issues in the global south, particularly those relevant to the framing of this study.

5.8 The Era of Speculation and Gentrification in Global South Cities

The globalisation of the world economy has brought much significant transformation to hitherto ordinary cities in the global south as the growing need to achieve economic growth and development becomes more urgent. One key concept that has come to be associated with these urban processes in Southern cities is 'urban speculation'. Goldman's (2011) articulation of these processes provides a very useful framework for understanding contemporary urbanisation in the global south, particularly the relational links with accumulation and dispossession. Using Bangalore, a city in India as a case study, Goldman explored the ongoing urbanisation processes at the city's periphery which used to be predominantly part of India's rural fabric. He noted that efforts at transforming Bangalore into a 'world-class city' or the 'Silicon Valley' of Asia were fraught with speculation of varying scales on foot of the economic returns that such a project was expected to yield. Consequently, it led to an imposing neoliberal urban governance strategy (urban entrepreneurism) by the Indian state in collaboration with a network of capitalist and corporate entities to extract rent from investment in world city projects on peri-urban land. The new urban planning and governance structures - 'speculative governance' culminated in land and real estate speculation which led to the brutal dispossession of peasants their lands and livelihood strategies. Accumulation from land and real estate speculation emanating from efforts at creating a world city meant many ordinary Bangalorians had been stripped to 'bare life' as the legal and civil rights that used to "guarantee them access to the city and its resources" have been removed (Goldman, 2011).

Evoking the colonial land act of 'eminent domain', the Indian government forcefully took land in the interest of the state (creating a world-class city) and in some cases paid compensation, albeit far below their market value. Some of the key negative manifestations of the mass and brutal dispossessions as noted by Goldman was the growth of slums as high numbers of displaced rural farmers and workers became squatters in the city, and the worst of all was the alarming incidence of suicide among displaced farmers (ibid.).

Goldman's seminal work subsequently influenced studies in other global south cities, chiefly among them Vanessa Watson's (2014) 'African urban fantasies' thesis, which sought to conceptualise the obsession with the world-class city ideology in SSA major cities within the urban accumulation and dispossession discourses. Drawing on some of the key "masterplans" for these world-class cities and mega-projects from the websites of renowned international property developers and governments across the continent, she reviewed the detailed narratives accompanying the plans concerning the kind of progress in urban renewal and development they envisioned and purported to bring to the existing city. She further noted that the characterisation of these plans is out of sync with the realities and the trajectory of urbanisation in African cities, and therefore constitutes the biggest "urban fantasies" in the history of urban planning in the 21st-century African city. Although Watson (2014) was highly 'speculative' about the unintended consequences of these masterplans and mega-projects when implemented, she drew copiously on experiences elsewhere, particularly the Bangalore case, and envisaged more serious problems in African cities than the challenges currently confronting it. She opined that the beneficiaries of these ambitious plans even when they come to fruition are more likely to be the capitalist investors and the urban elites, while the losers would be the poor masses who would be dispossessed, marginalised, and have their rights significantly curtailed as urban citizens.

Indeed, the emergence of African cities as new frontiers of global investments in new city imaginaries has also rekindled the commentary on the whole "land grab" issue, which hitherto received much discussion as a rural phenomenon in the past (Steel et al., 2019). The urban turn of the "land grab" debate has however brought to the fore the relationship between masterplans, land speculation, and who is included or excluded from Africa's contemporary urbanisation processes. In a scoping literature review, Steel et al. (2019) draw on studies across the continent and argue that as cities in Africa become competitive as the emerging destination for new masterplans and mega projects, the market value of urban lands including those in peripheral areas are continually appreciating as demand for land for competing uses surges. Consequently, "what happens to land" when these new urban initiatives and their narratives are in the public domain, have deep-seated ramifications for the urban poor.

For Steel et al. (2019), the difference between urban regeneration intents and "land grab" is a murky one. Citing the specific case of the Konza Techno City, a new city project that was still at its conceptual stages in the periphery of Kenyan's capital city, Kenya, the opinion of the authors was that even before the consummation of the masterplan the impact of the fenced land earmarked for the new 'city' had already manifested its real and ugly impact on lives of the poor. Specifically, speculation on the returns of such investments had necessitated the delimitation of a vast expanse of land as a "buffer zone" around the project site to ward off informal activities from creeping closer to the site, with the attendant land insecurity implications for inhabitants of the surrounding villages (Steel et al., 2019).

The pursuit of mega events hosting has also been caught in the 'speculative urbanism' narrative as cities in the global south position to use such global fiesta as an urban redevelopment strategy. The associated new urban planning regimes and their consequences have been discussed exhaustively, particularly concerning the impacts on poor and vulnerable urban dwellers. Before the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing, China, Shin (2009), recounted how as part of the preparation for the mega-event, the city of Beijing had to be reinvented to a global city status, which culminated in a massive clearance of poor inner-city neighbourhoods and 'migrant enclaves' to make way for world city infrastructure. Shin (2009) argued that the cost and benefits of hosting such mega-events are disproportionate as the urban poor bear the brunt in the form of displacement through the destruction of their homes and unfordable price increases in the real estate market. Similarly, in India, South Africa, and Brazil the anticipated benefits of hosting global sporting events such as the Commonwealth and Olympic games, and FIFA World Cups in terms of investments in world-class infrastructure and a boost to tourism have been described as part of the 'speculative worlding strategies', intended to benefit the privileged at the expense of the poor who became victims of evictions, loss of livelihoods and human right violations (see for example Gaffney, 2010; Silvestre and de Oliveira, 2012, Maharaj, 2015; Maharaj, 2023).

Speculative investments and land commodification are increasingly transforming cities in the global south in ways that are not only increasing land values but also creating exclusionary urban forms, particularly in urban peripheries. The concept of gentrification has been used to interpret these exclusionary urban processes. While the concept originally relates to the upgrading of residential facilities in poor dilapidated inner-city neighbourhoods for middle-class consumers, which invariably leads to the displacement of the original working-class and poor residents (Slater, 2011), it has travelled over time and space and it is now acknowledged as a 'global urban strategy' in contemporary urban development processes (Smith, 2002; Lees et al., 2016). At the heart of the gentrification theory is Smith's (1987) 'rent-gap' thesis, which refers to such speculative investments in devalued areas that have suffered long periods of disinvestment as suddenly causing the value of land and real estate properties to rise astronomically, leading to the displacement of long-term poor residents.

The question of whether global south cities have experienced similar trends remained contentious. And whether a whole gamut of urban processes causing displacements in the global south could also be categorised as gentrification is also another unresolved question. In India, the concept is hardly used in the analysis of urban transformation processes and experiences of displacement in academia (Das, 2021). But there is a groundswell of opinion elsewhere in the gentrification literature which suggests that the concept is highly malleable and amenable to the explanation of different urbanisation processes in other contexts, including those in the global south. According to Steel et al. (2017), the discussions on gentrification in the global South have been tailored to 'local peculiarities', such that they do not fit the original Western conceptualisation. More importantly in Latin America, where the concept of gentrification has featured prominently in the academic discourse, the analysis has focused on commercial rather than residential gentrification in inner-city locations. For example, the conversion of private houses in historical central locations in Cusco in Peru and Cuenca in Ecuador into hotels, restaurants, bars, shopping centres, and travel centres have been linked with the emergence of tourist enclaves, causing the displacement of residents in the inner-city (van Noorloos and Steel, 2016; Steel, 2012).

Peri-urban areas in the global south have also featured prominently in the gentrification literature (Philips, 2004; Hudalah et al., 2016; Lopez-Morales, 2016; Woltjer and Hudalah, 2017; Marchal et al., 2019). This stems from the fact that land values in urban fringes are relatively lower compared with those in urban core areas, providing the momentum for capital investment in urban expansion with the prospect of higher returns. The conversion of mainly agricultural lands in urban peripheries into upend urban infrastructure has seen a surge in elite residential enclaves such as condominiums and gated communities, as well as new commercial centres including shopping malls and business districts for the middle - upper-class consumers (Sabatini et al., 2009; Morange et al., 2012; Grant, 2015). For Sabatini et al. (2009), this is a manifestation of gentrification as developers profit by turning land on the poor periphery into such up-end properties for middle-class consumers. Steel et al. (2017) also argue that the conversion of peri-urban lands into such high-valued real estate properties is amenable to the rent-gap thesis, especially in situations where it is backed by public policy and the deliberate creation of 'world-class cities.'

However, the subsequent displacement of vulnerable groups triggered by such speculative investments has been described as the unintended consequences of speculation, land investment and governance for specific classes of people (Steel et al., 2017). Here, it's been argued that since contemporary urban renewal projects in the south are inspired by 'global urban agendas', based on Western ideologies of urban sustainability, smartness, and compactness, unintended outcomes, including displacement and marginalisation have tended to be ignored as unimportant issues (Steels et al., 2017). However, it raises a critical question that is yet to be resolved, about the conflicting rationalities between best urban practices (planning and governance) on one hand, and the survival of the urban majority in third-world cities (Watson, 2009).

5.9 Neoliberalism and the State of the Urban Informal Economy in the Global South

While there are conceptual disagreements regarding what constitutes the informal economy, probably due to its complexity, Castells and Portes (1989) provide a working definition that at least resonates with scholars such as Bromley and Wilson (2018). They define the 'informal economy' as a *"process of income generation characterised by one central feature: it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated"*. The catchword 'unregulated' is so pronounced that it puts the concept of informal economy in a highly controvertible arena, giving rise to different opinions. Nevertheless, there is no gainsaying that the economies of third-world cities are intrinsically informal, with a chunk of unregulated activities sustaining the lives of a significant number of the urban population. While it's been estimated that, globally, 61% of the world's labour force earns their livelihood in the informal economy (Bonnet et al., 2019), in SSA seven out of every 10 jobs are said to be found in the informal economy (Aryeetey, 2015). In Ghana, the contribution of the informal economy to GDP in 2017 was estimated to be 28.6% (Adom et al., 2023).

In as much as there are definitional problems with what the informal economy is, attempts have been made to theorise its origin, the nature of its existence, its relations with its formal counterpart or the regulatory economy, and the state through different conceptual perspectives. Of these conceptual constructs, I found the *dualist/modernisation*, and the *structuralist/neo-Marxist* perspectives (Chen, 2012; Yussuf, 2011) as providing the most invigorating thoughts and understanding of the urbanisation processes in the global south.

5.9.1 The Informal Economy and the Dualist/Modernisation Perspectives

The *'dualist'* school of thought talks about the presence of formal and informal dyads in developing economies. While the formal economy is characterised by the 'capitalist mode of production', which is very dynamic and modernising, progressive, capital intensive, and highly productive, the mode of production in the informal economy has been described as too rudimentary, traditional, highly primitive, less efficient, and unsustainable (Potts, 2007).

However, the urban informal economy in the developing world is an important safety net providing livelihoods for the urban majority who for obvious reasons cannot be absorbed by the formal economy. Its importance to the urban economy in third world countries was earlier noted by Keith Hart (1973) in Accra in the early 1970s, where he coined the term 'informal sector' to underscore the significance of certain unregulated economic activities existing outside the state-regulated economic sector, and yet very dynamic and important in sustaining the livelihoods of poor migrants who originated from northern Ghana. This finding was later corroborated by a study commissioned by the ILO (1972) in Kenya which also established the importance of the informal economy in SSA urban settings. Of the varied activities that fall under the rubric of the urban informal economy, it is important to highlight the significance of petty retailing, particularly street vending as the most visible and pervasive component of the economic fabric in most SSA cities (Mitulla, 2004; Skinner, 2008; Rogerson, 2008; Roever and Skinner, 2016).

5.9.2 Modernisation, Urban Governance, and the Informal Economy

Despite its dominance and a major source of employment for the urban majority, the informal sector in neoliberal cities, particularly those in SSA cities has been problematised as anti-development and anti-modernisation. And just like the colonial city experiences (see for example, Mabogunje, 1990), the informal economy under neoliberal globalisation is generally regarded as a 'nuisance' and cast in the shadow of modernity and development. As such, its existence alongside the formal economy is regarded as an aberration that must be uprooted from urban space.

Consequently, governments (both central and local) have explored the mechanisms of the neoliberal processes of urban development to put the informal economy under siege (Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Bob-Milliar and Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). In this sense, taming urban informality in the global south under neoliberal globalisation has taken different forms. These include the modernisation and formalisation of hitherto informal economic spaces in urban centres, including traditional market centres. For example, public/private partnerships have seen the injection of capital in the redevelopment of existing traditional commercial spaces. However, the political economy of who is included or excluded from such urban regeneration projects has seen the systematic displacement of the poorest informal traders (Young, 2021; Asante and Helbrecht, 2020; Okoye, 2020; Rogerson, 2016; Maharaj, 2017; Potts, 2006). Young (2021), lends credence to this by arguing that the "destruction and rebirth of the Kisekka market" in Kampala, Uganda epitomises the neoliberal process of accumulation and dispossession, as the new market benefited wealthier traders, capital investors, and the political class at the expense of poorer traders who were threatened with evictions. As previously discussed in chapter three, this seems to be the norm in Ghana too as the redevelopment of the Makola market in central Accra, the Kejetia market in Kumasi, and the Kotokuraba market in Cape Coast among others were all associated with the displacement, exclusion, and destruction of the livelihood opportunities of poor and vulnerable traders (Okoye, 2020; Asante and Helbrecht, 2020).

The neoliberal turn of urban transformation in the global south has also seen the most vicious forms of suppression against urban informality by state officials. Although attempts at uprooting informality from urban spaces are not an entirely new phenomenon and were a "major element of urban planning" in colonial cities (Mabogunje, 1990), its tempo has increased over time and space and it is now becoming an important mechanism for 'sanitising' urban space and 'restoring order' in cities in the global south, with typical examples as in Peru (Mackie and Bromley, 2014), Ecuador (Swanson, 2007), Lagos (Omoegun, 2023), Accra (Gillespie, 2016; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2012), and Harare (Potts, 2006; Kamete, 2017). Consequently, the concept of *'Urban revanchism'* as coined by Neil Smith in his description of the "zero tolerance" approach adopted by the New York state government to remove economic and social behaviours deemed as malfeasance from public space at the height of neoliberalism in the 1990s has largely been deployed as a framework for the analysis of government response to informality in the global south (Mackie et al., 2017; Swanson, 2007; Bhan, 2009; Banerjee-Guha, 2009; Shearer, 2020; Falt, 2016). The rationalisation of the use of brute force to remove informal economic practices, particularly street vending from public spaces is justified on economic grounds. As southern cities strive to be competitive in attracting capital investments and tourism, informality becomes an anathema to the flow of such investments (Kamete and Lidell, 2010).

Modernist planning regimes imbued with the desire to create orderliness and a sense of cleanliness, in conformity with the global ideal in SSA cities make informality appear as anomalies and a ‘spatial pathogen’ that must be removed from urban space (Kamete, 2013). Thus, the management of public spaces gives less consideration to the protection of the livelihoods of poor urban dwellers. This modernist visioning has culminated in high-profile attempts and militant posturing by the state, often with code names, connoting the declaration of ‘war’ against all forms of informal activities in SSA cities. Such citywide operations include the infamous *‘Operation Murambatsvina’* (Restore order) in Harare, Zimbabwe in 2005, which saw over 700,000 informal traders being forced to abandon their sources of livelihood (Potts, 2006).

In neoliberal Accra, the largest-ever attempt to decimate the informal economy on an unimaginable scale was a recent declaration of war against informality citywide. Code named *‘Operation Let’s Make Accra Work’* (see My Joy Online, 2021), media reports indicate that the operation saw the deployment of a combined team of city officials, military, and police personnel throughout the city to remove the ‘urban undesirables’ (Ghanaweb, 2021). No matter how preposterous these operations may seem in cities that are structurally and indelibly informal, it is just the way progress and development are constructed in neoliberal terms – obliterate the informal economy and the city will work again. This way of thinking about urban development generally fits the African ‘imaginary city’ narrative (Watson, 2016). But the stark reality is that despite efforts at uprooting urban informality, the phenomenon has persisted, increased in scale, and emerged in different guises across the global south. In the context of unprecedented levels of urbanisation, induced mainly by migration from the countryside, and coupled with less formal job opportunities, the informal economy remains the only option available for the urban majority. Thus, for most of the urban population in SSA, the informal sector is not a choice but a necessity for survival.

5.9.3 The Informal Economy and the Structuralist/Neo-Marxist Perspectives

Unlike the economic binary argument propounded by the dualist, the *Structuralist* viewpoint conceptualises the informal economy as a 'subordinated economic unit' to the formal, capitalist, or modern economic sector (Chen, 2012). Thus, the structuralist viewpoint is that the informal economy will persist as long as the formal economy continues to encounter structural problems that can be solved by extracting value from the informal sector. This perspective seeks to draw a very strong and complex relationship between the existence of informal economies and the 'capitalist mode of production' (Philips, 2011).

However, scholars like Castells and Portes (1989), portend that this relationship is exploitative and argue that the failure of capitalism has produced surplus labour which is then exploited by capitalist firms to reduce production costs and accumulate profit. Thus, the argument by the proponents suggests that the structure of the capitalist production process is by itself the driving force behind the rising informality. Indeed, the basis of the relationship is well articulated by Harvey's (1978) conceptualisation - 'accumulation' and 'class struggle' in the Western capitalist states as he saw both as 'the two sides of the same coin', where, the capitalist production process is oriented towards profit accumulation, and for which reason it exerts power and control over the labour market, who have to struggle under poor working conditions for subsistence living.

Under current neoliberal regimes, the resurgence of the 'class struggle' in late capitalist states is manifesting in the form of a burgeoning 'gig economy' aided by technology, with zero-hour contracts, low pay rates, and no legal or social protection for labour as pertains for example in the fast-food delivery sector (Popan and Anaya-Boig, 2021; Woodcock, 2021). Often called 'irregular jobs' instead of the informal categorisation in the south, they have grown to become major pathways for accessing jobs amid soaring unemployment in cities in the Western world despite the precarity associated with such jobs (Snider, 2018; Woodcock, 2021; Tirapani and Willmott, 2023).

The operation of the global economic system under neoliberal globalisation is increasingly turning the global south into hotspots for the exploitation of an informal labour market to produce cheaper products for profit accumulation (Smith, 2016). The outsourcing of certain aspects of the production process by transnational corporate organisations headquartered in the north to the developing world as cost-cutting measures has been associated with labour exploitation in terms of poor working conditions. Notably, studies in Cambodia and Bangladesh for example have shown the sheer scale of exploitation of informal workers, particularly women in the garment industry, whose labour is exploited by capitalist corporate entities to produce cheaper clothing for the retail market in Western countries. They are paid below the minimum wage and work under precarious conditions, with their health and safety not adequately protected (Mahboob and Anita, 2016; Alamjir and Banerjee, 2019; Brickell et al., 2022).

In less industrialised regions of the global south, particularly SSA where industrial/informal labour relations as discussed above are minimal, the structuralist lens has equally been deployed as an analytical frame to discuss the relationship between the formal and informal economies in other spheres. Moser's (1978) articulation of the development and control of the "petty commodity sector" by formal economic systems in developing countries draws on varied economic engagements by the informal proletariat that have connections with the capitalist mode of production.

Relative to the retail sector, studies have shown considerable linkages between 'own account' entrepreneurs such as informal traders and formal retail establishments dating as far back as the colonial times in Africa (Meagher 2013; Murillo, 2011; Jones, 1983). European retail conglomerates such as the United African Company (UAC) and Kingsway stores largely became household names during British imperialism in West Africa and the early parts of the post-colonial era. Indigenous small retailers including market women increasingly played a vital role as intermediaries through which foreign merchandise reached the final consumer in the colonies (Jones, 1983). In colonial Ghana for example, Murillo (2012), recounted how the UAC significantly imposed its "distribution and retail systems on local markets for profit", while at the same time, the relationship produced elite indigenous small-scale retail entrepreneurs, particularly women traders who through links with UAC accumulated wealth, which earned them the tag "witchcraft", in a conservative society where women were considered subordinates and not expected to possess such riches (Murillo, 2011).

Under neoliberal globalisation, the formal and informal interactions in the retail sector have taken enduring leaps in scale and scope. In SSA, economic liberalisation and structural adjustment policies such as privatisation and staff retrenchment in the public sector from the early 1980s were significantly associated with diminishing formal sector employment on one hand and rising economic activities in the informal sector on the other (Mhone, 1995; Bienen and Waterbury, 1989; Meagher, 2007; Hansen, 2010; Yusuff, 2011). In Ghana, Overa (2007), noted that the fallout of the adjustment policies compelled the unemployed and retrenched workers, including men to seek livelihood opportunities in the informal economy particularly petty trading which used to be women's domain. However, it is also worth noting that the integration of the SSA's informal economy into global trading networks under neoliberalism, particularly relations with China has also created diverse economic opportunities for informal actors (Meagher and Lindell, 2013). In the retail sector for example, the globalisation of the world economy has seen the increased engagement of informal traders with the formal economic system through imports and retailing of foreign products or the sourcing of foreign goods from local intermediaries for subsequent retailing.

Some scholars have however attempted to offer different explanations for how accumulation and class struggle are co-produced within the purview of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist mode of production at the urban scale in the global south. From an African urbanisation perspective, Gillespie's (2016) understanding of the relationship between the formal and informal economies is counterintuitive, and it 'problematises' Harvey's articulation of class struggle as the result of the adverse incorporation of informal actors into the capitalist processes.

In contrast, he pointed out that, the struggle of the urban proletariat in Africa is largely due to their systematic exclusion from the capitalist mode of urban production or modernisation in general. He employs the concept of "accumulation by urban dispossession" in his argument to emphasise the role of the state in aiding capitalist accumulation through actions that dispossess informal actors of their livelihood entitlements. The state creates spatial "enclosures" that deny informal urban proletariats access to the 'urban commons' (public spaces) which the vast majority depended on to reproduce themselves. He further argued that 'urban commons' are seen as placing a limit on the ability of capital to raise the value of the "urban fabric", for which reason the state intervenes by using "physical, legal and discursive" measures as mechanisms for 'fixing capital' (ibid.).

Against the backdrop of efforts to make SSA cities globally competitive as destinations for capital investments and tourism, these measures are seen as entrepreneurial strategies for marketing cities. For Gillespie (2016), the incessant Privatisation of expropriated communal lands by the state for the development of upscale real estate properties for the middle and upper classes, which previously had used value to the informal proletariat, the invocation of punitive by-laws culminating in the revanchist clearing of vendors from streets and pavements, and the force eviction and displacement of squatters in neoliberal African cities are measures aimed at the re-distribution of resources from the poor through dispossession to the capitalist investors and the rich as accumulations. Reinforcing the physical-legal strategies of dispossession are the 'discursive narratives' that ideologically frame informality as disorderly, dirty, and criminal practices that pose a significant 'threat to national security' (ibid.).

The characterisation of contemporary (re)production of urban space in the global south as replete with the incidence of 'accumulation and dispossession' effectively resonates with Accra. The visioning of the city as the gateway to West Africa, and consequently the current modernisation drive that is transforming the built environment, have given new impetus to the exclusion of the urban informal proletariat from the neoliberal and globalising processes of re-making the city. The ramifications have also been well documented. Privatisation of communal lands below market value for private capital investments in regeneration projects has seen the eviction and displacement of Accra's poor inhabitants en masse.

Key among the high-profile case studies is the demolition of Mensah Guinea, a coastal informal settlement to make way for the marine drive regeneration project, which promises to turn Accra's coastline into a major tourism enclave. Falt (2016), sees this as the state engagement in the dispossession of the poor inhabitants of the settlement of both their livelihood resources and habitats on land which they have historical connections, bona fide, and legal entitlement to use for the benefit of capital investors.

Similarly, the economic challenges that the poor indigenes of La, a traditional community in Accra have been put through over the last few decades are partly attributed to the privatisation of communal lands compulsorily acquired by the state for the development of luxury residential and commercial real estate properties, including Accra's Globalised CBD – Accra Airport City (AAC). According to Gillespie (2016), these spaces were the 'urban commons' that served as a vital resource for livelihood practices such as small-scale urban farming and petty trading for the indigenous people.

In the case of the states' planned demolition of Old Fadama, a squatter settlement in central Accra, Gillespie (2016) contends that the settlers had 'engaged in a form of placemaking' by transforming a derelict and floodable piece of land into a viable residential and commercial neighbourhood, which legitimately entitled them to lay claim to a 'collective property ownership'. The demolition of the settlement for the development of upend residential and commercial properties, therefore, amounted to dispossession of the poor inhabitants of their legitimate entitlement for the benefit of capital investors (ibid.).

5.10 Contesting Dispossession in the Globalising City

Globalisation and neoliberalism are increasingly turning public spaces in cities in both the global north and south into contested spaces between their 'market value' and 'use value' (Maharaj, 2017). This is particularly more pervasive in major cities in sub-Saharan Africa with its increasing and high rates of urbanisation. As the state seeks to commodify urban space by placing a market value on it through neoliberal governance processes and market logic, City inhabitants have also sought to resist marginalisation and exclusion induced by the emerging discourse on the world or global city-making as citizens.

In Accra like many other cities in the global south, the dispossession of the informal proletariat of their sources of livelihood and dwelling abodes in the context of city modernisation and beautification often provokes a sense of insecurity and marginalisation. This has often been met with varying responses ranging from social unrest to dialogue and negotiations with state and city authorities (Nikuze et al., 2020; Maharaj, 2017; Grant, 2009). Maharaj (2017, p 744), recounts how a beachfront regeneration project in preparation for South Africa hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup in the port city of Durban for example, denied poor fisherfolk access to the 'public commons and source of livelihoods, who in turn reacted through "public activism" to assert their right to the city. This included the use of protest marches, keeping vigils at prohibited sites, appeals to the city and national authorities, and defying authorities (Maharaj, 2017). Such urban insurgencies over dispossession and displacement in the last few decades have been phenomenal across cities in the global south and sub-Saharan Africa in particular (Miraftab, 2009).

More salient in the resistance against dispossession and displacement in Accra is a grassroots mobilisation and the proliferation of civil society organisations that have demonstrated commitment to giving voice to the voiceless and protecting the way of life of informal city dwellers who constitute the urban majority. In Accra's biggest slum settlement, Fadama, residents have survived several attempts by state and city authorities to evict them to pave the way for the regeneration of a nearby lagoon, the Korle Lagoon Ecological Restoration Project (KLERP). Through collective community actions, including seeking legal redress at the law courts and exploiting the competitive political dispensation in the country which is dominated by the two main political protagonists, the NPP and the NDC, residents mounted pressures through party affiliations to resist displacement (Grant, 2006). Thus, as noted by Grant (2006 p. 14), although the residents of the slum belong to different groups and "political struggles existed within and among them, they formed a common political front to oppose the threat of evictions".

The support of local Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working in the community, and in collaboration with a network of international organisations committed to seeking the welfare and justice for slum settlers across the globe were also solicited by residents of the slum and were critical in empowering them to assert their rights and avoid evictions. Particularly cited in this regard is the transformation of the settlers of old Fadama from once powerless local citizens constantly facing eviction threats to global citizens with powerful negotiating credentials through increased exposure to international organisations like UN-Habitat and Slum Dwellers International, a global NGO, and learning from the best practices from slum settlers in other parts of the world. Grant (2009) describes this as "globalisation from below", a strategy that enables informal settlers to become a powerful force, gain legitimacy in the struggle for urban space, and become a major stakeholder in governing the city. Consequently, the threats of eviction rhetoric change to a dialogue among stakeholders which brings to the fore the need to incorporate the poor in any comprehensive housing policy for urban development (Grant, 2006).

Whereas there is an emerging body of literature attempting to theorise the resilience of informal residential settlements such as slums in the context of urban dispossession in a globalising city (Grant, 2006; Grant, 2009, Afenah, 2009), very little is known about how the traditional forms of retailing, particularly the dominant informal sector operating in the city are coping with the new trends in an increasingly neoliberal and globalising city.

While the agency of transnational organisations operating across national boundaries in solidarity with informal settlement across the global south empowers settlers to negotiate with state and city authorities to be recognised in the contemporary urban development agenda, their sources of livelihood which primarily involve struggling on the streets to make ends meet have not received global attention of the same impetus. Petty traders and street vendors have constantly been caught at the losing end and have borne the brunt of urban development in the global south since colonial times. In Accra and other major cities in sub-Saharan Africa, brute force has been used to eject hawkers from public spaces and in some instances, their wares confiscated as their activities are deemed as the antithesis of building a world-class city to attract foreign investment and tourists (Young, 2017; Gillespie, 2017; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2011b; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008).

However, as some studies have demonstrated, there is a modicum of evidence to suggest that in a seemingly hostile environment, informal retailers whose activities have been deemed by city authorities as illegal have continued to ingeniously explore new strategies to appropriate public spaces to reproduce themselves in Accra's inner city. The most benign and common practice among street vendors is to outwit city guards popularly called *Abayei* in the Ga language by using what Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, (2008) referred to as "spatial strategies", whereby traders engage in hiding and seeking with the guards by relocating to places in the CBD where there is less policing of their activities (see Gillespie, 2017). In some extreme cases, the spontaneous use of violence is the strategy employed to resist dispossession. This includes "stone-throwing, setting fires, and building barricades" (Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Silver, 2014; Gillespie, 2017).

Recently, a competitive multi-party democratic system of governance in Ghana has introduced a new dimension to the political economy of the informality of the so-called unauthorised traders in the traditional Central Business District of Accra, where power relations are exploited to negotiate for recognition and legitimisation of hitherto illegal activities. Contrary to the notion that the informal economy in Accra is a nuisance, justifying forced evictions, Bob-Milliar and Obeng-Odoom (2011) hold the view that street hawkers and petty retailers are not always "on the run", but rather "are regularly engaging the state in multiple ways to maintain or reclaim urban space".

It is in this context that Gillespie (2017) also posits that street hawkers and squatters in Accra have transitioned from being "quiet" to "bold" encroachers of public spaces. Drawing his argument from Asef Bayat's theory of "quiet encroachment" in countries with authoritarian regimes like Iran, Gillespie (2017) observed that Ghana's highly competitive partisan politics which has also found relevance in the management of urban space has empowered hawkers and squatters to take collective action to assert their right to use public spaces in Accra's inner city to reproduce themselves. In the Ghanaian electoral system Accra is said to be a swing region and hugely determines which of the two major political parties, NDC and NPP win the presidential election. As such, petty retailers through their representative associations wield a powerful bargaining chip to dialogue and engage with state authorities, and there have been reported instances where governments override city authority by-laws by stopping some planned high-profile evictions for political expediency.

5.11 Retail Internationalisation and Host Economy Impacts

Coe and Wrigley's (2007) theoretical model on retail territorial embeddedness, which attempts to explain the developmental impacts of transnational retail firms in the host economy of developing countries, provides yet another useful framework for understanding the hegemonic role of the shopping mall and the transformation of Accra's retail structure and elsewhere in other SSA cities. The conceptual model followed a scoping literature review of the globalisation of the retail industry which saw the intensive flow of retail investments from the Western world into developing countries from the early 1990s. Popularly referred to as the "supermarket revolution" (Reardon and Hopkins, 2006), liberalisation policies in the global south triggered waves of retail expansion by Western European and North American retail giants into third-world countries, particularly in Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe (Reardon and Gulati, 2008). Coe and Wrigley (2007, p.346) argued that, as these transnational retail firms begin to derive a significant proportion of sales revenue from their international operations, they pursued a strategy of market consolidation in the host country which involves high levels of investment in "territorial embeddedness in the host country's consumption cultures, real estate and land-use planning regime, and supply systems". As they further argued, territorial embeddedness which is vital for the international retailer to achieve market competitiveness in the host country, also has profound economic, social, and political implications in the host country. Spencer (2008) is of the view that the nature of the embeddedness hugely determines whether it will engender a “positive spillover” or “crowd out” existing and indigenous industries.

One key aspect of the territorial embeddedness as outlined by Coe and Wrigley (2007) is the innovations transnational retail establishments bring to the host country, which include new retail formats, procurement and distribution systems, improved customer, and quality assurance services, etc. These imported innovations tend to change the “rules of the game” towards an accelerated modernisation of the host country’s retail sector as modern indigenous retail establishments imitate the innovative practices introduced by the international retailer in response to the market competition (ibid.). Mobilisation of domestic capital has enabled such local retail entrepreneurs to invest in innovations, and alternatively, through mergers with international retailers or outright acquisitions (Reardon et al., 2003; Reardon, 2005; Reardon et al., 2007). Consequently, the market share of the traditional modern retail sector is said to have appreciated by between 50% and 60% in the first-wave retail diffusion countries, while the trade share was 30-50% and 1-20% in the second and third wave countries respectively (Reardon, 2005; Reardon and Hopkins, 2006).

Studies have shown that with the adoption of retail innovations indigenous modern retail firms became robustly competitive to the extent that, in some cases, they resisted the entry of new transnational retailers into the local economy or better still displaced existing ones. For example, the failure of transnational retailers like Carrefour, Disco Ahold, and Home Depot, and their subsequent withdrawal from the Chilean market in the early 2000s was attributed to the robust defence exhibited by the major indigenous retail chains such as D&S, Cencosud, and Sodimac (Bianchi and Mena, 2004; Bianchi and Ostale, 2006). Similarly, the exit of the French international retailer, Carrefour, and the American retail giant, Wal-Mart from the South Korean market was due to the indigenous retailers outperforming them (Coe and Lee, 2006).

Regarding traditional small shops and informal retailers, who cannot emulate the innovative practices brought by the transnational retailers, studies for example, by Faiguenbaum et al., (2002) and Rodriguez (2002) in Chile and Argentina respectively suggest a pattern of decline for the small-scale retail sector due to their lack of competitiveness, in a market dominated by transnational retailers and a bourgeoning indigenous modern retail sector. In South Africa, a similar pattern of decline was reported for the informal retail sector due to the invasion of their market territories by proliferating hypermarkets and supermarkets (Crush and Frayne, 2011; Louw et al., 2007).

However, studies in some Asian countries have reported the resilience of the traditional small-scale retail sector, despite the threat posed by the innovations in retailing in these countries. Notably, in the highly developed economies of the region such as China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore where modern retail formats have been in existence for a considerable period, traditional 'wet/street markets and small shops have been found to continue to dominate the food retail sector, especially in the supply of fresh food products including fruits, vegetables, meat, and poultry products (Zhang and Pan, 2013; Bai et al., 2008; Goldman et al., 1999; Goldman and Hino, 2005; Si et al., 2016). Rather than being dislodged by the evolution of the retail sector through modernisation, these retail channels maintained a strong niche despite the competition posed by the exotic and modern retail formats. There is evidence to suggest that in some instances the market share previously gained in the fresh food retail sector by modern and large-scale retail formats in some Latin American countries had slumped or reverted to the indigenous small-scale and petty retailers (See Hamilton, 2003).

Coe and Wrigley's (2007) conceptualisation of the impact of transnational retail firms in emerging economies also included the dominance of the TNCs in the logistics and supply chain system of the host country. Embeddedness in the supply chain system means TNCs have virtually become the source of supplies for indigenous retailers, fostering a network of interdependence between the TNCs and traditional petty traders (ibid.). For example, studies in Mexico and Thailand found high numbers of such small-scale retailers sourcing their supplies from these international retailers. Oteng-Ababio and Arthur's (2015) report also found a similar relationship between the Accra mall and indigenous small retailers, where the latter served as an important source of market for anchor shops in the mall. The authors believed that the survival of shopping malls hugely depended on the continuity of these petty and informal retail forms in Accra.

5.12 The Conceptual Framework for the Study

Here, I attempt to synthesise the relevant elements of the various theoretical propositions discussed in this chapter and consolidate them into a conceptual framework to guide the empirical analysis and explanation of the impacts of shopping malls. The framework is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 5.1 below.

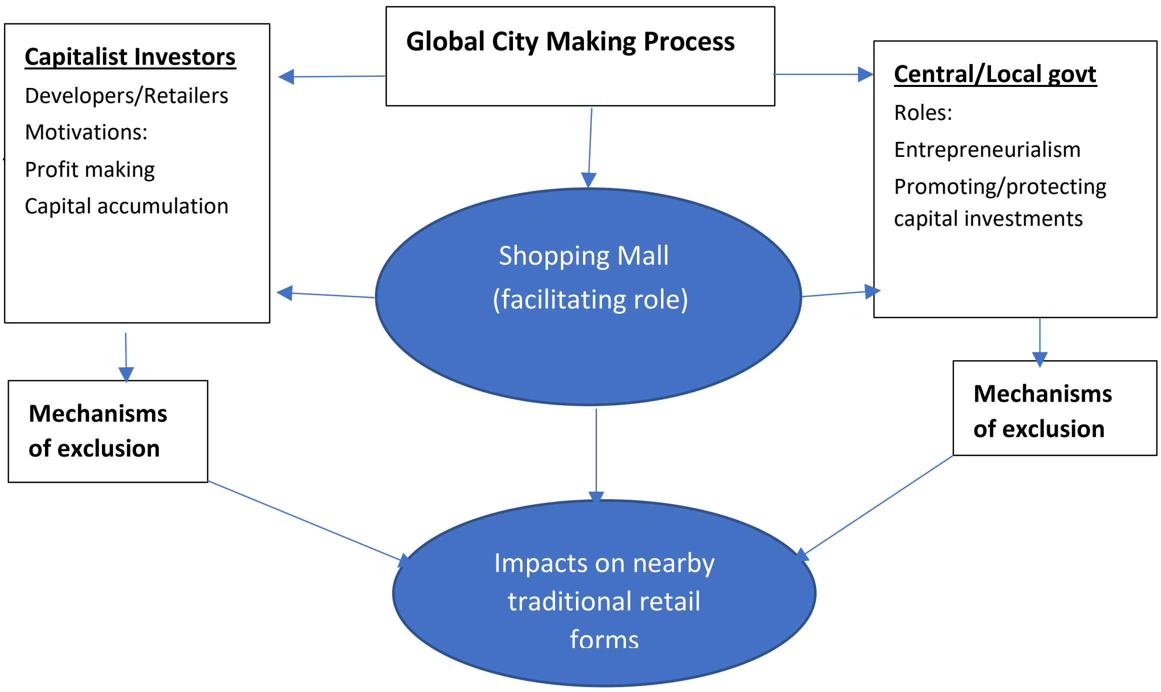


Figure 5. 1 The Conceptual Framework of the Study. Source: Author

In this framework, the shopping mall is conceptualised as a product of the neoliberal processes of the global city-making agenda (making Accra globally competitive). In this sense, the proliferation of 'globalised' retail spaces such as shopping malls in Accra over the last two decades is the culmination of the entrepreneurial governance approaches to urban development adopted by the central and local governments to reinvent the city and enhance its global competitiveness. The prevailing investor-friendly environment has bolstered the confidence of local and foreign capital investors to invest in shopping malls, with the expectation of positive returns on their investments.

Furthermore, I conceptualise the mall as an iconic building that symbolises modernity and progress (Eduful and Eduful, 2022; Hobden, 2014) that is being exploited by the key actors involved in the neoliberal urban development process (government and private capitalist institutions) for their parochial interests. For the central or local government, malls are strategic investments that could help brand and market the city for more foreign investors and tourists. As such, they needed to be protected against all forms of activities perceived as threats to the ideals of the competitive city. New urban governance processes are therefore used as mechanisms to tame these 'undesirable' activities around such iconic spaces.

Regarding private capital investors, the emergence of malls in modern history as spaces for promoting global consumption cultures has provided the impetus for renowned international retailers to seek new market opportunities and dominate the retail market in third-world cities. In Accra and other SSA major cities, malls have become the conduits for increased representation of transnational retail corporations, with South African retailers as the trailblazers. Property developers; both residential and commercial also find proximate lands to malls as strategic locations for producing and marketing luxury real estate. Thus, the mall in the African context is embedded in the neoliberal and globalisation bubble of place-making, which has a pivotal role to play in the reconfiguration of the surrounding urban form and the capitalist mode of accumulation facilitated by the central or local government.

The impact of shopping malls on nearby traditional and existing retail forms in a city like Accra can be well articulated within the above conceptualisations when the 'causal mechanisms' generating the impacts are uncovered. While shopping malls and traditional retail forms may not be competitors per se, at least in the African context where malls are generally populated and anchored by internationally well-known retailers, selling high-class and ostentatious products, it is the agency of the key actors in the neoliberal and globalising place-making process that is structuring the impacts of malls on traditional retail forms. Ideally, retail centres such as the Accra and West Hills shopping malls which attract large numbers of visitors to their locales are supposed to be generating positive rippling effects on the surrounding retail forms in terms of footfall. However, that does not seem to be the case for other reasons. Ideologically, the mall is regarded by city authorities and central government as a potential catalyst for attracting foreign investors and tourists, creating an environment that makes traditional retail forms look like unwanted urban economic entities or in the worst-case scenario, a practice that must be wiped out, for example, informal traders. The mall in this sense then becomes a means through which revanchist policies are used as a mechanism for sanitising public spaces for further capital investments, which invariably have consequences for nearby traditional retailers.

Similarly, the conceptualisation of the shopping mall as an iconic architecture that enhances the economic value of its surrounding spaces, also, makes the mall an enabler of gentrification. As the mall is used as a medium for city or neighbourhood branding, capital investors including transnational retailers and property developers exploit the enabling environment to transform the built environment and create new forms of urban life. The consequences of these are that existing and traditional urban functions, including economic systems pursued mainly by the urban underclass are systematically threatened or displaced by the production of spaces of consumerist value for elite urban residents, shoppers, and tourists. This opens the neoliberal city to all forms of contestation as those marginalised by the process attempt to negotiate their right to reproduce themselves as citizens. In conclusion, the conceptual framework designed to explain the impacts of shopping malls on traditional retail systems takes into consideration the neoliberal and globalisation structures in which it is embedded and the mechanisms through which the accumulation by urban dispossession works through shopping malls in a global south city like Accra.

5.13 Summary

This chapter has considered the theoretical and conceptual bases defining the perspectives that laid the structure of the arguments made in the study. As the research is grounded more in a Marxist ontology, the theoretical review explored the relationship between neoliberalism, globalisation, and the capitalist mode of urban regeneration to conceptualise the impacts of shopping malls on traditional retail systems in Accra.

Chapter6
Research Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter lays out the methodology used for this study and attempts to justify the rationale behind the choice. It starts by discussing the philosophical assumptions underpinning research in the social sciences, mainly the two competing traditional worldviews or paradigms regarding social reality. These are positivism and interpretivism, and their inherent limitations. Philosophically, the study is rooted within the critical realist framework, a worldview that conceptualises social reality as complex and layered, and this chapter highlights it. The rationale for choosing a case study design over a cross-sectional survey for the study is also given adequate space in this chapter. Subsequent sections of the chapter outline the strategies and methods used in collecting data from the field, the sampling procedures, and how the information gathered was analysed and presented. The final sections looked at the ethical issues that arose, and issues surrounding the validity of the study.

6.2 Philosophical Roots of Social Science Research and Paradigms of Inquiry

The thrust of every piece of a social research project is underpinned by certain philosophical assumptions and claims about what constitutes appropriate knowledge about the social world or reality and how we can acquire knowledge to understand the phenomenon being studied. These fundamental assumptions, known as ontological and epistemological positions are not just the critical starting points of the research process, but also guide and shape subsequent stages of the research process (Sarantakos, 2005; Grix 2002). Grix (2002) emphasised the need for social science researchers to endeavour to understand these terms as they are critical to the understanding of the "research process as a whole", failure of which the entire research hits a snag or at worse collapses. In other words, the key components of the research process such as the methodology, the methods, and the sources of information for the research work hinge and follow on from the researchers' ontological and epistemological position in a directional manner (Grix, 2002; Sarantakos, 2005). According to Sarantakos (2005), the methodology is all about a research strategy that translates ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show how research is to be conducted.

Ontological claims are assumptions that are made about what represents or what is the nature of social reality. According to Grix (2002), it is the assumptions we make about what constitutes the truth about reality, “what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other” (Grix, 2002 pp. 172). Central to these ontological claims are two main philosophical positions, *objectivism,* and *constructivism*. Objectivism is an ontological position that views the social world or reality and its existence as fundamentally external to human actors (Bryman, 2004). That is to say that phenomena in the social world are pre-defined and confront us in a manner human beings have no control in shaping or redefining these entities. Proponents, therefore, argue that we can only study and understand reality objectively because it is out there to be observed and analysed. Constructivism on the other hand is a counteractive position to objectivism. It is an ontological position that argues that social phenomena or reality are the products of social interactions and have continually been shaped and re-shaped by social actors (Bryman, 2004). In other words, the social world or reality is constructed by human actors, and therefore knowledge and understanding of it cannot be regarded as definitive. It is an approach that considers the social, political, and cultural contexts in which reality is embedded.

Epistemological positions refer to the possible ways by which knowledge about the social world can be acquired. As Grix (2002) puts it, it is the “theory of knowledge” and the justifications of its rubrics, methods, validation, and ethical considerations. Whereas ontology tries to answer the questions about “what” constitutes social reality, epistemology tries to answer the questions about “how” we know and understand what we know about that social reality. It is the theory underlying the knowledge-gathering process (methodology) towards discovering the truth about social phenomena to help build new theories or models that are better than competing ones (ibid.). Traditionally, there are two main epistemological perspectives about social reality. These competing worldviews have dominated the philosophy of social science research, each attempting to justify the appropriateness of their various positions about gaining knowledge about social reality. These are *positivism* and *interpretivism*.

Positivism is an epistemological position advocating the use of scientific methods in the natural and physical sciences in the study of social phenomena (Bryman, 2004). The scientific methodology is premised on general laws and theories derived through a series of observations under certain conditions of how natural phenomena occur, and the positivist epistemology is derived from similar assumptions (objectivist ontology), that social phenomenon can also be explained using the same methods as the natural sciences. Central to this worldview is the perception that social reality is objective, simple, and fixed. Reality is empirical and consists of the impressions gained from the senses through observation and experience, and it is the only truth about reality. It is also premised on the assumption that human beings are rational individuals who are governed by social laws and so their behaviour can be predicted and studied through observing them in the context of the external environment and fixed laws in which they live and have no control over. Consequently, the scientific methods of knowledge extraction which are based on strict observation of procedures and rules remain the only appropriate and reliable method of gaining knowledge and explanations about the phenomenon in the social world. The two fundamental praxis of the positivist paradigm is the observation of social entities to produce universal laws and theories explaining occurrences in the social world (inductive reasoning), just like the physical scientist also observes the natural world to formulate theories. The general laws and theories could also form the basis for predicting reality through logical hypothesis formulation (deductive reasoning), just like the physical scientist predicts and explains occurrences in the natural world based on scientific laws and theories. In social science research practice, the positivist paradigm is the theoretical foundation of the quantitative methodology or technique which reduces empirical and objective facts about the social world into measurable or quantifiable numeric order.

Whilst the positivist approach to social research remains popular and is used by social scientists, it has equally been criticised on several fronts for its appropriateness in the social world context. Chiefly among the criticisms is its definition of reality as objective, when reality is understood by others to be an interpretation of social actions by actors close to reality. An interpretation of reality predicated on quantitative analysis as used in positivist research also results in the construction of meanings which is closer to the beliefs of the researcher and not those embedded in reality. Again, predictions or hypothesis formulation, a key feature of the positivist paradigm, only serves to tilt the research towards a unidirectional path that forces informants to respond to opinions that they might otherwise not have expressed.

Interpretivism is the antithesis of positivist epistemology. The notion of an objective reality, according to the interpretivist philosophy, is far from the truth and does not exist. Rather, the reality is socially constructed. It, therefore, shares the view that the scientific approach used in the natural and physical sciences cannot be applied to the study of social phenomena. That is studying people and their institutions. Hence, a different conceptualisation and approach to legitimate knowledge are required in the field of social science research that factors the 'distinctiveness' of human beings as opposed to other natural entities (Bryman, 2004). Rather than the objectification of reality which is assumed to be situated outside the control of human beings, as the positivists believe, the ontological foundation of interpretivism is that reality is constructed by actors who are closer to the social world. In other words, reality is the interpretation and the meanings that individuals give as they try to make sense of the world around them. The job of the social researcher is therefore to interpret these subjective meanings and actions in a particular social context by gaining access to people's 'common-sense thinking' (Bryman, 2004). According to Bryman (2004), by adopting an interpretive approach, a researcher could come up with 'surprising findings' that better explain social phenomena and help to introduce new concepts into the frame of social scientific scholarship, rather than the mere establishment of the causal relationship between variables which is the nomenclature of the positivist paradigm. Interpretivism is the theoretical foundation of the qualitative methodology or strategy in social science research. Unlike the quantitative research strategy, the qualitative strategy tends to stress much emphasis on the generation of text from interviews with research participants and the researcher's observations rather than numbers.

The interpretive epistemology is not without some criticisms. It is difficult to establish the true meanings of social reality from the respondent's perspective as the researcher's re-interpretation and representation of meanings may be at variance. Issues bordering on the generalisability of findings because of the relatively small number of participants who are involved in qualitative studies, validity, and replicability have all been cited as weaknesses. *[Interpretivism fails to acknowledge the role of institutional structures, particularly the division of interest and relations of power. Interpretivism cannot address the factors and* *conditions that lead to meanings and interpretations, actions, rules, beliefs, etc. Interpretivism is conservative in that it does not consider structures of conflicts and hence the possible sources of change]* (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 41).

6.3 Beyond the Positivism and Interpretivism Divide: Critical Realism (CR)

The enduring war of attrition, and the inherent weaknesses in the positivist and interpretive traditions as the theoretical frames of the quantitative and qualitative approaches to social scientific knowledge respectively, have led to the emergence of alternative philosophical assumptions about social reality. One such philosophy of science is critical realism, a détente of the two opposing traditions (Robson, 2002). Critical Realists hold the view that objective reality exists out there independent of human perceptions but also recognise part of that reality as subjective borne out of people's worldview through construction and interpretation of meanings. And so, CR is committed to the "integration of both the objectivist and the subjectivist approaches in social theory," (Robson, 2002), which are typically aligned with the quantitative and qualitative methods respectively. However, its ontological position transcends just objective and subjective realities. Realism conceptualises social reality as complicated and therefore requires a methodology that helps to discover the *structures* and *mechanisms* in which reality is embedded to understand its true nature if the status quo were to change.

A chief protagonist of this philosophy, Roy Bhaskar (1979), recognises a complex reality that is moving and layered (stratified), what Robson (2002) also refers to as a "complex composite": The empirical part of the complex is the world out there that our senses enable us to observe and study objectively. There is also a second layer, the actual world, which is the reality that exists, but our senses don't necessarily notice them or we are not in a position to know them. Beyond the empirical and actual is the real world that is not visible and yet they are crucial to the explanation of what happens in both the empirical and actual world (See O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014). These are the structures and mechanisms operating and shaping the things that are observable in the world. Although invisible, they are important to the realist researcher as they provide a broader framework for explaining occurrences. Critical realists are interested in modelling these structures and mechanisms as an explanatory way of looking at the world and not just the mere description of relationships by reducing social phenomena to numbers as the positivist and empiricists proffer. While the critical realist also subscribes to the interpretive epistemology of a reality that is constructed based on people's beliefs, such “common sense theories from laypersons” need to be put into a broader explanatory framework they represent for a better understanding (O’Mahoney and Vincent, 2014). Critical realism is therefore amenable to the use of either or both the quantitative and qualitative research strategies associated with the positivist and the interpretive paradigms respectively in the study of social phenomena depending on their suitability.

Methodologically, this project follows a critical realist philosophical perspective on the territorial embeddedness of shopping malls in a globalising city’s retail landscape to create an understanding of how they are impacting the traditional retail environment. Traditionally, studies on shopping mall impacts on cities and existing retail structures have adopted a reductionist approach, which has tended to focus more narrowly on quantitatively measuring footfall diversion, sales levels, profit margins, employment levels, and vacancy rates of the latter, and changes in land-use patterns following the new developments, with very little or no recourse to the *‘structures’* and *‘causal mechanisms ’*producing or generating these impacts. This study, therefore, attempts to fill a major gap in the extant literature on the development of shopping malls and their impacts on existing retail outlets by moving a step forward to identify the invisible structures and mechanisms underlying the impacts to theorise the impacts of shopping malls in the context of a globalising southern city.

6.4 Research Designs

According to Sarantakos (2005), research design (RD) is the plan of the research explaining in detail *how the researcher intends to conduct the work to answer the fundamental questions of the study such as; what the research topic is and which methodology will be employed, how the research topic will be addressed in the study, when and where the topic will be studied and who are the subjects, where will the subjects be found and how will the data be gathered, how will the data be gathered and interpreted and how will the findings be communicated.* Simply put, Vogt et al. (2012), define research design as *the statement of the basic methods of collecting evidence: surveys, interviews, observations, experiments, and archival research, and combinations of these methods*. For his part, Hakim (1987) as quoted by Robson (2002), also likened a research design to that of an architect’s design for a building project which takes into consideration fundamental issues such as aims, purposes, intentions, and plans within the practical constraints of location, time, money, and availability of staff. In designing a good social research project, Robson (2002), proposes a model to be considered as a guide and outlines five key questions that the research design should consider; 1. “What is the research trying to achieve or why it is being done?” 2. “What theoretical or conceptual framework links the phenomena being studied?” 3. “What questions is the research seeking answers for or what needs to be known to achieve the purpose(s) of the study?” 4. “What specific techniques (such as surveys, interviews, and participant observation) will be used to collect data? How will the data be analysed? How do you show that the data are trustworthy?” 5. “From whom will you seek data? Where and when? How do you balance the need to be selective with the need to collect all the data?” Robson (2002) further suggests that all these aspects of the design need to be interrelated and kept in a balance so that there is high compatibility among all the aspects of the framework. Research designs are broadly categorised into experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal, case study, and comparative designs.

6.4.1 Case Study versus Cross-Sectional Design

A case study and cross-sectional designs were the two research design options considered for the study, and the case study design was deemed more appropriate and was subsequently adopted as the design framework for data collection and analysis. A cross-sectional design, popularly known as survey design enables the researcher to examine multiple cases of a phenomenon at a given time through structured questionnaires or interviews to generate quantifiable data relating to multiple variables (Bryman, 2004). A cross-sectional design which is placed firmly in the quantitative research tradition allows the researcher to identify patterns of association between and among variables, and, to establish variations among the multiple cases. However, drawing causal inferences from findings in cross-sectional research or surveys can be problematic as it has opened a lot of validity and credibility issues (Bryman, 2004).

The overarching objective of this study is not only to establish relationships between or among variables and document the sequence of events, but also to identify the core structures and mechanisms driving or causing the impacts of shopping malls, and crucially the meanings people attach to them. Therefore, resorting to a cross-sectional design would have been less helpful in this regard. A cross-sectional design also entails studying a large number of cases which requires a considerable number of resources to carry out such a study. However, considering the limited time in which this project is supposed to be completed and the financial resources that may be required to undertake a cross-sectional observation of all or a greater number of shopping malls in the city, a cross-sectional design was not considered as the feasible option to be adopted for this study.

A case study, on the other hand, involves an in-depth examination or investigation of a single or few cases of a phenomenon which could be individuals, institutions, locations, events, etc. to obtain a vivid impression of the phenomenon. In this study, the Accra and West Hills shopping malls were selected as cases and subjected to intensive and rigorous interrogation to capture the rich descriptive context and to generate empirical data for analysing the impacts of shopping malls on existing retail structures in Accra. Unlike a cross-sectional design, a case study is amenable to the triangulation of data sources or the use of both quantitative and qualitative research strategies for an intensive study and understanding of the phenomenon. In a multiple case study, the researcher could explore and understand in detail the similarities and differences between the cases being studied. Although the generalisability or applicability of findings from a case study to other cases has been called into question, the evidence gathered from multiple cases is robust and reliable enough as a true representation of the phenomenon in its context (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Some writers on case study research have also indicated that findings in a case study are more generalised to a theory rather than populations (Yin, 1994 in Baxter and Jack, 2008). Multiple case study is not only aimed at replication but also complement each other "by focusing on areas not originally covered" (Yin, 1994 in Robson, 2002).

The rationale for selecting the Accra and West Hills shopping malls as cases for this study is based primarily on location. The Accra Mall which functions as a regional shopping outlet is by far the most popular and highly patronised modern retail facility in the city and is somehow centrally located and closer to the central business district (CBD). Its location, therefore, makes it easily accessible to relatively a greater number of the city's population and beyond. The West Hills Shopping Mall on the other hand, which is considered the largest modern shopping facility in Accra is located in a peri-urban setting of the city, about 28 Kilometres from the CBD. An intensive examination of the two cases in their contrasting locational context was deemed as the more appropriate way of generating more credible and holistic information to get a real sense of the dynamic nature of the impacts shopping malls have on traditional retail environments in the city.

6.5 Research Strategies

There are three research strategy options available to social science researchers. These are quantitative strategy, qualitative strategy, and the multi or mixed-method strategy which incorporates both the quantitative and qualitative strategies in a single study (Creswell, 2003; Sarantakos, 2005; Robson, 2002; Bryman, 2004). Several views have been expressed as to what motivates researchers to choose one strategy over the others. For example, according to Creswell (2013), in designing any study, the driving forces guiding choice from these three research strategies are not their respective merits or demerits but rather the nature of the research aim and objectives. In Sarandakos's view, the choice is informed by *"the nature and purpose of the study, the type of population, the structure of the research, the number of researchers and research assistants, and the ideological affiliation of the researcher"* (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 107). Robson (2002) also puts it that the nature of the research questions posed is critical to the choice of an approach and for Dawson (2009), the researcher's intuition and the wording of the research questions are the most important considerations for the choice of an approach. Judging from the objectives outlined, the mixed method was considered over the others.

There are many ways in which quantitative and qualitative data could be combined in a single study (Sarantakos, 2005; Creswell, 2003). One such way is the sequential procedure (Creswell, 2003) or what Sarantakos (2005) referred to as "successive paradigm triangulation". This is where the researcher starts the investigation by using either the quantitative or qualitative method first and following it up later with the other method. This study will begin with the gathering and analyses of quantitative data through a structured questionnaire to establish the relationship between the existence of a shopping mall and commercial activities in traditional retail outlets in Accra and how significant the relationships are. This will be followed by the gathering of qualitative data through unstructured and semi-structured interviews to understand the impact from the perspective of shoppers and informal retailers through the sharing of personal experiences.

This procedure has been proven to be very useful in a mixed-method study. For instance, Bryman (2004) argues that the collection and analysis of the quantitative data further guide the study by helping the researcher to identify and select the relevant people to be interviewed and inform the kind of questions that need further probing to get a robust understanding of the problem. In this study, depending on statistical results alone would have made it difficult to assess the centrality of the causal relationship between the existence of a shopping mall and commercial activities in traditional shopping centres. Turning to qualitative data obtained from interviews and participant observations helped uncover the mechanisms structuring the relationships. As Bryman (2004) observed in mixed methods research, qualitative data is very useful in facilitating the interpretation of the relationship between the variables. To sum up, the quantitative method generated data that was “aggregated and analysed to describe and predict the relationships” and helped cast doubt on alternative hypotheses (Holland and Campbell 2005). The qualitative interviews on the other hand “help to probe and explain those relationships, and to explain contextual differences in their quality” (Holland and Campbell 2005).

6.6 Adopted Methodology: A Multi-Strategy in a Multiple Case Study Design

This study adopted multiple strategies or what is popularly known as the mixed methods strategy or the pragmatic approach. This was informed by the research aim and objectives as outlined in this study and the researchers’ Philosophical stance on what approach is best to gain knowledge about our social world. The epistemology underpinning this choice comes from the realist ontology, a philosophical assumption that conceptualises, “reality as complex and multiple” and hence the need to seek knowledge and understanding of reality by using “whatever methodological approach works best for a particular research problem” (See Reichhardt and Rallis 1994 in Robson, 2002). Similar views have been held by some research methodology scholars who have emphasised the importance of focusing attention on the research problem in social science research by using pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem (Cornish and Gillespie, 2009; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 in Creswell, 2003; Bryman, 2004). The study, therefore, incorporated both quantitative and qualitative research strategies to create a deeper understanding and explore the meanings of the impacts of shopping malls on the nearby traditional retail environment. The key objectives that the research sought to achieve as outlined in the introduction chapter were:

A. To examine the effects of shopping malls on the shopping behaviour of mall users.

B. To investigate how shopping malls impact the trading performance of existing traditional retail forms.

C. To understand the level of resilience of traditional retailers and how they are adapting to the emerging trends in Accra’s evolving retail structure.

6.7 Methodological Triangulation

To accomplish the above objectives, a pragmatic combination of the quantitative and qualitative research traditions was employed in the collection and analysis of the data for the study. Denzin (1989), for example, has emphasised the need to combine methods not only to overcome the inherent limitations of the single-method approach but more importantly to seek an in-depth and more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being studied, while at the same time achieving the validation of the study and its theoretical contributions. To this end, multiple data collection methods were used to gather evidence for the study. These methods included Questionnaire Surveys, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observations, and the review of archival and historical documents.

6.8 Designing and Piloting Survey Instruments

Two separate questionnaires were designed, one for mall users and the other for the surrounding traditional retail operators for data collection for the study. Dubbed the mall user and retailer questionnaires respectively, the use of the two instruments was guided by the research objectives, which sought to understand the behaviour of mall users and the impact of the mall on the surrounding traditional retail forms. It was also inspired by Howard and Davies’s (1993) work in which the authors surveyed both mall shoppers and existing retailers, to assess the impact of the Metro Centre, a new out-of-town regional shopping centre that opened in 1986 in Gateshead near Newcastle on other retail areas in the North-East of England. The design of the mall user questionnaire was structured in such a way that the first part captured the profile of the respondents in terms of their gender, age, level of education, and the mode of transport used for the visits. Although the overarching aim of the survey was to understand the relationship between mall usage and patronage of the surrounding traditional retail forms by respondents, the inclusion of respondents' profiles in the design was important as it helped in establishing the relationship between the socio-economic status of mall visitors and patterns of shopping behaviour. For example, the use of own transport and higher educational attainment are traits more associated with the middle-class and affluent lifestyle than the poor in the context of a third-world country. Regarding mall visitations, the questionnaire sought information about the frequency of the visits, purpose(s) for the visits, in-mall shopping behaviour, shopping frequency, type of products often purchased, monthly shopping expenditure, and their motivation for using the mall as a shopping destination. On their shopping behaviour outside the mall, the questionnaire sought to elicit information on whether mall visitors also use the nearby traditional retail forms, the frequency of using the venue, and the impact of the mall on their shopping behaviour. The questions were mainly closed-ended in which respondents were given options to choose from. However, there was room given for respondents to give their subjective comments on their shopping lifestyle. A copy of the mall user questionnaire is attached as appendix (A).

The retailer questionnaire also followed the same design and structure as the mall user questionnaire, as the questions were mainly closed-ended, albeit with a provision for respondents to write their comments. The biographical profile of respondents was captured in the survey. The survey was intended to understand the effects of the mall on the trading performance of traditional retailers operating around the malls. For this reason, the survey delved into the patterns of annual sales levels for the last four years of trading, that is from 2016 to 2019. While the assessment of the trading impact of new retail development on existing and traditional retail forms has often been done by comparing sales trends before the development of the mall with trends after its opening, a pre-test of the questionnaire conducted at the pilot stage before the actual study raised problems about poor sales records keeping by respondents. The responses suggested it was difficult for respondents to provide information about sales trends before the mall opened, but they could recollect recent trends, particularly in the last four years of trading. Subsequently, the question on sales trend was adjusted to reflect the last four trading years up to the year of the data collection at the end of 2019. With due consideration of its ethical implications, it was imperative to ensure that the information provided by respondents remains as highly confidential as possible. In this regard, the survey did not seek to collect any information about actual sales figures in monetary terms, but for the traders to indicate whether they recorded an increase, decrease, or no change in sales over the previous years. The magnitude of the change was also ascertained with more than 10%, between 5% and 10%, and less than 5% change denoted as substantial, moderate, and slight respectively. Similar lines of questioning to assess the sales performance of retailers have previously been used in other studies in the UK, which have been touted as the most effective way to successfully elicit responses from retailers about their trading performance (see for example Bennison and Davies, 1980; Howard and Davies, 1993). The survey also sought to understand the reasons for the change in sales by asking respondents to choose from a list of possible factors, the reasons they believed caused the change in sales. However, the questionnaire also allowed respondents to share their own opinions on any other reasons they think might have caused the changes in sales. Finally, respondents were asked to provide their contact details if they wished to be interviewed later. A copy of the retailer questionnaire is attached as Appendices B and C for traditional retail businesses around the Accra and West Hills malls respectively.

Before the commencement of the actual data collection, the questionnaires were reviewed and adjusted after a week's pilot study was conducted in early August 2019. The essence of the pilot study was to familiarise the field and map out the appropriate sampling procedure, establish the needed rapport with the respondents, and test the suitability of the survey instruments. A small sample of retailers and mall users were selected and requested to answer the questionnaire. After the evaluation of the results, the pilot study showed an appalling response. I subsequently had two separate consultations with some informal traders and local store operators at their respective locations for an informal discussion on how best the questionnaire could be improved. It emerged from the discussion that two separate sets of questionnaires- one for informal traders and the other for the local store operators would be more helpful than responding to the same set of questions, which in some cases were not relevant. The questions needed to be tailored in such a way that they addressed issues relative to the specific retail type and the context in which trading performance could be measured. It was also clear that the questionnaires were too large, and time-consuming to complete and in some instances, the questions were ambiguous and needed to be simplified and clarified for easy understanding. Particularly, the refusal by retailers to provide answers to direct questions about annual sales figures sounded more like an intrusion into a highly confidential issue. The non-response to questions on sales performance before 2016 was understood to be the consequence of poor record-keeping by small-scale retail operators. These prompted the need to review the questionnaires and change the tone and wording of some of the questions to the most ethically acceptable ones. It is also worth noting that the pilot study was not only very useful in deciding on the appropriate sampling procedure that would be more feasible during the actual data collection process, but it was also crucial in arriving at the most effective way of deciding the most feasible method of administering the questionnaires.

6.9 The Data Collection Process

As previously stated, the study used a triangulation of data sources- the collection of quantitative and qualitative data concurrently. To make the process less cumbersome, the data collection exercise was broken down into three main phases, each coinciding with the three months that were committed to the fieldwork exercise which started in early August 2019. The first phase which commenced immediately after the pilot study started in mid-August to the second week of September and involved the survey of mall users and traditional retailers simultaneously around the two shopping malls. The second phase involved interviews with mall users and traditional retailers. The final phase which started in the middle of October was dedicated mainly to interviews and discussions with local authority officials whose jurisdiction the malls fall and the analysis of secondary sources of information. Records of personal observations occurred throughout the fieldwork and formed a critical part of the empirical data obtained from the field for analysis. However, it must be noted that a lot of practical considerations were made throughout the data collection exercise, regarding the feasible ways in which the methods could be applied in eliciting the required information.

6.9.1 Stage One: Survey and Interview of Mall Users

The fieldwork commenced with the survey of mall users at the Accra and West Hills malls by using the mall-intercept approach. This data collection method is popularly used in marketing and consumer surveys (Hornik and Ellis, 1988). The process involves approaching mall visitors within the precinct and requesting them to participate in a study. This method of recruiting participants was deemed more appropriate and effective for the study over other methods, such as the door-to-door or telephone survey method, particularly in a country where property address systems are still problematic and communication infrastructure remains a challenge. Respondents were intercepted at the malls' main entry/exit points and only those exiting were approached, as it was assumed that having completed their trips, they were more likely to have spare time to participate in the study than those entering. Since the population of mall visitors (sampling frame) at any given period is not known, no attempt was made to secure a representative sample of respondents as it was not possible under the circumstances. Therefore, respondents were conveniently sampled and every person exiting the mall at the time of the survey except minors was given the chance to complete a questionnaire. Given that the number of questionnaires that were returned by mall visitors who agreed to participate in the pilot study was low and the few returned were not fully completed, it was decided that administering the survey on the mall premises would eliminate or minimise these shortfalls, and more likely achieve a higher response rate than allowing them to be taken home. Therefore, with the assistance of the mall management, a space was secured in the malls where respondents could feel comfortable to complete the questionnaire.

However, the majority, of the participants preferred completing the questionnaire at home and returning it before the deadline. Caught between the desire to achieve a high response rate and yielding to respondents' preference mode of administering the questionnaires, a decision was made to give respondents the option to either complete the survey in the mall or complete it at home and return it on the scheduled date. This procedure is what De Vaus (2013) referred to as the 'multi-mode methods' of administering questionnaires within the same survey period. According to Dillman and Messer (2010), as reported by De Vaus (2013 p.130), the use of the multi-mode administration arises when there is a "problem of recruiting suitable samples with some administration methods." Admittedly, using only the in-mall method of administration would have resulted in a very low response rate as it turned out to be after the completion of the exercise. However, the response rate was disproportionately lower among respondents who self-administered the questionnaires elsewhere outside the mall, who were also more likely to return partially completed questionnaires.

A total of one hundred and ninety-seven mall visitors were contacted at the Accra Mall over four days, including a weekend. 71 agreed to participate in the survey, representing a 36% response rate. Similarly, 4 days including a weekend were spent at the West Hills Mall to approach one hundred and sixteen mall visitors, of which fifty-two agreed to participate in the survey. This yielded an overall response rate of 45%. After signing the consent form, the questionnaires were handed to respondents on clipboards to make it easier for them to fill out the forms. They were also assured of the availability and readiness of the researcher to provide clarification of any of the questions if required. The questionnaire was brief and took only between 10 and 15 minutes to complete. The unexpectedly low response rate was quite surprising given the amount of time and resources invested in re-designing the questionnaire to make it as simple as possible after the feedback obtained from the pilot study.

Despite the low response rate and the inherent problems of achieving a representative sample from a population of mall users and its associated unintended sampling biases, some marketing and consumer researchers consider the mall intercept method as more efficient than door-to-door or telephone survey in conducting consumer surveys in terms of the cost involved and access to a pool of the targeted population at a central location (Bush et al., 1991; Bruwer et al., 1996). Indeed, the use of the mall intercept method for this study engendered a more flexible environment for eliciting detailed information through face-to-face interaction with the subjects, and a sense of control over the data collection process. While the data obtained through the mall intercept was deemed as of good quality, given the in-depth and completeness of the responses, it offered the opportunity to observe the behaviour of mall users inside and outside the mall environment. And while the number of respondents who opted to complete the questionnaire on the spot was relatively low, they represented the highest number of respondents who completed the survey and, also, offered to participate in the short interview which followed the survey. In all, thirteen of the respondents agreed to grant the interviews, seven from the ASM and 6 from WHSM. The interviews were less structured, and it was meant to gain further understanding of their experiences and motivations in using shopping malls and traditional retail outlets, particularly those in proximity to the malls. The interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants, and alongside taking notes, the interview process lasted between 20 and 25 minutes.

6.9.2 Stage Two: Survey of Traditional Retailers

Two groups of surveys were conducted: the survey of informal traders and the survey of local storekeepers within a kilometre radius of the Accra and WHSM respectively. As previously mentioned elsewhere, the objective of the study was to measure changing patterns of annual sales among retailers and the factors responsible for the trends. The process started with a survey of informal traders. A major problem in any survey of informal traders, particularly hawkers and street vendors in any given place is the difficulty in obtaining an accurate and up-to-date sample frame because of the footloose nature of their operations (Owusu et al., 2013). They are not sedentary. In the specific case of the Accra mall where informal traders are under constant threat of eviction, a spatiotemporal pattern of the activity has emerged, where the concentration of traders is relatively sparse and fluctuates during the day depending on the mood of the municipal guards. However, a relatively thick concentration of the activity prevails in the late evenings depicting a sense of permanency when the guards are not present. Using a probability sampling technique like the random sampling procedure, for example, is not feasible in such circumstances. As such, taking into consideration the fluid nature of the informal trading activities around the mall, non-probability sampling procedures were applied in selecting the respondents for the survey. The accidental sampling technique was used initially to recruit subjects who were readily available to the researcher and willing to participate in the study at the time of fieldwork. This was then followed by a snowball sampling procedure, where the initial respondents were asked to recommend other informal traders who ply their business in the area and might be willing to participate in the project. The hostile and volatile environment under which some informal traders had to operate makes it extremely difficult to get people who are willing to participate in a study of this caliber. Nonetheless, the methods used in recruiting respondents yielded some positive results, though not as expected.

Fieldwork began in mid-September and by the second week of October 2019, 43 informal traders had been surveyed. Considering the unstable nature of their activity and the unpredictability of traders returning in the future to continue plying their trade, the questionnaires were administered to the respondents in the form of structured interviews. Self-administering the questionnaires was proving difficult for respondents given the settings and conditions in which the questionnaires were to be completed, which made the interviews the more viable approach under the circumstances. The alternative was to allow respondents to complete the questionnaire at home and return it later, but that was not considered a prudent method of getting a satisfactory response rate as the likelihood of non-retrieval of the questionnaires looked more probable given their susceptibility to forced evictions and displacement. The structured questionnaires were verbally presented to respondents and answers were recorded and coded in the questionnaires. Throughout the process, I tried to maintain my neutrality as possible by strictly conforming to the order and wording of the questions and keeping the same tone of voice. According to Sarantakos (2005), this is important as it not only serves to minimise any biases that the interviewer may have but also introduce a high sense of objectivity and uniformity in the process. However, the face-to-face interaction with the respondents also engendered some sense of flexibility in the procedure as some respondents could seek further clarification on questions they did not understand, and it also offered the opportunity in some instances for me to probe answers to open-ended questions for clarification. In all, while the respondents surveyed were not representative enough and the information gathered from them cannot be generalised to the population of informal traders, the survey was completed, and the data obtained was considered to be of a high standard.

The final part of phase two was the survey of local small store operators around the WHSM. First, to ensure that a representative sample of the population retailers is obtained, a census of small and local Indigenous retail businesses within a kilometre radius of the mall was undertaken to build a comprehensive sampling frame, in the absence of any existing data on retail business from official sources. The criteria used for inclusion are that the shop must be small, independent, indigenously owned, and within a kilometre radius of the mall. The census provided the list of shops and the kind of products or services they offer. As with most suburban retail locations in Accra, the retail geography of the study area depicts a high concentration of shops along the main thoroughfare- the stretch on the N1 highway which runs about a hundred metres away and along the front view of the mall, linking Accra to the Central and Western regions of Ghana. The Shops are aligned in a parallel sequence on either side of the road and constitute the main commercial hub of the neighbourhood. However, Pockets of stores also existed in the residential build-up areas surrounding the mall, mainly providing easy access to daily essentials like bread, eggs, cooking oil, and mobile phone vouchers for the immediate residents. Stores are mainly small-sized and operated by residents in the locality. Traded products ranged from groceries to building materials and the provision of services such as barbering and hairdressing saloons. Products offered by these shops are seemingly oriented towards serving the needs of the local community. The total number of local stores counted as the sampling frame was 247.

In selecting respondents for the survey, two factors were taken into consideration in deciding which sampling strategy was appropriate. The first was to obtain a representative sample of local store operators in the study area and the second was to obtain a sample size that reflect the different kinds of products traded by store operators in the study area. This was considered important for understanding the variations of the impact on each category, if any. Therefore, the Stratified random sampling technique was deemed the appropriate method to use in this regard. Stores were categorised into grocery, fruit and vegetables, cooked food, clothing and footwear, electronics, building materials, and others, which included shops offering different kinds of services. A proportional representation of each of the listed retail stores by the products traded was obtained as the stratified samples. A random sample was then generated from each of the resulting strata to produce the sample size for the survey. A total of eighty-six retail stores were then randomly sampled for the survey. Managers of the selected stores were approached in their shops for the survey but 23 of them declined to participate, leaving sixty-three who agreed to take part. Questionnaires were issued to be self-administered by the respondents. At the end of the survey, 50 questionnaires were deemed completed and merited inclusion in the study. This translates to a 79% response rate. The remaining questionnaires could not be accounted for as attempts to retrieve them proved futile or they were simply not suitable to be included in the analysis because of non-completion. A summary of the sampling process is shown in Table 6.1 below.

Traded Products	Sample Frame	Stratified Sample	Random Sample	Agreed Sample
Grocery	108	44	36	24
Fruit & Vegetables	12	5	5	3
Cooked Food	24	10	8	8
Clothing & Footwear	31	12	12	9
Electronics	22	9	7	5
Building Materials	20	8	8	6
Others	32	13	10	8
Total	**247**	**101**	**86**	**63**

Table 6. 1 Adopted Random Sampling Process. Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

6.9.3 Stage Three: In-depth Interviews and Focus Group Discussion with Traditional Retailers

This phase of the data collection process was divided into two parts. The first part involved in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion with informal traders who ply their trade close to the Accra Mall, and the second part involved in-depth interviews with local storekeepers at the WHSM. While the retailer survey generated quantitative data that was pivotal in constructing and understanding the relationship between retailer sales performance and trends over time and the causal factors behind these trends, interviewing retailers was considered vital to getting an explanation of the trends and relationships. Uncovering the mechanisms and structures by which the observed patterns occur is hugely dependent on tapping information from retailers as to how they construct and interpret social realities. This study seeks to explain the effects of the malls in the context of urban transformation on trading and resilience of traditional retailers and it is important to explore how these changes are shaping their experiences as retailers and their coping mechanisms by talking to them. This is also significant in understanding how malls are conceptualised in urban development from the perspective of traditional retailers.

The sampling technique employed for selecting participants was the convenient method. Thus, traders who were readily available and indicated their willingness to take part in the research were the ones interviewed. The retailer survey asked respondents to indicate their willingness to participate in the interviews by giving their contact details. Those who expressed their desire to be interviewed were subsequently contacted and arrangements were made for the interviews. A purposive sampling strategy was also used which was aimed at eliciting information from traders with long-term trading experience at the venues, particularly those whose businesses predated the shopping mall. The idea was to get them to share their stories and experiences before and after the mall was built and the general transformation in the area. It must be noted however, that, while the use of non-probability sampling techniques such as those used for selecting the interviewees had their limitations of generating findings that cannot be generalised to the whole population of traders, amid time and financial constraints it represents the most feasible way available to gather data, an opportunity too good to miss. Admittedly, it provided very useful information for the study.

One-to-one semi-structured interviews were held with seven informal traders and the topics discussed were wide-ranging, including why and how they appropriated public spaces around the mall, and how important and valuable the spaces are in the conduct of their businesses. The interviews also focused on how they conducted their trading activities and the effects on sales performance. More significantly, the interviews elicited their views on the ways that the existence of the mall and the ongoing eviction exercise led by the Municipal authority which specifically targeted them impacted the performance of their businesses. More importantly, the interviews aimed at exploring and understanding how power relations work to marginalise and affect the livelihoods of vulnerable people, and how it is negotiated in the context of urban transformation.

All the interviews took place in the environs of the Accra mall, where the informal traders conducted their businesses. This was hugely helpful as it enabled me to also observe traders in their place of work and how they go about pursuing their daily activities while at the same time interviewing them. Consequently, notes were taken accordingly when it was appropriate to do so. However, there were occasions when interviews got disrupted for a while before resuming because of the settings. For example, I had to pause interviews momentarily when the interviewee had to attend to a customer or was being confronted by the municipal guards to vacate the space. I would normally start an interview informally just to dispel any feeling or sense of inferiority complex and create a more relaxed atmosphere where participants could feel at ease and freely express their thoughts, considering my status as a PhD student coming from a UK University to interact with informal traders such as street vendors and hawkers. Equally, I avoided dressing in an overformal way like wearing a suit and tie to engender a sense of equality. Indeed, the strategy stimulated the interviews in a mutually engaging and respectful manner that would enable me to probe respondents for further clarifications on issues and pose follow-up questions where it was necessary. Through this endeavour, I was able to gather a considerable amount of detailed information from the participants and got to understand how and why they do what they do. However, I tried as much as possible to avoid asking leading questions so that respondents could objectively give answers. The initial thought of facing a communication barrier with the interviewees was allayed as all the participants and I were on the same wavelength as we could speak and understand one common language which is widely used in Ghana (Twi). On average the interviews lasted for about one hour and twenty minutes and were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants.

In addition to the individual interviews, a Focus Group was held with eight informal traders who were selected through snowballing. The decision to hold focus discussions with informal traders was an afterthought and an imperative to offset the initial challenges I encountered in the field trying to gain an in-depth understanding of the activities of these traders through one-to-one interviews, given the hostile environment they operated their businesses. As such, participants did not find it comfortable divulging vital information that the investigator thought would be useful. Indeed, having a group of informal traders sharing these thoughts freely together outside that hostile environment was an opportunity for me to get additional information missed during the interviews. However, the context was different at the WHSM as the interviews with local storekeepers in their shops were seamless and devoid of any obstacles that prevented them from sharing their thoughts as much as they could. As the goal of the study was to gain in-depth information for both cases, an adaptation of the mode of data collection in one case to counter the shortfall of another method was necessary to engender comparability and validity of the findings from the studies.

The group discussion was aimed at bringing together a group of people who have shared experiences shaped by the processes of urban governance and transformation. The key themes emerging from the individual interviews provided topical issues that needed to be explored further through a relatively unstructured discussion among the traders for a better understanding of what the issues mean. The central focus of the discussion was how the group made sense of the mall in the context of what was happening around them and the impact on their businesses. As Bryman (2004) posited, it is through group interaction and discussion that the meaning of social phenomena is best constructed and understood in our everyday lives and not through individual interviews. Indeed, the discussion afforded a better understanding of how urban regeneration projects like a shopping mall can produce new processes of governance to exclude and marginalise the urban proletariat. However, it is important to underscore the challenges encountered in moderating the group discussion: the arduous task of having to guide the discussion to refocus the attention of participants when the discussion is going off the topic under discussion and giving participants the latitude to talk about issues important to the group. The art of balancing the two, tape recording the interviews and taking notes simultaneously required some level of experience with group work and leadership qualities. The discussion was held at a venue outside the participants' workplace where they conduct their livelihood activities because of the need to conduct such an exercise in a silent and serene environment. The entire process lasted for approximately an hour and fifty minutes.

One-to-one interviews with local small store operators in the vicinity of the WHSM followed the same process as those held with the informal traders except that the interviews revolved mainly around issues that were specific to the local context. Store managers who indicated their willingness to be interviewed and provided their contact details on the questionnaire form constituted the sample that was interviewed. The sampling strategy was therefore the convenient method. An initial contact was made with seventeen storekeepers who declared their intention to participate in the interviews but only 12 of them could be interviewed as the rest rescinded their decision to take part. It is worth noting that while the sample size was too small for the views elicited to be generalised to the population, the sample included retailers who were considered key informants because of the length of time they've been trading in the neighbourhood and the worth of experience and knowledge they have about the issues of relevance to the study. The arrangement was made with participants and interview dates were scheduled. While all the interviews took place on a face-to-face basis in their stores, one participant preferred to be interviewed over the phone. Interviews touched on a variety of topics and revolved mainly around issues on the existence of the shopping mall and its impacts on their trading activities, the ongoing transformation of the neighbourhood, and how they are coping with a changing retail landscape. Most of the interviews lasted for about two hours.

6.9.4 Stage Four: In-depth Interviews with Municipal Officials

Municipal officials were the last to be interviewed and the decision to include them in the study stems from their overarching role as the authority responsible for the overall development of the municipality, including promoting the development of the local economy. It was envisaged that eliciting views from the local authorities on planning and urban visioning is fundamental to understanding how policies shape development at the local level. Initial contacts were made through the usual bureaucratic processes associated with accessing assistance from government agencies. First, letters were sent to officially request for interviews with the physical planning officials of the assemblies who were deemed as knowledgeable in the issues that the interviews sought to discuss, given their role at the assemblies. But neither of the requests was responded to at the time it was expected. Understandably, such a request goes through a long process before getting final clearance and authorisation from the chief executive, who heads the assembly as a political appointee of the president. Though details of the purpose of the study were attached to the letters sent to the assemblies, in a politically polarised society where every issue is politicised it is not unusual for such requests to be treated with suspicion and scrutinised to understand what the real motives of the researcher are. To overcome the challenges direct contact was made with a friend who works as a senior government official at the Ministry of Local Government, which has oversight responsibility on the assemblies to facilitate the process. In the two instances, the municipal chief executives acted as the ‘gatekeepers’ who provided access to the planning officials for the interviews. Just as Bryman (2004 p.518) intimated, gaining access in a research context is a “political process mediated by gatekeepers who are concerned about the researcher’s motives and the potential risks to its image.” In all, two planning officers one from the Ga South Municipal Assembly and the other from the La Dade-Kotopon Municipal Assembly were interviewed. While the interview with the former was face-to-face in the office, it was by phone with the latter.

Interviews centered on a variety of issues. Broadly, the topics discussed revolved around issues related to urban governance and the transformation agenda to modernise urban space.

The economic imperatives of the agenda and the specific role of the shopping malls in the modernisation process were also discussed. Other themes touched on included assembly bylaws on spatial development and their enforcement and forced evictions and their implications. The interviews were tape-recorded with their permission and lasted for about two hours.

6.10 Observational and Documentary Data

In this section, I wish to discuss two other methods that were instrumental in the collection of data for analysis. Observations occurred throughout the fieldwork and constituted an important source of information for this study. Direct observations were particularly useful in understanding the shopping behaviour of mall users and the activities of informal retailers in their respective natural settings. Robson (2002) argued that directly watching people doing what they do in their natural environment is the most effective way of gaining valuable insights into “real life” in the “real world” more than asking them about their attitudes and feelings or views. Indeed, by using the observational method I got a real understanding of the shopping practices of mall visitors as I paid particular attention to how they navigated between the use of the malls and the nearby retail establishments. I also focused my attention on informal traders by observing their activities around the mall, the environment in which they operate, and how the actions of local authorities in disciplining urban space shape their trading activities. The observation also centred on tracing the physical transformation of the urban form around the shopping malls. I took notes of the key observations made and where it was ethically appropriate photographs were also taken of observed scenes. In summary, through these observational methods, I gained valuable insights and understanding of the complex relationships between the quest to modernise Accra, the development of shopping malls, the transformation of the surrounding urban spaces and its exclusionary effects on traditional retailers, and how the latter negotiate their place in contemporary urban development processes through the actions and behaviours of the key actors, without relying solely on the opinions and explanations of the subjects being studied.

Significantly, the study also relied on documentary or what is popularly called secondary information as sources from which data was collected. Varied documentary sources were reviewed in this regard, and information relevant to the objectives of the study and the themes emerging from the primary research were extracted from them and analysed. Chief among these sources were official documents from both the state and private organisations, published and unpublished academic outputs, and mass media publications including articles from newspapers and the virtual media.

Official documents derived from state sources were mainly publications on urban development policies, investments in urban infrastructure, census and demographic data, and statistical data on urban economic activities such as employment in the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy and consumer price indexes, which were sourced mainly from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). Of particular importance were also specific urban development policy documents and bylaws obtained from the two local government authorities. Here, I need to specifically elaborate on the invaluable information obtained on records of new business establishments and closures from the GSMA which were incredibly useful in analysing and understanding the spatiotemporal patterns of retail development and change in the municipality, particularly in the study area. In addition to these was official information sourced from the portals of real estate companies regarding their investment portfolios and extant photographs of luxury residential property investments which were used to illustrate points made about the neoliberal and globalisation of urban development in Accra. Information obtained from published and unpublished academic sources were generally materials that focused on urban policies and the political economy of contemporary urban development, disparities, and contestations in Accra. Similar kinds of materials but in different contexts were also employed.

I need to also emphasise the importance of the information gathered from local media sources about urban development issues in Accra. The media proved to be a vital source in obtaining both historical and up-to-date information on urban development issues, particularly reports on investments in the city's modernisation and infrastructure development, urban governance practices by local authorities, and the impacts on the livelihoods of the most vulnerable city dwellers.

6.11 Ethical Consideration

Before the commencement of the study, the project received ethical approval from the ethics committee at Newcastle University after it was deemed as low risk. Nonetheless, ethical consideration was given utmost priority at every stage of the fieldwork and data collection process. I was mindful of what was ethically acceptable and what was not and took all the necessary steps to conduct myself in a manner that was appropriate and consistent with the University's code of practice for conducting research in the social sciences. As such, I did my best to avoid invading the privacy of participants or using any unjustified and covert means to elicit information that may appear to be highly confidential. Additionally, to safeguard the privacy of shoppers and protect the business interests of retailers, I preserved the anonymity of informants by coding their names and identities in all notes and records. The purpose of the study was thoroughly explained to participants and their right to refuse participation or opt out at any stage was also clarified. All these were captured in the consent form which participants completed and signed. All the recorded interviews were done with the permission of the participants.

However, the conduct of the fieldwork was not without some ethics-related challenges that needed to be addressed. An instance was when a group of informal traders who were assembled for a focus group discussion made a monetary reward a pre-condition for participating in the discussion. Some had travelled to the venue by footing their transport fare and invariably missed the time and opportunity to be pursuing their livelihoods at that moment. Seemingly, considering the financial 'loss' that my participants may have incurred and the fact that they earn their living under harsh circumstances, I agreed to their demand and rewarded them, but with the understanding that they are being compensated for their transport cost and not a payment to solicit for information from them.

6.12 Data Analysis and Presentation

In this section, I present the procedures used in analysing the data collected and how it was finally presented in writing up the findings. The analysis followed a two-stage approach, which started with the analysis of the quantitative data, followed by the qualitative data. It must be re-emphasised at this stage that the mall user and retailer surveys conducted with the questionnaires generated the quantitative data that was analysed. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS for Windows) was the computer software employed to analyse the data. I also resorted to Microsoft Excel to a limited extent for the analysis. The data was coded and entered into the SPSS software after which cleaning of the data set was undertaken by checking the computerised data set thoroughly against the original data in the questionnaires. This was to ensure that potential errors were quickly identified and resolved before the analysis of the data. I created separate data set files for the mall user and retailer surveys for the two case studies. Thus, I ended up with four different files, namely the ASM user file, the WHSM user file, the ASM retailer file, and the WHSM retailer file. The analysis was mainly exploratory in nature, as it was intended to make sense of the data, particularly to understand the sort of message it was conveying, and the direction subsequent stages of the data collection process should proceed (Robson, 2002). As such, descriptive statistics analysis was used, involving the use of percentages and frequencies in the description of the findings. Where it was appropriate, graphical techniques were also utilised to display the data in the form of bar charts, pie charts, and tables.

These were the techniques employed for the analysis and the presentation of the data generated from the mall user survey, which was mainly to understand the shopping behaviour of mall visitors- a key objective of this study. The assessment of the impact of new shopping centres and malls on existing retail forms has centered on consumers as the unit of analysis. Such analysis has attempted to investigate the effect of the new development on consumer behaviour, particularly how it is changing shopping behaviour and attitudes towards traditional and existing retail systems (see for example, Howard, 1993; Howard and Davies, 1993).

The survey collected data on variables reflecting different aspects of consumer behaviour which were then analysed, using the SPSS software. The survey was designed in such a way that the behaviour of respondents inside and outside the mall was captured in the data. The variables measured as indicators of in-mall behaviour that were analysed included how often the mall was visited, the purpose(s) of the visits, shopping behaviour, and expenditure patterns in the mall. The outside mall behaviour of respondents that were analysed related to the use of traditional and other retail outlets besides the mall, particularly retail units that were near the malls. Here, the focus of the survey was mainly to understand whether mall visitors also used traditional retail outlets for shopping purposes and how frequently that was, whether they used nearby retail outlets and the frequency, and the extent to which the mall has influenced their attitude towards other retail systems. The analysis of the quantitative data explored trends and patterns of consumer behaviour regarding the use of malls and nearby retail outlets, and the relationships thereof. The survey also collected data on the profile of the respondents which was also analysed to build a picture of the status and background of mall visitors for a better understanding of how these traits also affect consumer behaviour.

Similarly, the data obtained from the retailer survey was also analysed by utilising the descriptive statistics techniques previously outlined in this section. One key objective of this study was to examine the impact of the shopping malls on the trading performance of the nearby traditional retailers. The variable used as a measure of trading performance was annual sales levels. And to assess this, the survey collected information about annual sales performance from 2016 to 2019. As previously stated, the question did not directly ask respondents to declare sales figures in absolute terms but to indicate whether they experienced an increase decrease, or no change in sales over the previous year. Respondents were also asked to indicate the magnitude of the change, that is, whether it was substantial (>10%) or moderate (5-10%) or slight (<5%). The data generated from the survey were coded and analysed with the aid of the SPSS. Frequency tables were created for each of the corresponding years, which were then transformed into bar charts before the descriptive analysis. The bar charts were very useful in the description of the data as they gave a very good visual impression not only about the trends in sales level changes for each year but also allowed making observational comparisons between years.

Another question that the retailer survey sought to find answers to was what the major reasons were that accounted for the overall change in sales experienced by respondents over the years under consideration. A List of possible reasons was provided for respondents to select those they believed were responsible for the increase and decrease in sales levels. The literature review provided useful insights into some of these probable reasons that were included in the list. However, some of them were case-specific recurring events identified as potential reasons that could affect sales during the pilot study. There was space for respondents to specify other reasons not listed. The related question asked respondents to tick as many variables (answers) as they thought were applicable. Using the multiple response analysis tool of SPSS software, the aggregated responses for each of the variables were obtained, and a frequency table was produced, which was subsequently transformed into charts for the descriptive analysis and presentation of results.

6.13 Analysis of Secondary Quantitative Data

Documented records of new business permits issued, and closure notices obtained from GSMA for this study were very useful in 'mapping' out the changing patterns of retail development in the municipality, particularly in the study area. The information sourced covered the period from 2018 to 2021 and contained information such as type of business, name of business, location of business, issued permit, closure, and dates. The information needed to be re-organised in a more presentable fashion before any meaningful analysis and inferences could be made, and this was done manually. First, the businesses were categorised by the local area in which they existed in the municipality. The total number of businesses and types of business which included retail was also computed for each area from 2018 to 2021, as well as the number of businesses opened and closures. This was then put in a table form before the data was analysed descriptively (see Table 8.4 in Chapter 8).

6.14 Qualitative Data Analysis

While varied approaches to qualitative data analysis abound, I found Kekeya's (2016) iterative model for qualitative data analysis and interpretation a very useful method to follow. His analytical framework is based on models originally proposed by other qualitative methods scholars such as Miles and Huberman (1994). The iterative model is premised on the belief that knowledge construction about social reality is an iterative process in which the researcher navigates through various techniques back and forth to analyse data for the interpretation of realities from the perspective of the participants. He proposed five major techniques that can be used to analyse qualitative data inductively and deductively. These include data organisation, generation of units of meaning, construction of categories, development of themes, and theory writing (Kekeya, 2016). Within each technique the researcher assumes a "participatory relationship" by activating his thought processes through "listening, writing, skimming, reading, explaining, deciding and re-visiting the data" as knowledge is being constructed iteratively. Kekeya's analytical framework is illustrated in Figure 6.1 below.

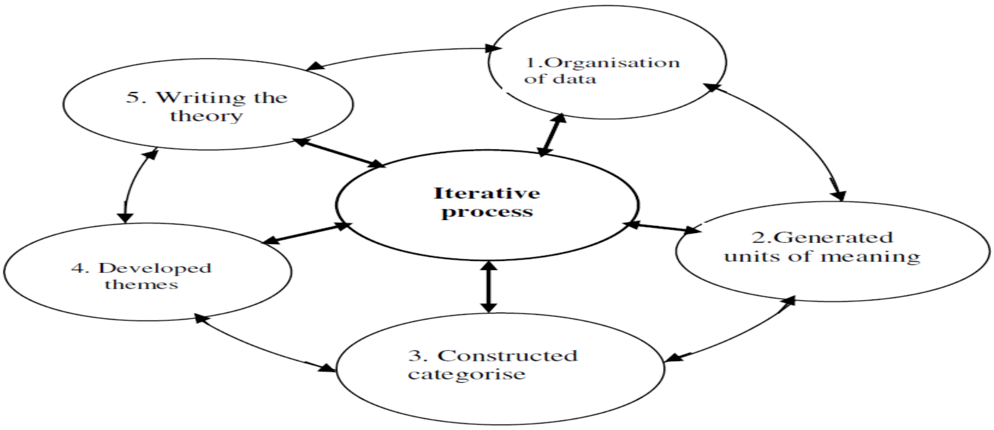


Figure 6. 1 Iterative Framework for Interpreting Qualitative Data. Source: Adapted from Kekeya (2016)

The starting point of the process is data organisation, which is crucial for the efficient management and analysis of data, particularly where a considerable amount of data generated from different sources is involved. According to Cohen et al. (2017), data organisation makes the analysis easier. The first level of data organisation at this phase for me was the organisation of the interviews, observational materials, documents, etc. into separate files for each case study, that is separate data files were created for the Accra and West Hill Mall case studies respectively. The second level is the within-case data re-organisation, which involves further separation of the data into mall user interview files, retailer interview files, planning officials' interview files, files for observational data, and secondary materials for each of the case studies. Thus, the analysis was done through the disaggregation of the data based on the different participants (retailers, mall users, local authority officials, etc). The interviews were subsequently transcribed.

The organisation of the data was instrumental in facilitating the use of the second technique- 'generation of units of meanings', which involved the coding of the data. Coding simply means assigning different symbols or labels to the different forms of data generated as an identification tag for summarising the data into meaningful units. I created different codes for the different data sources for each case study. I then read through the transcripts carefully and repeatedly for full comprehension. Words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs were noted and highlighted as the unit of meanings or concepts and coded accordingly. In all, 108 and 94 units of meaning or concepts emerged from the Accra and West Hills mall case studies respectively.

The next stage of the process is the construction of categories which involves the grouping of the units of meaning into categories with descriptive or inferential value relative to the context they emerged from. In this regard, I re-examined the units of meaning by reading the transcripts so many times for a clearer understanding of what they mean about the research topic and its objectives. The units of meaning were then matched to the objectives of the study and subsequently categorised into three groups. The units of meaning under each objective were re-examined to identify the similarities and differences within each case and between the cases. Further categorisation and re-categorisation through integration and linking of concepts and meanings were made until major categories and their sub-categories emerged. Themes were subsequently developed by the researcher to link the major categories. Themes are the highest level of data abstraction under which the broad categories of the data can be analysed to discover trends, relationships, causes, effects, and interpretations. The major themes that emerged from the analysis of the data included shopping malls and consumer behaviour, neoliberal urban development, traditional retailers' understanding of mall impact, and the Resilience of traditional retailers. The final technique which is theory writing is the writing-up or presentation of the analysed data for building a theory or testing an existing one.

6.15 Data Presentation

The presentation of the overall analysis is structured into two chapters- one dedicated to each case study. As the research design used the multi-strategy approach, the findings reported contain both the analysis and presentation of quantitative and qualitative data. The triangulation of methods in a mutually reinforcing way as presented in the report enabled patterns and relationships between variables to be well defined while at the same time offering explanations to the regularities. Besides the triangulation of data, a detailed description and interpretation of social actions in each case context were also given priority in the presentation. This is known as "thick description" (Geertz, 1973; Denzin, 1989), as opposed to "thin description", which only gives a superficial account of the phenomena without exploring the meanings of social reality (Holloway, 1997). The empirical report also draws significantly on media reports, official documents, published reports, and photographic images to reinforce my arguments for constructing reality.

The integration of these various sources of information was at the heart of the data analysis and the interpretation of the very complex relationship that exists between shopping malls and traditional retail systems. Throughout the presentation of the analysis, I gave priority to the categories and sub-categories by giving a descriptive account of them in line with the emerging themes, and where it is appropriate direct quotes were extracted from the interviews to support the description of categories rather than employing statistical inference. I also used pseudonyms throughout the presentation to protect the anonymity of participants and the information they provided.

6.16 Validity and Reliability Issues

Generally, validity and reliability are fundamental concepts for evaluating the quality and rigour of research output (Robson, 2002). The credibility of any piece of academic research hinges on these two concepts. In the positivist or quantitative research tradition, validity is about whether the measurement of a concept is measuring that concept. That is "whether the indicators or set of indicators developed to gauge the concept measures that concept" (Bryman, 2004 p.72). Bryman, (2004), suggested 5 ways in which the validity of a measure can be established. These include 'face validity', 'concurrent validity', 'predictive validity', 'construct validity', and 'convergent validity'. Establishing the face validity of a measure means the researcher ensures that the measure "reflects the content of the concept in question" and this can be achieved by asking people, particularly those with knowledge in a field to judge whether, on the face, the measure reflects the concept in question (Bryman, 2004 p.73). I suggest both the retailer and mall user survey questionnaires, at least, met the face validity criteria as the measures employed were based on the general theoretical standards, and what other researchers in the field consider to be the case (Sarantakos, 2005). The researcher also had deliberations with mall users and traders about the measures and indicators used during the pilot stage, after which some amendments were made based on their recommendations before the actual data collection began.

Reliability, on the other hand, refers to the consistency or stability of a measure of a concept. A measure is judged to be stable if it produces the same results when it is repeatedly administered to a sampled group over time (Robson, 2002). While researcher bias embedded in the data collection process could result in the unreliability of a measure, Laws et al. (2013)

argue that its occurrence is often out of the researcher's control. Merriam (1995) finds the application of the reliability concept in the social sciences as problematic as human behaviour is not static. The environment and circumstances may change and impact the results. For example, changes in a respondent's mood can produce different results using the same measure at different times.

In the naturalistic research tradition (qualitative), of which much of this study is grounded, the quality of a study cannot be judged by following strictly the positivist criteria. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) have suggested different methods for evaluating qualitative studies. This view is also shared by other qualitative scholars (Merriam, 1995; Mertens, 1998). I found their propositions tenable and adopted their canons, which formed the basis upon which the quality of this study can be assessed. For Guba and Lincoln, the quality and rigour of a study are grounded in its *trustworthiness*, and this can be verified based on its *credibility, transferability,* and *dependability* (Bryman, 2004; Flick, 2004).

Credibility, which is equivalent to internal validity in the positivist tradition is the harmony that exists between one's findings and reality (Merriam, 1995). In the qualitative research tradition, reality is multi-dimensional, that is, it is constructed and interpreted subjectively by different people, and the interpretation offered by the researcher is someone's interpretation of reality. Several strategies have been proposed that can help to enhance the credibility of a study, but I would elaborate on two that I employed to enhance the credibility of the study.

Triangulation: it involves the researcher using multiple methods or multiple sources of data to confirm and give greater confidence to the findings (Denzin, 1988). Robson (2002) argues that triangulation can help to counter all threats to validity. This study meets this requirement as the researcher triangulated not just methods (quantitative and qualitative) but also collected data from varied sources to establish the truth about social reality. For example, an account of a phenomenon obtained by an interview could be verified by personal observations and what other researchers have written about it.

The Second strategy for establishing credibility is called "member checking" (Robson, 2002; Merriam, 1995), and it involves the researcher taking back his interpretations of the data obtained from the participants for validation or confirmation that it indeed reflects the views they shared with the researcher (Robson, 2002; Merriam, 1995). According to Robson (2002), it helps minimise researcher bias as well as signalling to the participants that the researcher values their perceptions and contributions to the study. This requirement was also dealt with in the study when the researcher furnished the retailers who were interviewed with copies of their transcribed interviews, together with a summary of the analysis of the results via email for their opinion. They were asked to check and reflect upon them to see whether in their opinion they represent the reality and provide any further comments if they disagree with anything or wish to make known something that has not been captured. The feedback obtained was given due consideration before the final empirical chapters were written.

Transferability: It is the extent to which a study or its findings can be applied to other contexts, and its equivalent is the external validity or generalisability in the quantitative research tradition (Merriam, 1995). While positivist researchers aim to achieve results that can be generalised to a population, for which reason random sampling is employed to achieve a representative sample, qualitative researchers rarely think about generalising their findings to the population or another context. Merriam (1995 p.57) puts it this way; "the goal of qualitative research, after all, is to understand the particular in-depth, rather than finding out what is generally true of many." However, a strategy that has been suggested to strengthen the rigour of a qualitative study and enhance its transferability is that the researcher should produce a "thick description" of the phenomenon and its context- that is giving a rich and detailed account of the phenomenon (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Guba and Lincoln further argue that thick description serves as a "database" for other researchers to decide whether the case in question matches their situation, and as such findings can be transferred or not. In addition to a thick description, Merriam (1995) also suggests that researchers should consider a "multi-site design" as a strategy to enhance transferability. It involves studying multiple cases of the phenomenon, particularly those representing some variation, which will then allow findings to be applied to a wider range of other similar cases. Undoubtedly, this study meets the transferability criterion as it provided a detailed description of the two case studies and the theoretical reasoning underpinning them. In effect, the robustness of the findings has theoretical implications (theoretical generalisation) which can help in understanding cases with similar attributes (Yin, 1994).

Dependability: It is equated to reliability in the quantitative research tradition, and it is the extent to which the findings of a study will remain the same when it is repeated. However, Merriam (1995 p.56) contends that dependability cannot be thought in the same way as reliability in the positivist and scientific worldview of reality, as qualitative researchers seek to understand the world from the perspectives of people who interpret reality in multiple ways. As such, it is difficult to have a benchmark to establish the reliability of a measure. She, therefore, concurs with Lincoln and Guba (1985) that what qualitative researchers should strive to do is produce results that are consistent with the data collected and not replication of findings. A strategy suggested to enhance the dependability of the findings of a study is the triangulation of data sources, which involves the use of different methods to collect data. Guba and Lincoln (1981) yet proposed another strategy to enhance dependability known as the "audit trail", where the researcher provides a detailed account as to how decisions were made throughout the study process, including how data were collected and categorised so that it serves as a blueprint or an operating manual for other researchers who wish to replicate the study. I believe this chapter hugely satisfies this requirement considering the elaborate way the methodology and methods used in the study process have been discussed and justified.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that this study satisfies the validity and reliability criteria in terms of quality and rigour in academic research practice.

6.17 Summary

This chapter has discussed the methodology employed to conduct the study. It first laid down the philosophical worldview underpinning the study, which lies within the critical realist ontology. The competing methodologies used in investigating phenomena in the social sciences were also discussed, and a justification was given as to why the mixed method methodology was chosen over the quantitative and qualitative research traditions. A detailed discussion of the methods and the processes followed in collecting data and analysis has also been thoroughly presented in this chapter. It also discussed the presentation of the findings and discussed how they meet the validity and reliability criteria of research quality and rigour.

Chapter7

Globalising the Informal City: The Impact of Accra Mall on Informal Retailers

7.1 Introduction

As the overarching aim of this study is to examine the impact of shopping malls on nearby traditional retail forms, this chapter attempts to account for the effects of the Accra Shopping Mall on the surrounding informal traders. I examine patterns of shopping attitudes of mall users in the mall and towards the traditional forms of retail, particularly those around the mall, and also, the experiences of nearby retailers on how their trading activities have been impacted by the mall, and the level of their resilience in the context of the transformed retail environment. The analysis gives due consideration to the malls' unique context to offer a better explanation of how the imperatives of world-class city making, and urban entrepreneurism shape the course of urban development and the exclusion of the poor.

The Accra Mall is located just at the edge of the Airport City, Accra's new Globalised CBD – the headquarters of major international corporate organisations as shown in Figure 1. Conceptually, this area can be described as the cradle of global city-making in Accra and epitomises a model for other places in the city. As such, the ASM is not just a retail centre but an iconic architecture at the core of the global vision of Accra, given its capacity to valorise urban land and instil confidence in capital investors and tourists. Urban planning and governance in such a context aim to preserve the market value of urban space by maintaining spatial order. In the global south, the governance process entails the use of repressive, legal, and discursive mechanisms to rid public spaces of activities deemed as undesirable and affront to the new city aspirations (Gillespie, 2017). I argued that ASM is entangled in this process of new city visioning, in a manner that is shaping and transforming the use of public space outside the mall by Accra's informal retailers. This chapter, therefore, focuses on these processes to understand the impact of the ASM on informal retailers.

The development of such a major retail outlet next to the city's major road intersection, the Tetteh Quarshie Interchange (see Figure 2), has not only transformed a piece of green field into an iconic and modern marketplace in Accra but significantly, has also increased the viability of its surroundings for informal retail businesses to blossom. However, the irony is that this development runs counter to the city envisioned by the authorities. I, therefore, introduce the concept of *'Urban Revanchism'* into retail impact discussion - the Accra Mall and its surrounding retail forms to be precise, to explain how contemporary visioning of urban development in modernist terms raises critical issues about urban citizenship and the right to use public space for a certain cohort of the urban population. I argue that the Accra Mall is at the centre of a governance process around it, which is akin to 'capital accumulation by urban dispossession,' following the footsteps of Gillespie's (2016) articulation of contemporary urban development and class struggle in Accra.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section focuses on how the use of the shopping mall is reconfiguring consumption cultures and a sense of identity between shopping in a mall and the use of traditional retail outlets outside the mall. The second part delves into the trading activities of nearby traditional retailers to understand how the shopping mall shapes their daily activities as retailers and how they have adapted their activities in the context of the new retail environment to sustain their livelihoods. It situates the Mall in its neoliberal and globalisation context to discuss its impacts on the surrounding retail forms. The last section offers concluding thoughts on the essential findings and issues discussed in the chapter. The discussion draws primarily on surveys and in-depth interviews with mall users, retailers, and local authorities. My observations inside and outside the mall, and the analysis of information from media and official sources also complement the explanations.

Figure 7. 1 A View of the Accra Airport City. Source: https://www.gacl.com.gh/airport-city/

Figure 7. 2 Location of the Accra Mall Close to the Tetteh Quarshie Interchange. Source: Google Earth Maps (2020)

7.2 The Shopping Mall and Emerging Consumption Cultures

The introduction of the shopping mall concept in much of the developing world followed the globalisation bandwagon as states began to embrace neoliberalism to restructure their economies. While mall development in the developing world, particularly in SSA countries, is growing, they have often coexisted with the traditional retail forms, influenced, and supported mainly by ideological and sociocultural values associated with consumption in the two shopping spaces. In this sense, traditional retail forms transcend their function as a mere space for buying and selling goods. They are more of "social organisations and places for the ethnic congregation than business networks, whereas malls have emerged as technology-led business outlets and lifestyle centres in urban areas" (Rajagopal, 2010 p.278). As such, the apprehension that usually characterises the introduction of malls as fierce competitors with the potency to displace traditional retail forms as was the experience in cases in the Western world is seemingly muted in the global south context.

The resilience of traditional retail forms in a changing retail environment under the guise of globalisation in developing countries is primarily attributed to the agency of consumer behaviour, which is grounded more in cultural, social, and economic structures. It's been argued that traditional retail systems in developing economies are embedded in unique local urban cultures and, for that matter, reflect the attributes of their users (Rajagopal, 2010). Thus, they are better placed in the urban setting to understand better the local cultures of consumption than the newly introduced modern retailing systems. Therefore, a relationship between the retailer and the consumer has emerged beyond the “seller” and “buyer” relationship. A shared socio-cultural and economic structure has evolved between the consumer and the traditional retailer, leading to mutual loyalty.

Consequently, Dholakia et al. (2012 p.252) argue that “even in India's most advanced urban setting, there is nothing like true modern shoppers.” The authors observed that despite the proliferation of large modern retail formats in India’s major cities, shoppers continue to embark on regular shopping trips to small traditional stores (STS) to acquire their household needs. This is because Indian shoppers are accustomed to the ties with the traditional store operator, enabling them to shop in comfort, trust, and on flexible terms, including buying on credit and paying in instalments (Dholakia et al., 2012). In the most advanced economies in Asia, like Hong Kong, where supermarkets have operated for several decades, shopping in traditional “wet markets” for fresh food is still dominant despite the growing number of supermarkets. Goldman et al. (1999) intimated that the shopping and consumption culture agency, which is underpinned by the “effectiveness of traditional markets in handling consumer needs” in Hong Kong is the reason for their continued dominance. Similar trends have been observed in Latin American cities (Rajagopal, 2010; Rodriguez et al., 2002),

The situation in Africa may not be different. For example, according to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) report as referenced in Deloitte (2015), about 90% of retail transactions in Africa still occur in informal retail markets. It is as high as 96% and 98% in Nigeria and Cameroon respectively. This is against the backdrop of the proliferation of Western retail formats such as shopping malls and hypermarkets. Taking the issue down to Africa’s colonial past, when European lifestyles and consumption cultures shaped the continent, Murillo (2012) reminded us about how the emergence of colonial Western shopping formats like the Kingsway stores did not stop Ghanaians who had the means to shop at department stores from shopping in indigenous markets.

There is a sense that globalisation and the proliferation of Western shopping formats have not completely changed consumption cultures in the developing world. Underlying these are socio-cultural and economic structures resisting the globalisation of consumer culture in the global south. Salcedo (2003 p. 1097) subsequently challenges the “global logic” of the mall by arguing that “while people want modernity, at the same time they want to preserve their traditions and cultural specificity." Some Mall developers and Transnational Retail Corporations operating in the developing world have subsequently given attention to these market sensitivities and incorporated local cultures into Western cultures of consumption - "glocalization" to become competitive (Salcedo, 2003). A case in point is the Philippines, where a mall developer saw the need to include a church in the mall's development to attract customers to the mall and satisfy the spiritual needs of the people in a predominantly Catholic community (ibid.). It was estimated that 60% of the congregation patronises the shopping mall, translating into about 5000 potential customers on Sundays, making the Church the "main anchor shop of the mall" (Kenyon, 1998 as in Salcedo, 2003).

Similarly, the development of a shopping mall in a culturally religious state, like Saudi Arabia exclusively for female customers, was born out of the need to accommodate spiritual practices in a country where the majority of mall customers are women who shop comfortably without wearing the Islamic veil, and which would have been impossible if men were present (Hazel, 1998 as in Salcedo, 2003). The 'hybridization' of consumption culture in Egyptian shopping malls, incorporating traditional coffee shops and setting them next to traditional markets made Western-style consumption spaces appealing to all segments of Egyptian society (Abaza, 2001).

Indeed, the shopping mall concept has primarily been appropriated and adapted to local cultures in the developing world as an emergent public space. Thus, introducing the shopping mall concept in the third world is unsustainable to change local consumption culture by promoting Western consumerism. Sensitivity to the local context is ideal for transposing Western consumption culture into a different cultural milieu, and its sustainability depends on this. In a seemingly globalising world, both the shopper and the retail systems in developing countries are perpetually transitional as modern consumption lifestyles blend with local cultures (Dholakia, 2012). The extent to which the Accra Mall and its environs imbue such a nostalgic sense of consumer culture in a postmodern society by its users is the subject of discussion in subsequent sections of this chapter.

7.3 The Accra Mall and the Consumption Culture of Its Patrons

It's been estimated that 20,000 people visit the ASM daily (Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2015). However, this estimate is not based on any grounded facts, but on the imagination of the mall management obtained through interviews. However, the mall's location next to Accra's major road intersections (Tetteh Quarshie Interchange) makes it easily accessible from all parts of the city and beyond. While anecdotal evidence suggests that the Accra mall receives the highest patronage in Accra looking at the sheer numbers of the footfall converging on the centre daily compared to its peers, it is difficult to establish the population of mall users on any given day, to arrive at the appropriate representative sample to be surveyed for the study. A non-random sampling through mall intercepts was used, and questionnaires were administered to a total of 197 mall visitors who agreed to participate in the survey. Seventy-one completed questionnaires were returned, representing just a 36% response rate. This is far less than the response rate of a similar survey by Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015), which elicited a 95% response rate. Nonetheless, I believe that the information gathered from the survey sample and the subsequent interviews generated enough evidence to construct the behaviour pattern of mall users inside and outside of the mall.

7.3.1 The Profile of the Accra Mall Users Surveyed

Of the seventy-one mall users surveyed, 41 were male and 30, female, representing 57.7% and 42.3%, respectively. In terms of their age profile, most of the respondents were in the working-age group, between 18 to sixty years. This shows that the mall is popular with the active population. Just a few were below 18 years and over 60 years, the retirement age in Ghana. Most of the respondents have had some form of education, with the majority reporting they have tertiary-level education (47.9%). Only two respondents reported not having any form of education, representing just under 3%. While most of the respondents had travelled not more than 25 kilometres, which shows that they are most likely to be residents in Accra, there is quite a significant number of respondents who had travelled far beyond the Accra city region to use the mall. This suggests an extensive catchment area that firmly confirms the mall's status as a regional centre.

The majority of the respondents had travelled by using their transport, that is over 59% of them. In a developing country like Ghana, where car ownership is not within the standards of the lower class or poor, it implies that the mall is hugely patronised by the middle to high-income classes. However, many respondents also used public transport such as minibuses, popularly known locally as *trotro* and taxis. In another study, which seems to contrast my finding, about 60% of the mall's patrons were found to be dependent on public transport (Hobden, 2014), which means that the mall is not the preserve of only the affluent in society, contrary to the widely held opinion. Table 7.1 and Figure 7.3 below give a summary of the profile of respondents.

Gender		Age				Educational Level					Distance Travelled				Transport		
Male	Female	Less than 18	18 to 40	41 to 60	More than 60	No education	Primary	Junior High	Senior High	Tertiary	under 2km	2 to 10km	11 to 25km	Over 25km	Own transport	public transport	walking
41	30	7	36	20	8	2	5	13	17	34	9	30	18	14	42	25	4

Table 7. 1 The Profile of Mall Users Surveyed. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

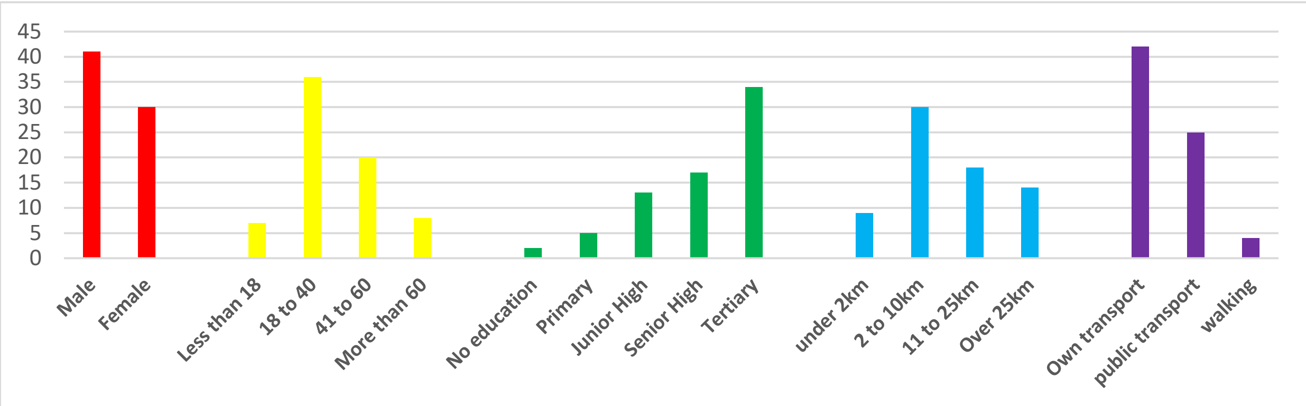


Figure 7. 3 Profile of Mall Users Surveyed. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

7.3.2 Consumption Lifestyle of Accra Mall Users

This section attempts to assess the behaviour of mall users to understand how the mall is used and the extent to which this has influenced changes in shopping patterns between using the mall and traditional retail outlets outside the mall, particularly those in the malls' immediate surroundings. In this regard, overall results from the mall user survey, including trips to the mall, purpose of visits, and shopping practices and expenditure patterns inside and outside the mall environment, were analysed quantitatively as indicators of behaviour patterns and presented in this section. The lived experiences of mall users as consumers in the postmodern society and my observations of how mall visitors conduct themselves both in and outside the mall have also been captured succinctly in this analysis to make sense of the forces driving behavioural patterns and consumer identities.

7.3.3 Frequency of Trips to the Mall

Regarding how often respondents visited the shopping mall, the results established that the majority visited at least once every month. While over 42% reported visiting every month, 31% did so weekly. However, just a little over 1% of the surveyed respondents reported visiting less frequently. That is only once every six months. On the other hand, those who reported visiting the mall more regularly (twice or more times in a week) constitute about 10% of the respondents. Figure 7.4 below represents the frequency of trips made to the shopping mall by respondents. It is also instructive to note that respondents who own a means of transport visited the mall more regularly than those who used public transport or walked, as Figure 7.5 below shows. This finding is consistent with the general observation that car-dependency trips are the most common means of visiting shopping malls or centres. In the African context, this is more likely to be the middle to the high-income segment of the urban population. The Accra Mall is strategically located close to the city's most affluent neighbourhoods, including the East Legon-Airport residential enclave inhabited by very senior public servants, expatriates, and indigenous business moguls. Invariably, this makes the mall easily accessible to its potential clientele who only need to drive a short distance journey frequently for shopping and use the other offerings that the centre provides. Comparatively, the Accra Mall is closer to central Accra than its peers, making it easily accessible to the poor as well.

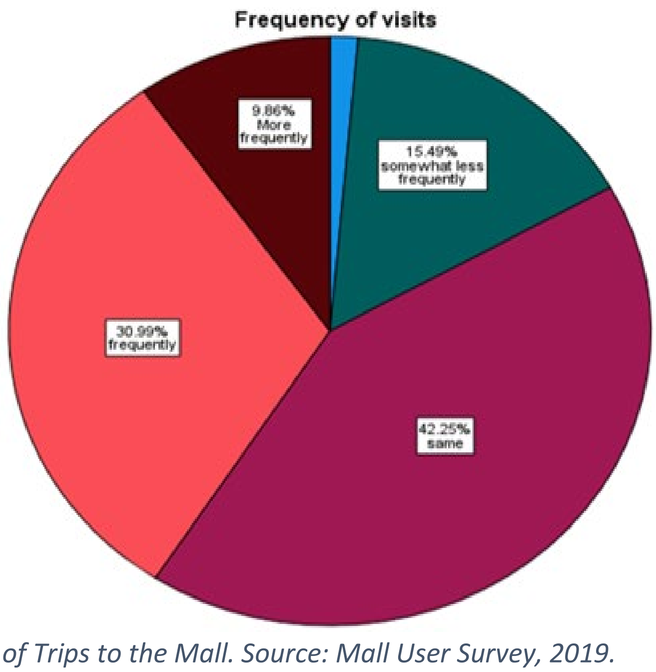


Figure 7. 4 Frequency of Trips to the Mall. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

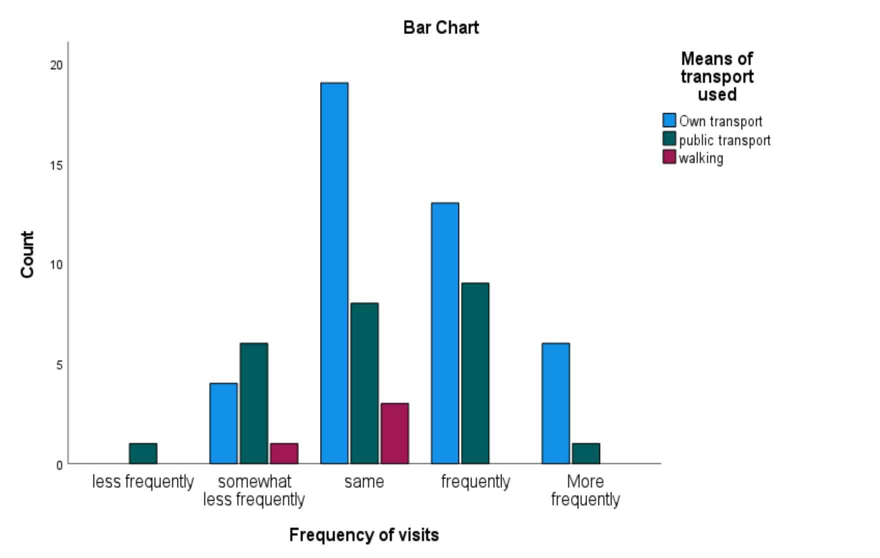


Figure 7. 5 Frequency of Visits by Means of Transport. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

7.3.4 The purpose for which the Mall is Visited

The Accra Mall is used for a wide range of purposes besides its core function as a shopping destination. Increasingly, it is gaining ground as Accra's premiere and 'new community centre,' with the mall occasionally hosting popular events during festive occasions, domestic and international exhibitions, and Entertainment. Of late, the precinct of the mall has also become the rallying point for civil society and political groupings to assemble and embark on demonstrations and walks through the principal thoroughfares of the city on social occasions. As such, the Accra Mall, a privately owned property, has become an iconic landmark of public stature and importance to the city's inhabitants and beyond Accra's boundaries. Consequently, the centre attracts very different social groups. Therefore, it is not only a space for the middle to upper class to consume high-end goods and services. On Sunday, 11th August 2019, which happened to be the day for the celebration of the Islamic festival of Sacrifice (Eid ul Adha), the mall was packed beyond its capacity as scores of people, including children smartly dressed in Islamic attire, thronged the mall, and spent time moving from one shop to the other, having fun. In years past, these visits would have probably been directed to the Accra Zoological Gardens or the children's park, where trips were made for fun on festive occasions. However, among others in Accra and elsewhere in the other bigger cities, these public spaces have been left to degenerate and have lost their importance as amusement sites. Consequently, privately owned spaces such as shopping malls have emerged to fill the gaps in this regard.

In the mall's open floor areas, one would often encounter crowds of young men and women occupying seats in between the shops and either busily browsing their phones or having a chat in the English language. At the two South African-owned stores that serve as the anchor shops to the mall - Shoprite and Game, scores of people are seen entering and exiting with loads of shopping bags in their hands or pushing trolleys to the car park. There are also a significant number of people who have entered and exited with empty hands; ostensibly, they are in the mall to do window shopping. Some of the smaller shops in the mall also attract a fair share of the mall patrons, mainly shops offering electronic products, fashion and jewellery, and mobile phone services. In the late afternoons and evenings, the eateries section of the mall is filled with groups of people, either as family or friends, seated around tables and enjoying meals. Burger King and KFC appear to be the most patronised restaurants among the eleven food courts in the mall. Similarly, the Cinema (Silver Bed Cinemas) also attracts families and friends who visit in the evenings for entertainment purposes.

The results of the mall user survey suggest that shopping is the primary purpose for which respondents visit the mall. However, a preliminary survey conducted before the study also identified four other essential goals for visiting the mall. These include window shopping, leisure and entertainment, socialisation, and business purposes. For each purpose, respondents were asked to categorically indicate whether they participated in it or not while in the shop by answering Yes or No. From the analysis, shopping had the highest response rate as a staggering 90.1% of participants cited it more than any other reason. This is followed by leisure and entertainment, and socialisation with 73.2% and 71.8% of the responses from respondents, respectively. However, window shopping and visiting for business purposes had the lowest response rates from users, at 46.5% and 45.1%, respectively. This is shown below in Figure 7.6. These findings can be interpreted to mean that the conducive environment created in the mall for leisure, entertainment, and socialisation plays a vital role in spurring mall users to shop more. Indeed, as the idea behind the mall concept suggests, it creates a conducive habitat to promote mass consumption of goods and services in the post-Fordist economic order. In a globalising city context such as Accra, the mall seeks to transform consumers' shopping behaviour by re-aligning identities to Western consumption cultures as the colonial shopping formats sought to do, and one mall user echoes this.

….. And you watch these movies about these [Western] countries, and it is like the people are enjoying themselves while shopping. This place [Accra Mall] has a similar environment, and everything is in order like Europe and America…. So, when you come here, you're not only here to buy something but to consume the place as well. It is not like the market [traditional] where you are always hurrying to go home because of the chaotic environment [Interview with Mall User].

Although the response rate for respondents who indicated business as a reason for visiting the mall was relatively low, it appears to be an important observation relevant to this study that is worth discussing further. Mall users who visit for business purposes are mainly petty and informal retailers operating elsewhere but source some of their supplies from the mall. As such, Shoprite supermarket, one of the mall's anchors, functioned as a wholesaler in addition to its core retail business. Wholesaling involves the bulk supply of its products to local retailers, who sell to the final consumer. Seemingly, this suggests that while the shopping mall may be seen as an artefact of globalisation, it readily incorporates local and traditional retail systems it deems as good into its business practices to advance its profit-seeking endeavour. In as much as indigenous and small-scale retailers are helping to promote the operations of transnational retail corporations, this gesture is not reciprocated. The mall is intolerant of certain local business practices such as petty trading in its immediate surroundings. A clear manifestation of this is the siting of signposts around the outer perimeter of the mall, indicating that hawking is prohibited (See Figure 7.7). The visibility of mall security guards constantly patrolling the exterior border to ensure 'orderliness,' including stopping trespassers such as hawkers, adds to this exclusionary posturing exhibited by a global artifact. While the extent to which the South African anchor shop in the mall is embedded in Accra's retail supply structure may not be known, observations around the Accra Mall suggest that it forms a critical part of its modus operandi in the country. The frequency with which cars and lorries turn up at the bulk delivery and collection end of the mall to collect supplies indicates a lucrative business engaged by a foreign retail company of which very little is known. Product quality and lower prices have been cited as the reason for taking supplies from the mall.

I have been doing business with Shoprite for over seven years now, and I come here regularly to take my supplies….. Some of the goods they supply are good quality and cheaper… So I buy mosquito coil and bottled water to sell to my customers in another part of the city, far from here [Interview with Mall User].

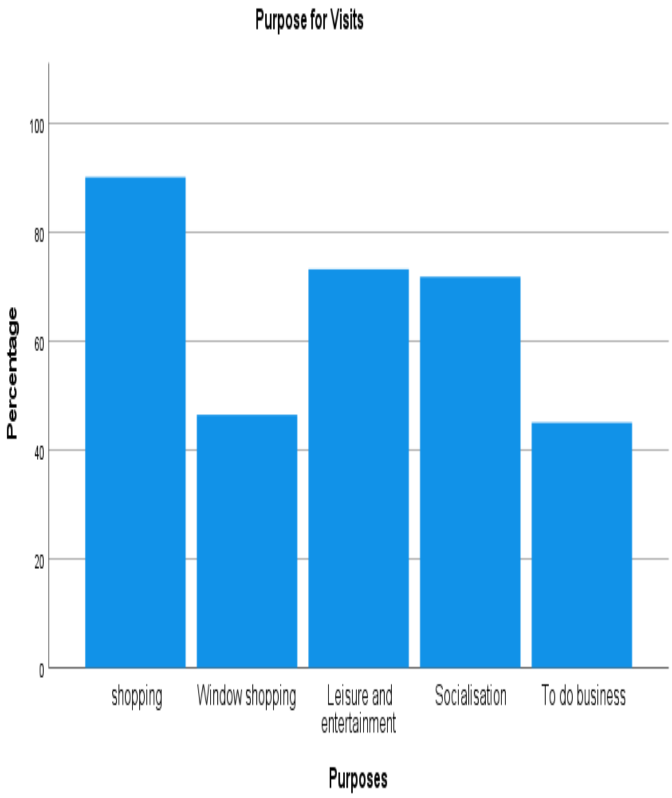


Figure 7. 6 Purpose for Visiting the Mall. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

Figure 7. 7 A Side View of the Accra Mall Depicting a Warning Sign for Hawkers.

Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

7.4 Shopping Behaviour and Identities of Mall Users

To determine the shopping behaviour of respondents, they were assessed on their responses to a series of questions regarding their in-mall shopping activities and the use of traditional shopping outlets, including those in proximity to the mall. The idea was to capture changing patterns of consumer behaviour and identities since they started shopping at the mall and how they affected traditional and other retail firms. In-depth interviews with shoppers and my observations in and outside the mall also aided in further understanding of shoppers' experiences in using the two shopping venues and the meaning they attach to them. Does shopping in malls abate the use of traditional retail forms? This section succinctly answers this question.

7.4.1 Patterns in the Use of the Mall for Shopping

Table 7.2 below sets out broad results from the survey relative to the in-mall shopping practices of mall users. First, as expected, all the respondents surveyed indicated they had shopped in the mall before. However, there were varied responses to how frequently they shopped while visiting the mall in a calendar year. It was clear from the responses that a good majority of the respondents shopped at least once every month (same, 42.3%) or multiple times in a month (frequently, 26.8%). On the other hand, just 8.5% of the respondents indicated they shopped less frequently, once a year. Another 22.5% believed that they shopped somewhat less frequently, ranging from two to four times a year. This finding suggests that shopping remains the primary reason for visiting the mall. Surprisingly, the frequency with which respondents shopped on visits to the mall does not seem to match in-mall expenditure patterns. Thus, while trips to the centre for shopping purposes seem to be encouraging, it does not reflect in the same manner the proportion of the respondent's expenditure on shopping in the mall. An overwhelming majority of the shoppers, 83% of the respondents, barely spent more than 24% of their monthly shopping expenditure in the mall, compared to just 3% of respondents who spent more than 50% of their shopping expenditure. This can be interpreted to mean that a more significant portion of mall users' monthly shopping expenditure occurs elsewhere and not in the shopping malls. This finding counters the general observations in cities in the Western world, when shopping malls first emerged outside traditional town centres and had devastating impacts on existing town centres and high street retailing. However, while shopping expenditure in the mall may be lower as compared to what shoppers spend in other retail locations, in theoretical terms, it undoubtedly represents a trade diversion of a sort - from different retail places where shoppers might have previously shopped for those commodities before the mall came into existence. The broader trading repercussions of the mall on other retail locations outside its immediate surroundings in the city are beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, the trading areas most impacted by the development of the Accra Mall are not known. Further research may be needed in this area to understand better the central shopping locations affected by the development of the Accra Mall. This study mainly focuses on mall users' behaviour and the immediate retail environment.

It also emerged from the survey results that products commonly purchased in the mall by the respondents were mainly grocery, food and drinks, household, and personal care products, and to a lesser extent, durable consumer products, such as television and furniture. This is understandable as the leading anchor shop in the mall, Shoprite, operates as a supermarket trading in a range of household consumables, some of which are sold relatively cheaper than obtainable in similar shops in Accra. However, the respondents' overarching motivations for shopping in the mall varied. However, the three most cited motivations were the quality of the product purchased, the product brand, and the leisure and entertainment provided by the retail centre. The pervasiveness of trends of Western consumption lifestyles in urban settings in developing countries is increasingly linked to the forces of globalisation, which has enabled city dwellers to appropriate Western shopping cultures to become global citizens. This exposure has awakened people's consciousness about the quality and the brand of goods they buy from shops.

"As you can see yourself [me], all the shops here are selling quality goods which are of international standard. If you go round the city [Accra], most shops don't sell this kind of stuff…… The world is changing faster, and we all know what is happening in other parts of the world. We deserve to be part of civilisation and enjoy the same way people do in Western countries. I believe we are adapting to it" [Interview with mall user 2019].

The shopping mall concept was a creation of the post-Fordist economic system. Its originators in North America intended to introduce a whole new experience to make shopping exciting and promote mass consumption of goods and services. Indeed, "the magic of the mall" as a space designed to manipulate the shopper to consume impulsively is a well-known fact (Goss, 1993; Bloch et al., 1994). The transplantation of this Western retail concept onto culturally different terrain, particularly in the developing world, manifests in transforming the urban landscape and transmitting a new culture of consumption. A culture that hinges not only on the value of the goods to the shopper but, more importantly, the hedonic value associated with the consumption of goods and services in a globalising world. Thus, the ecstatic, ambiance, leisure, and entertainment components, etc., that usually characterise the shopping mall environment are a major driving force for shopping malls emerging as the preferred shopping destination in contemporary urban settings, including those in the global south. In making their case for the emergence of shopping malls in sub-Saharan African countries and the behaviour of their patrons (shoppers), Hinson et al. (2012), for example, identified five attributes of the shopping mall that motivates shoppers' visitations. Using Ghana as a case study, the authors found that, of most importance is "escapism"- the mall providing an "escape route" for Ghanaians from their hectic daily lifestyle, and then the "pleasure, safety, aesthetic and architectural, leisure" and of least influence is the "exploration" that the mall offer (Hinson et al., 2012 p. 127). Arguably, this means the shopping mall attributes are paramount to the users of modern retail facilities, just like the products on offer for sale in the mall.

Shopping Frequency %		**% of Total Shopping Expenditure Per Month**		**Kind of Product Purchased %**		**Motivation for Shopping in Mall %**	
Less	8.5	> 10%	25.4	Food & Drinks	28.2	Product Quality	29.6
Somewhat Less	22.5	10 – 24%	57.7	Grocery	31.0	Product Brand	16.9
Same	42.3	25 – 50%	14.1	Household & Personal Care	28.2	Value for Money	11.3
Frequently	26.8	< 50%	2.8				
				Consumer Durables	11.3	Prestige	5.6
				Other	1.4	Convenience & Parking	8.5
						Leisure & Ent.	14.1
						Security	7.0
						Customer Service	5.6
						Promotions	1.4
Total	**100%**		**100%**		**100%**		**100%**

Table 7. 2 Shopping at the Accra Mall (% Shopper Groups). Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

7.4.2 The Use of Traditional and Other Retail Forms by Mall Users (Glocalization of Shopping)

Results from the mall user survey, as presented in Table 7.3 overleaf, show that shopping is not a zero-sum activity for the patrons of the Accra mall, where shoppers abandon their old shopping practices entirely while embracing an exotic retail format associated with a new culture of consumption. With a 100% response rate, all mall users surveyed in this study indicated that apart from using the mall for shopping purposes, they also used other retail formats, including traditional retail outlets, to satisfy their shopping needs. This demonstrates that, while mall user seeks to inculcate global consumption cultures in their daily lives, they have not entirely lost sight of their sense of local identity and consumption practices. This finding is also consistent with Dholakia's (2012) assertion that retail globalisation in the South situates the consumer in a transitional mode where modern consumption lifestyles are blended with the local consumption culture. Thus, the shopper becomes a hybridised consumer under the dual forces of 'globalisation' and 'localisation' tendencies.

However, it is essential to note that, unlike other malls in the developing world where the agency of indigenous culture and the need to adapt to local conditions successfully have compelled developers and retailers to incorporate local sensitivities in the operation of shopping malls, the Accra mall has very little to offer in terms of its adaptation to the local context. There are few retailers in the mall selling indigenous products, apart from the few dealing in locally made cultural artifacts. This suggests that tourists, expatriate workers, and Ghanaians in the diaspora who often patronise such products as souvenirs are the likely targeted clientele. The mall's adaptation to the local visitors' customs is virtually non-existent. Therefore, it is not surprising that despite the relatively high frequency of visits to the mall for shopping purposes, in-mall shopping expenditure is disproportionately low among the surveyed respondents. Consequently, the bulk of the shopping expenditure occurs outside the mall and mainly in traditional retail outlets.

Exposure to the modern shopping experience in the Accra mall has done very little to sway allegiance from traditional shopping practices, as 53.5% of the respondents indicated that visits to traditional retail outlets for shopping purposes remain unchanged despite exposure to mall shopping. On the other hand, just a paltry 7% of respondents said they have significantly reduced visits to traditional shopping places. In comparison, a little over 25% also said they have somewhat reduced the frequency of their visits. However, it is not clear how the mall factor contributed to this pattern of behaviour. In contrast, 12.7% and just over 1% of respondents indicated increased and significantly increased visits to traditional retail shops. Again, the causal relationship between mall visitation and increased visits to conventional retail shops is unclear. Nonetheless, these findings have demonstrated that shopping in the Accra mall has not abated the use of traditional retail outlets for shopping purposes.

However, it is important to note that the Accra mall is surrounded mainly by traditional, particularly informal retail establishments- consisting of street vendors, small-scale retailers operating on table-tops and mobile stands, and restaurant operators offering Ghanaian dishes in the adjacent public transport terminal. Observation of the environment outside the shopping centre usually depicts droves of mall patrons traversing all the thoroughfares to and from the shopping centre. While a good number of mall users exiting the shop are seen heading to the car park and driving off in their cars after a visit, there is also an equally significant number of patrons, particularly the non-car-owning users who, after exiting the mall head in different directions. Figure 8 below shows a typical scene of informal traders and pedestrians walking to and from the mall. Almost half of the respondents, 49.3%, indicated that the surrounding retail environment offers the missing opportunities inside the mall by filling significant gaps in their shopping practices. This study finds economic, social, and cultural imperatives as the driving forces underpinning mall users' interactions with a wholly different or contrasting retail environment just outside the mall. As is always the case, shopping mall products are distinctive and of ostentatious and luxurious character, making them affordable only to the affluent in society. However, the retail environment outside the mall affords some mall users, particularly the poor, the opportunity to be part of the emerging urban life by experiencing the sights and sounds of the mall's environment while at the same time taking something tangible home as part of that experience. In this sense, an attempt is made by mall users to de-territorialize the shopping mall by extending its boundaries through the incorporation of traditional shopping principles. As one shopper articulated this in his experience as a regular mall user:

You know I don't need to have plenty of money in my pocket before coming here [Mall]….. I like the beautiful and relaxed atmosphere inside the mall. However, one also needs to go home with something in your hands after enjoyment. But the things [goods] in the mall are expensive, so when I step outside at least the money in my pocket can buy me something to take home…… I told my family and friends I bought it when I visited the mall. [Interview with a Mall User 2019].

The phenomenon of negotiating the price of goods at the local marketplace is an age-long cultural practice that many Ghanaian shoppers still hold. The procedure does not only enable the buyer and seller to engage in a conversation before reaching an agreed price on satisfactory terms to the parties before goods exchange hands but also fosters a kind of friendship which in the long run leads to the building of trust and other social relations transcending the seller and buyer relationship. The modern retail space like the shopping mall lacks this attribute as the seller's prices are predetermined and labelled on the product. As such, the mall is conceived as a space that does not engender the development of social relations by some mall users. The modern shopping practice of picking items on the shelf and waiting in the queue for them to be scanned by the customer service person at the till, and the subsequent display of the unit prices and total cost of the shopping on the screen has been described as too mechanistic which takes away some of the cherished cultural values associated with the Ghanaian shopping experience. Seemingly, the shopping environment outside the mall provides the space for shoppers to fulfil these aspirations.

It is like we are all behaving like robots in the shopping mall. There are signs and labels everywhere you turn in the shop showing where to find the product you're looking for…… So, you would feel embarrassed to ask someone in the shop where I can see this or that…. you're afraid people would laugh at you…… Then at the till the lady sitting there will not talk to you because the money you are supposed to pay is on the screen and you can't even ask to know more about the item you bought. So, from entry to exiting the mall, there is less talking, no engagement with other people, and we are not like that [Ghanaians]. For me, everything should not centre on products and money…... shopping is also about discussing other vital issues in our lives…... I have a couple of friends selling stuff [informal retailers outside the mall]. When I meet them, we talk about the economy, politics, sports, family issues, etc. [Interview with a Mall User 2019].

Significantly, my interviews also uncovered the importance of the local restaurant operators outside the mall, popularly known as *chop bars,* in sustaining business activities. While the food courts in the mall offer spaces for visitors to eat and drink, it is essential to note that it comes at a relatively high cost compared to what is available in the local restaurants. Consequently, mall users who cannot patronise the restaurants because of their financial condition have options outside the mall to quench their hunger and thirst at an affordable cost while using the mall for other purposes. Furthermore, as a space for promoting global consumer culture, the food courts in the mall are mainly operated by international franchises such as Burger King, which serves only international cuisines, including chicken and chips. The perception that consuming such foods originating from the West represents unhealthy eating habits associated with health conditions such as diabetes and blood pressure resonates with the local population. Local dishes cooked with freshly sourced ingredients are deemed healthier, compelling some mall users to patronise the local restaurants in the neighbourhood. Ideally, some mall patrons would visit these local food joints to eat and then return to the mall to continue conducting their business. A previous study on the linkage between the shopping mall and informal retailers by Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015) established that many mall workers also patronise these local restaurants because of affordability and the customer-friendly atmosphere that characterise these spaces.

In trying to establish how frequently mall users patronise these surrounding retail establishments, it was difficult to categorically confirm whether they used them more frequently or otherwise since close to half of the respondents (49.3%) did not answer the question. However, it is worth noting that while some respondents, 15.5%, indicated that they use the surrounding traditional retail venues around the mall sparingly or somewhat less frequently, an equal number also suggested that they often shop in the neighbourhood. What is clear from this finding is that an insignificant number of the respondents, just a little over 1%, indicated they shop less frequently at these venues, suggesting that mall users have also embraced the surrounding informal retail outlets clustered around the mall as an integral part of the postmodern consumption culture. It is also striking to note that the effectual influence of exposure to the mall is significant and has shaped the shopping culture of mall users. Respondents either find the influence of the mall on their shopping culture as important (39.4%) or very important (29.6%).

On the contrary, only 7% of respondents find the influence of the mall relative to their shopping culture less important, whereas 23.9% found it to be somewhat less important. This can be interpreted to mean that as mall patrons become increasingly acquainted with shopping in the malls, their shopping habits and identities are impacted in a way that makes them assert their status as global citizens in the mall by using the mall in diverse ways, including shopping, which is consistent with the global consumer culture. However, they are also setting limits on globalisation by situating it within the local context and adapting it to suit the traditional consumption culture. Thus, there is a limit to which globalisation of consumer culture is tolerated in the globalised space like the shopping mall. As one regular mall user remarked:

The world is a global village, and Accra has not been left out. Suppose you see all these new developments like the shopping malls, the airport city, and the beautiful residential communities. In that case, it tells you we are also getting there [reference to western cities] …... The mall, for example, is allowing us to learn and acquire Western culture, which is good. But that is not our culture, and we can't wholly accept everything …... Where in lies our independence then, after sixty-something years? ……. Coming here regularly to shop does not mean I have abandoned the local market. This space [reference to the mall] cannot offer us everything we cherish as Ghanaians. [Interview with a Mall user, 2019].

Shopping Frequency Shopping	%	Neighbourhood Shopping	%	Frequency of Neighbourhood Shopping	%	Mall Influence on Shopping Behaviour	
Significantly Reduced	7.0	Yes	49.3	Less Frequent	1.4	Less Important	7.0
Somewhat Reduced	25.4	No	50.7	Somewhat Less Frequent	15.5	Somewhat Less Important	23.9
Same as Before	53.5			Same	16.9	Important	39.4
Increased	12.7			Frequently	15.5	Very Important	29.
Significantly Increased	1.4			**Mixing Data	49.3		
	100%		**100%**		**100%**		**100%**

Table 7. 3 Shopping at Traditional Retail Outlets (% Shopper Groups). Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

Figure 7. 8 Informal Trading Activities Outside the Accra Mall. Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

Indeed, these findings echo the importance of adapting global consumption spaces like the Accra Mall to suit local circumstances. Judging from the diverse nature of the mall's clientele, which consists of high to middle-class consumers, as well as poor and ordinary Ghanaians who are seeking global identities in the mall and at the same time not being oblivious to their local consumption cultures, the success or sustainability of the mall, and by extension, a product of globalisation is hugely dependent on the extent to which it has adapted its operations to the local culture. The emergence of the concept, 'Glocalization' within the broader globalisation literature offers a better understanding of how transnational or global corporate entities have become successful in developing countries through the incorporation of local consumption cultures in their business operations (Matusitz and Leanza, 2009; Matusitz, 2010; Simi and Matusitz, 2017). ‘Glocalization’ as a conceptual construct situates globalisation in an open and very loose framework, allowing it to be redefined to suit local peculiarities while not overemphasising the homogeneity of global processes (Robertson, 2001). This is critical to the success of Transnational Retail Corporations. For example, the success of Wall Walmart, an American retail giant in a conservative society like China, is attributed to its incorporation of local Chinese cultures into its business model (Matusitz and Leanza, 2009). Similarly, the successful adaptation of the US fast-food franchise, Subway to the Indian culture, and the success of Disneyland in Hong Kong after its initial failure would not have been possible without the incorporation of local cultural sensitivities (Simi and Matusitz, 2015; Matusitz, 2009).

The Accra Mall’s glocalization tendencies or adaptation to the local culture cannot be found inside the mall itself. Entities outside its boundaries provide this, often deemed in official circles as the antithesis or inimical to the neoliberal-based models of development and modernisation in global south cities (see Linehan, 2007). The informal retail activities outside the mall are critical to the sustainability or existence of a product of globalisation and modernity. Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015), in their study, emphasised that the survival or otherwise of the Accra Mall depended mainly on the “(Dis) continuity” of the informal retail sector. Without the latter, the mall has no foundation. My study confirms this through the experience of mall users and their shopping behaviour.

I have demonstrated that mall patrons use the retail facility for diverse purposes, and of major significance in this regard is its embeddedness in the local supply chain through its anchor shop, Shoprite, which partly depends on local and informal retailers to sustain its business. While the success of malls rests on the shoulders of Accra’s affluent and middle-class shoppers, they constitute just a tiny portion of the urban population. A critical mass of ASM clientele also comes from the city’s poor inhabitants. The elite shoppers draw on the moderating effect of the cultural context to give a new meaning to the global consumption culture in postmodern Ghanaian society. Thus, the notoriously informal retail formation outside the mall and the broader traditional retail system can be seen as an external anchor to the mall and critical to its existence.

7.5 The Emergence and Clustering of Informal Retail Activities: Accra Mall's Nearest Neighbours

This section focuses on the imposing informal retail formation close to the mall to understand what it means to have a shopping mall as a neighbour. Before the development of the ASM, the 12.5 acres of land it occupies was a "greenfield" (Actis, 2008). Another source also indicated that it was derelict land appropriated by sand and stone contractors who used it as a parking lot for their trucks (Interview with an Informal Retailer, 2019). What is also notable from this study was that the visibility of informal retailers, particularly hawkers in the area, predated the mall's development, most of whom were operating around the then Tetteh Quarshie roundabout long before it was reconstructed into an interchange and commissioned in 2005. My observations and experience as an undergraduate student at the University of Ghana in the mid-1990s who had to pass through the locality on several occasions to and from central Accra confirm this historical narrative. The place was not as economically active then as it is now. Apart from the usual traffic jams, there were skeletal informal retail activities noticeable. Ostensibly, the construction of the interchange was to facilitate the free flow of vehicular traffic in an area notoriously noted for congestion. While the traffic problem was being sorted with the re-engineering of the transport infrastructure in the place, the regeneration of the adjacent greenfield, off the Spintex road into a modern retail centre (shopping mall), brought the traffic problem back (Addae-Bosomprah, 2009). Addae-Bosomprah (2009), therefore, describes the Accra mall as the "right solution at the wrong location", for the simple reason that Accra needs shopping malls all right as part of the transformational agenda to modernise the city for economic development, but the location of the Accra mall, in particular, has exacerbated the traffic situation to "unacceptable levels," eroding the vitality and viability of communities and businesses in the eastern part of Accra. The traffic problem caused by the mall's development was so bad, particularly on the Spintex road, which is adjacent to the mall, that the situation necessitated the improvisation of a mini roundabout to ease the traffic. Despite this intervention, the problem has persisted up to now. To this point, traffic police wardens are regularly assigned to the place to control vehicular traffic and ensure that order prevails.

In Accra, and like most third-world cities, such chaotic traffic scenes fuel the proliferation of informal retail activities- street trading and hawking (Owusu et al., 2013; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008). While it can be argued that the Accra Mall and its environs have created fertile grounds for the burgeoning informal retail activities in the area, the sheer numbers of people involved in petty retailing and the scale of the activities point to structural issues transcending local peculiarities. As the capital city of Ghana, Accra is primarily regarded as the country's economic powerhouse with more excellent job prospects than the other cities. It attracts vast numbers of migrants from different parts of the country, particularly the rural communities. However, macro-economic challenges meant the formal economic sector was incapable of absorbing the vast reserve of unemployed youth, pushing a lot of the urban poor to seek employment in the informal sector, with petty retailing becoming the easiest option for many as a means of survival. Again, the economic liberalisation policies which started in the early 1980s have increasingly opened the Ghanaian economy, linking it to the global economy and leading to the dumping of cheap goods from countries like China and used products from Europe and America onto the Ghanaian market (Yankson and Grant, 2003). With the minimum amount of capital, one can venture into Petty trading on the streets of Accra. Prospective retailers source their supplies from importers of these products or, better still, can obtain them on credit to sell.

The enabling environment created by the mall's development has only set the stage for a more explicit manifestation of the ‘clash of rationalities’ between contemporary city visioning and the realities of urbanisation in third-world cities. Scenes around the modern shopping facility depict young men and women trying to earn a living by trading in a seemingly challenging circumstance. Displaying all kinds of wares in public spaces around the mall and along major thoroughfares to the mall is meant to catch visitors' attention. The mall and the interchange development occasioned massive footfall in the area. A source indicated that the area has emerged as a major transit hub after the mall's development for commuters who use the adjacent public transport terminal to connect to other parts of the city and beyond (interview with an informal retailer, 2019). The Tetteh Quarshie/Shopping Mall transport terminal, which emerged after the mall's development and is operated by the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU), is a bustling station that operates 24-hour service every day. Informal retail activities have taken shape at the terminal to serve the travelling public and the drivers at the terminal, and significantly the mall workers and visitors (Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2015). Notable among these are local restaurant operators popularly called *chop bars.* There is, therefore, no doubt that the development of the mall has contributed to the viability of the surrounding areas for small-scale, informal retail business activities. For these poor urban dwellers, the public space outside the mall presents them with the opportunity to earn a living as a matter of survival.

A bird's-eye view of the mall's outer perimeter catches a glimpse of pockets of informal retail activities, albeit concentrated in a Spatio-temporal pattern. In the daytime, the actions of these informal retailers are spread over a relatively vast expanse of the spaces outside the mall. However, the heaviest concentration can be found mainly along the main pedestrian walkway leading to the mall, stretching from the pedestrian footbridge over Liberation Road, a major thoroughfare connecting to central Accra (see Figure 7.9). The concentration here is of strategic importance. Invariably, public transport dependants, particularly mall users, and commuters transiting to other parts of the city and beyond would drop off under the bridge first before continuing their journey, providing a potential source of market for the traders. But the area can also be deserted when municipal authority guards evoke by-laws to eject them for the unlawful occupation of public space. In the late evening and night-time, a sense of stability and permanency of their activities are restored, but temporarily, as the traders mass up to form a bustling night market under canopies to conduct their business, albeit under perilous conditions.

7.6 The Profile of Informal Retailers Surveyed

In an environment of uncertainties and instability, it was impossible to obtain a representative sample of informal retailers trading outside the mall. Knowing the exact number of retailers using the space is notoriously difficult since the activities keep fluctuating both in time and space depending on the prevailing conditions in the locality at any given moment. As a result, 43 informal retailers who agreed to divulge information on their trading activities were conveniently sampled and surveyed for this study. A focus group discussion (FGD) was held with a cross-section of informal retailers to share their experiences as traders operating near a shopping mall.

Results from the survey suggest that informal retailing around the mall is predominantly a male activity, as over 72% of respondents indicated. Although, in general terms, informal trading is a female-dominated field in Ghana and elsewhere in the developing world, the result of this study is not surprising. A significant cause of the high rate of urbanisation in third-world cities such as Accra is the influx of migrants from the countryside for jobs. Men are more likely to be adventurous in this regard than women. With the public sector incapable of absorbing the vast reserve of the unemployed population, they are more likely to turn to the informal sector with small-scale retailing as the destination for the majority. An earlier study by Overa (2007), for example, demonstrates how the economic crisis and structural adjustment policies from the early 1980s caused mass redundancies in the public sector, pushing unemployed civil servants into retail trading, a traditionally female-dominated area. In their study, Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah (2008) also found an overwhelming majority of hawkers on the streets of Accra to be male. In terms of the age profile of the respondents, the majority are within the 31 to 40-year-old cohort (34.8%). A significant number also falls between 18 to 30 years (27.9%) and 41-50 years (23.3%). The overwhelming involvement of the youth in informal trading in Accra is symptomatic of the unemployment crisis that has bedevilled urban development in third-world cities. Not even the educated ones have been spared of this structural urban malaise. As the results from this study suggest, at least most of the respondents have had some form of education, with the majority having achieved junior high school education (44.2%) and over 25% with senior high school level education. This is a bit surprising because informal retailing was the domain of illiterate migrants from the countryside in years past. But it also reaffirms the lack of job opportunities in the formal sector, even for the educated. Although only a few had acquired tertiary or vocational education (4.6%), those with no education are relatively low, at 9.4%.

Regarding the period the respondents have been trading in the malls' surrounding areas, it was clear that the majority started their businesses after the shopping mall had opened. As of 2019, when the fieldwork for the study was being undertaken, the majority of the survey participants indicated they had been trading in the locality between 6 to 11 years (32.5%), which means they started selling in the area after 2008, the year the mall was opened. Around 28% of the respondents can be described as new entrants to the site. They had commenced their trading activities in less than 12 months—another 23.3% of the respondents, had between 1 to 6 years of trading experience in the area. Surprisingly, just a little over 16% of the survey participants indicated that their trading activities predated the mall's opening, which means they have been trading there for more than 11 years. This suggests that informal retailing in the area is time-bound and not an inter-generational economic activity as most traders quit at a point in their lives or relocate. The products traded by these informal retailers are varied, ranging from groceries to electrical goods. But the majority (28%) of the respondents sold footwear, followed by clothing at 23.3%, and then cooked food (18.6%). Those who selected cooked food are local restaurant operators who prepare and sell local Ghanaian dishes to their customers. Groceries are also products significantly traded by informal retail operators (11.6%). Fruit and vegetables and electronic products are the least offered by traders. About 9.6% of the respondents also rendered other services and products ranging from shoeshine to selling prepaid phone cards. A summary of the profile of the sampled retailers is presented in Table 7.4 below.

		Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	31	72.1
	Female	12	27.9
Age	Under 18	2	4.7
	18 to 30	12	27.9
	31 to 40	15	34.9
	41 to 50	10	23.3
	Above 50	4	9.3
Education	None	4	9.3
	Primary	7	16.3
	Junior High	19	44.2
	Senior High	11	25.6
	Tertiary/Vocation	2	4.7
Length of Trading	Under 1 Year	12	27.9
	1 to 6 Years	10	23.3
	7 to 11 Years	14	32.6
	More than 11 Years	7	16.3
Traded Products	Grocery	5	11.6
	Fruit & Veg.	2	4.7
	Cooked Food	8	18.6
	Clothing & Footwear	22	51.2
	Electronics	2	4.7
	Others	4	9.3

Table 7. 4 The Profile of Informal Traders Surveyed. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

Figure 7. 9 A Section of the Foot Bridge with City Guards in Yellow Vest Seated Under.

Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

7.7 Informal Retailers and the Use Value of Public Space Around the Mall

For most developing countries, the urban economy is hinged on the informal sector, which provides support and livelihoods for most of the urban population. This also resonates with Accra, and other major urban centres in Ghana, as close to 70% of the working population is dependent on the informal sector. Retailing remains a significant activity engaged by many (GSS, 2021). It is also important to note that informal retailing is an economic activity engaged mainly by the poorest of the urban population who have very little or no means of property ownership or even renting commercial spaces. The majority therefore depend on the 'urban commons' (public spaces) to pursue their livelihoods. These include the appropriation of open areas, roadsides, pedestrian walkways, and most importantly, existing commercial nodes and busy transport intersections in cities and towns. In a previous study by Owusu et al. (2013), 18 significant locations and traffic intersections were identified for such activities within the Metropolitan Region of Accra. The Accra Mall/Tetteh Quarshie Interchange area was conspicuously missing from the list. It could well be that as those observations were made, the Accra mall area had not transformed into a significant informal retail spot in the city as it is now. In this section, I articulate the forces behind the transformation of ASM's immediate surroundings into a burgeoning informal retail area, particularly the extent to which the mall's presence enabled the process. From the retailer survey and the focus group discussions held, the study identified two key drivers as the central themes that have made the malls' surrounding areas attractive and fertile grounds for informal retailing.

7.8 Footfall

The correlation between footfall or pedestrian flow and the viability of retail businesses has been well discussed in the literature on retail impact studies. One of the arguments that have often been advanced against out-of-town regional shopping centres in metropolitan cities in the global north is that they become the focus of attention for shoppers and consequently divert trade from traditional town centres and high streets. The associated adverse outcomes of reduced footfall for existing centres have often been decreased sales, reduced profit margins, unemployment, and in extreme cases, shop closures, and the overwhelming lack of vitality and viability of CBDs. In contrast, some regional shopping centres have also been known to be a major catalyst for the regeneration of decaying traditional town centres (Lowe, 2005; Emery, 2006). In a very grandiose way, these inner-city retail developments have enhanced the revitalisation of existing retail forms through increased footfall at unprecedented levels, which have seen other retailers benefiting immensely in terms of sales level and profitability of businesses. The Accra mall has contributed to the observable high footfall in the surrounding areas. It is the primary driving force for the vitality of the area something shared by the informal retailers and even the municipal authorities under whose jurisdiction the mall is situated. More importantly and as aforementioned, the mall itself has not only whipped the appetite of the indigenous population who come from different parts of Accra and beyond for the use of a modern retail facility as they imbue global practices into local consumption cultures but has also significantly engendered the transformation of the area into a significant passenger transit point in the city. Put together, they have precipitously increased pedestrian flow in the area, potentially to the benefit of petty traders in the area.

However, respondents also noted that the early years of the mall's opening marked a point in its history where the pedestrian flow was at its peak. In their estimation, the Accra Mall was then the only one-stop modern retail facility in the city. However, the coming stream of competitors such as the West Hills and Achimota malls have somewhat reduced footfall on the mall. Nevertheless, it is still formidable and the number one choice for mall users. An indigene of Accra who had been trading in the area for well over 17 years before the development of the shopping mall succinctly encapsulated this.

The changes we see here are all because of the mall…… You can't mention anything here today without reference to the mall. This place owes its identity to the mall. Even the lorry station [reference to the transport terminal] is called Accra Mall station because it owes its existence to the mall……. You can see many people here, some going to the mall and others transiting here to continue their journey to other places. It wasn't like that before the mall was built. And it is good for us as traders because some of them buy our goods as they pass by the mall or station. [Focus Group Discussion, 2019].

While it was impossible even to guess the number of informal retailers who ply their trade in the area due to the fluid nature of the activity, it was common knowledge that the numbers kept increasing all the time as new traders continued to appear from time to time. The new entrants include traders who have relocated from other parts of the city to take advantage of the potential market that the high footfall in the area presents. This category of respondents went a step further to draw a comparison with their former locations in terms of the prospects of doing business, and the present site seemingly comes on top. With the high urbanisation rates and lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector, the shopping mall is a blessing in disguise. Given the limited avenues in the formal economy, too, petty trading, particularly street hawking, becomes the obvious choice available for the growing urban unemployed.

Consequently, finding an ideal location to ply the trade can also be a daunting task for the informal retailer. Understandably, the praises being showered on the mall developers by these informal retailers cast it in the light of a retail-led regeneration project that has increased the viability and vitality of the area for them to make a living.

……. The population of Accra is increasing all the time because everybody wants to come and live here……. But there are no jobs, so whoever thought of building this mall here has done outstanding work. The mall is there to employ many people. It has also created the opportunity to earn some income to care for our families. Imagine it was not there [the mall], where would all these traders be? So, this mall is a blessing [Focus Group Discussion, 2019].

7.9 'Accidental Shopping.'

While informal retailers believe that the mall's presence has contributed immensely to the high pedestrian traffic in the area, they do not readily accept that they are benefiting directly from the footfall on the mall. An attempt was made to distinguish between mall customers and those who patronise their products. The argument advanced in this regard to buttress the claim was that they sell products that are entirely different from goods in the mall in terms of pricing and ostentation. As such, mall consumers are middle to high-income people, while their clients are mainly poor urban commuters transiting through the area to other parts of Accra and beyond. While this representation may be correct to a certain extent, it is an understatement of the reality and not in concurrence with mall users' position on their shopping behaviour. In a situation where informal retailers have been scapegoated as a 'nuisance' to urban development and modernisation, their presence near a state-of-the-art retail facility such as the Accra Mall is construed as an obstruction to the viability of the mall in official circles. In urban governance, this stereotyping has often been used to excuse the forceful removal of urban informality. Therefore, an attempt to distinguish mall customers and those who patronise their goods is an attempt to dispel or water down the rumors that their activities negatively impact the shopping mall's operations.

….We display our wares in the open, and we're always at the mercy of the weather….. Look at the dust that has gathered around them. Do you think mall shoppers will buy these? They [mall users] have their taste and preference, which is the lovely products that the mall sells…. Our customers are not mall visitors but workers and commuters who drop off here to continue their journey to other locations in Accra and beyond. [Focus Group Discussion, 2019]

However, there was an admission that some mall users do shop from them, but they describe this as 'accidental shopping.' In their view, this is because shopping visits to the mall are the main priority of mall users. Therefore, buying from informal retailers occasionally happens by accident, and is of secondary importance to the shopper. They could not fathom how a shopper would get out of his residence to come and shop from them directly since informal retailers selling similar products as theirs can be found everywhere in the city and even closer to the shopper's doorstep. The explanation given here is that sometimes mall shoppers may forget to buy something essential while they are in the mall and afterward remember while they are outside the mall. In this case, the mall user may decide to buy from the informal retailer if they find a product that closely matches the mall. Another explanation was that sometimes a mall shopper might find something cheaper outside the mall and decide to buy it. However, respondents did not see that amounting to a competition with the mall on price. Instead, it was interpreted as contributing to the mall's success in a more complementary way. A participant went to the extent of claiming that the safety and security in the mall partly rested on their shoulders. “Sometimes, when they chase shoplifters from the mall, we arrest them and hand them over to the mall security.”

Mall shoppers are not our primary customers. They come here mainly to shop from the mall and not from us…... But our activities here are in the interest of the mall in many respects. It is not everything you can get from the mall, and what is not available there [mall] may be found outside……... So, we are contributing to making this place a ‘one-stop’ shopping destination for shoppers in the true sense of the phrase…... We are not competing with the mall for customers at all. But instead helping them to keep and expand their customer base. [Focus Group Discussion, 2019].

7.10 Trading Repercussions

One key objective of this study is to examine how shopping malls affect the trading activities of nearby traditional and existing retailers. In the literature, the assessment of the impact of new retail development on existing or traditional retail forms has often been done based on changes in sales levels of the latter before and after the development of the new centre. Therefore, participants in the retailer survey in this study were asked to recollect previous sales made for the last four years of trading in the area by indicating whether they achieved an increase, decrease, or no change in sales from a year earlier. Limiting it to the last four years of trading allowed retailers to easily recollect recent events that may be fresh in their memories, such as annual sales levels in the absence of any formal book-keeping sales records. Surprisingly, the desired result was not achieved. Some respondents could not account for all the changes throughout the four years. There were some missing data for all the years. However, as shown in Table 7.5, there was a remarkable improvement in the response rate as the years progressed, with 2019 achieving the highest response rate of 93%. The response rate for 2016 was just 56%, while 2017 and 2018 recorded 63% and 77%, respectively. With 2016 as the base year, retailers were asked to indicate sales levels and the estimated margins of the change between 2017, 2018, and 2019. Following Howard and Davies (1993), this study assessed that the changing margin is substantial when more than 10%, moderate when between 5 to 10%, and slightly if less than 5%. Respondents were also asked to assign reasons for the changes in sales level they experienced for each of the four years of trading in the area. This was to give a clearer understanding of the issues at play that contributed to observable changes in the sales levels and to isolate the most important ones that impacted the most for further discussion with the participants in the FGD.

		Sales_Level_2016	Sales_Level_2017	Sales_Level_2018	Sales_Level_2019
N	Valid	24	27	33	40
	Missing	19	16	10	3

Table 7. 5 Participants' Response Rate for Changes in Sales Level from 2016 to 2019. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

7.10.1 Changes in Sales Level

In this section, I analyse the trends in sales level changes recorded by informal retailers surveyed in this study for the four years under consideration. Figure 7.10 below shows the pattern of the changes in 2016, 2017, 2018, and 2019 respectively. These patterns have subsequently been analysed to understand how traders performed over that time frame.

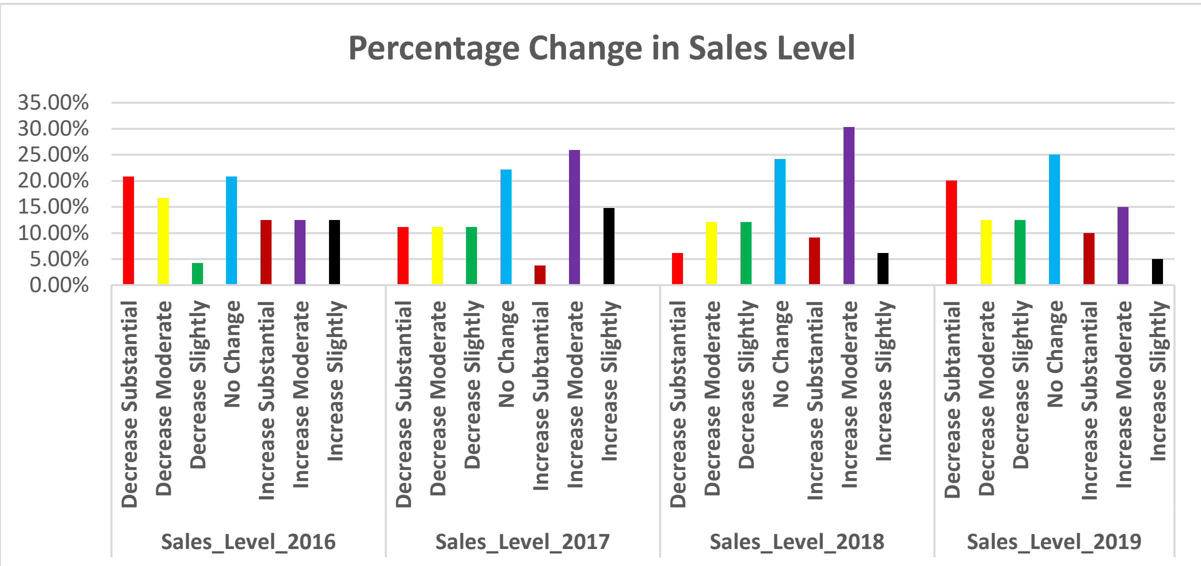


Figure 7. 10 Percentage Change in Sales Level from 2016 to 2019. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

The overall trend for 2016 depicts almost a similar distribution pattern between respondents who reported a decrease and those who reported an increase in sales level over the previous year, 2015 - which stood at 41.7% and 37.5%, respectively. However, about 50% of the respondents who recorded a decrease in sales suffered a substantial loss (over 10%). In contrast, an equally significant number, about 40%, also recorded a moderate reduction between 5 to 10%. The rest constituting about 10% of the respondents who suffered sales loss over the previous year, only encountered a slight loss of less than 5%. Interestingly, more than a fifth of the respondents (20.8%) said they did not record any change in sales at all compared to 2015. Regarding those who experienced an increase in sales over the 2015 period, the number who reported a substantial gain was similar in number to those who underwent either a moderate increase or a slight increase in sales over the previous year.

However, the sales trend in 2017 followed a different pattern from the observations in 2016. It showed a remarkable increase in the number of respondents who recorded an increase in sales level over the previous year, 2016. In all, 44.4% of the respondents indicated an increase in sales level in 2017, suggesting an increase of about 6% over 2016. However, the marginal number of the respondents who gained substantially, only 3.7%, is noticeable here. The majority of the respondents reported an increase in sales. About 26% experienced a moderate gain, between 5 and 10%, while quite a significant number, around 15%, also gained slightly. The number reporting no change in sales constitutes more than 22% of the respondents, almost the same as the 2016 figures. However, the number of respondents who recorded a decrease in sales was relatively lower than the level observed in 2016, which was almost 42%. At 33% response, the decrease in sales experienced in 2017 showed an equal representation of respondents between those indicated substantial, moderate, and a slight decline in sales, around 11% for each category.

A sustained increase in sales levels appears to have occurred in 2018 over the previous year, albeit in a reasonable manner. In all, about 45% of the respondents reported an increase in their sales levels in 2018 from a year earlier, representing the highest reported number by retailers compared with the other years. In 2018 there was also an appreciable increase in the number of respondents who indicated they recorded a substantial increase in sales level, which was a little over 9%. An overwhelming majority in this cohort also achieved a moderate increase in sales level, represented by more than 30% of all the respondents. Only 6% of the respondents reported a slight increase in sales level, which shows a qualitative increase in sales level in 2018 compared to the other years. However, just like the other years, a significant number of the respondents (over 24%) experienced no change in their sales level over the previous year. The drop was not that substantial for respondents who recorded a decrease in their sales. Only 6% reported their loss was significant. The majority of the respondents who experienced a decline in sales suffered a moderate or slight loss in trade in 2018.

The trend in 2019 showed a massive general decline in sales levels, in sharp contrast to the levels recorded in the previous year, 2018. Altogether about 45% of the respondents suffered a reduction in sales in 2019. The decrease in sales appears to be a substantial one affecting 20% of respondents who reported a decline of that magnitude. However, a moderate decrease was reported by 12.5% of the respondents. At the same time, the same number of respondents also suffered, albeit with just a slight decrease in sales during the same period. As with the previous years, 2019 also had a record number of respondents who reported stability in sales levels of the prior year. This is represented by 25% of the respondents who did not notice any changes in sales. 2019 had the lowest record of respondents reporting an increase in sales over 2018. Only 30% of them experienced an increase in sales, and the majority did so moderately (15%). While the increase was substantial for 10% of the respondents, only 5% reported a slight increase in sales over the 2018 period.

7.11 Reasons for Decrease in Sales Levels

It is worth noting that several factors have combined to produce the complex changes in sales levels analysed above. In the retailer survey, respondents were also asked to indicate which of the reasons suggested in the questionnaire accounted for changes in sales levels in their business. These multiple-response questions elicited a very high response rate. The reasons cited for the decrease in sales are summarised in Figure 7.14 below. As the chart shows, the three most cited reasons by the respondents for the decrease in sales are municipal guards (90.2%), the shopping mall (80.5%), and the effects of the economy on spending (68.3%). It is not surprising that an overwhelming majority of the respondents cited municipal guards as the most significant reason they suffered a reduction in sales. The use of municipal and metropolitan guards, popularly nicknamed in the Ga language as '*Aba yee,*' meaning (they are coming) by city authorities to remove informal activities including traders from public spaces is not a new phenomenon. It dates to the era of the African colonial city when the administration enacted city by-laws to limit the activities of the indigenous population, particularly in areas inhabited by expatriates (Mabogunje, 1990). In Accra and the other major cities in Ghana, these laws have been reviewed over the years. They come with more punitive sanctions against people whose activities are deemed by the authorities as inappropriate. These include forced eviction, prosecution, and confiscation of goods.

The Accra Mall and its surrounding areas fall under the jurisdiction of the La-Dadekotopon Municipal Assembly (LaDMA). Apart from the CBD area of Accra, where there is high visibility of city guards constantly dealing with the problem of congestion in the heart of the city triggered by lack of proper planning, the Accra Mall area remains one of the heavily guarded places in suburban Accra if there are others, in any case. The Assembly has stationed some of its guards to ensure that public spaces around the mall are free of the 'urban undesirables'- informal traders. Scenes of forceful ejection of traders and confiscation of their goods are daily occurrences. They have had dire consequences for the traders, their livelihoods, and their dependents. Stopping the city's proletariat from using public spaces to earn a living has been identified as one of the fundamental issues exacerbating urban poverty in African cities (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Afena, 2012; Gillespie,2016; Rogerson, 2016; Omoegun et al., 2019).

"I am a single parent of four children……… I do [trading] to take care of my children, and there is no support from any quarters………. I am not a lazy woman. That is why I am here to sell to feed, clothe, and pay my children's school fees. But these people [reference to municipal guards] don't want us to do decent work. Sometimes I go home with nothing because of the way they are threatening us here every day. They don't want us to make a living………Why! Do they want us to steal or do prostitution to take care of our families?" [Interview with Informal Retailer, 2019].

The shopping mall is the second most cited reason for decreasing sales levels. Linking the shopping mall in this manner came as a surprise, given the lead role in making the surrounding areas viable for informal retail activities to grow. These traders do not consider the mall as a competitor. This has been discussed earlier in this chapter. However, informal retailers have another narrative about the mall, which casts it in a very awful light. It situates the mall at the centre of the new urban governance process in the area. For some retailers, the mall represents the new face of Accra that is emerging from the substantial capital investments in modern and luxury urban infrastructure. In light of this, the mall is not seen as a competitor but the product of a new city visioning by the state and local government, which prioritise capital investment in city modernisation and the protection of the interest of these investors. The quest to transform Accra into a world-class city means an artifact of globalisation like the shopping mall perfectly fits this global city-making agenda. Therefore, the need to protect such investments from threats, including perceived ones, is imperative to city authorities. In this context, informal traders attempt to interpret the negative impact of the mall on their trading activities. The high presence and the activities of municipal guards in the areas surrounding the mall are directly linked to the presence of a modern retail facility jointly owned by a global and local private capitalist, the shopping mall. To these Informal retailers, the presence of such an iconic retail space casts a dark shadow on their activities in the view of city officials, who see urban informality as inimical to modernisation and urban development, which needs to be uprooted. This narrative seeks to place the mall at the centre of *urban revanchism* in the locality, significantly affecting their livelihoods.

"………. Some of us started trading here long before the mall was built. There were no security people [municipal guards] here chasing us and evicting and confiscating our items. We were freely using this place to do our business with no hindrance……. The city guards' evictions and confiscation of goods only started when the mall was built, so it makes sense that all they are doing here and how they treat us now is all because of the mall. It looks like the location of the mall here is making our presence unwelcome, and they think removing us will protect the interest of the mall" [Interview with an informal retailer, 2019].

While the mall management appears to be unconcerned about the developments around them, there is a growing sense of apprehension among the informal retailers that the heavy-handedness being meted out to them by the municipal authorities can be likened to a colossal barrier being placed between the two seemingly contrasting retail spaces. They contend that this is not only destroying the good relationship between their activities and the malls' operations but significantly putting ice on a relationship that is mutually beneficial to both. Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2016), in an earlier study, demonstrated how the "continuity" of the mall is hugely dependent on the viability of the traditional retail system. The authors posited that just like its predecessors in the colonial and the early post-independence era, such as the Kingsway stores and the United African Company, which dominated the retail environment in Ghana for some time, the mall risks disappearing from the city's landscape in the not too distant future if the traditional retail system suffers. To put this in context, therefore, local authority policies on informal trading around the shopping mall are, after all, not in the long-term interest of the latter. The irony in this is that dispossessing the city's informal proletariat of their entitlement to livelihoods in the interest of the mall does not in any measure aid capital accumulation by the global capitalist whose investments culminated in the existence of the mall. Instead, this policy unknowingly unleashes havoc on an unimaginable scale on the retail industry across the board.

The third most significant reason cited for the decrease in sales levels is the general impact of the economy on consumer spending. Over 68% of all respondents saw this as very important in affecting sales. Like in most developing countries, Ghana's economy is sustained mainly by primary production, particularly the agriculture sector, which offers livelihood to about 32% of the population aged 15 years and older (GSS, 2021). Most farmers produce mainly for household consumption, so income poverty is very high and endemic. On the other hand, the urban economy is dominated by the informal sector, where income earnings are generally low, against the backdrop of a rising trend in the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which measures changes in price levels over time for goods and services that households buy for consumption purposes. Publications by the Ghana Statistical Services indicate that CPI has generally soared over the years. The latest publication shows that from a base index of 100 in 2018, CPI rose to 139.7 in January 2022, mainly fueled by inflation on goods and services, which was estimated nationally to be about 13.9% but significantly higher in the Greater Accra region, at18.4% (GSS, 2022). This means that the purchasing power of households continues to weaken as the increase in consumer prices is not in tandem with income levels. A recent market survey in Ghana’s major cities revealed records of lower sales levels among retailers in central business areas a few days to Christmas in December 2021- a period generally associated with a boom in sales and high levels of shopping (Graphic Online, 2021). The relatively high response to this issue is therefore not an unusual thing but a general trend nationwide that is grounded in the weak fundamentals of the national economy.

The other moderating factors that contributed to sales levels tumbling and cited by respondents were the usual competition posed by rival retail establishments in the industry, which elicited more than 50% of the responses. 34% of the respondents cited product brand and quality as a reason for a dip in sales. Marketing and management strategies were the least cited reasons, with only 10% and 12% of the respondents indicating it. Surprisingly, changes in pedestrian flow garnered only 44% of the responses. One would have thought that this would attract a very high response from retailers since a decrease in sales has often been strongly associated with trade diversions. However, footfall was at its peak in one retailer’s estimation, who began doing business in the area before the mall was established. Sales were good at the initial stages when the mall opened in 2008, but it has since reduced with time. He reckons that the development of other shopping malls in the city, notably the West Hills Mall and the Achimota Retail Centre, might have diverted customers from the Accra Mall.

I had some loyal customers who came and bought from me after visiting the mall. At that time, the Accra Mall was the only famous mall in the city……. But I don't see them here anymore. One of them used to travel from Kasoa to this place to visit the mall, but the last time I rang him, he said the West Hills Mall is closer to him now, and there is no point for him to travel that long distance. [Interview with Informal Retailer, 2019].

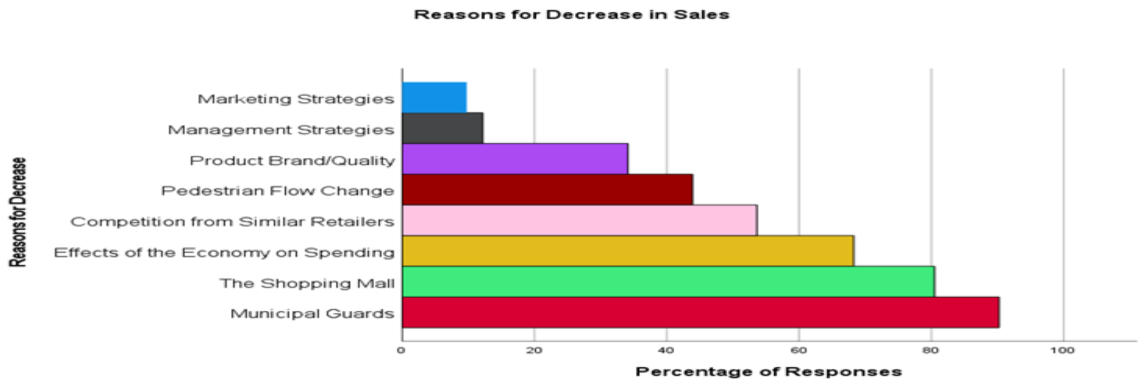


Figure 7. 11 Reasons Cited for Decrease in Sales. Source: Retailer Survey

7.12 Reasons for Increase in Sales Levels

As with the trend in the decrease in sales, there is complexity in the reasons cited for the increase in the patterns of sales observed over the four years under consideration. A set of reasons combined to produce the effect as Figure 7.15 depicts, but tellingly, the effect of pedestrian flow is remarkably pronounced as more than 83% of all respondents who had experienced an increment cited it as the reason. Closely following this is the effect of the mall, which is the second most important reason cited by the respondents (79%). The relationship between the mall's development and the unprecedented footfall in the area has already been discussed. These survey results only seek to confirm this further. However, around 42% of the respondents also cited the marketing strategies they employed as a reason behind the fortunes made. These retailers' marketing strategies are not straightforward given the clandestine nature of their activities and the stereotyping and negative profiling they receive from officialdom as urban undesirables. It is also surprising how a significant number of the respondents, close to 40%, cited the economy's impact on spending as a reason for an increase in sales levels. A cursory review of Ghana's CPI between 2016 and 2019 shows a consistent rise in the prices of goods and services. At the same period, there was no evidence to suggest that income earnings appreciated in any significant way. It is not unusual for retailers experiencing a boom in sales to easily attribute it to a strong economy and say otherwise when sales plummet. The brand and quality of products sold, management strategies, and competition from other retailers did not appear to be substantial reasons for the increase in sales. Just 28%, 23%, and 21% of the respondents cited these as reasons, respectively. Municipal guards are the least cited reason for sales increase, with only 7% of all respondents citing it as a reason.

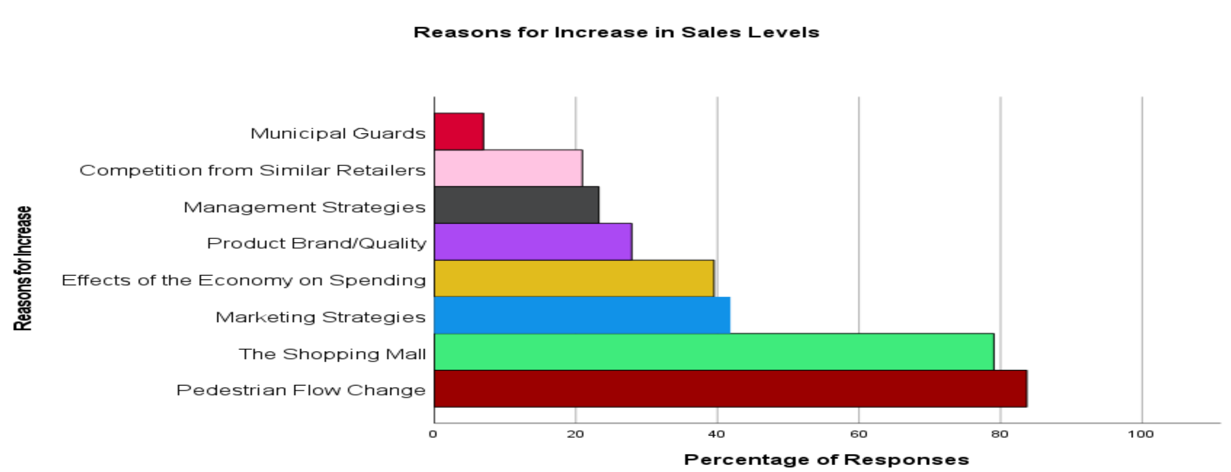


Figure 7. 12 Reasons Cited for Increase in Sales. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

It is evident from the above analysis that no clear pattern of changes in sales can be established. It appears the experience was mixed as the nature of the change and its magnitude were not uniform across the board but varied from one retailer to the other. This reflects the complex nature of the multiple reasons that cumulatively shaped the impact of changes in sales. However, the distinctive role of the mall is clear. It is the primary determining factor for both decrease and increase in sales experienced by retailers.

On the one hand, it has been cited by an overwhelming majority of informal retailers in this study as the primary cause of trade loss, though not in the competitive sense. The complexity of understanding its negative impact lies in an emerging narrative. Informal retailers associate the high visibility of municipal guards who are constantly disrupting their businesses as an act occasioned by the mall's development. They interpret that to mean the local authority protecting the interest of the mall and giving it a competitive edge. This competition does not exist in the first place.

On the other hand, the viability of the malls' surrounding areas and the growth in the intensity of informal retailing are credited to the mall. Petty traders benefit from the high footfall engendered by the mall's presence. The Accra mall can succinctly be described as a double-edged sword in this context.

7.13 Revanchism: The Rationalisation of Public Space Governance

A governance system has emerged with the development of the ASM that is consistent with contemporary urban rationalities in the global south. The imperatives of transforming cities into world-class urban agglomerations in the developing world have led to national and local governments embracing neoliberal policies to open up the urban economy for private sector investments in urban development. This entrepreneurial urban governance system has brought about significant transformations and modernisation of the built environment, increasingly placing urban planning and development in the hands of private capital investors.

In Accra, these processes have, for example, culminated in the emergence of a new global CBD (Airport City), and the proliferation of gated communities, luxury hotels, and commercial and office complexes in different parts of the city. The ASM resonates with this new city vision. Its conception, planning, and realisation are through the ingenuity of a local entrepreneur with the help of foreign partners. The role of the then government in facilitating and expediting the development of the mall with no recourse to any proper planning review by the local government before the commencement of the project symbolises "the growing power of Ghanaian entrepreneurs and global capital and the comparative weakness of local government" (Hobden, 2014 p.134). The urgency of transforming Accra into a 'globally competitive city' is increasingly redefining development. Projects like the ASM have become symbols of progress and national development, and indeed catalysts for further FDI and a boost for the tourism industry.

Considering these rationalisations of urban development, I sought to understand the governance processes that have emerged around the mall from the local authority's perspective under whose jurisdiction the mall is located. The La Dade-Kotopon Municipal Assembly (LaDMA) which used to be part of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) was created in 2012 to aid the devolution of political power further down at the grassroots level to promote development. With a land coverage of about 360 km^2, LaDMA has one of the most polarised communities in Accra- with some of the poorest urban settlements in areas such as La and some of the city's elite neighbourhoods like Cantonment and the airport city. Despite having some of Accra's most poverty-endemic communities in its catchment, pursuing pro-poor policies to tackle urban poverty and misery does not appear to be the Assembly's priority.

Instead, it seems more fixated on modernising the municipality's-built environment by maintaining spatial order. In this frame, the airport city and the Accra Mall are seen as beacons of hope for attracting further private capital investments. Conceptualising urban development in this manner has its implications. The weak financial position of most local government authorities in Ghana means they cannot invest in capital-intensive projects. As such, their role in contemporary urban development has been reduced to creating the enabling environment for private sector investment and protecting those interests. In this framing, urban informality is also problematised as the obstruction to development and orderliness that should be cleared from the urban space. In this context, the zero-tolerance approach adopted by the local authority against informal traders around the Accra Mall can be understood as the justification for the evictions. Therefore, the Accra Mall is at the centre of a revanchist kind of urban governance in its surrounding areas. 'Urban revanchism' is a concept that first emerged in the 1990s in New York's neoliberal urban governance system where authorities sought to remove certain behaviours deemed as undesirable from urban space (Smith, 2001). The concept has since been applied in the global south to explain urban phenomena (Swanson, 2007; Falt, 2015; Gillespie, 2016).

The Assembly's framing of development in modernist terms cast a dark shadow on the activities of the informal traders around the mall. Their actions have been deemed as anti-investment. Therefore, allowing them to stay will be inimical to the authority's development. Neoliberal urban development and modernisation models place an economic value on land, including public spaces. In this sense, there is nothing like the urban commons for people to appropriate and use freely. Disciplining public space is therefore seen as critical for preserving the market value of land to attract more investment.

In March 2018, the then Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) for LaDMA, Gladys Mann Dedey, was reported by an online news portal in an interview to have issued an ultimatum to all petty traders and hawkers operating around certain areas in the municipality, such as the airport, Cantonments, Tetteh Quarshie Interchange, and the flagstaff house (Seat of government) to leave by the end of April or risk force eviction and confiscation of their goods (Modern Ghana, 2018). She is further reported to have justified her action because the activities of the traders are a nuisance to visitors coming into the country. After all, these areas represent the gateway to the city. In a broader context, it was also to help fulfil the president's vision of making Accra the cleanest city in Africa, a campaign promise he made to Ghanaians to seek their mandate. These sentiments that seem to prioritise visitors' interests over the livelihoods of citizens echo the Assembly's position regarding the kind of city the authority envisages. In the specific case of the Accra Mall, a physical planning official of the Assembly succinctly articulates this view in this way:

"We are making every effort to put this city [Accra] on the world map so that it becomes the destination of choice in West Africa for tourists and investors. And it is facilities such as this mall that will help us achieve this. You see VIPs and tourists from the Western world patronising it, and this is enhancing the image of Accra and Ghana as a whole…….. to allow these people to do what they are doing here [a reference to informal retailers] destroys this whole idea of making Accra the gateway city to West Africa……… these chaotic scenes around here will not appeal to investors if we allow things to stay like that. Simply put, this is not a place for them at all" [Interview with Assembly Official, 2019].

The local authority also justifies the eviction of the traders on safety grounds. The presence of informal retailers in proximity to the mall is seen as a major security threat to the mall tenants and, more importantly, their customers. The latter had to navigate through these traders before accessing the mall. Urban poor traders selling on streets have often been scapegoated and framed as criminals. They have been accused of a wide range of anti-social behaviours, including robbery and prostitution. Informal traders around the mall have not escaped this stereotyping. They have been labelled as criminals who pose a serious threat to law and order in the area. Although local authority officials make these claims without any evidence, they have been used to justify forceful removal from public spaces. In addition to this, the retailers have been accused of destroying the aesthetic of the environment around the mall, such as littering and displaying their wares on pavements and lawns outside the mall. Another justification that I found bizarre was the accusation levelled against these poor traders as partly responsible for the perennial vehicular traffic congestion in the area. Hawkers are particularly cited for causing motorists to stop in the middle of the road to allow passengers to patronise their goods. Although the mall's contribution to the exacerbation of the traffic situation is well-known, it appears the city authorities are not interested in highlighting that but instead would want to link one of the significant challenges of urbanisation to the activities of the informal traders.

Some critical urban scholars have described these postures by city authorities as mechanisms used to aid private capital investors to accumulate additional capital by dispossessing the urban proletariat their right to use public spaces to reproduce themselves. Following Marx and then Harvey's lead in their treatise on 'primitive accumulation by dispossession in post-industrial countries, Gillespie (2016) found evidence suggesting that the phenomenon exists in neoliberal states in the global south. Using empirical evidence from Accra, he posited that the wanton removal of hawkers from the city's streets and the knocking down of informal settlements by city authorities amounts to the state engaging in what he calls "accumulation by urban dispossession." By this, he meant the justification often given for clearing the urban proletariat from public spaces is just mechanisms used by governments to dispossess the poor the right to use public space to reproduce so that capital investors can find space to invest and accumulate further capital. In this sense, the government is seen as an agent aiding capitalist institutions to accumulate more capital and profit from their investments at the expense of the poor.

To put the Accra Mall and the informal traders in the area into this context means that the local government, by denying the poor traders their right as citizens to use the urban commons (public space) they have created outside the mall to reproduce themselves, the authority is aiding the owners of the mall and its tenants who are primarily international retailers the opportunity to accumulate more capital and profit. I argue that this is far-fetched and a misconception by the Assembly. Removing informal retailers will not help investors in the mall to accumulate more profit. As this study and others have demonstrated, the mall's success largely depends on a thriving traditional retail system, including the informal retailers operating outside the mall.

Pursuing neoliberal models of urban governance to address perceived urban problems can be counter-productive and significantly scale back the clock of sustainable urban development. If revanchist policies are the means of creating an enabling environment for capital to transform urban economies, the Accra mall and its surrounding informal retail formation represent an antithesis of this ideological perspective. By waging war on urban informality and declaring informal retailers as 'undesirable others,' the local authority is covertly or overtly waging war against development on three fronts. First, against itself by denying the Authority a potential source of revenue that could have been accrued from these informal retailers. The moral fortitude to bring people whose activities are deemed illegal into the tax net is lost on the Assembly. Doing so would legitimise an activity perceived as anti-development and obstructive to modernisation. However, most local Assemblies, including LaDMA, have challenges generating revenue from internal sources and have had to rely on central government subventions (District Assembly Common Fund) to finance development projects. Apart from not being adequate, these funds are not released on time and have recently been in arrears for quite some time now. Secondly, by seeking to remove informal retailers from the area, the sustainability of the malls' operation is being put at risk as the relationship between the two retail forms is of mutual benefit. And lastly, the authority's antagonist attitude towards the informal retailers is disruptive as it puts livelihoods at risk. Informal retailers have had to endure very hostile behaviours by city authorities and work under challenging conditions to make a living. Nonetheless, the activities of informal retailers outside the mall have not abated. This last point leads me to the next objective of this study- the resilience of informal retailers in the context of a transformed retail environment and urban governance.

7.14 The Resilience of Informal Retailers

The term Resilience as applied in the context of the urban has often been discussed relative to the vulnerabilities that urban populations are exposed to and how they mitigate or cope with natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, landslides, etc., or man-made disasters such as fires, industrial and motor accidents, and epidemics. With climate change taking the world by surprise, authorities worldwide are increasingly getting apprehensive and thinking of ways of building robust coping mechanisms as a way of tackling these unforeseen occurrences. Concepts such as 'resilient cities,' 'smart cities,' and 'sustainable cities' have therefore found relevance in contemporary urban planning.

Cities in the global south, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa, are experiencing rapid urbanisation, but lack of proper planning over decades has exposed the vulnerabilities of a significant part of the urban population. For example, Accra's lack of proper drainage systems has made people living in low-lying areas, mostly the poor, highly susceptible to floods, affecting many people each year. However, the introduction of neoliberal and market economy policies in urban planning and development in the global south has added another layer to the urban fragility and vulnerabilities of the population. The quest to turn predominantly informal cities into 'global cities through neoliberal processes has brought to the fore the vulnerabilities and challenges confronting a section of the urban population, particularly those who live and work informally.

Urban scholars have delved into the globalisation of Southern cities to understand the resilience of urban informality in the context of the pervasive neoliberal policies and the economic and spatial transformation that is reconfiguring the urban landscape. In Accra, the resilience of slum dwellers and informal traders has received enormous attention in the academic literature (Stacey et al., 2021; Yeboah et al., 2021; Gillespie, 2017; Grant, 2009). Relative to retail, traders coping mechanisms have come through the formation of trade associations, solidarity, and support from local and international civil society institutions, and the use of legal means to seek redress. However, the wherewithal to challenge urban injustice through these conventional modes seems to have eluded the informal retailers I encountered around the Accra Mall. Nevertheless, they have built their coping strategies and resisted displacement through different unconventional ways to sustain their activities in a very hostile environment. In this section, I explore these mechanisms in the context of emergent governance processes. The perspectives of the retailers are organised around four major themes: (i) Unity and solidarity among retailers, (ii) relationship with customers, (iii) relationship with municipal guards (iv) 'Quiet encroachment' of public space.

7.14.1 Unity and Solidarity Among Retailers

A prevailing sense of solidarity and unity among the traders seems to have emerged from the hostile environment in which they had to conduct their businesses. Participants seem more united by a common problem confronting them. Some participants considered this an essential social capital to derive their resilience. Observing participants in the focus group discussion trying to re-enforce each other's viewpoint relative to the critical problem impacting their business- the conduct of municipal guards, I got the impression that the competitive and rival atmosphere that usually characterises the marketplace as traders clamour for customers was lost with the participants. The strong sense of emotion with which the traders articulated their views suggested a kind of a powerful united front to counter their nemesis, the guards. Although there were no familial relations among the participants, they kept referring to each other with such nouns as 'brother,' or 'sister.' Collectively, they are sometimes able to use their numbers and sense of unity to resist evictions or boldly encroach on public space as one participant put it:

"What unites us as traders here is greater than what divides us……... and we can sometimes stand them [reference to municipal guards] and call their bluff by telling them we are not moving an inch from here and they will soften their position……. It is because sometimes we overwhelm them with our sheer numbers and the unity with which we all resist the forced eviction, and there is strength in unity with purpose" [FGD, 2019].

This unusual show of strength by traders capable of stopping municipal guards from evicting them is surprising given the ruthlessness with which city guards armed with batons sometimes deal with traders elsewhere in the city despite their numbers. In places noted for resistance, it is not uncommon for local authorities to elicit support from the police and the army in some cases as reinforcement to embark on eviction exercises. In such situations, not even demonstrations or petitions to city authorities and central government by informal traders deter guards when they are determined to act per their by-laws. However, the participants admitted that although they have never seen the police being called as reinforcement when they mount their resistance, senior officials from the Assembly could be a deterrent for them to counter them.

"It will be unthinkable to resist eviction if the bosses are here…. so, we are afraid to say we are not moving away when they come here to check on us. Because if we do the consequences could be bad for us and we would lose this place…. As for the guards, we are here with them every day, and we know each other well, so we don't fear them like their bosses". [FGD. 2019].

This sense of unity among the traders and the perception that municipal guards are not that unsurmountable has enabled informal retailers to rescue individuals targeted for evictions. The guards could sometimes be selective in choosing traders to be evicted for reasons best known to themselves. In such situations, the traders rally their support for the individual traders involved and fight on their behalf. The traders had on one occasion contributed to support a colleague financially to restart her businesses after the guards had confiscated their goods. One trader has this to say:

"You see us as traders, but we are more than brothers and sisters. An attack on one is an attack on all of us. So, we all go to the defence of any trader targeted for eviction, which they sometimes do for no apparent reason. It is just wickedness, and we will make sure our brother or sister is not removed…….. We've also had some brothers and sisters who lost everything because of confiscations by the guards, and we contributed to getting them back on their feet. We are each other's keeper, and this is what is keeping us going here". [FGD, 2019].

This extraordinary demonstration of unity by a group of traders in a locality to support each other in times of crisis seems unparalleled. In Ghana, most small-scale traders, including informal retailers, are registered members of traders' associations like the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) and are more inclined to call on such bodies for support in times of crisis of this nature.

7.14.2 Relationship with Customers

Another issue that participants cited as the source of their resilience is the loyalty and support from their customers. Despite the hostile environment and the city authorities' antagonistic behaviour, their customers have not abandoned them. Sometimes, even amid the chaos with the guards, customers would show solidarity by either sympathising with them with kind words of encouragement or buying something while they were being evicted. This loyalty and sympathy exhibited by the customers stem from the strong relationship with their customers, transcending the seller and buyer relationship. A social connection has been formed through interactions with customers based on Ghanaian cultural and traditional shopping values. Things like bargaining on the price and giving additional goods for free to the customers have enabled some traders to establish a solid friendship with customers to the extent that sometimes they sell on credit based on trust. It is this relationship that has enabled traders to continue trading in a seemingly challenging retail environment. As one trader noted:

"Our customers have been one of the reasons why we're still at this place……. When I am absent for some reason, some of them notice it and call me to ask why I didn't come…… I will say their loyalty and support are without measure within the circumstances we find ourselves. I even have customers who arrange to meet me outside this place for them to buy an item when it is not possible to do business here". [FGD, 2019].

One strategy the traders said they use to continue doing business in the area is outwitting the municipal guards when they are evicted. They move to a different spot in the area on the blind side of the guards to sell their goods. And the customers can locate them at their 'hideouts' to buy their goods. As one trader narrated it:

"We are in this game together with our customers. When they see the guards there, and we are not there, they know where to find us, and they will follow us to come and buy whatever they want from us. And this is how the business is going on here". [FGD, 2019].

The participants also clarified that mall users constituted a critical part of their loyal customers, helping keep them in business.

7.14.3 Relationship with Municipal Guards

Some traders reported they had developed a good relationship with the municipal guards over the years, enabling them to conduct their business without much hindrance. However, it was unclear how those cordial relationships were established as participants were not interested in elaborating further on this issue. Interestingly, on 23rd November 2019, an online news portal published a story in which three municipal guards were allegedly filmed taking bribes from traders to allow them to use public spaces around the mall (Ghanaweb, 2019). The news is said to have infuriated the MCE for LaDMA to the extent that he promised to conduct further investigation and dismiss the three guards outright if found culpable. This and many similar stories are very common as city guards are often accused of placing their self-interests over maintaining the 'order' and 'sanity' of public spaces by clearing the 'urban undesirables.'

Mitullah's (2003) study of street vendors in some selected African cities seems to suggest that the phenomenon is prevalent in many countries as city law enforcement officers in Ghana, Zimbabwe, and Kenya were found to be taking bribes and, in some cases, demanding sexual favours in return for trading on streets. A recent study by Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2016), in Kumasi, Ghana's second-largest city, also found that the impunity of street traders and the local authority's unsuccessful eviction of traders from the city's streets were partly due to city guards extorting monies from traders. While this study could not establish whether the cordial relationship with the municipal guards was based on the payment of bribes or sexual favours. However, it is reasonable and understandable for people to keep such immoral and anti-social acts secret and personal and not to report them. But it might explain why sometimes the guards are selective in their approach to which traders should be evicted (probably victimising those not willing to pay). In the full glare of these law enforcement officers, some traders are seen busily doing business while others are constantly under pressure to move out.

7.14.4 "Quiet Encroachment" of Public Space: Emergence of a Bustling Night Market

Informal retailers at the mall are among the city's most powerless and voiceless people with no support from any quarters to contest urban dispossession, or the audacity to boldly encroach on public spaces around the mall. As such, the traders have resorted to what Asef Bayat (Bayat, 2012) calls "the quiet encroachment" of public space to reproduce themselves (in this case, to continue trading). Collectively, the traders have transformed public space around the mall into one of Accra's bustling night markets as a way of seeking autonomy from the repressive governance system imposed by the municipal authority. There are no confrontations with municipal guards at the night market as traders cramp under canopies erected on public spaces to sell their wares without hindrances, albeit 'under cover of darkness'- the environment is poorly lit, and this is a strategy to conceal their activities from the view of the authorities. The night market looks busier and more expansive than what is visible during the day. The resilience of most of the retailers hinges on this market as it enables some of them to extend their trading hours to increase sales levels and profit margins. Although it is not easy for these traders to trade for long, it is also part of a survival strategy to make ends meet.

"Hmmm! I can say that the night market is the real market for me……… Unlike the daytime where these *aba yee* [municipal guards] will come and disturb you, you do everything on your terms at night, and I can tell you that I make more sales at night than during the day. And it is far, far better because the customers also come". [FGD, 2019].

This also corroborates a finding in a study by Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015), which suggested that the shopping mall has also exposed informal retailers at the night market to customers from different parts of Accra who cannot visit the mall during the daytime for varying reasons. It is also important to note that some participants are contemplating abandoning trading during the day altogether and concentrating on doing business at night because they are increasingly finding it difficult to cope with the high-handedness of the municipal guards as one trader narrates:

"Sure, I will very soon stop the daytime trading and devote all my energy and time to participate in the night market. The hassles with the guards are just too much, giving me mental problems. Every day you'll be thinking about the kind of treatment you will receive for working hard to earn a legitimate income. It isn't worth it at all". [FGD, 2019].

While the night market may have provided some sort of respite for traders to adapt to the new urban governance and management of urban space, it brings to the fore fundamental issues about the immorality of neoliberal globalisation in cities in the global south. Inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) notion of the right to the city, I sought to contrast the nightlife and scenes at the shopping mall with the adjacent emergent night market, as shown in figures 7.16 and 7.17, respectively. And this raises moral questions about who has a right to the city. The quest to transform predominantly informal cities into world-class agglomerations redefines urban citizenship and rights to use and change urban space. Accra's economic and spatial reordering through neoliberal processes is increasingly giving the capitalist and transnational corporations more power and control to transform urban space by marginalising the city's natural citizens. The poor masses striving daily to live and earn livelihoods decently through informal engagements have become social and economic pariahs in the land of their birth. While the glittering lights of the mall, which is operated mainly by international retail firms, illuminate the aesthetics and goods on display inside the mall, Informal retailers, who are the natural citizens of the land working outside the malls' environs to earn a decent living, have had to conduct their business in obscurity just to hide it from the view of city authorities. Their presence and activities have been deemed a nuisance in the globalizing city and the antithesis of urban development and modernisation. Consequently, they are marginalised and pushed to live and work under precarious conditions, including working in unsafe conditions to earn a living.

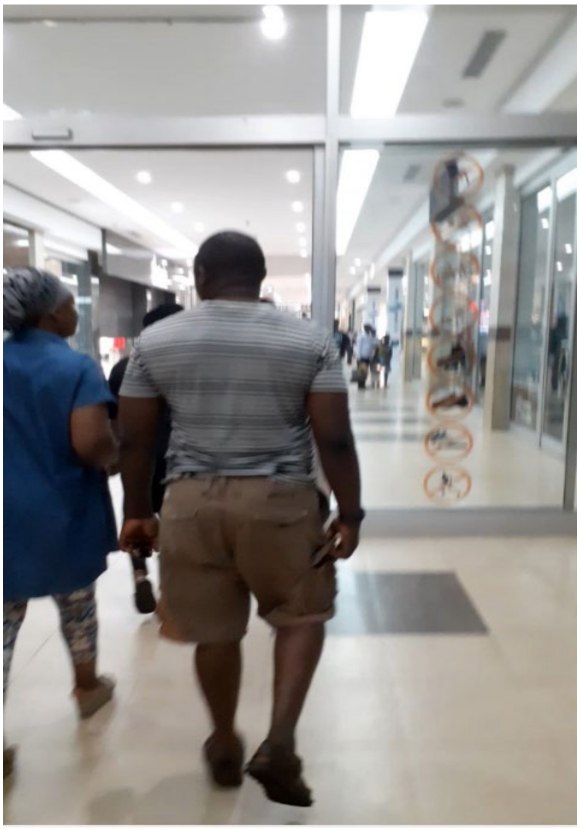


Figure 7. 13 A Night Scene at the Accra Mall. Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Figure 7. 17 Informal Night Market Outside the Accra Mall. Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

7.15 Summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the pivotal role of the Accra Mall in shaping activities going on in its immediate surroundings, specifically informal retailing. The mall's location close to a major road intersection has significantly enhanced the economic viability of the locality. A busy 24-hour transport terminal has also emerged courtesy of the mall, making the area a major transit point for commuting to other places in Accra and beyond. The unprecedented volumes of pedestrian traffic generated by the mall's development have precipitously increased the visibility of petty traders, which reflects structural economic problems on a national scale and the general lack of employment opportunities in the formal urban economy. Informal trading has become the obvious avenue for the urban unemployed to live without opportunities elsewhere. Therefore, a pool of informal traders has ceased on the opportunities enabled by the mall to significantly draw their customers from the transiting public and the mall’s patrons.

The mall draws its customers from people from all walks of life – both the rich and poor patronise it for varying purposes. While shopping remains the main reason for people visiting the mall, the shopping behaviour of mall users has not changed much. Shopping expenditure is still polarised towards traditional shopping outlets, which means a significant amount of households' shopping occurs at conventional commercial centres. The mall has not invested enough in local consumption cultures. As such, the informal retail system outside fills that lacuna. Mall users have therefore sought to extend the mall's boundaries to include the retail formation because of the role it plays in complementing their overall shopping desires and aspirations. Effectively, it has become the external anchor of the shopping mall. The role played by the informal retail structure in sustaining businesses in the mall is also manifested in the mall’s anchor shop, Shoprite’s role in the retail supply chain. Shoprite supplies its products to petty traders in addition to its core retailing business.

Meanwhile, the ethos of the mall outlaws any sort of informal trading within its precinct. The role of the informal retail sector in sustaining the operations of the mall has been firmly confirmed by this study and others. For example, Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015) have argued that without the informal retail sector, the continuity of the mall is seriously threatened.

I have also looked at the trading implications of the spatial transformation for informal retailers. Sales patterns were analysed for the last four years (2016 to 2019). No clear patterns emerged as traders recorded varying changes in sales levels from the previous year. This, for me, shows that the resilience level of the traders is not the same, as some appear to cope better than others.

However, the centrality of the mall in the changing sales patterns was noticeable as it was cited by the majority of the respondents for either the decrease or increase in sales. While the mall has improved the viability of the locality for informal retailers to maximise sales and profits, it is also complicit in the dwindling fortunes of traders. The mall is at the core of Accra's new urban vision, creating a world-class city to attract foreign investments and tourists. A new governance regime has emerged to discipline urban space around the mall to maintain its market value. Revanchist modes of controlling urban space, including forced evictions and confiscation of goods, are used by the local authority to obliterate urban informality. And this is not only destabilising informal retailers but, more importantly, affecting sales.

However, the use-value of the space for the informal traders in the locality means there is no better place in the city for them to conduct their business. To sustain their activities, they have to adapt to the new retail environment and governance processes. The resilience of the traders lies in the unity and solidarity forged among themselves, the good relationship with customers, the cordial relationship some traders have with the municipal guards, and, more importantly, the emergence of the night market. The night market enables informal traders to encroach on public space to reproduce unhindered and quietly.

Chapter8

Emerging Gentrification of a Peri-Urban Frontier: The Impact of the West Hills Mall on Local Neighbourhood Stores.

8.1 Introduction

While the literature on gentrification has mainly focused on inner-city redevelopment schemes, the study of the phenomenon is also gaining currency in peri-urban and rural areas in both the global north and south (See, for example, Marchal et al., 2019; Hubbard, 2017; Hudalah et al., 2016; Qian et al., 2013). Some scholars argue that gentrification is the new global urban development strategy for capital accumulation (Smith, 2002; Cocola-Gant, 2018). In an increasingly neoliberal world, private capital from both local and international sources has been at the forefront of urban modernisation. Accra's western urban fringe, which lies some 20 kilometres away from metropolitan Accra, is the scene of such major urban transformation processes. Both the residential and retail environments are changing precipitously, turning the place into a theatre of intense quality real estate development. The prevailing neoliberal climate and market-oriented urban development strategies in Ghana have emboldened capital investors, both local and foreign, to venture into what used to be part of Accra's rural fringe a few decades ago and turned it into an emerging and sprawling upend residential frontier and middle-class neighbourhoods, with growing modern commercial spaces as they seek to extract value from cheaper rural lands. New gated communities and other luxury real estate developments are springing up and significantly transforming the urban form in Accra's western corridor.

The initial thought of regenerating the western fringe of Accra started with the proposed development of a multi-billion-dollar high-tech city which was to be known as 'the Hope City'. If it had materialised, it would have resulted in the development of a new high-technology industrial city offering employment to about 50, 000 people and residential accommodation to 25,000 people in Accra's western corridor (BBC, 2013). The 10 billion dollar proposed private sector initiative would have built the equivalent of Silicon Valley in the West African city. Dunkonah, the present location of the WHSM was the original site proposed for the development of the new city (Graphic Online, 2013). If this new city had been built, it would have significantly changed the demographic dynamics of the area, but for unknown reasons, the location was changed to Prampram, a town east of Accra. While the vision for a high-tech city in Accra is still alive, it remains an ambitious dream yet to get past the drawing board.

Whatever disappointment the failure to build Hope City brought to those who were waiting for the opportunity to see the development and modernisation of Accra's Western corridor, the development of the WHSM may appear as a consolation as it somewhat filled the void, which to a certain extend fulfilled the aspirations of city authorities and the vision they had for the area. As the biggest modern retail centre in Accra, WHSM has emerged as the catalyst for intense land use transformation from primary economic uses such as agriculture to luxury residential and commercial real estate property, creating new urban forms in the surrounding areas (Agyeman, 2018; Quagraine et al., 2016). While the location of such a prestigious commercial space in a place far removed from central Accra and semi-rural in character defies the business model of commercial property investors and retail entrepreneurs, which is often driven by market logic, the developers of WHSM had their vision and expectations set out in their terms. As noted by Eduful (2021), the motivation of the planners and developers of the mall was to use it as a catalyst to enhance the market for luxury residential property in the western part of Accra. And indeed, this was the aspiration of the originator of the idea. According to Eduful (2019), the local entrepreneur who masterminded the development of the shopping mall saw commercial upgrading as a springboard to boost his residential real estate business, Sandpark Properties Limited. Elsewhere in the literature, retail gentrification has been shown to enormously engender residential gentrification (Zukin, 2009). By implication, this was an attempt to change the demographic and economic structure of the population of a locale by using real estate. In this case, luxury commercial space and residential facilities are only affordable to the highest echelons of society.

West Hills Mall is the product of a public-private partnership venture between a quasi-state corporation, Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), which manages pension funds with a 40% stake. A consortium of a local real estate developer, Sandpark Limited, and a South African property investment company, Atterbury Group, formed Delico Property Development Limited and holds the remaining 60% share. SSNIT and Sandpark Limited also have a vested interest in the residential property market. Both have been instrumental in developing high-end residential properties in the neighbourhood. Sandpark Properties also has stocks of luxury guest houses in the neighbourhood known as Sandpark place with foreign tourists as its targeted market.

One remarkable footprint of capital investments in the real estate sector in the mall's neighbourhood is the Eden Heights Gated Community and the Fortune City. Both have a complement of recreational facilities such as swimming pools, tennis courts, gyms, restaurants, and bars. Eden Height is a luxury residential enclave five minutes' walk from the mall (See Figure 8.1 below for the gated community). The Eden Heights community is a joint venture between Amandi Construction Service which is affiliated with the Amandi Group with its headquarters in Cyprus and SNNIT, Ghana's pension funds manager. Fortune City is a sprawling luxury residential development in the neighbourhood which currently has 150 acres of land fully developed and serviced out of a total of 1000 acres earmarked for residential properties west of Accra. The developer, Sunda International is a Chinese Company with other investment portfolios in Ghana with its headquarters in Guangzhou, China. Notable among its luxury residential development is the Diamond Villa which comprises detached and semi-detached 3 and 4 bedrooms houses with prices ranging between $230,000 and $435,000, per some social media reports. A sectional view of the Fortune City is shown in Figure 8.2 below.

Figure 8. 1 A section of the Plush Eden Height Gated Community with Modern Recreational Facilities.
Source: https://edenheights.com.gh/about-us/

Figure 8. 2 A View of the Entrance to the Luxurious Diamond Villa at the Fortune City.

Source: https://twitter.com/city_fortune?lang=en

Hypothetically, the ongoing spatial transformation of the neighbourhood into luxurious residential enclaves, means that a growing number of the high to middle-class population is increasingly filling these new spaces and displacing the long-term rural or semi-rural folks who have been residents for generations. The ongoing transformation in the built environment and the changing social structure of the population at Accra's western corridor appropriately fits into the concept of urban gentrification and, in this case, the gentrification of a peri-urban enclave. In its broadest sense, gentrification is a "socioeconomic process accompanying any land-use change from a low to a relatively high functional value" (Hudalah et al., 2016 p.594). Typically, the process involves replacing poor and working-class people with those of relatively higher socioeconomic status. Putting WHSM and the general transformation that has occurred in the neighbourhood into context, the implications of the new and imposing urban form for people whose livelihoods significantly depended on the previous social and economic order is critical and imperative to explore. A sectional view of the WHSM is shown below in figure 8.3.

Figure 8. 3 Front View of the West Hills Shopping Mall. Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

8.2 Neighbourhoods and Retail-led Gentrification

The term 'Gentrification' has often been associated with the residential real estate market, particularly the development of upscale residential properties by private developers in disinvested and decaying neighbourhoods in core urban areas ostensibly to close the 'rent gap' and profit hugely from such capital investments (Smith, 1987; Atkinson, 2000; Freeman and Braconi, 2004). Bridging the 'rent gap' as theorised by smith (1987) arises when real estate developers invest capital in the development of luxurious residential properties to shore up the value of landed properties in poor and undervalued neighbourhoods in inner cities to exploit the rent gap. The socio-economic transformation accompanying such investments often adversely affects long-term and original inhabitants of the gentrified neighbourhood, who are mostly poor and working-class people. Subsequently, they are replaced by a new social class: the middle-upper income class which can afford the inflated values of the properties. Recently, the salience of commercial properties such as the modernisation of the retail environment has received attention in the gentrification literature, not only from academics but importantly from commentators on urban social justice (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Gonzalez, 2020; Zukin, 2019, Zukin, 2009; Mermet, 2017; Hubbard, 2017; Guimaraes, 2019). In reiterating Smith's (2006) "generalised gentrification" thesis, Mermet (2017), sought to blur that dichotomy between residential and commercial gentrification by situating the concept of gentrification in a broader "global urban strategy" framework, in which capital penetrates all facets of urban development in the context of emerging "neoliberal urban policies". Gentrification, therefore, transcends the reconfiguration of the residential landscape and includes other elements of the urban form such as new commercial spaces like shopping malls, restaurants, waterfront parks, etc. as the cutting edge of urban transformation. To this end, Mermet (2016 p.1160), offers a loose definition of gentrification and places emphasis on the role of "retail capital" in the "intensification" of the gentrification process as; "the physical and socioeconomic upgrading of a neighbourhood, involving the displacement or replacement of a former deprived group by a wealthier and more powerful one and the reinvestment of global capital into these neighbourhoods."

However, Zukin (2009), observed that, unlike residential gentrification, retail gentrification tended to be readily embraced by long-term and impoverished residents of the gentrified neighbourhood. This is because the long history of disinvestment, particularly in a retail development that such a neighbourhood has experienced makes the new retail investments appear as an imperative that is readily accepted and greeted with approval. While the new stores may offer quality and top international brands of goods and services to residents in the neighbourhood, such ostentatious and luxury products may not be affordable to the long-term poor residents, yet it is appreciated as a representation of development. More significantly, the modernisation of the retail landscape in historically disinvested neighbourhoods is hailed by all and sundry as the 'urban renaissance' that is expected to spur economic growth and development despite the telling negative consequences it may have on traditional stores (Zukin et al., 2009; Hubbard, 2016). Nonetheless, the links between residential and commercial gentrification are said to be strong and mutually sustaining (Riley-Duffy, 2019).

Distinctively, the role of retail in the gentrification of neighbourhoods is said to be more "subtle and progressive" over time and space (Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Zukin, 2009; Mermet, 2017). As Zukin et al. (2009), observed in their study of two neighbourhoods in New York (Harlem and Williamsburg) from 1979 to 2006, retail change was dynamic over the time frame with "new retail entrepreneurs" taking advantage of the changing population and their socioeconomic orientation in the neighbourhood. These were mainly local and small retail chains or shops owned by the residents who have been motivated by the prevailing economic opportunity and the emerging market in the neighbourhood to invest in retail products that satisfy the lifestyle and consumption culture of the emergent population. With time, more experienced retailers, and "corporate retail" investors (chain store operators) also move in, to open branches in these neighbourhoods. While existing local and small independent retail stores serving the needs of long-term residents of the gentrified neighbourhood may not be eliminated by the process of retail transformation, they are brought under considerable pressure which notoriously threatens their survival (Zukin et al., 2009). Concurring with this interpretation, Mermet (2017, p.1162), also opined that retail gentrification is a progressive process involving the replacement of "small local independent stores by small entrepreneurial capital, which are themselves progressively replaced by corporate retail capital".

The consumption practices and lifestyle of the new inhabitants in the neighbourhood who are mostly in the middle to upper-class echelons of society have been the defining moment of retail change and gentrification. The emergent consumption subculture transforms the neighbourhood into "specific consumer spaces" (Mermet, 2017; Zukin and Kosta, 2004), which renders existing small independent retail shops catering to the needs of poor long-term residents redundant and irrelevant in the gentrified neighbourhood. It has also been observed that these stores tend to lose a significant share of their customers occasioned by gentrification and displacement of long-term residents, particularly as residential upgrading fuels high real estate values which fall beyond the means of the poor residents. Hikes in commercial real estate prices in the gentrified neighbourhood can also place a considerable strain on small independent shopkeepers as rents add significantly to the cost of operation, making such businesses not viable and unprofitable in the neighbourhood (Mermet, 2017; Zukin et al., 2009). The consequence for these vulnerable small retail operators is that they are forced to either close or be displaced and relocate to a different area where rents may be comparatively lower.

While the retail gentrification literature has mainly focused on cases in inner cities, development, and the transformation ongoing around the WHSM are indicative of a location that is experiencing gentrification, albeit in its infancy stages. Since the opening of the flagship retail centre in 2014 major transformations in the built environment (residential and commercial) have occurred in the mall's neighbourhood, particularly the emergence of modern commercial spaces which is significantly diversifying the retail fabric. Retail entrepreneurs and corporate investors are at the forefront of the reordering of the retail landscape in the neighbourhood. At the same time, there is growing evidence to suggest that small independent and local shops that used to serve long-term residents in the neighbourhood are increasingly becoming susceptible to the new urban form, particularly the changing retail environment and the accompanying increases in ground rent.

In this chapter, I explore these processes of peri-urban land use transformation by placing Accra's largest state-of-the-art shopping facility, the WHSM at the centre of this transformation to explain how it affects nearby local and small-scale traditional retail forms, within a kilometre radius. The first section sought to understand the impact from the perspective of the consumers and users of the mall by analysing their behaviourial patterns regarding the use. Particular attention focuses on patterns of their shopping behaviour and motivations both in the mall and outside the mall environment, with a special focus on attitudes towards retail establishments in the malls' immediate surroundings. The second section focuses on the nearby retail establishments to understand the extent to which the transformation in the neighbourhood and the mall has impacted their trading and other business-related activities. The resilience of traders in doing business close to such an iconic retail facility and a changing neighbourhood is also examined and analysed in the latter sections of the chapter.

8.3 The Profile of WHSM Users Surveyed

Apart from its reputation as the largest modern retail centre in Accra, not much is known about WHSM's patrons as compared with ASM. However, it is common knowledge that the footfall on the latter is unambiguously higher than WHSM. The proximity of the ASM to central Accra and its location next to a major road intersection in the city makes it easily accessible to the majority of the population in and outside Accra. Conversely, the WHSM, which is situated in a fast-transforming peri-urban area and far removed from the city's metropolitan area appears seemingly less accessible to a chuck of Accra's population residing close to the central part of the city, particularly those who rely on public transport system. It is however instructive to know that WHSM is situated in the growing and densely populated Ga South municipality, which according to the recently held population census was the fastest urbanising area in Accra (GSS, 2021). The sprawling municipality technically merges into Kasoa in the Awutu Senya East Municipal area across Accra's western regional boundary with the central region of Ghana (Eminsang, 2011). Kasoa's high urbanisation rate and population growth are linked to its geographical proximity to Accra and its growing function as a "dormitory town-accommodating Accra's spill over population" (Doe et al., 2022) Thus, while WHSM is in a peri-urban location relatively far away from central Accra, its closeness to the fastest growing and urbanising western corridor draws it in proximity to a potential source of market.

Like the ASM case study, a non-random sampling technique through mall intercepts was adopted to select participants for the study. Questionnaires were given to a total of 116 mall visitors who indicated their willingness to participate in the study. However, fifty-two questionnaires were completed and returned. This represents a response rate of about 45% which is comparably higher than the response rate achieved for the ASM case study. Significantly, male participants were dominant representing about 60% of the respondents while females constituted the remaining 40%. This is almost like the ASM study where male representation was also overwhelming. Similarly, WHSM appears to be popular with the active and working population as patronage is highest among the 41 to 60 years (35%) and 18 to 40 years (33%) cohorts. Younger people under 18 years and senior citizens over 60 years are the least represented in the sample with about 15% and 17% respectively. Regarding the educational level attained, half of the respondents (50%) had achieved some tertiary level of education while a significant number also had a senior secondary level of education (27%). At the lower level of the educational ladder, only about 10% and 14% of the respondents indicated they have achieved junior secondary and primary levels of education. Unlike the ASM case, none of the respondents indicated they have no education. In terms of the distance travelled to access the mall, the majority of the respondents (33%) indicated they travelled between 2 to 10 kilometers to access the mall, while about 29% also travelled between a distance of 11 to 25 kilometers to reach the centre. Quite a significant number of the respondents, about a quarter (25%) also indicated they travelled more than 25 kilometers to access the mall, which also demonstrates WHSM's status as a regional shopping centre like the ASM. Only 13% of the respondents indicated they lived less than 2 kilometers from the mall. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (62%) travelled in their car, whereas about 27% did so using public transport. Only 11% of the respondents indicated they walked to the mall. This finding suggests that the majority of the mall's patrons belong to the middle to high-income class who can afford to own a car in a predominantly poverty-endemic society where vehicle ownership is still a luxury. Table 8.1 and Figure 8.4 below give a summary of the profile of WHSM users who participated in this study.

Gender		Age				Educational Level					Distance Travelled				Transport		
Male	Female	Less than 18	18 to 40	41 to 60	More than 60	No education	Primary	Junior High	Senior High	Tertiary	under 2km	2 to 10km	11 to 25km	Over 25km	Own transport	public transport	walking
31	21	8	17	18	9	0	7	5	14	27	7	17	15	13	32	14	6

Table 8. 1 The Profile of WHSM Users Surveyed. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

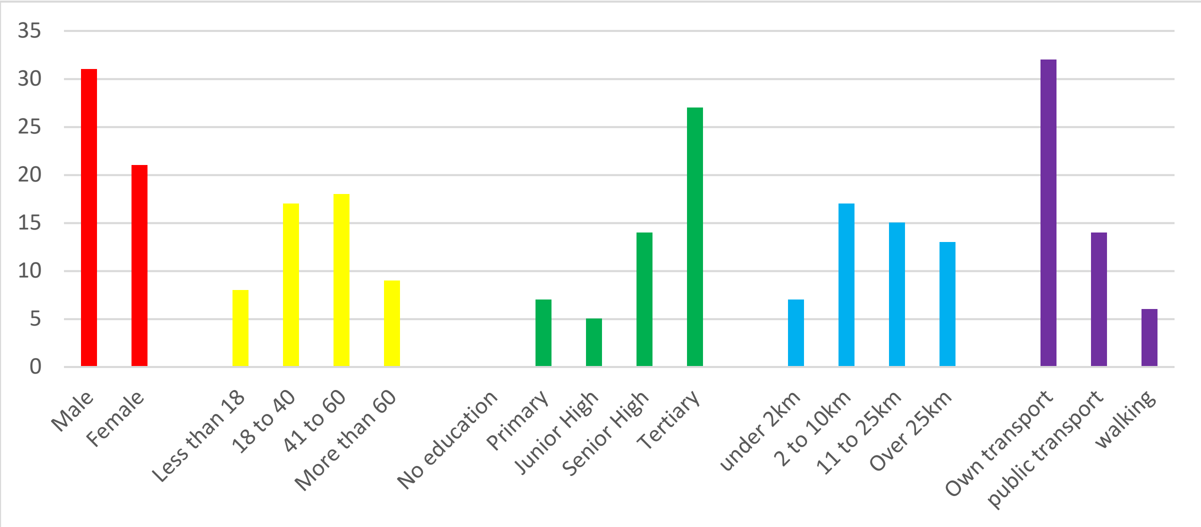


Figure 8. 4 The Profile of WHSM Users Surveyed. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019

8.4 WHSM Users and Consumption Behaviour

This section focuses on the behaviour of WHSM users by analysing how the mall is used and for what purposes, the frequency of the visits, types of products patronised, shopping and expenditure patterns in the mall, and more importantly the motivations for using the mall. It also looks at how mall users respond to traditional and existing retail forms after being exposed to the use of shopping malls. In this regard, the frequency of visits to other retail outlets and more importantly the use of retail outlets in proximity to the mall is also highlighted to provide a comprehensive understanding of how shopping behaviour is transformed by the imperatives of modernisation and globalisation of consumption cultures. The role of the mall in shaping shopping and consumer identities is also analysed in this section through the lived experiences shared by participants in this study and my observations of activities inside and outside the mall environment.

8.4.1 Frequency of Trips to the Mall

A good number of the respondents in the study visited the mall frequently. This represents over 34% of mall users who made trips at least once a week. This finding is also comparable to the ASM study where 31% of respondents indicated they made trips to the mall regularly. However, those who indicated they visited once a month (same) constituted only 23% of the respondents which is almost twice less than what was reported by ASM users for the same pattern of visits. While a little over 15% of the respondents reported visiting the mall less frequently, which is defined in this study as visits once every 6 months, an equal number indicated they made trips to the centre more frequently (twice or more per week). Contrasting this with the ASM findings, a lot more users visited WHSM less regularly compared with just 1% for the ASM. Distance could be a factor in explaining this wide variation. ASM is relatively centrally located and easily accessible to the majority of Accra's population, which also translates into less cost of transport compared with WHSM which is located quite a distance from central Accra. Surprisingly, respondents who indicated they visited the mall somehow less frequently (once every 3 months) were significantly less than what was reported by the ASM users, 11.5% against 15.5%. Figure 8.5 below shows the frequency of trips made to the mall by respondents.

The relationship between the frequency of the visits made by mall users and the means of transport used for the trips was also analysed to see if there are any meaningful patterns and associations between the two variables. As shown in Figure 8.6 below, mall users with their own transport were the regular visitors to the mall and they did so either every month, frequently (once every week), or more frequently (twice or more in a week) than mall users who depended on public transport or walked. While this is understandable as transport ownership can facilitate regular visits, it is less clear why a comparatively higher number of car-owning mall visitors reported making less frequent visits to the mall than the other categories. This is in sharp contrast to the ASM case where none of the car-owning respondents reported less frequent visits.

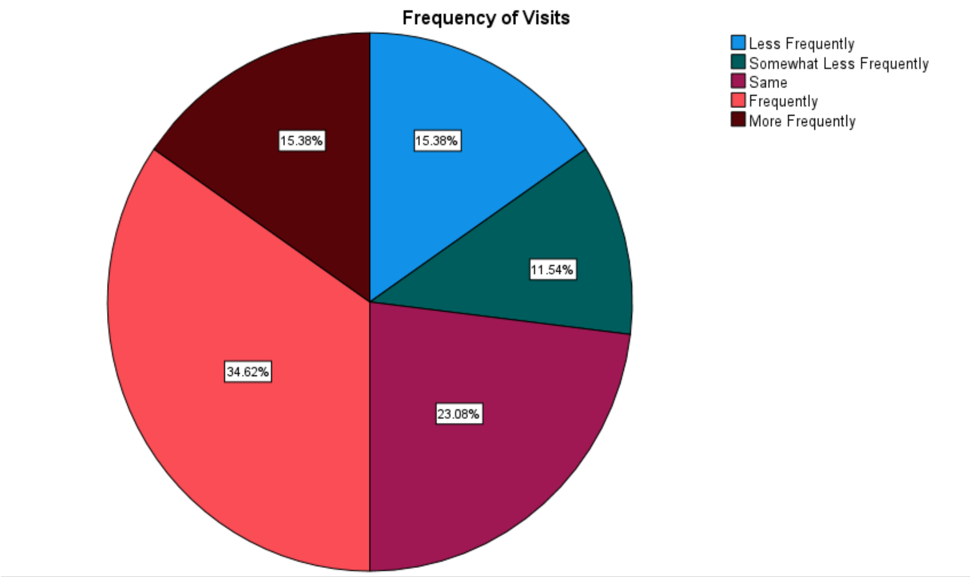


Figure 8. 5 Frequency of Trips by WHSM Users. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

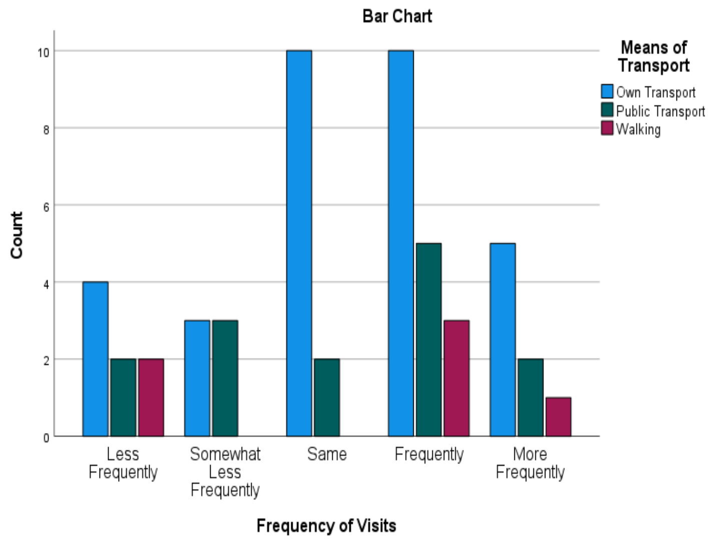


Figure 8. 6 Frequency of Trips by Means of Transport. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

8.4.2 Purposes for which the Mall is Visited

Just like the Accra Mall, WHSM is used for diverse purposes by its clients. In this section, I present the purposes for which users of WHSM visit. The responses obtained from users of WHSM appear to follow the same pattern as the ASM. Shopping remains the main reason why users visited the mall as it was cited more than any of the other reasons, by 85% of respondents. This is however relatively lower than the ASM case study where over 90% of the participants visiting the mall said it was for shopping purposes. Leisure and Entertainment also garnered quite substantial responses from participants as over 67% of the respondents indicated they use the mall for that purpose. Again, this is lower than the ASM response rate in comparative terms. Socialization is the third most cited reason given for using the mall, with an almost 60% response rate. Like the ASM, the lowest cited reasons for visits are window shopping and business purposes which had 32% and 30.3% response rates respectively (see Figure 8.7 below for the purposes mall users cited for visiting). Users of WHSM have demonstrated a comparatively lower response rate for all the purposes which informed their decision to visit the mall, and this can be explained by the relative proximity of potential competitors in the neighbourhood. For example, the location of a branch of the indigenous modern retail chain operator, Melcom Stores next to the mall could be the mediating factor, given its popularity nationwide and as one of the top modern retailers in the country.

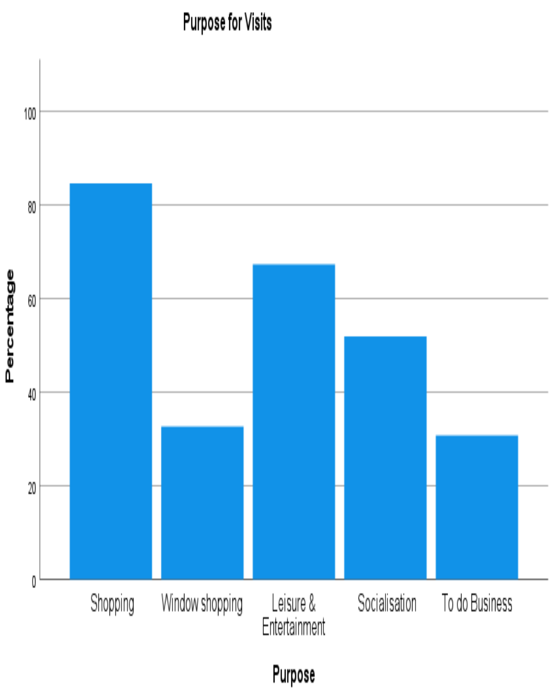


Figure 8. 7 Purpose for Visiting the Mall. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

8.5 Shopping Behaviour and Identities of WHSM Users

This section attempts to understand the changes that have occurred in mall users' shopping behaviour since they started visiting the mall. I analyse both the in-mall shopping behaviour of respondents and attitudes towards other retail establishments, particularly those in the mall's immediate surroundings. To achieve these, the analysis focused on certain defined variables used as indicators of shopping behaviour, which include frequency of trips made for shopping purposes, expenditure patterns in the mall, and types of commodities often patronised in the mall. The analysis also focused on mall users' patronage of other retail formats to identify behavioural changes towards traditional and existing retail forms since they started shopping in the mall. To this end, I focused on the frequency of visits made to these other retail shops, neighbourhood shopping, and the frequency of shopping, and shops often used in the neighbourhood other than the mall. An in-depth interview with mall shoppers to gain more insight into the explanatory reasoning behind the behavioural patterns from shared experiences forms a critical part of the analysis. My observations of how shoppers conduct themselves in the mall and how they use other retail forms outside the mall also add up to enrich the understanding of consumer behaviour towards different retail formats.

8.5.1 In-Mall Shopping Patterns and Behaviour

Table 8.2 below summarises the patterns in which the mall is used for shopping purposes by respondents. Unlike the Accra Mall users, WHSM respondents demonstrated frequent use of the mall for shopping purposes (multiple shopping visits in a month) as over 44% indicated they did so. An equally significant number (32.7%) of the respondents also shopped at the mall at least once every month. Put together this means an overwhelming majority of respondents effectively patronised WHSM, and shopping featured on top of the agenda for those visits. A resident of the neighbourhood for the past six years who is also a frequent shopper at the mall averred that the retail facility presents him with the opportunity to live a self-fulfilling life as a resident of a gated community by closely drawing the state-of-the-art retail facility as part of the new community he lives:

"I live in a gated community now, which for me is like a different world altogether from the one I used to live in Accra……. How can I be shopping in the old and traditional shopping areas when I am a resident of such a community? It is like an adult who is always found playing with kids on the street…... The mall is part of this new-found world, and it is the market that suits this community. As such, I shop here regularly and only shop outside for products that are not available here [in the mall]." [Interview with Mall User 2019].

As a burgeoning middle-income community, it may not be surprising that many more users of the mall, particularly residents in the neighbouring plush communities also share similar views as the above interviewee. The existence of malls has been a major driving force for some middle to high-income people eager to seek residence in a seemingly less developed peripheral location such as Dunkonah, a community far removed from the city's economic hub, and an area generally bereft of good public infrastructures such as roads and water supply. Nonetheless, investors in luxury residential properties such as gated communities have developed a strong preference for locations closer to major shopping malls in Accra and have capitalised on their existence as a major marketing tool to promote their properties to middle-class consumers. Indeed, lands close to such malls are highly sought after by residential property developers, and the Ghanaian media space, both print and electronic have become replete with advertisements on such upscale residential properties, putting closeness to shopping malls at the centre stage of these advertisements as a marketing strategy. The WHSM resonates with this location branding as echoed by a frequent user of the mall for shopping purposes:

"…… I will say, the decision to move here was greatly influenced by the mall. I have come to like doing my shopping in malls and West Hills presented the opportunity for me to take up residence around this area……… the location is so convenient, and I can make my regular shopping visits with no hassles at all." [Interview with Mall User 2019].

However, shopping expenditure patterns appear to be inconsistent with the high frequent shopping visits. A reasonable majority of respondents, about 39% barely spend more than 24% of their monthly household shopping expenditure in the mall while an equally significant number of them (25%) also indicated they spent less than 10% of their monthly shopping expenditure in the mall. This is surprising as one would have expected that mall users' frequent visits to the centre for shopping purposes as indicated earlier would have invariably translated into higher shopping spending occurring in the mall and taking a significant portion of the household's monthly shopping expenditure. Just a little over 19% of the respondents indicated that shopping in the mall accounted for between 25 to 50% of their monthly shopping expenditure and around 17% of the mall users also actually spent more than 50% of their monthly shopping budget in the mall. The generally low in-mall shopping expenditure patterns are indicative of an overwhelming portion of the household shopping expenditure taking place in other retail establishments outside the mall environment. This finding is consistent with the ASM case study where respondents demonstrated a similar pattern of shopping spending. Since the scope of this study is only limited to just the surrounding retail forms within a kilometer radius of the mall, an attempt has been made in the next section to analyse and understand which stores in the study area are attracting this spending and benefiting from mall users.

Regarding goods often patronised by shoppers in the mall, household, and personal care products feature prominently as close to 33% of the respondents indicated it is the goods they often purchase from the mall. Grocery also falls in line, as the second most important product acquired by almost 27% of shoppers. However, food and drinks, and consumer durables are the least patronised goods, with 19% of respondents saying they are the products they often buy from the mall. This is in stark contrast to the ASM case study where grocery was the most important product patronised by 31% of respondents whilst food and drinks also featured as the next important items bought by 28% of the respondents.

In terms of what motivates mall users to shop at the mall, three factors stand out clearly as the most important reasons mall users shop at the retail centre. Product quality, parking and convenience, and product brand were cited more than any of the other mall attributes. Product quality was cited by 21% of the respondents as the main compelling reason they shopped at the mall, while Parking convenience and product brand followed in the order of importance with about 17% and 15% of the respondents identifying with these reasons respectively. What appears distinct from the ASM finding is the greater number of respondents who cited parking and convenience as a major factor in their decision to shop at the mall, a reason which was understated and not identified by ASM users as an important issue. This is not surprising given the profile of the users of the two venues- WHSM users are more likely to have their means of transport and would find parking as an important factor in deciding to visit and shop than ASM users where quite a significant number of visitors use the public transport system. It is also indicative of WHSM being more aligned with middle and high-income shoppers than its counterpart. While leisure and entertainment, value for money, and to some extent security, are also important reasons cited by respondents, factors such as prestige, customer service, and in-store promotions did not appear to be significant reasons for shopping at the mall.

Shopping Frequency %		% of Total Shopping Expenditure Per Month		Kind of Product Purchased %		Motivation for Shopping in Mall %	
Less	9.6	> 10%	25.0	Food & Drinks	19.2	Product Quality	21.2
Somewhat Less	13.5	10 – 24%	38.5	Grocery	26.9	Product Brand	15.4
Same	32.7	25 – 50%	19.2	Household & Personal Care	32.7	Value for Money	11.5
Frequently	44.2	< 50%	17.3	Consumer Durables	19.2	Prestige	3.8
				Other	1.9	Convenience & Parking	17.3
						Leisure & Ent.	11.5
						Security	9.6
						Customer Service	5.8
						Promotions	3.8
Total	**100%**		**100%**		**100%**		**100%**

Table 8. 2 Shopping at WHSM. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

8.5.2 Emergent Consumption Gentrifiers: The Use of Neighbourhood Stores and Other Retail Forms by WHSM Users.

WHSM user respondents just like their Accra Mall counterparts have demonstrated commitment to using other retail venues besides the mall for shopping purposes. Indeed, the response was equally overwhelming as almost 81% of the survey respondents indicated they use other shopping venues in addition to shopping at the mall. However, there were varied responses to the question of how frequent shopping visits were made to these other retail stores after they started using the mall for shopping purposes. While an appreciable majority of the mall shoppers represented by about 30% of the respondents indicated that shopping visits to these other retail venues have not changed, quite a significant number of the respondents also reported either a significant reduction in visits (25% responses) or somewhat reduced visits (15.4% responses) to other shopping areas since they started using the mall. In contrast, a little over 19% of the respondents did indicate that their visits to other retail venues have rather increased while close to 10% also found those trips significantly increased as they navigated between different shopping venues.

One key objective of this study is to investigate how proximate retail venues have been affected by mall users' shopping behaviour. The use of neighbourhood stores is exceedingly high among the survey participants as more than 73% indicated they shop in the neighbourhood. This compares to just 49% of ASM users who reported using nearby retail venues. Understandably, WHSM is surrounded by formal retail outlets, and it makes sense for them to appeal to mall shoppers more than the case of ASM, which has informal petty traders as its closest neighbours. In terms of how often shoppers use neighbourhood stores, close to a quarter of all the survey participants (28.8%) were reluctant to respond to this question and didn't provide information on this. However, it appears neighbourhood shopping venues are frequently used by a relatively high number of mall users as indicated by 36.5% of the survey participants who mentioned they shopped in the neighbourhood, and it is also more frequently used by a little over 17% of the participants. Significantly, a good number of the respondents also used neighbourhood retail venues moderately high as reported by 17.3% of the survey participants. Unlike the ASM case study where 1.4% and 15.5% of the respondents reported using neighbourhood shops less frequently and somewhat less frequently respectively, none of the WHSM survey participants indicated shopping in the neighbourhood less frequently.

This study further attempted to establish the neighbourhood shops often patronised by mall users and their reasons for doing so. Respondents were asked to indicate the store they usually visit in the neighbourhood for shopping purposes other than the mall. And as illustrated in table 8.3 below, shopping trips to stores in the neighbourhood were polarised towards modern retail shops such as department stores and supermarkets. More trips were made to these retail formats than any other shopping form in the area. Almost 54% of the respondents who said they shopped in the neighbourhood indicated using a department store while a little over 21% also said they patronised supermarkets. However, those who mentioned small independent stores as the format they often used in the locality only constituted about 4% of the respondents. Although some of the neighbourhood stores mentioned by the respondents fall outside the study area (defined as one Kilometre radius of the mall), two retail shops in the study area featured prominently and were cited more than any other stores in the neighbourhood often used by the respondents. Melcom store (Weija branch)- a department store operated as part of an indigenous chain store nationally and Dreambel supermarket- a foreign-owned shop are the most mentioned retail stores often used by respondents in the study area. The top 5 neighbourhood stores in the study area cited by respondents as the shops they often shopped at are illustrated in Figure 8.8 below. Altogether about 67% of the neighbourhood shoppers identified these stores as the shops they often do their shopping in the study area. While the Melcom store was mentioned by over 32% of these neighbourhood shoppers, 13.5% of the respondents identified Dreambel Supermarket as the neighbourhood retailer they often shopped at. KFC- a popular international fast-food franchise with a presence in several countries globally has an outlet in the neighbourhood, with almost 10% of respondents indicating they often use the eatery on shopping trips. Significantly, neighbourhood shoppers (7.7%) also patronised H&M Timber and Hardware Limited, an indigenous Ghanaian chain store with a specialty in the supply of luxury furniture and timber products. Although of limited usage by respondents, Nasco Electronics, a local chain store involved in the dealership of international brands of electronic gadgets. Particularly Samsung products were also attractive to about 4% of mall users who shopped in the neighbourhood.

Whereas the modern retail establishments (Chain stores and supermarkets) in the neighbourhood are becoming popular with mall visitors and used significantly by respondents for shopping purposes, small independent retail shops appear to be unattractive to this group of shoppers. And despite their dominance, small local shops in the study area are less patronised by mall users as this study has uncovered. In a neighbourhood that is increasingly undergoing demographic and social transformation due to the increasing numbers of middle and high-income urbanites taking residency in the locality, the process of retail gentrification appears to be on the horizon. In this regard, I argue that WHSM users are at the forefront of driving the process in the neighbourhood with their consumption practices. Given its regional status and the fact that it occupies the topmost position in the retail hierarchy in the neighbourhood, WHSM's influence on consumer behaviour is telling. It is significantly shaping mall users' attitudes towards other retail establishments in the neighbourhood. Whilst over 39% of the respondents described the influence of the mall on their shopping behaviour in the neighbourhood as significant, close to 30% of them found it to be very significant. Only 7% said it was less important whereas about 24% stated it was somewhat less important.

Significantly, mall users are getting accustomed to product quality and brands as they shop in the mall. This attribute acquired from the mall most importantly determines which neighbourhood store is used for shopping. Mall users are increasingly becoming selective in their choice of store for shopping, particularly so, with shops dealing in comparable goods and services as the mall. In this regard, goods sold in modern retail formats such as department stores and supermarkets are regarded as of good quality and similar standard as those in the mall. On the other hand, products sold in small local shops in the neighbourhood are associated with inferiority and of less value to the consumer. As such, modern retail spaces in the neighbourhood such as Melcom store and Dreambel supermarket are, for example, receiving more patronage from mall shoppers as their products are deemed as of good quality and international standard than those available in small local shops in the neighbourhood. One regular mall shopper who also uses the neighbourhood shops regularly articulated it this way:

"I think the mall has come to set the standard for what the consumer is always looking out for in a store. And for me, it is about the quality of the product and the brand which can only be provided by modern and well-established retailers. This is more than anything else and it is the reason I also shop regularly at Melcom." [Interview with Mall User, 2019].

However, it is also worth noting that whereas the consumption lifestyle of mall users and the middle class in general increasingly gravitate towards global brands and ostentatious products, some elite consumers are sensitive to prices. This price impulse means they move from store to store comparing prices and buying good quality products at relatively cheaper prices. This is somewhat weakening allegiance to mall shopping as interest shifts towards other modern retail establishments in the neighbourhood. While shoppers continue to use the mall, more shopping visits are being re-directed to other modern stores where goods sell cheaper. In this regard, the Melcom store has become a major beneficiary of this attitudinal shift in shopping behaviour as some mall users extend their shopping adventures to buy comparatively cheaper goods from the nation's premiere retailer. Melcom stores appear to have a comparative urge over its competitors in terms of prices of some of its products which are cheaper than similar ones obtainable elsewhere. And for some consumers, this is the overarching motivation for choosing a shopping destination.

"I love the Mall and I like shopping in the mall! But I am also overly concerned about prices. So, I shop around for cheaper and quality goods……. And when it comes to price I think Melcom comes first as most of their products are cheaper as compared to similar goods in the mall and the other stores." [Interview with Mall User, 2019].

As the literature also seems to suggest, car ownership has become an important motivator for contemporary shopping visits as the phenomenon increasingly turns into a family or household affair, who are seeking to explore and enjoy the whole experience associated with modern-day shopping. Particularly so with an increasing number of retail developments sited in non-traditional commercial locations or out of existing town or city centres. The ease and convenience that car ownership significantly facilitates enhance the shopping experience enormously. As this study has already demonstrated, mall users with their means of transport tended to embark on frequent visits to the mall more than those using public transport or walking. WHSM has a huge parking space, big enough to accommodate all its clients at any given period with surplus spaces always available. And as previously outlined in this study, it is one of the major reasons respondents visited the mall. Essentially, the availability of parking spaces has also become an important consideration by these middle-class mall visitors for the choice of other retail stores in the neighbourhood. As such, this category of shoppers has developed a higher preference for stores with access to parking spaces than those with limited accessibility. While the bigger and well-established stores such as Melcom and Dreambel have parking spaces for their customers, most of the small independent stores in the neighbourhood lack this facility. Although parking spaces may be limited, the consequence is that middle-class mall users' proclivity for shopping in big stores apart from the mall in the neighbourhood is essentially borne out of a new shopping culture predicated on the hedonic value of shopping as families seek to enjoy themselves outside the home and where car usage is of vital importance.

"We often do the shopping together as a family and using the car is a necessity in this regard. Going out together in the family car is not just for shopping. It also allows us to take a break away from the monotony associated with the home environment and enjoy what is out there…….. Without the car, it is impossible to do all these…….The Mall is family-friendly as there are always spaces here for us to park and get in there to shop. Similarly, we also use the other big shops in this neighbourhood regularly because of the availability of parking spaces, which most of the small shops don't have." [Interview with Mall User, 2019].

Significantly, the availability of surplus parking spaces at the mall has also benefited nearby shops as shoppers park and trek for a relatively short distance to acquire goods and services from these stores. Melcom and KFC appear to be the most beneficiaries because of their strategic closeness to the mall. Only a narrow street in the neighbourhood separates these two stores from the mall. Characteristically, it is not uncommon to see some mall users leave their cars at the mall park and cross the road to shop at other retail venues in the neighbourhood. My observations depict shoppers holding shopping bags as they return to their cars. Most shoppers had returned to their cars from the direction of the two adjoining shops- Melcom store and KFC. While WHSM has its food court with cafes and restaurants, KFC appears to be establishing itself as the most popular fast-food joint in the neighbourhood considering the high number of people who patronise it. It draws its customers not only from mall users but more importantly residents of the neighbourhood. Patronage reaches its peak mostly in the evenings when the hall is often filled with customers beyond its carrying capacity. The sheer number of people, particularly families converging on such a global chain restaurant to have dinner suggests a gradual departure from the typical traditional Ghanaian way of life which ensures that at least the evening meal is homemade. The unfolding scenes at the restaurant and the neighbourhood at large are manifestly pushing the boundaries of consumption lifestyles towards the global norm, where 'take away' and 'eating outside' the home is becoming the established culture. The popularisation of 'globalised foods' such as hamburgers and chicken and chips in third-world societies has been closely linked to income and residential mobility (Chevalier, 2015). The linkages between social status, residential mobility, and consumption lifestyle are highlighted by one regular KFC patron- "It reflects my status. I live in a high-class residential area, shop at this mall, and it will be out of character for me to eat at a place like a chop bar (a reference to a local restaurant)." The surge in the new middle-class residents and their elite lifestyle in the neighbourhood is what is driving the high patronage which has also necessitated expansion work being carried out to accommodate the rising numbers. The expansion works ongoing at KFC are shown in Figure 8.9 below.

As the burgeoning middle-class and high-income residents in the neighbourhood seek to authenticate their consumption lifestyle in commercial establishments in the neighbourhood, a new identity and image are not only being defined and imposed on the place by the elite shoppers' consumption lifestyle in the neighbourhood, but more importantly, it throws a big challenge to existing local retail stores, particularly small-scale retailers that are not up to the new standard. The consumption practices of the new middle class are engendering the proliferation of new retail spaces distinct from the existing and traditional community shops. Small independent retailers may not have the resources to quickly adapt to the emerging consumption culture and the changing retail environment. Many are in dire situations and the possibility of displacement by big box shops with huge capital outlay looks increasingly imminent.

Consequently, a retail gentrification process is beginning to manifest itself in the study area as new and modern commercial spaces operated by global retailers and their well-established local counterparts gradually take hold of the neighbourhood while some small local shops which used to serve the community show signs of distress, lack of viability and vitality. From the consumer standpoint, the role of the middle class and their consumption lifestyle has been the defining moment and a key driving force in the transformation of the retail environment in the study area- a lifestyle that is increasingly sustaining the commodification of space and giving corporate retailers the urge over the local small-scale store operators.

Shopping Frequency %Shopping		Neighbourhood % Shopping		Frequency of Neighbourhood Shopping		Mall Influence on Shopping Behaviour		Neighbourhood Store Often Used	
Significantly Reduced	25.0	Yes	73.1	Less Frequent	0.0	Less Important	7.0	Department Stores	53.8
Somewhat Reduced	15.4	No	26.9	Somewhat Less Frequent	0.0	Somewhat Less Important	23.9	Supermarkets	21.2
Same as Before	30.8			Same	17.3	Important	39.4	Small Independent stores	3.8
Increased	19.2			Frequently	36.5	Very Important	29.6		
				More Frequently	17.3				
Significantly Increased	9.6			**Mixing Data	28.8			**Missing Data	21.2
	100%		**100%**		**100%**		**100%**		**100%**

Table 8. 3 Use of Neighbourhood Stores by Mall Users. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

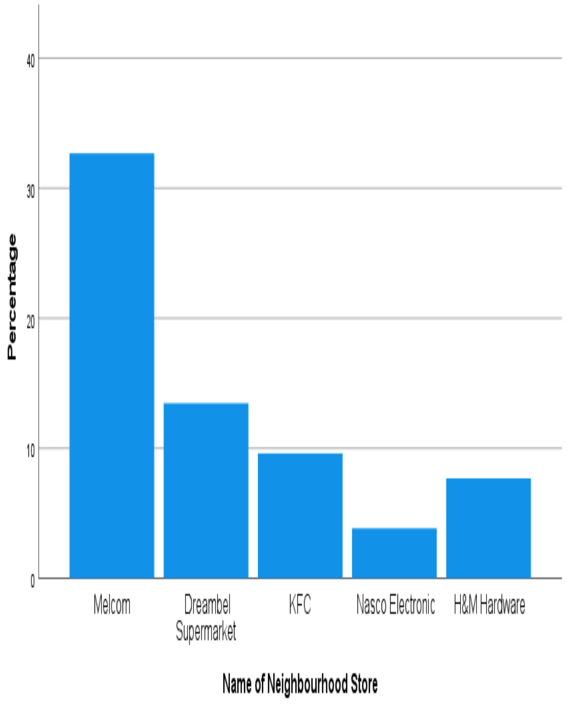


Figure 8. 8 Top Five Neighbourhood Stores Often Patronised by Mall Users. Source: Mall User Survey, 2019.

Figure 8. 9 KFC (Weija Branch) Undergoing Expansion.

Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

8.6 Transformation of the Retail Environment and its Impact on Neighbourhood Stores

This section focuses on the production aspect of retail gentrification in the neighbourhood since the establishment of Accra's biggest shopping mall. The first part explores the Spatio-temporal dynamics of the retail environment in the study area after the mall opened in 2014. In the Western world, Goad Maps have usually been helpful in the analysis of spatial changes in the retail environment including vacant stores in a location over a given time frame. In the UK for example, Experian Limited, an organisation with a specialty in collecting data on businesses has been instrumental in producing professional land-use maps on businesses that have been used for the analysis of retail change in English cities. For example, Dmochowski (2016) and Crosby et al. (2005) significantly relied on these maps in the analysis of retail change in Liverpool and Reading inner cities respectively.

In the absence of such important data on businesses in the sub-Sahara Africa context, this study analysed data on permits issued for new business registration and records of business cessations obtained from the local authority as a proxy for tracking retail change in the study area and the Ga South municipality in general from 2018 to 2021. Personal observations and interactions with some shop owners in the study area also yielded very useful information for understanding patterns of retail change in the neighbourhood. The second part critically assesses the trading impacts of the transformed retail environment on retail stores in the study area. Changes in sales levels are analysed for retailers surveyed in this study and in-depth interviews held with shop owners to understand how the shopping mall in particular, and the general transformation that has occurred in the neighbourhood is impacting their businesses. The third part of this section focuses on the implications of the urban governance processes in structuring the transformation of retailing in the study area. The final part looks at the resilience of store operators in the neighbourhood in the context of a transformed retail environment.

8.7 Analysis of the Patterns of Retail Establishment in Ga South Municipality

In this section, I analyse records of business operating permits issued for the establishment of new businesses and closure notices obtained from the Municipal Authority from 2018 to 2021. It highlights the patterns of new retail businesses established and closures that have occurred over the period to understand the health of the retail sector in the municipality in general and the study area. By law new business operators are required to obtain permits from the local authority before opening a business in the municipality, and to give notice of closure should the need arise, for the Assembly to update its records. Business operating licenses issued are subject to renewal on an annual basis and form a critical source of the local authority's internally generated revenue. While agriculture and fishery used to be the dominant economic activity engaged by the vast majority of the population, according to the assembly that is fast changing as the commercial and service sectors grow astronomically and outpace the primary economy. It is currently estimated that over 57% of the municipality's active population is engaged in services and sales occupations (GSMA, 2021). The trajectory of new business establishments in the municipality suggests that the bulk of the concentration is in the three most urbanised areas of the municipality- Ngleshie-Amanfro, Galilea, and New Botianor, having over 80% share of the distribution. The table below shows the analysis of active businesses with permits over the 4 years under review (2018 to 2021) in the municipality, their distribution, and records of closures over the period. It is important to note that while closures may be initiated by the owners of the business on account of losses or non-viability, they could also be sanctioned by the local authority for businesses not conforming to the rules of engagement or flouting its by-laws.

The analysis is based on annual records of permits issued to businesses and closures obtained from the Municipal authority offices. Records of businesses granted a permit to operate and closure notices in the municipality are reviewed annually and are kept by the finance department of the Assembly. I categorised the businesses into three groups based on the type of business being operated. Retailing which involves the selling of goods and services is the dominant business type as the records show. And they are mainly small formal retail shops operated by the residents. Manufacturing businesses generally engage in the production of goods, and they are mainly medium and small-scale producers such as sachet water producers, concrete block manufacturers, and makers of wood products like chairs and doors. The other businesses are non-retail and non-manufacturing ones which include garage operators, artisans, and those in the craftmanship industry in general. As the analysis shows, there has been a steady and consistent increase in all types of business activities from 2018 to 2021 in the municipal area, with retail businesses showing huge increases year after year. In terms of closures, retail appears to be the most affected business type in the municipality than any of the other business categories.

In this section, I situate my analysis in a broader context and draw a comparison between the general trend in retail change in the entire municipality with the situation in the Dunkonah neighbourhood (study area), which is in the New Botianor local area. With most of the retail businesses in New Botianor located in the Dunkonah area and mainly along both sides of that stretch on the N1 highway, the WHSM and its immediate retail environs can be designated as the commercial hub of New Botianor. I draw on the exceptional trend in retail change in New Botianor's local area to argue that there is a semblance of retail gentrification ongoing in the study area.

In 2018 the records show a total of 1,024 retail businesses obtained a permit to operate in the municipality. Of this number, 276 representing about (27%) of all retail businesses were in the administrative capital of the Municipality-Ngleshie-Amanfro, 352 represented (34%) Galilea, and 269 which is about 26% in New Botianor. One hundred and twenty-seven other retail establishments (12%) were also issued with operation permits in the rest of the municipality. In terms of closures, New Botianor suffered the highest number of retail closures, with 27 retail businesses closing their operations. This translates into roughly 10% of all businesses issued with permits in the local area in 2018 compared with just 5.4% for Ngleshie-Amanfro, 6.3% for Galilea, and 7% in the rest of the Municipality combined. Effectively, New Botianor also accounted for almost 37% of all retail businesses closed Municipality-wide in 2018.

In 2019 the records show an appreciable increase in retail establishments for all local areas compared to the previous year. Ngleshie-Amanfro experienced a marginal rise of registered retail establishments from 276 to 284, representing over a 2% increase, while Galilea saw its stock of retail businesses increase from 352 to 375, representing about a 6.5 percentage increase. For New Botianor, the increase was quite significant as retail establishments operational in the local area jumped from 269 in 2018 to 306 in 2019, which translates into an almost 14% increase. However, the situation in the rest of the municipality combined was even more remarkable and higher than the identifiable retail business locations, with an overall increase in retail businesses by 16%. Retail closures also increased from the previous year except in Galilea where there was rather a drop from 22 closures in 2018 to only 13 in 2019. While the rise in closures was marginal in Ngleshie-Amanfro and the rest of the Municipality, it was quite significant in New Botianor where 38 retail businesses were lost in 2019 compared to 27 in the previous year. Overall, New Botianor alone accounted for 47.5% share of all retail closures in the municipality.

The rising trend in retail establishments operating in all the local areas continued in the same trajectory in 2020 with significant margins of increase from the 2019 levels. Retail businesses registered for operation in Ngleshie-Amanfro rose to 319 from the 2019 level of 284- a 10% increase, while Galilea and New Botianor also recorded an increase in retail businesses from 375 to 382 and 306 to 327, representing some 2% and 6.4% rise respectively. The rest of the Municipality also experienced an astronomical increase from 153 to 189 registered businesses over the same period, representing a 19% rise. Retail closures were exceptionally high for all the local areas in 2020. Retail closures jumped from 17 to 28 (39%), 13 to 26 (50%), and 38 to 43 (11.6%) for Ngleshie-Amanfro, Galilea, and New Botianor respectively. Closures for the rest of the Municipality even showed a meteoric increase from 12 in 2019 to 36 in 2020, representing a 66% rise, which is very high. Although the increase in retail closures was marginal in New Botianor over the previous year, it still had the highest share of all retail closures in the Municipality with a 32% representation.

In 2021 the increase in active retail establishments was marginal for all the local areas. While Ngleshie-Amanfro saw an increase of only 5 retail businesses, the increase in Galilea and New Botianor was 3 and 9 more retail establishments respectively. However, the rest of the Municipality recorded a relatively higher increase of 12 more than the 2020 level. Retail closures also showed a rising pattern from the previous year with New Botianor bearing the highest losses. It suffered 21 more retail business closures in 2021. In relative terms, this represents almost 37% of all retail space lost in the whole municipality for 2021 and a 33% increase over the previous year. The significantly higher increase in retail closures across the municipality in 2020 and 2021 is not surprising given the impact of COVID-19, the global pandemic which negatively affected all economies including the retail sector. Restrictive policies introduced to curb the spread of the virus led to the closure of shops, particularly those deemed as providing non-essential products. The ensuing job losses caused by the pandemic also meant consumer spending was low as disposable incomes dropped. According to Fitch Solutions, a global credit rating agency, Ghana's real household spending contracted by an estimated 1.1% year on year in 2020 which was attributed to the economic impact of Covid-19 (See Fitchsolutions.com). While the pattern in retail closures experienced in the municipality may not be different from the national trend, the unusual pattern observed in the New Botianor locality cannot be attributed only to the general economic conditions affecting the retail sector in Ghana. There are probably localised factors that are aiding and structuring the unique changes taking place in the local area, particularly the study area and this is the focus of subsequent sections in the analysis.

Year	Local Area	Permit by Business Type			Closure by Business Type		
		Retail	Manufacturing	Other	Retail	Manufacturing	Other
2018	Ngleshie Amanfro	276	12	6	15	x	x
	Galilea	352	4	10	22	x	x
	New Botianor	**269**	**16**	**14**	**27**	**2**	**x**
	Others	127	11	3	9	x	x
2019	Ngleshie Amanfro	284	13	15	17	x	x
	Galilea	375	4	12	13	x	x
	New Botianor	**306**	**23**	**19**	**38**	**x**	**x**
	Others	153	17	11	12	1	x
2020	Ngleshie Amanfro	319	16	17	28	3	x
	Galilea	382	7	19	26	1	2
	New Botianor	**327**	**28**	**23**	**43**	**2**	**x**
	Others	189	21	13	36	1	x
2021	Ngleshie Amanfro	324	16	21	36	1	1
	Galilea	385	8	20	31	x	x
	New Botianor	**336**	**30**	**28**	**64**	**3**	**x**
	Others	201	27	15	42	1	2

Table 8. 4 Records of Annual Business Permits Issued and Closures. Source: Authors Analysis of GSMA Records, 2022.

8.8 The Changing Retail Landscape in the Study Area

This section takes a cursory look at the retail fabric in the study area, a Kilometre radius of the WHSM, and developments that have occurred since its opening in 2014. Although small and independent local shops still dominate the retail landscape in the study area, that is somewhat changing as big corporate retail establishments are also firmly grounding their presence in the neighbourhood. I took a critical inventory of these capital-intensive retail investments in the neighbourhood as shown in Table 5 below to give a sense of the changing retail landscape in a relatively short period following the opening of the mall. From its characteristically rural profile a couple of decades ago, Dunkonah and its surrounding neighbourhoods are fast changing into an elite enclave as upscale residential developments continue to transform the peri-urban landscape into a middle to high-income residential frontier in Accra's western corridor. Closely following this trajectory is the retail landscape which is also apparently changing to cater to the consumption lifestyle of the growing middle-class residents. The critical role of WHSM in the transformation of the peri-urban landscape has already been outlined and is re-echoed here. The mall has been a major catalyst for the proliferation of luxury residential developments and as the pacesetter in the introduction of the modern and technologically advanced retailing system in a peri-urban neighbourhood, other corporate retailers have drawn inspiration from this novelty and taken advantage of the prevailing market opportunities to follow suit with investments in the neighbourhood. Mention has already been made of the presence of some retail corporate giants including Melcom and KFC in the neighbourhood following the opening of WHSM. The latest to enter the fray is the Chinese whose foray into the Ghanaian retail industry is just recent but steadily growing. China Mall is a burgeoning retail chain store owned by a Chinese entrepreneur with a couple of branches in Accra and Kumasi. China Mall, Weija branch was the latest to open in June 2021 right behind the WHSM.

There is a sense of expectation that an agglomeration of big corporate retailers in a locality will breed competition among these major players in the industry. On 31st October 2021, some major online news portals in Ghana reported an incident in which a facilities manager of WHSM and a contractor were said to have been arrested by the police for dumping boulders (big rocks) at the entrance of China Mall at dawn on 30th October, which effectively blocked access to the retail facility by customers. While the initial thought about this action was a contested piece of land to which the two retail giants have laid counterclaims, investigations by the police and subsequent commentaries on the issue suggested it was triggered by competition. It was alleged that China Mall was taking customers from WHSM because it sells products that are relatively cheaper than those in WHSM. Although not backed by any empirical evidence, stories like this point to the dynamic and fluid nature of the retail environment in the study area driven mainly by innovations engendering a competitive edge. WHSM may be the major force shaping the residential and commercial environment in the neighbourhood, but its domineering position and potency are increasingly waning as new superstores emerge in the neighbourhood. While the focus of this study is the impact of the WHSM on nearby small local shops in the neighbourhood, it is also worth noting that the changing retail environment in the neighbourhood is also shaping the impacts on existing and traditional retail forms which predated these new and modern shopping facilities in the neighbourhood. I, therefore, put the analysis in a broader context to explain how the concept of commercial gentrification can be understood from the perspective of a global south peri-urban location. Figures 8.10, 8.11, and 8.12 show the major retail establishments in the study area following the development of WHSM and its main competitors in the neighbourhood. Figure 8.10 is the Melcom store, the Weija branch, which was established in 2015- a year after WHSM opened. Figure 8.11 shows Dreambel Supermarket which opened in 2019, while Figure 8.12 shows WHSM's main competitor in the neighbourhood, the China Mall, which opened in June 2021.

Figure 8. 10 Melcom Store (Weija Branch). Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

Figure 8. 11 DreamBel Supermarket. Source: https://thediasporand.com/businesses/ghana/greater-accra-region/mile-11/dreambel-supermarket/

Figure 8. 12 The China Mall (Weija Branch). Source: Google Photos as Posted by Nana Sefa Hwenebo.

8.9 Retail Change and the Impact on Existing Neighbourhood Retailers

This section focuses on the neighbourhood store operators in the study area, which are predominantly small and independent shops. It must be emphasised that these traditional stores were the main retail shops serving the shopping needs of what were seemingly rural communities a few decades ago until the advent of modern shopping formats. Although they continue to provide the shopping needs of the local population, recent demographic transformation caused by a surge in the number of new residents who belong mainly to the middle and upper-class social strata is configuring the urban landscape in the study area. Consequently, the character of the retail fabric in the neighbourhood is changing precipitously as spaces of affluent and leisured consumption redefine the retail landscape, reflecting the socio-economic character of the neighbourhood. To this end, the impact of the ongoing transformation of the retail environment on existing and traditional retail forms is imperative and is the focus of the analysis in this section. I situate my discussion in this context to explain how small neighbourhoods and traditional stores are being affected by this transformation and the central role of WHSM in the restructuring of the retail environment. The resilience of these local store operators in a changing environment also forms a critical part of the discussion. Retailer surveys, in-depth interviews with store managers, and personal observations in the study area provided critical information for this analysis.

8.10 The Profile of Store Operators Surveyed

As with most suburban retail locations in Accra, the retail geography of the study area depicts a high concentration of shops along the main thoroughfare- the stretch on the N1 highway which runs through the neighbourhood, linking Accra to the Central region of Ghana. Shops are aligned in a parallel sequence on either side of the road forming the main commercial hub of the neighbourhood. However, Pockets of stores also exist in the residential build-up areas mainly providing easy access to daily essentials like bread, eggs, cooking oil, and mobile phone vouchers for the immediate residents. Stores are mainly small-sized and operated by residents. Traded products vary from groceries to building materials and the provision of services such as barbering and hairdressing saloons. Products offered by these shops are seemingly oriented towards the local population. In selecting respondents for the survey, a host of factors were taken into consideration in deciding which sampling strategy was appropriate. These factors included the type of products traded, length of period operating in the study area, and location of the store relative to the WHSM. A purposive sampling technique was therefore used, and respondents were conveniently selected to generate a varied sample reflecting the different traits of retailing in the neighbourhood. However, store operators closest to the mall with a relatively long period of experience trading in the area, and those trading in comparable goods as the mall were given more priority than other groups in the selection of the sample. Studies have shown that the impact of new retail development is most felt by existing stores operating very close to it and the effects begin to decay the further away from the new retail centre. Out of the eighty-six storekeepers approached for this survey, 63 agreed to participate in the study. However, only 50 questionnaires were completed and returned and therefore included in the analysis.

Like the Accra Mall case study, male participants dominated the sample surveyed and constituted 54% while females formed 46%. However, in relative terms, the gender disparity was much lower in this case with more female representation compared to the Accra mall study, where female participants formed just 28%. Significantly, a good majority of the participants were older and above forty years, with 34% between 41 to 50 years and 30% more than 50 years. This contrasts with the predominantly youthful informal traders surveyed at Accra Mall. While only 16% of the participants were between 18 and 30 years old, 20% were between 31 to 40 years cohort. Unlike the Accra Mall study participants, none of the storekeepers surveyed was below the legal minimum working age of 18 in Ghana. In terms of the highest educational level attained by the participants, an overwhelming majority (52%) had some form of tertiary or vocational education while around 32% also had achieved at least senior high school level education. The number of respondents who indicated they had only primary or junior high school education was significantly lower, at 4% and 12% respectively. However, none of the participants was without any form of education, compared with the Accra mall case study where around 9% of the informal traders had no education.

In terms of the length of period retailers had been trading in the study area, it was clear that while a good majority of shopkeepers started their business before the mall opened in 2014, quite a significant number also commenced operation after the mall had started. Around 24% of the survey participants had only traded for less than a year at the time the field study was being conducted in 2019. It is also instructive to note that, a good majority of the respondents (30%) had between only one and 6 years of trading experience in the area, which suggests that they either started trading a year or less before the mall opened or mostly started their businesses after the mall had opened in 2014. The relatively high representation of shopkeepers whose operation in the area only post-dated the mall in the sample is emblematic of an emerging hostile environment that does not sustain the operations of traditional and small retailers for an extended period. Nevertheless, some local shop owners have demonstrated a semblance of resilience, albeit in a fragile and hostile environment. This is manifested in the length of time they have been able to run and sustain their businesses in the area. While 26%

of the respondents indicated they have between 7 to 11 years of trading experience in the neighbourhood, which means they effectively started doing business in the area two to 6 clear years before the mall opened, another 20% had more than 11 years of retail experience in the neighbourhood.

Grocery retailers formed the majority of the surveyed participants in this study, representing 32% of all the respondents. Traders dealing in clothing and footwear (popularly known locally as fashion Boutiques) formed 16% of the surveyed respondents, while another 16% of the participants traded in other products, which are mainly rendering of different kinds of services including barbering shops, hairdressing saloons, healthcare, and allied services, and Banking. Twelve percent of the participants were processed or cooked food sellers and 8% were dealers in building and construction materials such as cement, iron rods, wood, paint, etc. Fruit and vegetable sellers had the least representation forming just 6% of the participants. The property tenure pattern also shows that an overwhelming majority (92%) of commercial activities occurred in rented premises while the remaining 8% owned the property in which they operated their businesses. Table 8.5 below gives a summary of the profile of shopkeepers who participated in the survey.

			Frequency	Percentage
Gender		Male	27	54.0
		Female	23	46.0
Age		18 to 30	8	16.0
		31 to 40	10	20.0
		41 to 50	17	34.0
		Above 50	15	30.0
Education		Primary	2	4.0
		Junior High	6	12.0
		Senior High	16	32.0
		Tertiary/Vocation	26	52.0
Length of Trading		Under 1 Year	12	24.0
		1 to 6 Years	15	30.0
		7 to 11 Years	13	26.0
		More than 11 Years	10	20.0
Traded Products		Grocery	16	32.0
		Fruit & Veg.	3	6.0
		Cooked Food	6	12.0
		Clothing & Footwear	8	16.0
		Electronics	5	10.0
		Bulding Materials	4	8.0
		Others	8	16.0
Store Ownership		Owned	4	8.0
		Renting	46	92.0

Table 8. 5 Profile of Local Store Operators Surveyed. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

8.11 Urban Transformation and an Emerging Rent Gap in the Neighbourhood

The effects of the ongoing urban transformation- both residential and commercial in the study area, and more importantly its implication for the cost of operating a business was a topical issue and a major theme that emerged from interviews with shopkeepers. Participants acknowledged the changes that have occurred in the neighbourhood, regarding the proliferation of luxury residential estates, which is not only changing the socio-demographic dynamics of the population but also driving up land values. They reckon the high and increasing demand for land by real estate developers in the area as the reason behind the rising value of the land. Understandably, property investors took advantage of the availability of relatively cheap lands in a peri-urban location, speculating higher returns on the capital they invested in those projects. The transformation of the surrounding spaces into luxury residential estates including gated communities, which mainly target the middle and high-income population has indeed turned the area into a prime investment location outside central Accra.

The central role of the WHSM in the transformation of the neighbourhood is something that also resonated with some of the retailers. The retail centre, which was the first modern and state-of-the-art shopping centre, and arguably the largest mall by far to be built in Accra is seen as not just the driving force behind the thriving residential property market, but also a major source of inspiration for other corporate retail investors, who have taken advantage of the enabling environment created by the mall. One storekeeper who has been trading in the neighbourhood for a considerable number of years and is well abreast with developments in the area had these remarks to make:

"Having been a store owner selling goods in this area for over 16 years, I think I know a whole lot about how things were and the changes that we see now…….in fact, we can't talk about this transformation without putting this mall [reference to WHSM] into the context. It is the Genesis of almost all the changes that have occurred here. As soon as it opened, a lot of development projects including the nice, nice estates started growing astronomically…….and we can also see some of the big retailers also following in their footsteps to open shops here……so I can say with confidence that the mall is not just the pacesetter but also underpins the development trajectory going on in the locality." [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

To make such a categorical statement that seeks to suggest that the WHSM is driving the path of development in the neighbourhood has two implications. First, it means that WHSM is positively affecting some developments as earlier espoused, such as the case of luxury residential property development and other corporate retail investors. Secondly, it also connotes negative impacts on some other developments. And it is at this later point that some retailers have sought to explain how their business operations have been affected by the transformation that has occurred in the neighbourhood. Significantly, a spiraling increment in rental values has been associated with the progressive and qualitative change in the built environment. Some traders held the view that the expensive rental charges that are usually associated with hiring luxury residential and commercial properties have found meaning and justification for a general hype in rental charges by existing property owners in the neighbourhood. Although most of the existing commercial properties have not seen any significant value additions or refurbishment to justify such outrageous rental increments, landlords have tended to draw a comparison between rental charges for a store in the neighbouring shopping mall to justify the need to close an emerging rent gap. In most cases, landlords have not made any further re-investments on their properties and yet are demanding rent increments. However, there are a few instances where re-investments have been made to modernise shopping formats. Figure 8.13 below shows an old traditional shopping format and an adjoining modernised and refurbished format. The rent gap concept which has its origins in gentrification studies is a north-centric theoretical construct, first conceptualised by Smith (1979) and later developed by Slater (2017). It looks at real estate developers who took advantage of the availability of cheaper lands and properties in neighbourhoods that have suffered long-term dis-investments and subsequently reaped enormous returns on the investments made through rent maximisation. The finding in this study is seemingly at variance with this conceptualisation and demonstrates how urban theories from the north can be re-conceptualised to explain social phenomena in a different context (Parnell and Pieterse, 2016; Robinson and Roy, 2016; Myers, 2018). One storekeeper who has been trading in the area for a long time shared his views on this issue by making the following comments:

"I can see a very strong correlation between ongoing developments in this area and the rent I pay. My landlord has been increasing rental charges now and then since the mall opened………. And he tells me he has been very generous with his tenants……. He once told me to go and ask how much it cost to rent a shop in the mall which is a stone's throw away from here. But I think he is wrong in making that comparison and it is like comparing apples and oranges……But hey! he is the owner of the property and can decide to do whatever he likes." [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

The above comments expose the weaknesses in Ghana's institutional and legal frameworks governing the property rental industry. The Rent Act of 1963 (ACT 220) provides the regulatory framework protecting the interests of both the tenant and the landlord. However, gross violations of the laws by tenants and landlords are not uncommon. However, the latter is known to be more powerful and can arbitrarily increase rent with no recourse to the rental regulations (Owusu-Ansah et al., 2018). This phenomenon is very common in the informal commercial and residential property rental market, where no proper documentation and records cover such transactions. This can be distressful and cause considerable uneasiness to a tenant as was the case with some local store owners interviewed during the fieldwork. For some storekeepers, rental charges have become a major component of the overhead cost incurred in running a small shop in the neighbourhood. This not only places a further financial burden on the retailer which many find it difficult to honour but more significantly erodes profit margins. This is threatening the viability of small-scale retailing serving the needs of the local community and it is increasingly becoming the established norm as capital-intensive property investors and corporate retailers progressively transform what used to be a peri-urban landscape into one of Accra's affluent and prime locations. As the value of land in the neighbourhood appreciate considerably with the investment drive, existing estate owners have taken advantage of the general qualitative improvement of the built environment in the neighbourhood to increase rent, although most of them have not upgraded their properties since they were built. Tenants are bearing the brunt as the quest by landlords to close the rent gap is pushing retailers to unsustainable business trajectories. One retailer echoes this sentiment with the comment below:

"We have virtually become victims of modernisation and development, and as such, landlords are holding us ransom to it. The cost of doing business in this small shop has skyrocketed due to rent increments over the last few years……. It is substantial and I am operating at a loss. This is not sustainable at all, and I don't know how things will play out soon." [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

Figure 8. 13 Neighbourhood Old Styled Local Retail Stores on the Left and an Adjoining Upgrading into a Modern Shop on the Right. Fieldwork, 2019.

8.12 Footfall

While the increasing visibility of new entrepreneurial and corporate retailers has significantly increased pedestrian flow and enhanced the vitality of the neighbourhood, there is a general sense among local shop operators that they have not benefited much from the transformation. For some retailers, although WHSM as a regional shopping centre attracts both residents and customers well beyond the neighbourhood, the high footfall has not engendered any meaningful spillover of customers to the advantage of long-term local shop operators. Participants offered varied explanations for this. The first, argued by local storekeepers directly relates the issue to the ongoing residential gentrification in the neighbourhood. The transformation of the neighbourhood into a middle and high-income-class residential enclave occasioned by the proliferation of high-class residential buildings has brought in a new class of people with different consumption cultures. The point made here was that the new residents prefer shopping in the mall and the other big shops in the neighbourhood to the local stores. This assertion corroborates the opinion shared by some mall shoppers in my earlier analysis of their shopping behaviour, which suggests the reasons for the poor patronage of local and small stores in the neighbourhood by the new residents. The residential gentrification in the neighbourhood has also created a fortress for low-income people who would wish to take residence in the area. High land speculation caused by a surge in interest by corporate real estate investors means land rents have appreciated significantly, making it impossible for low-income earners to afford land to build a house. In addition, the very high rental charges associated with the luxury residential development also mean poor people are excluded from the neighbourhood housing market. In effect, the kind of people who often patronise goods from local store operators (low-income population) has not increased with the ongoing transformation. One storekeeper expressed his views on this subject as follows:

"For the past 16 years, I have been tracking the ongoing development and changes that have occurred here [reference to the neighbourhood] and I can say that the kind of development we are seeing here now is bringing in new people who do not have taste for the kind of stores we operate. They are big men and women who like shopping in malls and things like that…………. Unfortunately, the kind of people who like shopping from local stores like mine can't afford to live here anymore because it is too expensive now and so it is preserved for the elites……….. So, I am not benefiting from the ongoing transformation." [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

The above comment is instructive and goes to demonstrate how residential gentrification can work in a global south context to have a deleterious impact on local and small-scale retailers in a neighbourhood. Speculative-induced Urbanisation is increasingly changing the urban form and urbanism in the locale- from a predominantly semi-rural community a few decades ago to emerging affluence and an imposing new urban lifestyle. And this is having negative consequences on the existing and traditional forms of life and sustenance. In the case of Dunkonah, the pivotal role of WHSM in this speculation and transformation of the built environment is worth noting. As previously stated, it is the driving force behind the proliferation of high-end residential and commercial properties in the neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, some local small store operators are benefiting from the ongoing transformation. These small groups of shop operators provide mainly services such as barbering and hairdressing, electronic repairs, vehicle maintenance, and repairs, and to some extent, suppliers of building materials have a counter-narrative about the impact of the change on their businesses. Some argue that the resultant high footfall engendered by the residential and commercial upscaling has significantly played to their benefit in terms of increased customer turnover. A young man operating a mobile phone repair shop for more than five years said: "It is amazing! The change is reflecting positively on my business as the number of people who come here to repair their phones keeps rising and most of them live in the community." More significant are the benefits accruing to dealers in building materials and accessories who are benefiting from the boom in the building and construction industry in the area. One local cement retailer shared her glory as follows: “Thank Jesus the market is good and it’s growing. I am getting more contractors sourcing their supplies from here as individuals and companies are building more houses in the locality.” However, it is important to emphasise the monopoly this category of retailers enjoys in the neighbourhood as the emergent corporate retail establishments do not trade in comparable goods or provide services as those offered by these local retailers. For this reason, there is no eminent competition that poses an existential threat to these local players.

Nevertheless, the majority of local retailers operating small shops have not benefited from the prevailing socio-economic restructuring of the local population through residential gentrification, and the vitality and subsequently increased footfall engendered by the mall and the other corporate retailers in the neighbourhood. This is because most of the local small-scale businesses are not competitive enough to take advantage of the transformation of the retail environment. Many cannot adapt to the changing environment. As a result, some storekeepers have even reported losing their existing customers to big box discount retailers (Category Killers) in the neighbourhood. One such retailer is Melcom Stores whose business operation model targets both rich and poor customers with cheaper yet good quality products. The capacity to source bulk supplies of assorted products from cheaper sources and manufacture some of the products locally gives Melcom the market edge over its competitors. Some small indigenous retailers buy their products from Melcom to re-sell in their local communities. As one storekeeper intimated:

“It is difficult to operate in this competitive environment we are now in………I am losing my networks and dedicated customers in the neighbourhood. Since Melcom opened I have seen a drastic drop in the number of existing customers who used to patronise my products. I believe they have taken advantage of the cheaper products to switch to Melcom.” [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

With China Mall which operates a similar model as Melcom stores now opened in the neighbourhood, it is expected that the competition will become even more intense. The Chinese-owned retail giant in the neighbourhood source almost all its products from its home country - China. And with China emerging as a major supplier of retail products to the global market because of its leverage on its capacity to produce at a cheaper cost, the recently opened China Mall in the neighbourhood is in a pole position to be the game changer, diverting customers not only from its main competitors like WHSM but also long-term and poor residents of the neighbourhood who shop from local small-scale retailers, further exposing the vulnerability of local small-scale retailers. There is also a growing sense of belief among retailers that the ongoing residential gentrification and its associated rising rental values have displaced some of their long-term customers in the area. While this remains anecdotal, it concurs with the general worldview on residential gentrification and the empirical evidence from the literature elsewhere which suggest a very strong link between neighbourhood gentrification and the displacement of long-term low-income residents (see for example Zukin, 1987; Freeman and Braconi, 2004; Easton et al., 2020).

8.13 Threat of Displacement

Another central theme emerging from the interviews with the local small-scale storekeepers is the expression of a growing sense of apprehension as the threat of displacement grinds to the tipping point. The ensuing transformation of the residential and commercial environment (gentrification) is posing an existential threat to small retailers and several factors come into play to expose their vulnerability. For the tenant storekeeper, the incessant rent increment demanded by landlords is having a huge impact on their businesses and it's getting to an unsustainable point. To the point where rent alone accounted for more than half of her overhead cost, one storekeeper shared her frustrations:

"It's like I am now working for my landlord. More than half of my turnover is now going into rent payments, and it is not making any business sense anymore………. The capital I invested into the business is dissipating and I can no longer order the quantities of the products I use to order. This is unsustainable and it is getting to the point where I have no option but to close the business." [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

This negative affirmation is further exacerbated by the dwindling footfall in small local stores, despite the vitality and high pedestrian flow engendered by the burgeoning modern commercial spaces in the neighbourhood. Local retailers are not benefiting from the ongoing social and economic restructuring in the neighbourhood. The increasing number of new residents who largely belong to the middle and high-income class are more inclined to shop in modern retail formats than the local and indigenous stores in the neighbourhood, particularly those selling comparable goods. Again, the notion that local stores in a gentrifying neighbourhood serve the needs of long-term poor residents no longer holds water, at least for the study area. Superstores have emerged in the neighbourhood to assume that function by selling hugely discounted products that meet the budget of the rich and the poor alike. Consequently, local small store operators are increasingly losing their existing customers to these category killers. As these existing stores become uncompetitive in the new retail environment, the cumulative impact on business sustainability is huge, and the threat of displacement is profoundly obvious. Some storekeepers reported a drastic reduction in turnover and profit margins, down to levels that make their businesses no longer viable.

While this study could not empirically verify actual displacements caused by the urban renewal processes in the neighbourhood, anecdotal evidence from existing retailers who are experiencing similar threats suggest it is the primary cause of businesses winding up or relocating to other places. As one storekeeper narrated it in the interview:

"I am talking about a dire situation here!......... We are all sitting on a time bomb and in no time, it will explode and all of us [reference to local small-scale retailers] will be blown out of this place by the ongoing transformation. I know some colleagues who used to operate stores here, but they are no more here. The hostile environment created by the changing environment caused some to go burst and others have relocated to areas that are more conducive for business." [Interview with Storekeeper, 2019].

Through the analysis of the data on the annual renewal of commercial licenses issued by the Municipal authority and business closures, it became clear that retail closures were exceedingly high for the four years under review (2018-2021) in the New Botianor local area, where the study area constitute the main retail hub than the other local areas. Observations made during the fieldwork also showed that some shops were under lock and did not open for at least the entire period I spent in the study area collecting data, which also suggests that they have been unoccupied for a considerable period. While there may be varied reasons accounting for shop closures, the fact that the study area experienced disproportionately high retail closures than the other local areas, at a period when the neighbourhood was also undergoing a major transformation suggests that this is not a mere coincidence. Certainly, there are more localised forces at work, and responsible for the high rate of closures. The evolving urban form and socioeconomic restructuring in the area are the obvious enablers. It provides the context for the interpretation of the disproportionately high retail closures in the study area, that is, displacements triggered by the residential and commercial gentrification process in the neighbourhood. The link between gentrification and the disappearance of existing and traditional retail formats serving the needs of the poor in neighbourhoods has been well-established in the literature in both theoretical and empirical terms (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Mermet, 2017; Schlack and Turnbull, 2015; Zukin et al., 2009; Guimaraes, 2019). Considering these, the threat of displacement expressed by traditional retailers in this study cannot be downplayed as mere conjectures, but real threats occasioned by an ongoing process of residential and commercial gentrification.

8.14 Trading Repercussions

In this section, I analyse the trading performance of local retailers from the retailer survey data in the context of the ongoing urban transformation. Just like the Accra Mall case study, survey respondents were asked to account for changes in the sales performance of their businesses for the last four years since they started trading in the neighbourhood, beginning from 2016 to 2019. The survey sought to elicit information regarding trends in their sales performance over the 4 years and to understand whether they achieved a decrease, increase, or no change over the previous years, and the margins of the change thereof. The survey also requested respondents to indicate the reasons they believe caused those changes. The survey also provided room for Storekeepers to give their subjective explanations of the change in turnover they had experienced. The response rate is comparable to the Accra Mall case study as the rate was relatively lower in 2016 but kept improving over the preceding years. The response rate for 2019 was 96% while 2018 achieved a rate of 76% response rate. In 2017 and 2016 the response rate was much lower, at 70% and 66% respectively. Although a little bit higher than the ASM case, one would have expected a much better response rate from respondents whose activities are formal and have better bookkeeping records than their informal counterparts.

		Sales Level 2016	Sales Level 2017	Sales Level 2018	Sales Level 2019
N	Valid	33	35	38	48
	Missing	17	15	12	2

Table 8. 6 Response Rate for Changes in Sales Level from 2016 to 2019. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

8.14.1 Trends in Sales Levels from 2016 to 2019

The overall sales trend reflects an overwhelming declining trajectory for the period 2016-2019 as the data depicts in Figure 8.14 below.

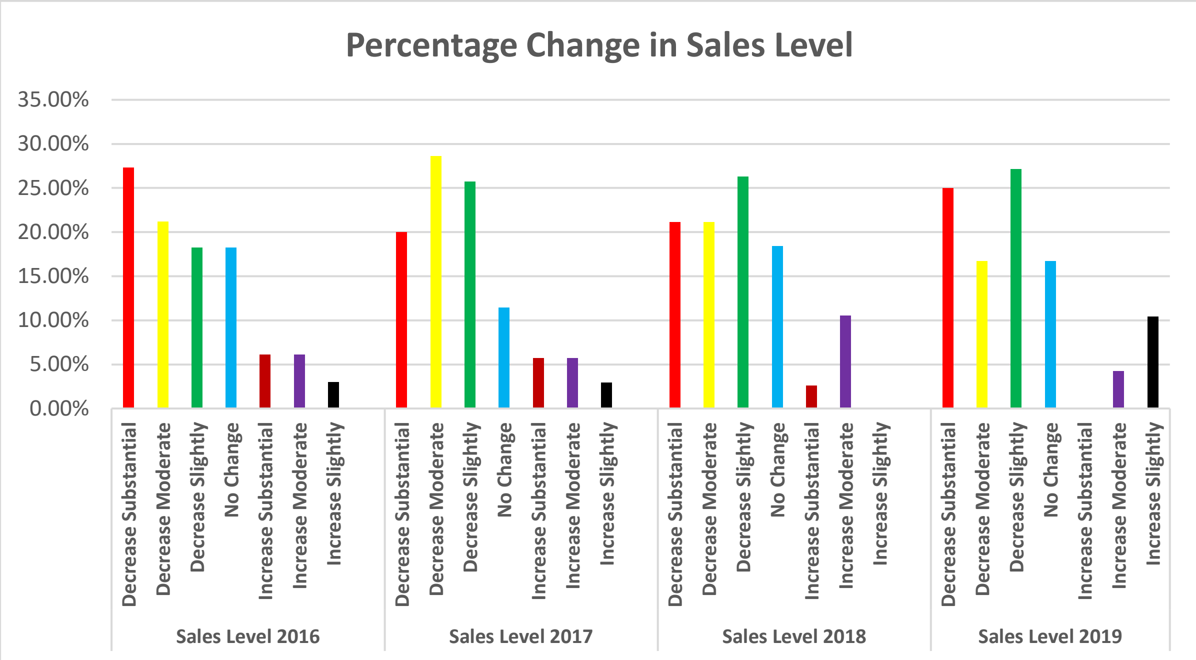


Figure 8. 14 Percentage Change in Sales from 2016 to 2019. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

The decrease in sales was remarkable in 2016 as over 27% of the respondents indicated that they suffered a substantial fall in turnover, which translated into over a 10% drop in sales from the previous year. Quite a significant number of the respondents (21%) also reported a moderate decrease, that is between 5% and 10% drop in sales, while in the same period around 18% experienced only a slight decrease in sales, which is less than 5%. In contrast, respondents who reported an increase in sales in 2016 were significantly lower. Those who said they achieved a substantial increase in sales, that is over 10% increment constituted just 6% of the respondents, while an equal number of respondents (6%) also indicated a moderate increase in sales over the previous year. However, while only 3% of the respondents said they recorded just a slight increase in turnover from the preceding year, a relatively significant number of the survey participants said they did not notice any change at all in their sales level. In order words, sales performance in 2016 was not different from the previous year, 2015.

There was not much change in the trend in 2017 sales levels compared to the previous year, except that those who experienced a substantial decrease in sales were a bit lower (20%) than the 2016 level. However, a relatively high number of the respondents (28.6%) reported a moderate decrease while close to 26% also said the drop was a slight one. There was a slight decrease in the number of respondents who indicated an increase in sales over the previous year. Just a little under 6% of them reported either a substantial or moderate increase in turnover. Those who reported no change in sales level from the previous year were a little over 11%.

Sales levels continued to show a decreasing trend in 2018, with a significant majority of respondents, over 26% reporting a slight decrease in sales over the previous year. However, respondents who indicated they suffered a substantial loss in turnover compared to 2017 constituted 21% of the respondents, while an equal number also reported a moderate decrease in sales. For those who reported an increase in sales over the previous year, only 2% of the respondents indicated that the change was substantial, while 10.5% said the increase they experienced was moderate. While none of the respondents indicated that the increase in sales was slightly above what they experienced in 2017, a good number, that is around 18% said they did not see any change in sales compared to the previous year.

The consistently high numbers of surveyed respondents experiencing a decline in sales levels continued into 2019 when 25% of store managers indicated a substantial decrease in turnover from the previous year. But for the greater majority (27%) of the respondents, the decrease experienced was slight from the 2018 level, whereas over 16% also described the decrease as moderate. Like the previous years, only a few respondents reported an increase in sales levels over the previous year. For this category of retailers, the increase in turnover experienced was either a slight or moderate increase. None of the respondents said they recorded a substantial increase in sales, which suggests that 2019 was generally a difficult year. While a little over 10% of the respondents said the increase was slight, only 4% achieved a moderate rise in sales over the 2018 period. However, close to 17% of the traders reported they did not experience any change in sales over the previous year.

8.14.2 Reasons for Decrease in Sales Levels

As Figure 8.15 shows, varied reasons were indicated by the survey respondents as accounting for the decrease in sales levels, but the three most outstanding were the opening of the shopping mall, Market competition, and the effects of the economy on spending. Opening of the Mall is the most cited reason by respondents for the declining sales levels they experienced, which was mentioned by 87.5% of the respondents. Although the direct impact of the mall in diverting trade from these local small retailers in the neighbourhood is a plausible argument in explaining decreasing sales levels, some of the local retailers have sought to look at things beyond this point by placing the mall at the centre of urban transformation. And one interpretation given was that the opening of the mall has given the place a new identity- one that is characterised by affluence and modernity, which has also had significant implications for traditional retail businesses. Since the mall opened in 2014, West Hills and Shoprite (the Mall's main anchor shop) are names that have emerged and are often used interchangeably about the locality. Consequently, this has overshadowed its original name, Dunkonah. While the name Dunkonah aligns with its traditional and seemingly rural past, the new names have become synonymous with modernity and development, and change in the socio-economic character of the population. Here, an attempt was made to compare the pre-mall and post-mall business climates. While the pre-mall era was described as business-friendly, the opening of the mall was seen as the watershed that has redefined place and retailing in the neighbourhood. The ramifications of such a transition are articulated by a long-term storekeeper who made these comments:

"The opening of the mall is the defining moment throughout my life as a shopkeeper. This was a close-knit community with a strong sense of identity. The local people will always rush here to buy some groceries. I remember sometimes selling to some residents on credit and they would come and pay later. Even though it was then a small community with a very low population, I felt happy with my business. But since the mall opened everything has changed in the community. It opened the floodgates for new developments and a new set of people who are not interested in my goods." [Retailer Survey, 2019].

Some were also of the view that as the pacesetter in the modern retail sector, the opening of the mall has set off a chain reaction for the proliferation of other corporate retail establishments in the area. The understanding is that these other big retailers wouldn't have contemplated investing in a peri-urban location, but they took inspiration from the bold initiative by the mall investors to explore the market from a non-traditional location. Consequently, the agglomeration of big shops in the neighbourhood poses a huge challenge to small-scale traders in terms of market share. As commented by one retailer: “If the mall wasn’t here, all these big shops wouldn’t be here in the first place. So, it is the mall that brought them here to create a highly competitive environment which small shop operators like mine can’t match.” Understandably, this comment can be interpreted to mean that the emergence of the other corporate retailers is directly linked to the opening of the mall, which has consequently affected their sales levels negatively.

The second most important reason given for the decrease in sales levels is the competition posed by new and existing retailers. Seventy-five percent of the respondents cited this as the reason they suffered a decline in sales. Indeed, in the wake of an evolving retail environment, competitiveness becomes a key determining factor of how robust and sustainable a business enterprise can be. As new retail businesses enter the market with innovative ways of attracting customers, existing retailers are challenged to adapt to the new environment to be competitive. But for the traditional small retailer, the capacity to adapt to a changing retail environment can be daunting and a major setback. This typifies the local small retailers in contention here. Many lack the resources required to match up to the standard of modern retail practices. As such, they are unable to compete not only with the big stores but more importantly with existing stores that have changed their operational models to adapt to the new environment. As previously stated, stores like Melcom and the newly opened China Mall in the neighbourhood do not only attract middle-class and high-income residents but also low-income people. These big shops have a competitive advantage as they leverage economies of scale to offer cheaper products to the consuming public. The availability of cheaper options in big stores has, therefore, virtually eroded the long-held notion that traditional small local shop serves the interest of long-term residents, who are mostly the poor in the community.

The health of the Ghanaian economy on spending is the third significant reason cited by over 72% of respondents as responsible for the decrease in sales levels. As previously discussed in Chapter 7, the volatility in the Ghanaian economy over the last few decades has sometimes impacted people’s income and spending habits. Governments have had to adopt austerity measures in the face of difficult economic challenges, and these have had debilitating effects on employment levels as job losses reduce people's spending power, particularly public sector workers affected by redundancies. In addition, High inflation levels driven by a hike in the prices of commodities and the depreciation of the local currency can also significantly erode the purchasing power of people's earnings and the ability to spend more. Consumers have had to re-strategise and cut back on expenditure, particularly on non-essential goods. Respondents seem to understand these economic fundamentals and how they reflect on the performance of their businesses. This point was well articulated by a respondent with the comment; "When sales levels are falling, it tells you something about the economy. If people have no jobs and at the same time prices are always going up, it means the economy is bad and it is obvious that sales will go down."

Other key reasons that elicited a significant response from survey respondents as the cause of the shortfalls in sales levels included the effects of pedestrian flow changes and lack of parking facilities for shoppers, which were indicated by 45% and 42.5% of the respondents respectively. The quality of the products offered by some retailers which were cited by 27.5% of the respondents also came to the fore as a reason for the poor sales levels they experienced. It is however clear from the data that management strategies and changes made in the store did not appear to be significant reasons accounting for the decrease in sales as just 10% and 2.5% of the respondents indicated them respectively.

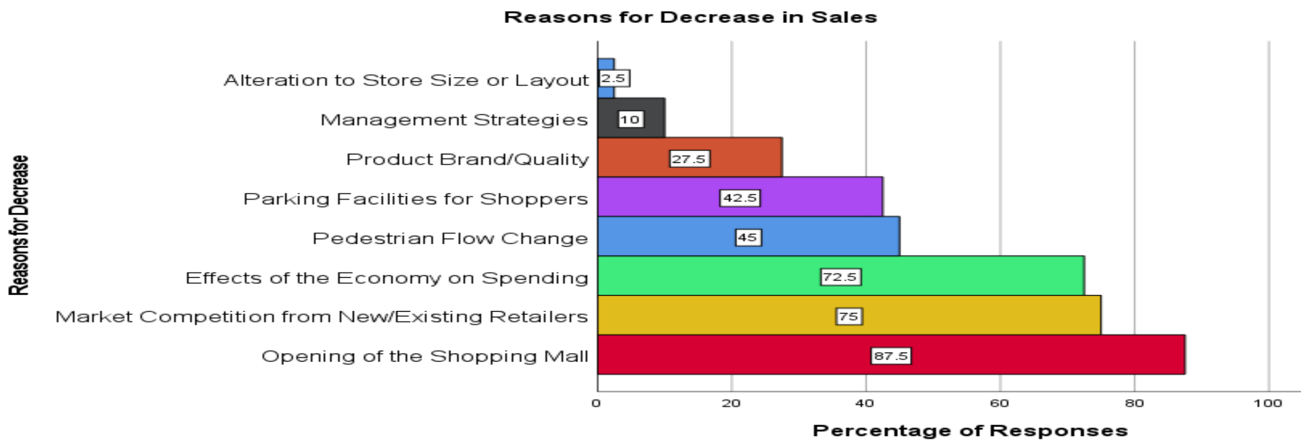


Figure 8. 15 Reasons Cited for the Decrease in Sales. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

8.14.3 Reasons for Increase in Sales Levels

Undoubtedly, this survey has shown that the vast majority of traditional small-scale retailers have suffered a consistent decline in sales over the four years under review. However, the survey also showed that modest gains were made somehow along the line by relatively few numbers of respondents. This study was able to establish earlier in this analysis that certain categories of traders were benefiting from the enhanced vibrancy and vitality engendered by the ongoing transformations in the neighbourhood. These were mainly retailers offering products and services that were not provided by the mall and included those selling building materials, phone repairers, barbering, and hairdressing saloon operators. Surprisingly, shopkeepers did not find the opening of the mall as a significant reason for the increase in sales they experienced, given its central role in the transformation that has occurred and the ensuing high pedestrian flow in the area. A little under 17% of the respondents identified the opening of the mall as accounting for the increase in sales levels they recorded. As Figure 8.16 below depicts, the three most significant reasons that respondents indicated as the underlying causes of the increase in sales they experienced are issues related to the introduction of innovative initiatives into their business practices to counter the seemingly hostile retail environment.

However, the relatively low response rates suggest that only a few of these small-scale store operators can use these innovative ideas to boost their businesses. Around 40% of the respondents who experienced sales increment indicated that the new marketing strategies they used helped them to achieve their objective. While it was not clear which marketing strategies were adopted by these local retailers, one of the respondents indicated in the comments section: “I now do some discounts on the products and sell on credit too. And I have been able to build a considerable loyal customer base who don’t look elsewhere.” The second most cited reason for the increase in sales was what around 31% of the respondents indicated as managerial strategies. Again, it was not clear what managerial strategies were employed by these small traders as no further comments were made on it. However, since these small shops are mostly managed by one person, it could well be related to self-discipline and prudent use of resources rather than hiring someone with managerial skills to run the business. Some store owners have also gone to the extent of retrofitting their shops to boost sales. This was selected by 28.5% of the respondents who indicated that the alteration to the store size and layout they made yielded the increase in sales they experienced. Re-engineering a retail space can come at a significant cost which invariably places it beyond the means of many local and small retailers, particularly the caliber of shop operators encountered in this study. The vast majority (92%) are renting the property they are operating from. I, therefore, reckon that the kind of alteration in contention here is non-structural changes that involve in-store layout alterations such as adding additional shelves. But few others have been able to carry out major alterations, particularly retailers who are also property owners as was the case with one store operator who was able to expand her store and provide parking spaces for her customers.

The other reasons that the respondents deemed plausible as the cause of the increase in sales levels included product brand or quality which was cited by 26% of the respondents, effects of the economy by 23% of respondents, parking facilities by 14% of respondents, pedestrian flow change by 11.9% of the respondents and market competition which indicated by 9.5% of the respondents.

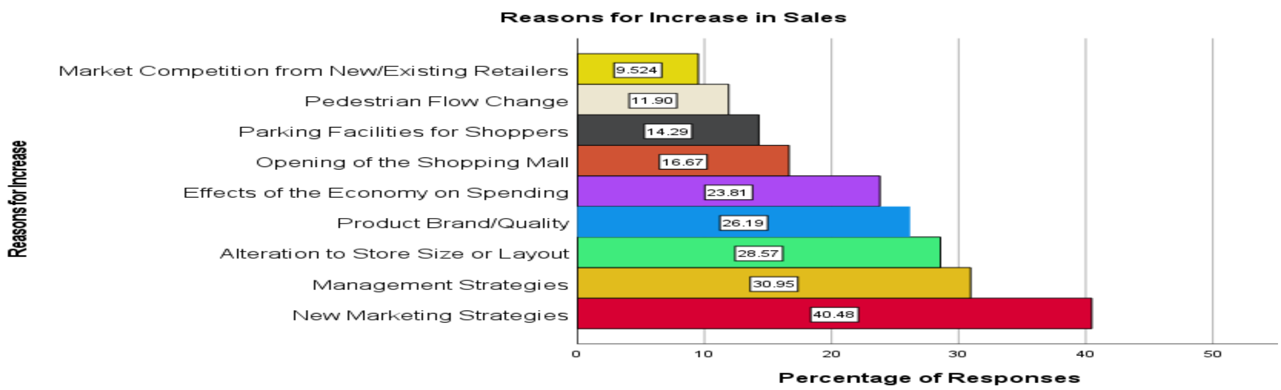


Figure 8. 16 Reasons Cited for Increase in Sales Level. Source: Retailer Survey, 2019.

8.15 Local Authority Strategies for Regenerating the Local Economy: Towards a Touristification Agenda.

The Ga South Municipal Assembly (GSMA) is one of the newly created local government authorities in the Greater Accra region. It was carved out of the Weija Municipal Assembly in 2017 and inaugurated in March 2018 to bring decentralised planning and governance further down to the grassroots level (GSMA, 2021). Changes in the demographic structure and the built environment over the years mean the local economy which was largely dependent on agriculture and fisheries is also changing as the local area transitions from its rural character to an urban agglomeration. It's been suggested that informal commercial and service activities are fast replacing the dominant primary economy (GSMA, 2021). However, there have been conscious efforts by the local authority through its medium and long-term development policy frameworks to completely restructure the local economy and enhance its revenue generation.

Developing the Tourism industry has been identified by the authorities as the way to enhance its competitiveness and the panacea to local economic growth and employment creation. For the first time and in furtherance to this agenda, the Assembly is said to have partnered with two NGOs to develop proposals to source global funding from the European Commission to enable it to create "decent work and employment" through nature-based tourism in the Municipality (GSMA, 2021). To unleash its tourism potential, the authority had plans to develop its natural sites which include the Solo Monkey sanctuary, lake, and beaches. For example, the proposed modification of the banks of the Weija Lake into an ultra-modern yacht and boat ridding to attract tourists and holidaymakers. The planned multi-million dollar public Recreational Park and Flower City Project along the green belt of the Densu River at Danchira is yet another example. The proposed project does not only seek to boost the tourism industry but also to create an industrial park with tax incentives to attract corporate organizations such as warehousing and distribution centres, manufacturing companies, food and beverage processors, and cold storage facilities for jobs and local economic development (GSMA, 2021). In its medium-term annual action plan for 2022, the Assembly had also proposed to acquire land banks throughout the Municipality for commercial, office, and industrial use (GSMA, 2021).

These ideals of new urban visioning are consistent with the broader understanding of contemporary approaches to urban planning and development, in which both local and central governments are now placing a premium on creating the enabling environment for global and local capital investors to transform the urban economy, which invariably also leads to further capital accumulation and profiteering. This resonates very much with the local authorities and it is within this urban planning and development framework that one can understand and appreciate the trajectory of urban transformation in the study area. The

WHSM has a special place in the Assembly's tourism drive as it is listed as one of the three key attractions in the Municipality (see GSMA, 2021). Together with the other luxury commercial and residential establishments, they form the foundation underpinning the quest to build a local economy that thrives on tourism. As one senior official of the local authority understands it:

"To build a competitive and thriving tourism industry these are things we need to support: Excellent hotels, guest houses, and first-class shopping centers like West Hills are the foundation upon which we can have a successful tourism industry………. We talk about countries like Tunisia and South Africa as major tourist destinations in Africa, and it is not because they have more interesting and natural attractions than us. The difference is because they have better infrastructure to host tourists." [Interview with local authority official, 2020].

While the assembly does not have explicit policies that seek to incriminate traditional urban livelihood systems including small-scale and local retail businesses, it fully agrees that modernisation of the system is imperative in the 21st Century globalising and competitive world. It recognises the importance of the traditional economic system in providing livelihoods for the vast majority of the population and the revenue the Assembly gets from that sector but appears to have no clues as to what support the central or local government can offer to keep such vulnerable retailers in the business.

"I understand the problems they are going through but that is the reality……… The world is changing very fast and we all need to adapt to new situations………. Like I said before, we are there [reference to the Assembly] to create a conducive environment for businesses to take advantage of. We are not happy to see small businesses collapsing but I think as the planning authority, we continue to do a lot of things and it is just up to them to be innovative a bit and take advantage of the system. The big stores also took advantage of the system and I believe they are doing well. So they can also do the same. I don't think there is any magic wand anywhere." [Interview with Local Authority Official, 2020].

In a neoliberal world economic order where urban development strategies are mainly driven by the need to build competitive urban centres, the free hands of market forces are allowed to shape the contours of contemporary urban landscapes, with capitalist investors having an unfeathered advantage. As frantic efforts are being made to link local economies to global ones to facilitate the inflow of foreign capital in the form of investments and tourism promotion for economic growth and prosperity, critical local problems that require swift interventions are overshadowed. However, without the right policy interventions to level the playing field, such a new urban outlook only serves to create imbalances and exacerbate the vulnerabilities in the weaker sections of societies, as it is unfolding in the study area. Attempts to turn places into tourism enclaves (Touristification) have their inherent problems as the literature seems to suggest. Touristification as a process of urban gentrification has been well conceptualised and also established empirically. It causes the displacement of local populations and traditional economic systems. (see, for example, Cocola-Gant, 2018; Fox Gotham, 2018; Hubscher, 2021; Lopez-Gay et al., 2021; Zhang et al., 2022).

8.16 Is Continuity a Mark of Resilience or Just a Borrowed Time?

Traditional small-scale store operators in the neighbourhood have been caught up in unprecedented and ongoing urban processes. For many these unfolding processes in the neighbourhood put them in uncharted territory in their lives as retailers which are now becoming very difficult to navigate. Store owners have had to contend in an enduring manner with a situation where the processes of urban transformation are incrementally gravitating an entire community towards an urban fortress-affluent neighbourhood. The central role of the WHSM in revolutionising the residential and commercial environment has already been articulated in previous sections of this analysis.

One key manifestation triggered by the unfolding urban transformation processes was the valorisation of land. Speculative investments by corporate real estate developers in the residential and commercial property sectors inspired by the need to close a rent gap have had general cascading effects on property rental values, including existing properties. Small and local store operators have had to pay more in rent. Consequently, the vast majority are increasingly coming under the mercy of landlords who arbitrarily increase rent on account of a transforming residential and commercial environment. And with persistent rent hikes becoming a major issue that is affecting the cost of doing business, the resilience of these small-scale retailers is hugely been put to the test as it stretches beyond its limit. At what length can they go on sustaining their businesses while they continue to pay more for rent as the ongoing transformation of the urban landscape continues to increase land and rental values?

At the same time, the resultant demographic transition ongoing in the neighbourhood as a result of the residential gentrification processes also has implications for traditional small store operators. The structure of the local population is increasingly tilting towards a burgeoning middle to a high-income community whose shopping behaviour means their allegiance is leaning more towards modern shopping formats than traditional stores. And with most small store retailers dependent on the local population as their market source, it is common knowledge that local and small retailers are not benefiting from the ongoing demographic changes in terms of customers. Residential gentrification also means that local store operators are losing their existing customers who are mainly poor and long-term residents through displacement as many can't afford the new rent charges that are emerging with the transformation. With the emergence of superstores offering products at hugely discounted prices, the competitiveness of small storekeepers in the neighbourhood is further threatened as customers including the poor switch to the new stores. The cumulative effect of these is shrinking market size for local store retailers.

The empirical manifestation of this insidious urban transformation process is the declining sales levels experienced by a significant majority of storekeepers surveyed. Only a few could reinvent themselves by adopting new marketing and managerial strategies, and to some extent altering their stores to compete in a highly volatile retail environment. Perhaps, the only coping strategy that this study found among these distressed retailers is the ability to negotiate with landlords for flexible and shorter tenancy agreements, which enables them to terminate contracts at short notice when things are not going well for them.

The vast majority of local store operators find themselves in a vulnerable position. The combined effects of both structural and systemic factors have significantly weakened the resilience of local store operators who are now grasping at straws to succeed in very difficult terrain. The fact that some are contemplating leaving their trade if the status quo remains shows that their resilience has been stretched to the breaking point. But gentrification is a long-term process and unleashes its greatest havoc - displacement, as the phenomenon progresses. The unfolding events currently ongoing in the study area are just the beginning of a process that is at the moment gradually displacing some retailers and posing a serious challenge to the resilience of others to continue their business. Nevertheless, a complete urban change is inevitable when the process of gentrification reaches its peak.

8.17 Summary

I have argued in this chapter that the West Hills Mall (WHSM) is at the centre of the ongoing residential and commercial gentrification which is transforming the urban form and lifestyle in the study area. By placing the mall at the centre of these urban transformation processes, a better understanding of its impacts on traditional small-scale neighbourhood stores is afforded. A thriving real estate market for luxury residential properties has emerged in the area with the mall's proximity providing support for the consumption lifestyle of the burgeoning middle and high-income new residents in the neighbourhood. A detailed account of the shopping behaviour of the malls' patrons is also given and I have demonstrated how their shopping lifestyle is engendering the proliferation of other corporate retail establishments that have been inspired by the pioneering success of the mall. As a corollary, traditional and existing small-scale stores have not benefited much from the ongoing transformation as the new residents have failed to patronise them.

I have also demonstrated in this chapter how the ongoing urban processes are causing a hike in land and rental values in the community which is affecting the cost of doing business, particularly for the small local store operators. It emerged from the study that local shopkeepers have had to contend with the payment of high rents which have affected the viability of small retail businesses in the neighbourhood and pushed many to the brink. At the same time, these retailers have also seen their share of the market consistently shrinking in two ways as a result of the gentrification processes. Firstly, through the residential gentrification process where long-term poor residents who form the customer base of these local small shops are displaced due to the hike in rental values. Secondly, through the retail gentrification process, the emergence of big stores offering highly discounted products attracts poor consumers and diverts trade from the small stores.

I also analysed the sales performance of the storekeepers surveyed which showed that the vast majority of storekeepers experienced a decline in sales levels from 2016 to 2019. The most significant reasons the retailers identified as the cause of the decrease in turnover were the opening of the mall, the highly competitive environment in which they operate, and the effects of the economy on consumer spending. While the analysis could not empirically establish displacements induced by the gentrification process in the study area, anecdotal accounts by local retailers and my analysis of official data from the local authority suggest exceedingly high rates of retail closures in the local area. I subsequently argued that the hostile environment created by the gentrification process and the neoliberal urban planning regime being pursued by city authorities, which is predicated on free market economic principles put local small-scale retailers in a very precarious situation. Complete obliteration of local small retail stores from the neighbourhood is therefore highly probable as the gentrification process peaks.

Chapter9
Discussion and Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the key findings and offers concluding thoughts about the study. It first, gives a summary of the background to the study, followed by the key findings established concerning the objectives outlined in the study. A conceptual model for understanding the ideological position of malls in urban regeneration and its implications for traditional retail forms is also suggested in this chapter The chapter then highlights the value of the study and its contribution to knowledge and its relevance in practical terms. Reflections on the study's limitations are also reviewed in this chapter and recommendations are offered for areas that may require further attention in future research of this calibre.

9.2 Study Background

The study situates two of Accra's iconic shopping malls- the Accra and West Hills Mall in a neoliberal and globalising city-making context: the very processes that gave birth to them, and many others, to understand how they impact nearby existing traditional retail systems. The values of urban planning and development in the global south have significantly shifted from the state seeking the welfare and collective interest of its vulnerable population to pursuing policies that will make cities competitive on the global stage for the inward flow of FDI for economic growth and development. Consequently, the imperatives of modernising urban infrastructure to attract international investors have made urban development more entrepreneurial as private investors leverage their capital to take a commanding lead in the planning and development of contemporary cities and urban centres, with profit-making motives. Accra's urban form has changed tremendously since the turn of the 21st century under a neoliberal and business-friendly climate as successive governments strategically position the city as an investment 'gateway' in Ghana and the West African sub-region. Subsequently, international private capital investments have seen the emergence of an entirely new globalised Central Business District (CBD) around the city's only international airport, serving as the headquarters of key international corporate organisations operating in the country, an 'Accra World Trade Centre', hosting international financial and business entities near the traditional CBD, ongoing regeneration of the seafront into a major tourist destination (the marine drive project), the proliferation of gated communities and modern commercial spaces including shopping malls dotted around the city, among many other luxury projects.

In a notorious poverty endemic city like Accra, where the majority of the people live and earn their livelihood informally, attempts to completely modernise urban space through neoliberal processes have further exposed the vulnerabilities of the urban majority as private investors accumulate capital and profit at the peril of the poor (accumulation by urban dispossession). This raises fundamental issues about urban justice and the rights of the poor urban majority in a fragmented city whose economy is still predominantly informal. Global city-making also raises critical questions about the sustainability of the trajectory of contemporary urban development in Accra and other global south cities.

The proliferation of shopping malls in Accra provides the lenses through which the effects of neoliberal globalisation on existing traditional urban forms can be well interrogated and understood. In this case study, their impacts on informal traders and local small store operators around the Accra and West Hills Malls respectively. Although malls are mainly private sector initiatives with profit-making as the motivation, they have emerged as part of the state's endeavour to extract value from urban development by way of attracting more FDI and international tourists to boost national economic growth and development. As such, the urgency to factor them into broader urban planning and development schemes as conduits for regenerating the predominantly and existing traditional economic retail forms is lacking.

9.3 Key Findings of the Study

This section summarises the key findings that emerged from the study by putting them in broader perspectives while addressing the research objectives. The study attempts to understand the impacts of the Accra and West Hills Malls on nearby traditional retail forms by investigating the linkages and emerging consumption cultures that have developed between the use of the mall and the surrounding retail forms, the trading consequences of the transformed retail environment for existing traditional retail operators and the resilience of these traditional retail forms in the context of a changed retail environment. The results show that the two malls have played a significant role in re-configuring the urban form and urbanism in the immediate surroundings, including the retail systems and beyond. In a neoliberal and globalising city context, the overall import of this study is to demonstrate the potency of shopping malls in re-ordering urban space and producing new and exclusionary urbanism in their immediate surroundings.

9.4 Shopping Malls and Emerging Consumption Cultures

It is important to re-echo the vitalising effects of the two iconic retail centres in terms of the high footfall engendered in their respective domains. As regional centres their catchment transcends the Accra city region and appeals to visitors from other regions for varying purposes, although shopping remained key for the visits. The study also shows that the use of the mall by its patrons has significant implications for other retail systems in their immediate surroundings.

While the emergence of the modern Western retail format in the developing world is known to have largely imbued new shopping and consumption culture and altered lifestyles - significantly aligning to the global norm, the case of the ASM and its users depicts glocalization tendencies as mall patrons did not completely abandon their traditional shopping habits but sought to integrate them into global practices. The mall user survey, for instance, shows that, while all respondents also patronised traditional retail outlets, almost half of them (49.3%) used the surrounding traditional retail forms as well. In effect a significant number of mall users found the surrounding informal retail market useful as it provided the opportunity for them to blend global consumption cultures with local practices to satisfy their shopping aspirations. Contrary to the widely held notion that malls are the preserve of the middle- and high-income classes, low-income people also patronised the facility largely due to its strategic location which makes it easily accessible by users from different socioeconomic backgrounds, who visited using their cars or the public transport system.

In contrast, the consumption practices of the WHSM users showed a polarising trend towards modern retail formats. While an overwhelming majority (73%) of users patronised shops in the neighbourhood, shopping visits were mainly to department stores (53.8%) and supermarkets (21.2%) in the neighbourhood. Traditional small stores in the study area attracted less than 4% of the visits by mall users. It is important to outline the contextual issues explaining this pattern. Understandably, the siting of the mall in a peri-urban area outside metropolitan Accra was borne out of speculation that it would catalyse a booming market for luxury residential properties in Accra's western corridor (see Eduful, 2019). Indeed, the mall's influential role in transforming the demography of the neighbourhood has been remarkable as the increasing population of the middle class took up residence in upend residential facilities, with some new residents citing the mall as a major reason for relocating to the area. The mall provided a space for leisure and shopping which perfectly matches the ostentatious lifestyles of these new residents. Further, the location of the mall outside metropolitan Accra meant it is more suitable for middle-class shoppers who are more likely to own a car for such trips. As such, the WHSM which is more aligned to the middle-class whose propensity for shopping in modern retail formats makes small indigenous stores less appealing.

The results from the ASM study also indicated that the mall has far-reaching consequences on consumption culture far beyond its immediate confines as products from one of its anchor tenants (Shoprite) are widely distributed in Accra and beyond through informal channels. Mall users included indigenous and small retail operators who travelled from different places for bulk purchases of merchandise and onward distribution to the final consumer in other parts of the city. While the extent to which the mall is involved in the wholesale supply chain could not be established by this study, it is worth noting that it invokes thoughts about the retail structure in the colonial and the early post-independence era, when British retail companies such as UAC and Kingsway stores constituted themselves as empires and dominated the retail industry by playing a central role in the supply of imported merchandise to indigenous and small retail businesses throughout the colony (Jones, 1983).

From the Accra mall study, a very strong synergy between the mall and traditional retail businesses could be established. This enduring connection between the contrasting retail forms was also found to be mutually beneficial, and it's sustained by the shopping lifestyle of mall users which straddles the two retail forms. The huge footfall on the mall, therefore, serves as an important source of market for the informal traders who sell different kinds of products in the immediate surroundings. This is not only significant for the local economy but also helps to sustain livelihoods in a city where most urban dwellers work outside the wage labour market because of inadequate job opportunities in the formal sectors of the economy.

The study also found the existence of the informal retail market around the mall as critical to sustaining businesses in the mall, and for that matter contributing to the authority's aspiration of transforming Accra into a global city. It has been forcefully argued with empirical evidence elsewhere that the success of the mall hugely hinges on the thriving informal market around it. This finding corroborates Oteng-Ababio and Arthur's (2015) study which confirmed with empirical evidence that the Accra Shopping Malls' success hinged on the thriving informal market operating around it. It also reinforces a very broad consensus in the literature as previously highlighted in this study that the success of the mall concept in the developing world largely depended on the incorporation of local cultural sensitivities into the promotion of global consumption cultures (glocalization).

While malls in Accra have generally failed to adopt this model in their operations, the existence of an informal retail market around the ASM filled an important gap in the shopping aspirations of some mall users, particularly those with lower socio-economic status who constitute the largest segment of the population. As established by the findings, the outside informal market constituted the 'external anchor' of the mall as it enabled some users of the mall to feel a sense of inclusion, which in turn promoted consumption in both spaces. For example, low-income patrons who could not afford to use the food courts in the mall could still spend more time in the mall patronising other services such as the playground or cinema while using the local eateries outside. In addition to this, the mall incorporates informal and small retail enterprises into its business model through its anchor tenants who also operate as wholesale distribution centres where these small enterprises source merchandise and re-sell elsewhere in the city and beyond.

The WHSM and the lifestyle of its users epitomised the establishment of an enduring class consumption culture with significant implications for traditional and small local store operators. A growing middle-class population in a neighbourhood with a distinctive consumption lifestyle is a powerful force engendering the re-making of place and effectively reconfiguring the retail structure in a neighbourhood. This study found that as the new middle-class residents seek to impose their consumption practices, it has inspired corporate retailers to extend their investment portfolio into the neighbourhood. Visible signs of retail gentrification are beginning to manifest as investors in Western and modern retail formats take advantage of the consumption lifestyle of the emergent affluent residents and muscle local store operators out of business. The close relationship between the consumption lifestyle of middle-class urbanites and retail gentrification is not a phenomenon that has been discussed by urban scholars in only advanced capitalist societies such as those observed by Zukin (2009) in the US, Hubbard (2017) in the UK or Mermet (2017) in France. It is also becoming more pronounced in third-world cities as Western consumer practices transcend boundaries and escalate into a global culture, which is profoundly producing very powerful middle-class consumption gentrifiers in the global south. The proliferation of Western-style retail formats such as supermarkets, coffee shops, boutiques, shopping malls, and fast-food restaurants driven mainly by the consumption lifestyle of the emerging middle class in the global south is transforming retail environments previously dominated by traditional small stores serving the needs of local communities as this study and others have found (see for example. Cao, 2023; Lees et al., 2015; Lopez-Morales, 2015; McDermott, 2019).

9.5 Trading Impacts of the Shopping Malls on Surrounding Traditional Retail Forms

A key objective of the study was to understand how shopping malls impact the trading activities of traditional retail systems in their immediate surrounding. It emerged from both case studies that malls are embedded in very complex socio-economic and political processes, and to understand their effects is to meticulously deconstruct these processes. The preponderance of neoliberalism and globalisation in the urbanisation processes in Accra and other third-world cities is the emergence of powerful transnational forces aided by local political actors in the reconfiguration of urban forms and the creation of new urbanism. In this study, I draw the mall into these neoliberal and global processes to explain how they mediate the impact on traditional retailers around them. Understandably, malls in this context are icons of modernity and progress, and catalysts for further capital investments in urban development. These imperatives underpin why mall investors are such powerful actors in contemporary urban development processes in Accra, to the extent that they are not subjected to any rigorous planning reviews by the local state. It also helps to understand why state resources can be expended selectively to provide security and protect the interests of private capital investors, as is the case with the Accra and West Hills malls.

However, I must emphasise here that the nature and trajectory of the impacts of the two case studies are not similar. They follow different paths due to the unique circumstances surrounding each case. In the case of ASM, the impact was driven mainly by the conscious effort by the city authorities to displace informal traders from the mall's environs through a revanchist policy as it sought to further the world-class city-making agenda. The mall as an artefact of globalisation symbolises hope for this new city-making agenda. It is a well-known fact that informality, in general, has been considered a bane on modernisation and development in southern cities since colonial times, for which reason efforts have been made to uproot it. But it is also the reality that it is actively present and endemic in the cityscape. This is because its resilience stems from the fact that it is the only means to survival for the urban majority who have had to find ways to pursue their livelihoods in a seemingly hostile environment.

However, in the case of the WHSM, the impacts on small local store operators can be described as the unintended consequences of a shopping mall-induced gentrification process that is transforming the residential and commercial geography of a peri-urban neighbourhood into a middle-class consumption enclave. In such a speculative and market-driven environment, indigenous small retail businesses are rendered less competitive and highly susceptible to displacement, although they're entities formally regulated by the state.

The ASM study shows that a symbiotic relationship exists between the mall and the neighbouring informal retail forms in mutually sustaining ways. Whereas the location of the mall defies the logic of sustainable environmental planning and management practices due to its contribution to exacerbating the chaotic vehicular traffic situation in the area, the study finds its location as an enabler in the transformation of the surrounding area into a viable spot for informal retail activities. Apart from the exceedingly high traffic holdups which have created a conducive environment for petty traders who navigate in-between the almost stagnated vehicles to sell their wares, the mall has also engendered massive pedestrian traffic in the area, not only created by the high footfall on the mall but also the transformation of the location into a major transportation hub following the development of the mall. Consequently, the resultant effect is the surge in the informal retail activities in the mall's surrounding areas as the city's proletariat finds the development conducive to earning a livelihood in a city where jobs in the formal sector are scarce.

However, the development around the mall stands counter to the global city-making as envisioned by key policy actors- as a value extraction commodity through the promotion of private capital investments in the modernisation of the built environment. As such, the urban renewal process under the guise of neoliberalism is fraught with inequalities and urban injustices as the most vulnerable urban populations are often dispossessed of their right to livelihood in the quest to protect the interest of private investors. This study therefore found a semblance of the state-led type of 'accumulation by urban dispossession' ongoing in the mall's immediate surroundings- similar to the exclusionary trends associated with global capital and neoliberal urban redevelopment projects earlier discussed by other urban scholars relative to contemporary Accra (see Gillespie, 2016; Gillespie, 2020; Falt, 2016; Yeboah et al., 2021; Oteng-Ababio and Grant, 2019; Grant, 2009; Afenah, 2009). It is in this context that this study interprets the revanchist posturing exhibited by the local authority in the malls' surroundings within a broader framing of neoliberal urban development, which is to extract value from urban transformation by promoting and protecting the interest of capital investors against groups whose activities are deemed as inimical to development (Smith, 1998). In this case, the mall exemplifies an iconic landmark that can serve as a catalyst for further urban revitalisation and economic growth, for which reason it should be protected against all perceived threats and undesirable elements.

The mall and the emerging repressive governance regime around it provide the impetus for understanding how neoliberal policies focusing on urban regeneration impact negatively nearby informal retailers' trading activities. Drawing from experience in New York in the 1990s, Smith (1998) as in Mackie et al, (2014), described such "zero tolerance policies as attempts to reclaim the city for the elite." Putting this in context, I interpret the punitive policing around the mall as an attempt to preserve the elitist consumption culture of Accra's middle class. But it is also clear from the findings that the Accra Mall is not the preserve of the middle-upper classes, as it also draws its customers from the poor as well. While the study found the mall to be the most important agent enabling the viability of informal trading and increased turnovers, its iconic status betrays the relevance of the existence of informal retail activities around it which gives cause for it to be uprooted from urban space. Traders attempted to draw a link between the intolerant posture put up by the local authority and the existence of the mall and were both cited as the main cause of the reduction in sales they experienced. This revanchist policy intended to remove traders from the malls' vicinity not only impacted negatively on trading activities and sales levels but also shaped the spatial and temporality of informal trading around the mall. The study found the activities to be sparse and widely distributed during daytime, while at night prevailing clusters of heavy concentration of retail activities depict a sense of stability. What is also worth noting from this study is the social and economic effects of the revanchist policy.

The most intriguing finding of the study is the seemingly enduring and mutually sustaining relationship that appeared to have been developing between an artefact of neoliberal globalisation (shopping mall) and the traditional urban system (informal retailing). The literature on retail globalisation in third-world cities suggests that the success of transnational retail corporations largely depends on how they adapt to sociocultural and economic sensitivities in the host country (see Salcedo, 2003; Abaza, 2001; Dholakia, 2012). This study and that of Arthur and Oteng-Ababio (2015) have demonstrated the importance of the informal retail sector in sustaining businesses in the shopping mall. Despite the contribution of informal trading to the urban economy and a major source of employment in many low-income cities, they have not been integrated into the urban planning process in real terms. The Informal retail sector has a potential role to play in sustaining shopping malls and the global city ideal as this case study shows, but these have been hugely ignored. From a Marxist perspective, it can be argued that the relationship between the mall and the informal retail sector is an exploitative one as the latter aids the former in accumulating further capital but is not reciprocated.

The WHSM case study, on the other hand, shows the centrality of the mall in the reconfiguration of the urban form and the emergence of a new urban lifestyle in a peri-urban part of Accra. The establishment of the mall in a seemingly less urbanised part of Accra was the trigger point for heightened speculative capital investment in luxury residential and commercial properties by corporate real estate developers. Here it is important to note that the mall's impact on existing and traditional local stores in the neighbourhood is produced by a complex set of interactions between the mall, and a broader process of residential and commercial gentrifications. As the study found, the development of the mall was the driving force for the surge in the market for upend residential properties closer to the mall, and consequently the increasing population of middle-high income residents whose consumption lifestyle has redefined shopping culture in the area.

It is important to reiterate the motivations underpinning the siting of such an iconic retail centre like the WHSM outside the metropolitan area of Accra. Indeed, the motivation as articulated by the initiators was hugely driven by the need to create a market for luxury residential properties in peri-urban Accra (see Eduful, 2019 for a detailed account). Such investments by real estate developers in a seemingly poor and semi-rural location are therefore borne out of the urban speculation syndrome – the desire by capitalist investors to accumulate wealth by taking advantage of relatively cheaper land at the urban periphery. Investor confidence is further enhanced by the presence of an iconic architectural landmark such as a mall in the neighbourhood (Sklair, 2005). The pivotal role of the mall in creating demand for such luxury properties is key and has been forcefully corroborated in this study by some mall users, who cited it as fundamental in the decision they took to take up residence in the neighbourhood. As a corollary, the weight of evidence that malls are being used as tools to promote the production and consumption of luxury real estate properties also lies in their emerging function as venues where real estate developers and suppliers of luxury building products converge annually to showcase and find a market for their products. Dubbed 'the Habitat Fair Clinic', the WHSM car park is usually overwhelmed by erected canopies housing stands for the various real estate companies participating in this annual event (see MyJoyOnline, 2023) for a news report on recent clinics held. This is akin to the mall being used by real estate developers to enhance the value of their products.

The prevailing middle-class shopping culture in the neighbourhood has also bolstered the confidence of other corporate retail investors who also drew their inspiration from the pioneering success of a mall in a peri-urban area to establish modern retail facilities in the area. Peri-urban gentrification therefore provided the framework for analysing the impacts of the mall on nearby small retail shops, previously serving the needs of the local community. The findings are consistent with the retail gentrification literature.

The key finding from the study is the consistent loss of competitiveness of small Indigenous stores in the neighbourhood in the context of regeneration. The surge of the middle-class population with their elitist consumption lifestyle and the proliferation of modern retail spaces in the study area means local small retail stores are not only potentially becoming unviable but also increasingly losing their existing customers to corporate retailers selling quality and relatively cheaper products. Storekeepers draw a connection between the shopping mall and the changing retail landscape to explain the overwhelming dwindling sales levels experienced by the majority of storekeepers between 2016 and 2019. While the literature on commercial gentrification has tended to emphasise the displacement of local retail stores by cafes, boutiques, chain stores, shopping malls, etc. providing ostentatious products to meet the taste of middle-class consumers (Zukin, 2009; Gonzalez and Waley, 2012; Mermet, 2016), it emerged from this study that some of the modern retailers posed a further existential threat to the local shops by targeting poor consumers with affordable products.

The precarious retail environment created by urban transformation for the local retailers has been further exacerbated by high rental costs, as the study established. Traders have had to contend with hikes in the cost of doing business as landlords seek to close a rent gap that has arisen from the regeneration of the surrounding built environment in the study area. Consequently, tenants had to pay exceedingly high rental costs which some retailers found to be unsustainable and not making business sense. Studies elsewhere in the developing world have shown a close link between the development of shopping malls and the enhanced value and subsequently, the rental prices of proximate properties, albeit the focus has been on residential and not commercial properties (Zhang et al., 2019; Erkip, 2005; Addae-Dapaah and Lan, 2010). My finding therefore adds to the existing literature on the external effects of shopping malls on property markets by demonstrating how nearby commercial property owners ride on the development of the mall to arbitrarily increase rental prices.

While the study showed that a small group of local shop operators has benefited from the neighbourhood regeneration process in terms of footfall and increased turnovers, there was a clear and prevailing sense of vulnerability and apprehension exhibited by local store operators in a neighbourhood that is undergoing gentrification. Understandably, the study found evidence of exceptionally high rates of retail closure in the study area compared to the other local areas in the municipality, per the analysis of data from the Municipal Authority sources. My observations throughout the fieldwork also showed evidence of some closures. While the study could not empirically establish the reasons for the closures from the perspective of the retailers involved, the narrative from existing storekeepers' points to displacement induced by urban regeneration.

Putting the WHSM into the broader frame of contemporary urban visioning and development processes, it is imperative to underscore the central role malls play in re-ordering surrounding urban forms and creating new urbanism, with consequences for existing and traditional forms of urban life. Largely, it is these transformations mediated by the mall that shape the effects. The mall in this sense as articulated in the study is not just a conceived space for the retailing of goods and services, but ideologically, a space investors and the state exploit as a place marketing tool to promote further investments in the production of more spaces for consumption, and profit accumulation. Indeed, in a peri-urban setting, it is these remarkable transformations that significantly produce urban polarisation in ways that enable capitalist investors and middle-class consumers to determine and have absolute control over the future course of urban development. Such urban processes are inherently exclusionary as they tend to create social and economic marginalisation for the hitherto predominant local population and their modes of livelihood through real and perceived threats of displacement as typified by the case of the small local retail operators around the mall. Therefore, the location of a shopping mall in an urban periphery such as the WHSM could be the initiating force of retail-led gentrification if the imperative of urban regeneration continues to be centred only on promoting elite consumption cultures and profit accumulation in the context of the 'worlding' of cities. A more progressive and sustainable model that incorporates pro-poor and social equity into the conception, design, and development of shopping malls is required to create economic opportunities for all in spatially just urban forms; to foster sustainable paths to economic growth and development, particularly in cities where most of the population are confronted with poverty and marginalisation in the neoliberal turn of urbanisation.

9.6 Further Impacts Emerging from the Findings

The inherent revanchist urban policies and the gentrification effects that have come to be associated with the emergence of shopping malls in a global south city like Accra have had far-reaching social and psychological ramifications as this study uncovered. For the informal trader operating around the mall to whom trading has become the only livelihood choice, which is also dependent on the location, it is a daily struggle for the survival of entire households. As the study found, some traders were the principal breadwinners with dependents. However, as pursuing their livelihoods near a shopping mall has been deemed by city authorities as unacceptable and inimical to the visioning of the city in global terms, the accompanying retribution including forced evictions, and confiscations of their wares do not only disrupt their ability to fulfil their social responsibilities towards their families but also have implications for their mental health, as well as the wellbeing of the dependant family members.

In very extreme circumstances, revanchism can have undesirable impacts including complete loss of businesses and houses as Musoni (2010) recounted about the forceful removal of street vendors from central Zimbabwe. The emotions with which some traders recounted their experiences as traders and at the same time as family heads are indicative of psychologically traumatised citizens who have become victims of globalisation and neoliberal urban processes. In this context, traders have no options except to find ways and means to navigate through a very hostile and exceptionally treacherous retail environment as they seek to make a livelihood, with its attendant psychological implications.

Similarly, the ever-escalating threat of losing a business in a gentrifying peri-urban neighbourhood is seemingly sending shivers down the spine of some local small shop operators, invoking moments of despair. This was noticeable through my encounter with some of these storekeepers, who wore feelings of uncertainty not only about the future of their businesses but also the well-being of family members who depend on them. As one local storekeeper echoes her sentiments; 'I have a young family to cater for and I don't know what the future holds for them because everything depends on me …. But the way things are moving now [reference to her business] it is difficult for me to say I can continue to provide the kind of care and upbringing I wish to give them.' Indeed, in the context of neoliberal and market-oriented urban development regimes, this can be the defining moment in the lives of marginalised urban dwellers as the lack of social welfare policies further exacerbate vulnerabilities. In the case of the small local retailer, displacement is increasingly becoming inevitable as a private capital investment in urban renewal with its accumulation intents sits well with state and local government visioning of urban futures. As such, the sense of uncertainty, insecurity, and marginalisation caused by gentrification can have deleterious effects on the health and well-being of the poor who are already bearing the brunt. The conceptualisation of the health impacts of gentrification, particularly the mental health of marginalised groups is beginning to proliferate in both the academic and public health practice literature (Wilder et al., 2017; Bhavsar et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2020; Anguelovski et al., 2019; Anguelovski et al., 2021). While it is not the focus of this study, it draws our attention to the potential mental health implications of high rental payments and disruption to previously existing social networks through displacements. In the traditional retail setup, the activity transcends mere buying and selling to the forging of closer bonds of friendships between traders and customers.

9.7 The Resilience of Traditional Retail Forms Around the Shopping Mall

In the case of informal retailing, the study found that the resilience of traders around the mall is a reactive response to the ideals of neoliberal urban development rather than any in-built and policy-driven adaptative mechanism to urban change. The designation of informality as the urban pathogen can be traced to the era of the colonial city formation in Africa where systematic attempts to consign the phenomenon to the periphery resulted in the segregation of the urban form (Mabogunje, 1990). And while the enactment of punitive by-laws and the use of force to remove informal economic activities including retailing from urban space has its historical antecedent, the pursuit of neoliberal and entrepreneurial forms of urban governance in modern times has further exacerbated informal traders' vulnerabilities through dispossessions and displacements as city authorities seek to attract capital investments through modernisation of the built environment. Putting the Accra mall into this context, the revanchist measures put in place by the municipal authority to sanitise urban space and protect the integrity of the mall as the catalyst for building a competitive city have by no means weakened the resilience of informal traders operating around it. But it is also worth noting that urban informality in the global south has intensified in form and increased spatially in urban centres in recent times as neoliberal policies create excess labour supply in the context of unprecedentedly high rates of urbanization. The pervasiveness of informal trading including street vending is a reality of urbanisation in developing countries as it becomes the livelihood choice for the unemployed masses. As such, the phenomenon has persisted and still constitutes a significant part of the urban economy in most developing countries, despite attempts to remove it from urban space.

The resilience of the informal economy including retailing in the context of neoliberalism and efforts to enhance the global competitiveness of cities in the developing world have been discussed relative to collective mobilisations and solidarity from civil society organisations at both local and international levels (see for example Grant, 2009). These have seen the emergence of powerful political and social forces in urban governance promoting urban inclusivity, and more importantly, safeguarding the interest of people who live and earn their livelihoods through informal means. Indeed, these have resulted in some cases the integration of informal street traders into urban planning processes as Skinner (2009), observed in Durban, South Africa.

While Ghana has such progressive and inclusive urban development policies, they only exist as mere intents and have not had any relevant practical effect in terms of implementation. Events unfolding around the two shopping malls show the scale of the vulnerabilities that traditional retail forms have been further exposed to in the context of neoliberal approaches to urban redevelopment. Informal traders around the Accra Mall have had to reinvent their ways, albeit under fragile conditions to appropriate public space to reproduce themselves. Significantly, this includes hiding their means of livelihood from the view of municipal authorities by trading late in the night. However, the physical conditions under which the night market operates further expose the traders to serious health and dangerous safety concerns.

In the case of the small local shop operators around the West Hills Mall, the gentrification effects of the ongoing transformation of the neighbourhood landscape have brought to the fore, yet another category of retailers whose activities, although, recognised within urban policy frameworks as legitimate, have become highly susceptible to the neoliberal processes and globalisation of urban development. While concerns about the effects of neoliberal urban policies and development in the global south have centred on their adverse impacts on informal livelihoods including petty trading, this study extends urban vulnerability in the context of contemporary urban planning and development to include local and small-store operators. The findings from the study suggest that these small retail shop operators have very little agency to compete or adapt to the changing peri-urban retail landscape and are facing a more serious existential threat than their informal counterparts.

9.8 Neoliberal Globalisation and the Modelling of the Impact of Shopping Malls.

In this section, I seek to develop and illustrate a model that helps to explain the impact of shopping malls based on empirical evidence in a global south context. The objective is to provoke further debate and a better understanding of how contemporary urban development processes interface with shopping malls to impact nearby traditional retail forms. This is particularly important for SSA cities where the proliferation of malls is a recent phenomenon, and there is a lack of conceptual clarity about how its impacts could be assessed. The tendency has been to draw on the extant literature which mainly has its theoretical and conceptual roots from Western experiences to analyse urban phenomenon in different contexts. In doing so, we miss the salient issues about the uniqueness of urbanism in those contexts. While I am not trying to overly make any new theoretical claims or propose a shift in paradigm with this model, it is an attempt to unravel the salient connections between shopping malls and urban regeneration ideologies in the global south context on one hand, and how they impact on traditional retail systems on the other hand. In this model, I conceptualise the shopping mall as a product of neoliberal and globalisation processes, and a consequence of the same. It views the mall as embedded in the strategic planning and visioning of cities as hubs of capital investments and consumption. It also conceptualises the mall as aligned with this strategic vision and is seen as important in enhancing the competitiveness of places to attract future capital investments and promote elite consumption culture for the benefit of private entrepreneurs and the government. Any attempt to understand the impacts of shopping malls on traditional retail systems should therefore situate the analysis within this conceptual worldview. From this perspective, the traditional retail system becomes the antithesis of the world class city-making aspirations. In a neoliberal context, the state is not only promoting private sector investments in shopping malls but also actively protecting them from all perceived threats and justifying their existence and designation as enablers of capital inflows. In this regard, revanchist policies and support for private-led gentrification of neighbourhoods have found expression in the state's resolve to protect and maintain the spatial and aesthetic qualities of the mall and its environs to extract value from urban regeneration.

The impact of the mall on the surrounding traditional retail forms can be properly analysed and well understood when these prevailing 'structures' and 'mechanisms' underpinning its existence are interrogated. The extant literature has assessed impacts with no recourse to the underlying processes driving the impacts. Impact studies have often focused on the emerging competitiveness generated by the development of new shopping malls, and analyses have centred on the measurement of a few concepts such as changes in trade diversion, footfall, sales, and vacancy levels without probing the structural issues surrounding the existence of malls that are generating the impacts. Figure 9.1 below systematically illustrates the impacts of shopping malls within the framework of neoliberal globalisation of cities as I have elaborated throughout this study.

In this model, the mall is conceptually embedded in the neoliberal ideologies of urban development which can be framed around city competitiveness, capital investment, and economic growth. The emergence of the shopping mall and its proliferation on the urban landscape, therefore, satisfies the aspiration of the global city visioning of urban competitiveness that is attracting FDI in retail development and globalisation of the retail structure. The shopping mall has also emerged ideologically as an iconic space that can be leveraged to pull further capital investment and tourism for development. Maintaining its aesthetics and integrity is critical to enhancing the market and use value of the surrounding space. Global urban processes that have emerged as the modes of making cities competitive have found relevance in urban planning and development in the global south. Revanchist urban policies and private sector-led gentrification are the generative mechanisms of urban space production around shopping malls which seek to exclude the so-called ‘undesirable’ activities. In this framing, the impact of shopping malls on traditional retail systems can be understood from a broader perspective. The trading impacts of shopping malls on existing and traditional retail forms from the global south perspective transcend the usual trade diversion rhetoric and include its revanchist and gentrification-induced displacements and their socio-economic and psychological effects on local traders and their families. The relationship between the shopping mall and the nearby traditional retail system, therefore, fits into the ‘accumulation by urban dispossession’ theoretical propositions which explains how neoliberal globalisation and urban redevelopment in the global south create not only marginalisation, but also have implications for sustainable urban futures, equity, and the economic rights of the underprivileged.

Figure 9. 1 Modelling the Impact of Shopping Malls on Traditional Retail Systems

9.9 Contributions of the Study

The study has theoretical, policy, and industry implications. Our knowledge and understanding of the impacts of new shopping centres or malls on existing and traditional retail forms have largely been drawn from experiences in Western cities. The theories, concepts, and methods underpinning these studies have informed studies in different urban settings elsewhere, including in the emerging and developing countries of the world. However, their appropriateness in understanding urban phenomena in different contexts may be far-fetched. The conceptualisation of mall impacts on existing and traditional retail systems and its assessment has largely been based on market competition, with these modern retail formats seen as wielding the power to divert trade from the traditional retail setup. As such, the tendency has been for this trade diversion to be accounted for through quantitative measurement of changes in sales and employment levels before and after the mall was built. However, this North-centric understanding of impact appear too simplistic and less relevant in explaining mall impacts in a global South context where the urban dynamics are different. The relationship between malls and the traditional retail system is a complex one, and can only be understood by identifying the mediating mechanisms and structures.

However, considering the global turn of urban development and the ongoing capitalist restructuring in southern cities, it was imperative to dwell on global north theoretical constructs to engage with the processes of globalisation and urban transformation in a global south city. This study consequently used critical urban theories to interrogate malls in Accra. Indeed, the use of such Marxist theoretical constructs as 'revanchism', 'gentrification', 'accumulation by urban dispossession' and the 'rent gap' in relation to the impacts of malls afforded a critical reflection of the nuances of the exclusionary effects malls have on existing and traditional retail forms in a world-class city making context. In a situation where there is less direct competition between malls and traditional retail forms, these critical theories clarified the mechanisms, structures and processes that link the two contrasting retail systems, which also brought to the fore new concepts explaining mall impacts in a southern context.

Related to the above, is the significant contribution that the study makes to the advancement of the methodological approaches to the understanding of mall impacts. From a global south perspective, the study used a robust methodology that was very useful in tracing the processes and mechanisms structuring mall impacts. By triangulating different data sources, a better explanation has been offered to the understanding of a phenomenon that has largely been explored through quantitative methods. New knowledge and understanding of mall impacts have emerged through these theoretical and methodological perspectives from the point of view of an SSA city where malls are relatively new and still in the 'shadow' of theory making.

However, the use of northern theoretical frames in analysing southern urbanism raised critical issues about divergence in the understanding of how extant theories explain urban phenomena in different ways in the global south. More importantly, this study reinterpreted the 'rent gap' concept which is originally predicated on value extraction from investments in landed properties, to it working for non-value-added properties whose value has suddenly appreciated due to qualitative improvement in the surrounding built environment. Similarly, the theory of retail gentrification which holds the notion that local stores in gentrified neighbourhoods serve the needs of long-term poor residents was also found counterintuitive, as newly established modern retail formats and superstores took over that function, serving the needs of middle-class consumers as well as the poor. This new body of knowledge and perspectives emerging from this study, therefore, contributes significantly to the nascent urban theory development that is beginning to inform the analysis and understanding of urban phenomena from the global south, and in this case from SSA perspectives.

However, there have been calls for détente in the urban theory tension between The North and South by focusing on using postcolonial research approaches in producing knowledge in the global South that can be compared with the North, towards a global theorisation of urban phenomena and a general understanding of how cities function (Robinson, 2011). This study heeds the call by contributing significantly to the general understanding of the impact of malls by drawing global south theorisations into the extant Western explanations for a better and holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

In the world of policy and governance, state, and municipal authorities in the global south, particularly those in sub-Saharan Africa should find the output of this research relevant in shaping future urban development policies. The Retail sector forms a critical component of the urban economy in most developing countries, and yet there are no comprehensive retail policies in place to protect indigenous and small-scale trading sectors which offer livelihood to a significant number of the urban population but are confronted with challenges relating to the globalisation of the retail industry. The study articulated these key issues in the context of prevailing high levels of urbanisation and unemployment. The imperatives of re-thinking policies and urban development in cities that are notoriously informal is afforded by the output of this study as it demonstrates how the resilience of traditional retail forms are being stretched beyond limit. It is informative enough to help policymakers understand and realign policy frameworks and implementation by considering the contribution of those at the margins of society to development, but who have been further marginalised in the quest to regenerate cities for economic growth. For example, as this study has demonstrated in the case of the Accra Mall, informal and small local retailers contribute to the success of mall but have largely been ignored in the planning processes. The future of cities and urban centres have in recent times attracted considerable attention in both the academic and policy literature, particularly in the global south where neoliberal urban development processes have exacerbated levels of urban inequalities, social injustice, the right and entitlement of the poor to livelihoods. This study highlighted the level of marginalisation and vulnerability that informal and small local store operators around shopping malls have been exposed to as urban authorities seek to extract economic value from urban regeneration. But there are lessons to be learnt from this study that have policy implications that can help chart a sustainable course in our development trajectories, given the pervasiveness of urban impoverishment and lack of formal employment opportunities in cities and towns in third world countries. There are also great lessons to be learnt from the west, particularly in the US and UK, where the initial wave of shopping centre development under neoliberalism caused significant problems for existing high street and town centre retail systems, which invariably led to the introduction of very stringent policies on new retail developments that took into consideration the wider economic, social, and environmental ramifications of such developments in the planning approval processes.

One key finding of the study which corroborates others (for example, Oteng-Ababio and Arthur, 2015) is the use of the mall by micro and informal retail enterprises as venues for sourcing merchandise for trading elsewhere. Notable is the involvement of Shoprite, a South African retail giant which provides anchor to major shopping malls in several other SSA countries in the local wholesale supply system, particularly the supply of non-food merchandise. While it is officially a designated retailer in the Ghanaian market, its use by small retailers as a wholesale distribution centre appears to be an emerging phenomenon of which very little is known. As such, the scale of the involvement and its pervasiveness remains unquantifiable. However, this finding is striking and warrants further research for a better understanding of the scale for policy re-orientation, if necessary. Significantly, the finding also reinforces the discourse on retail internationalisation and restructuring of supply chains, and their consequences in host developing economies (See Coe and Wrigley, 2007). The implications for existing local supply networks, supply capacity and quality standards of the local supply system are some of the critical issues that have necessitated policy intervention to improve the structure of wholesale distribution systems elsewhere in other developing countries.

The business community, particularly retail entrepreneurs and new commercial property developers should also find this study valuable as it sheds more light on current trends in the retail industry in Accra. Information gathered from the study can help the business community to strategise and plan future investments in the retail industry. For civil society organisations and other social groups fighting for the inclusion of the urban poor in contemporary urban development in third-world cities, this study provides a very strong case for them to intensify their campaigns and lobby governments and their international partners such as the UN for justice and equality in urban development. While the impact of neoliberal urban development processes on the poor who live and earn their livelihoods informally have caught the attention of human rights campaigners, the marginalisation and vulnerability of formal small local store operators who are on the verge of being displaced as this study found is yet to receive similar attention.

9.10 Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

The scope of this study is only narrowed to the understanding of the impact of shopping malls on nearby traditional retail forms (within a kilometre radius). However, as some studies have demonstrated, regional shopping centres often have wider effects, transcending well beyond their immediate surroundings to impact on entire traditional central business districts and other existing retail areas. Such studies tend to give more broader perspective and the spatial variations of the impacts to engender a general sense of how the new centres are reconfiguring entire retail structures in towns and cities. This study could not be extended beyond the malls’ immediate surroundings to include other retail locations due to logistical challenges. However, I chose to focus the study on locations where research has also shown that the greatest impacts of a new retail development are mostly felt.

It is, therefore, recommended that any future study of this nature should consider expanding its coverage for a broader understanding of the impacts of new shopping malls on other retail areas beyond its immediate surroundings, particularly the effects on existing traditional market centres.

Longitudinal studies are also needed to explain and understand the dynamics of the impacts on small local stores around the WHSM over time and space as the retail gentrification process intensifies with the coming stream of new modern retail formats. Such studies should also consider examining the relationship between the mall and its competitors to understand the health of the retail industry in the neighbourhood.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A *Survey of Shopping Mall Users*

Title of the Study: *The Impact of Shopping Malls in a Neoliberal and Globalising City Context On Nearby Traditional and Existing Retail Forms. Case Study of the Accra And West Hills Malls in Accra, Ghana*.

As part of the above study, this survey is intended to examine the patterns of mall users shopping behaviour in the mall and the use of other retail venues, particularly those around the Accra and West hills malls **(approximately one kilometre radius)**. The focus is the influence of the mall on consumer attitude towards nearby traditional retail forms.

This survey should not take you more than 10 minutes to complete. If you wish to make additional comments on the effects of shopping malls on your shopping behaviour, your views and comments would be appreciated.

Please tick here if you want a copy of the research report on the results of the survey to be sent to you ☐

Personal Information:

1. What is your gender? ________________________ Male ☐1
   Female ☐2

2. What age group do you belong? _____________ Under 18 ☐1
   18 to 40 ☐2
   41 to 60 ☐3
   Above 60 ☐4

3. Highest Education attained________________ No Education ☐1
   Primary ☐2
   Junior High ☐3
   Senior High ☐4
   Tertiary ☐5

4. How far did you travel from? ____________ Under 2KM ☐1
   2 to 10 KM ☐2
   11 to 25 KM ☐3
   Over 25 KM ☐4

5. By what means did you travel? __________ Own Transport ☐1
   Public Transport ☐2
   Walking ☐3

How you use the mall:

6. How often do you visit the mall?
   i. Once every 6 months ☐1
   ii. Once every 3 months ☐2
   iii. Once every month ☐3
   iv. Once every week ☐4
   v. Two or more times a week ☐5

7. For what purpose(s) do you often visit the mall for? (Thick those applicable)
   i. Shopping ________________ ☐1
   ii. Window shopping_______ ☐2
   iii. Leisure & Entertainment_______ ☐3
   iv. Socialisation______________ ☐4
   v. To do business___________ ☐5

8. How frequently do you shop in the mall when you visit?
   i. Less frequently (once a year)_____ ☐1
   ii. Somewhat less (2-3 times a year)__ ☐2
   iii. Once every month ____________ ☐3
   iv. Two or more times in a month____ ☐4

9. Approximately what percentage of the household annual shopping budget is spent in the mall?
   i. Less than 10% ☐1
   ii. 10% to 24% ☐2
   iii. 25% to 50% ☐3
   iv. More than 50% ☐4

10. What kind of product would you often buy from the mall?
    i. Food and drinks ☐1
    ii. Grocery ☐2
    iii. Household & Personal care ☐3
    iv. Consumer durables ☐4
    v. Other, please specify________________________

11. What do you consider to be the most important reason for shopping at the mall?
    i. Product quality ☐1
    ii. Product brand ☐2
    iii. Value for money ☐3
    iv. Prestige ☐4
    v. Convenience & parking ☐5
    vi. Leisure & entertainment ☐6
    vii. The environment & security ☐7
    viii. Customer service ☐8
    ix. Promotions ☐9
    x. Other, please specify_____________________

Use of traditional retail venues:

12. Do you still use traditional retail venues for your shopping needs (markets, local stores etc)?
    i. Yes ☐1
    ii. No ☐2

13. If yes to **Q 12**, have you used the retail forms surrounding the mall for shopping before?
    i. Yes ☐1
    ii. No ☐2

14. If yes to **Q 13**, how frequently do you use the surrounding retail forms for shopping?
    i. Less frequently (once a year) ☐1
    ii. Somewhat less (2-3 times in a year) ☐2
    iii. Once every month ☐3
    iv. 2 to 3 times in a month ☐4
    v. Weekly/couple of days apart ☐5

15. Do you consider that your attitude towards traditional retail outlets has changed since you started using the mall?
    i. Yes ☐1
    ii. No ☐2

16. If yes to **Q 15**, how important is the role of the mall in changing your attitude?
    i. Less important ☐1
    ii. Somewhat less important ☐2
    iii. Important ☐3
    iv. Very important ☐4
    v. Extremely important ☐5

Questions 17 and 18 are applicable to only West Hill Mall users.

17. What type of store in the neighbourhood do you often shop from other than the mall?
    i. Department store ☐1
    ii. Supermarket ☐2
    iii. Small local store ☐3
    iv. Other, please specify____________________

18. What is the name of the store if known?_____________________________________

____

General Opinions

If you have any other comments you would like to share, please express them here.

Thank you for taking part in this survey. Short interviews are also being conducted with mall users and if you are willing to participate, please tick this box ☐

Please provide your contact details below if you wish to participate in the interview.

Email/ Telephone number____

For any queries relating to this study, please send an email to I.Yakubu2@Newcastle.ac.uk

Appendix B ***Survey of Trading Performance (Informal Traders)***

Title of the Study: *The Impact of Shopping Malls in a Neoliberal and Globalising City Context On Nearby Traditional and Existing Retail Forms. Case Study of the Accra And West Hills Malls in Accra, Ghana*.

This survey seeks to understand the possible impact that the Accra shopping mall has had on the trading performance of nearby informal traders. Retailers located within approximately one Kilometre radius of these malls are therefore being requested to take part in this study.

This survey should not take you more than 10 minutes to complete. If you wish to make additional comments on the effects of shopping malls on your shopping behaviour, your views and comments would be appreciated.

Please tick here if you want a copy of the research report on the results of the survey to be sent to you ☐

Personal Information:

19. What is your gender?
- I. Male ☐1
- II. Female ☐2

20. What age group do you belong?
- i. Under 18 years ☐1
- ii. 18 to 40 years ☐2
- iii. 41 to 60 years ☐3
- iv. Over 60 years ☐4

21. Highest level of Education attained.
- i. No Education ☐1
- ii. Primary ☐2
- iii. Junior high ☐3
- iv. Senior high ☐4
- v. Tertiary/Vocational ☐5

22. How many years have you been trading here?
- i. Less than a year ☐1
- ii. 1 to 6 years ☐2
- iii. 7 to 11 years ☐3
- iv. More than 11 years ☐4

23. What kind of product do you trade in?
- i. Groceries ☐1
- ii. Fruit & vegetables ☐2
- iii. Cooked/processed food ☐3
- iv. Clothing & footwear ☐4
- v. Electronic products ☐5
- vi. Others, please specify_______________________________

Trading Performance

24. If you started your business before the shopping mall opened, did the construction work at the mall affect your sales performance?
    i. Yes ☐1
    ii. No ☐2

25. If you answered yes to **Q 6**, overall, did you experience an increase or decrease in sales throughout the construction phase?
    i. Increase ☐1
    ii. Decrease ☐2

26. I am interested in the sales performance of your business for the past four trading years (2016 to 2019) since the mall opened. Please, tick whether sales in that year decreased, increased or remained the same compared with the previous year.

Year	Decreased			No change	Increased		
	Substantially	Moderately	Slightly		Substantially	Moderately	Slightly
	More than 10%	5-10%	Less than 5%		More than 10%	5-10%	Less than 5%
2016	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2017	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2018	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2019	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. If you experienced a **decrease** in sales, which of the reason(s) below do you think might have caused it. Please, tick your reasons.
    i. Effects of the economy ☐1
    ii. Opening of the shopping mall ☐2
    iii. Competition from similar traders ☐3
    iv. Municipal guards ☐4
    v. Pedestrian flow change ☐5
    vi. Management strategies ☐6
    vii. Marketing strategies ☐7
    viii. Product brand & quality ☐8

28. If there are other reasons you think might have caused the decrease in sales, please provide details below.

29. If you experienced **increase** in sales, which of the reason(s) below do you think might have caused it. Please, tick your reasons.

i.	Effects of the economy	☐1
ii.	Opening of the shopping mall	☐2
iii.	Competition from similar traders	☐3
iv.	Municipal guards	☐4
v.	Pedestrian flow change	☐5
vi.	Management strategies	☐6
vii.	Marketing strategies	☐7
viii.	Product brand & quality	☐8

30. If there are other reasons you think might have caused the increase in sales, please provide details below.

If you have any further comments about the effects of the shopping mall on your business and retailing in the area, please note them below.

Thank you for taking part in this survey. Interviews are also being conducted with retailers and if you are willing to participate, please tick this box **☐.** Please also include your contact details for you to be contacted for the interview.

Email/ Telephone number…………………………………………………………………………….

For any queries relating to this study, please send an email to I.Yakubu2@Newcastle.ac.uk

Appendix C *Survey of Trading Performance (Local Store Operators)*

Title of the Study: *The Impact of Shopping Malls in a Neoliberal and Globalising City Context On Nearby Traditional and Existing Retail Forms. Case Study of the Accra And West Hills Malls in Accra, Ghana*.

This survey seeks to understand the possible impact that the West Hills shopping mall has had on trading performance of nearby small traditional local stores. Retailers located within approximately one Kilometre radius of these malls are therefore being requested to take part in this study.

This survey should not take you more than 10 minutes to complete. If you wish to make additional comments on the effects of shopping malls on your shopping behaviour, your views and comments would be appreciated.

Please tick here if you want a copy of the research report on the results of the survey to be sent to you ☐

Personal Information:

31. What is your gender?
- III. Male ☐1
- IV. Female ☐2

32. What age group do you belong?
- v. Under 18 years ☐1
- vi. 18 to 40 years ☐2
- vii. 41 to 60 years ☐3
- viii. Over 60 years ☐4

33. Highest level of Education attained.
- vi. No Education ☐1
- vii. Primary ☐2
- viii. Junior high ☐3
- ix. Senior high ☐4
- x. Tertiary/Vocational ☐5

34. How many years have you been trading here?
- v. Less than a year ☐1
- vi. 1 to 6 years ☐2
- vii. 7 to 11 years ☐3
- viii. More than 11 years ☐4

35. What kind of product do you trade in?
- vii. Groceries ☐1
- viii. Fruit & vegetables ☐2
- ix. Cooked/processed food ☐3
- x. Clothing & footwear ☐4
- xi. Electronic products ☐5
- xii. Others, please specify______________________________

36. Do you own or are renting the property you are operating from?
    i. Own ☐1
    ii. Renting ☐2

37. Is the store:
    i. A single independently owned shop ☐1
    ii. Part of a small chain of shops ☐2

Trading Performance

38. If you started your business before the shopping mall opened, did the construction work at the mall affect your sales performance?
    iii. Yes ☐1
    iv. No ☐2

39. If you answered yes to **Q 6**, overall, did you experience an increase or decrease in sales throughout the construction phase?
    iii. Increase ☐1
    iv. Decrease ☐2

40. I am interested in the sales performance of your business for the past four trading years (2016 to 2019) since the mall opened. Please, tick whether sales in that year decreased, increased or remained the same compared with the previous year.

Year	**Decreased**			**No change**	**Increased**		
	Substantially	Moderately	Slightly		Substantially	Moderately	Slightly
	More than 10%	5-10%	Less than 5%		More than 10%	5-10%	Less than 5%
2016	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2017	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2018	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2019	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41. If you experienced a **decrease** in sales, which of the reason(s) below do you think might have caused it. Please, tick your reasons.
    ix. Effects of the economy ☐1
    x. Opening of the shopping mall ☐2
    xi. Competition from new/existing retailers ☐3
    xii. Parking facilities for shoppers ☐4
    xiii. Pedestrian flow change ☐5
    xiv. Management strategies ☐6
    xv. Alteration to store size/layout ☐7
    xvi. Product brand & quality ☐8

42. If there are other reasons you think might have caused the decrease in sales, please provide details below.

43. If you experienced **increase** in sales, which of the reason(s) below do you think might have caused it. Please, tick your reasons.

ix.	Effects of the economy	☐1
x.	Opening of the shopping mall	☐2
xi.	Competition from new/existing retailers	☐3
xii.	Parking facilities for shoppers	☐4
xiii.	Pedestrian flow change	☐5
xiv.	Management strategies	☐6
xv.	New marketing strategies	☐7
xvi.	Product brand & quality	☐8
xvii.	Alteration to store size/layout	☐9

44. If there are other reasons you think might have caused the increase in sales, please provide details below.

If you have any further comments about the effects of the shopping mall on your business and retailing in the area, please note them below.

Thank you for taking part in this survey. Interviews are also being conducted with retailers and if you are willing to participate, please tick this box ☐. Please also include your contact details for you to be contacted for the interview.

Email/ Telephone number…………………………………………………………………………….

For any queries relating to this study, please send an email to I.Yakubu2@Newcastle.ac.uk

Appendix D *Consent Form*

Title of Study: *The Impact of Shopping Malls in a Neoliberal and Globalising City Context On Nearby Traditional and Existing Retail Forms. Case Study of the Accra And West Hills Malls in Accra, Ghana*.

Name of Researcher and School:

Iddrisu Yakubu

School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape/ Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research study. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form. Please initial the box to confirm consent.

1.	I confirm that I have read the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, and ask questions and I have had any questions answered satisfactorily.	
2	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. I understand that if I decide to withdraw, any data that I have provided up to that point will be included.	
3	I understand that any personal information collected during the study will be anonymised and remain confidential.	
4	I agree to take part in this research project	

For studies involving the use of audio/video recording of interviews, focus groups or where there is a possibility that verbatim quotes from participants may be used in future publications or presentations please include the following:

5	I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and I am happy to proceed	
6	I understand that parts of our conversation may be used verbatim in future publications but that such quotes will be anonymised.	

Name of Participant: __________________________ Date: ________ Signature: ________________

Name of Researcher: _________________________ Date: _________ Signature: _________________

Name of person taking consent: Date: Signature

(If different from researcher)

Note: When completed 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher

Appendix E *Information Sheet for Participants*

Title of Study**:** *The Impact of Shopping Malls in a Neoliberal and Globalising City Context On Nearby Traditional and Existing Retail Forms. Case Study of the Accra And West Hills Malls in Accra, Ghana.*

Name of Researcher and School:

Iddrisu Yakubu

School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape/ Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Invitation and Brief Summary

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether you wish to take part you must understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please, read this information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Take time to decide whether you wish to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form. However, you are free to withdraw at any stage without giving any reason(s) and without suffering any penalty or loss of benefits.

What is the purpose of the Research?

I am a PhD student at the School of Architecture, planning and Landscape, Newcastle University in the United Kingdom. As part of my studies, I am undertaking a research study which focuses on the impacts of shopping malls on existing and traditional retail forms in Accra. While research on the impacts of shopping malls on cities and their retail structures abounds in the developed world, very little is known about the nature of their impacts in the developing world, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where the proliferation of malls is relatively new in many countries. I am particularly interested in knowing more about the effects shopping malls have on the shopping behaviour of mall users, and traditional retail forms in the malls' immediate surroundings. Apart from its usefulness as an academic output, the relevance of this study to retailers and the world of urban policy, and making cities better places to live could be immeasurable.

What does taking part involve?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and your willingness to take part solely lies with you. You also have the absolute right to withdraw your participation at any point in time without assigning any reason(s) for your decision. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be required to answer some few questions, and this should not take you more than 15 minutes to complete.

What information will be collected and who will have access to the information?

Basically, the survey or interview will be collecting information relating to the effects of shopping malls on your shopping behaviour as a consumer OR on the performance of your business as a retailer. This study will not elicit sensitive information relating to your shopping practices OR your business. The information provided by you will be anonymised and will be available to only the researcher conducting this study, right from the data collection stage, through to its analysis and the completion of the *research. The information collected from you will be stored on the Newcastle University secure server until the end of the study. The information collected is solely for the purpose of this research and will not be used for any other purposes. However, parts of the results may be used in future publications or presentations and in all cases, information provided will remain anonymised.*

What are the possible benefits and risks of taking part?

While participation in this study might not have any direct benefits to you, the findings from the research will have broader policy and planning implications on how retailing which constitutes the biggest sector of the city's economy, provides livelihood to a greater number of its inhabitants can be made to enhance sustainable development and make the city a better place to live. There are no known potential risks or harm associated with being a participant in this study. This study has been reviewed and received full ethical approval from the University's ethics committee and has been classed as low risk.

Who should I contact for further information relating to the research?

If you have any concerns or need additional information regarding this study, you can either contact me as the principal researcher or my academic supervisor below:

Contact Details of the principal investigator:

Iddrisu Yakubu (PhD Student)
School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Northumberland House, Newcastle University
3-4 Princess Square, Newcastle upon Tyne. NE1 8ER
Email: I.Yakubu2@ncl.ac.uk

Contact Details of Academic Supervisor:

Dr Raymond Abdulai
School of Architecture, Planning & Landscape
Claremont Tower, Claremont Road
Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU
United Kingdom
Email: Raymond.Abdulai@ncl.ac.uk