UNDERSTANDING THE ZONGO

PROCESSES OF SOCIO-SPATIAL MARGINALIZATION IN GHANA

by
Emily Anne Williamson

Master of Architecture
University of Virginia, 2009

Bachelor of Arts
Colby College, 2004

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Signature of Author: _____

Department of Architecture
May 22, 2014

Certified by: _____

James Wescoat
Aga Khan Professor
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by: _____

Takehiko Nagakura
Associate Professor of Design and Computation
Chair of the Department Committee on Graduate Students

Reader: Nasser Rabbat
Title: Aga Khan Professor of the History of Architecture
Director, Aga Khan Program

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Abstract

The spatial processes of marginalization and ghettoization have been described, labeled, and theorized extensively in the United States and Europe, yet there has been little research dedicated to these processes in the literature concerning urban Africa. Rather than using prescribed Western concepts, this thesis interrogates the spatial processes of marginalization by beginning with the local and particular – in this case, the Zongo, a fascinating, and understudied historical phenomenon in Ghana. Zongo means "traveler's camp" or "stop-over" in Hausa and was used by British Colonial Officers to define the areas in which Muslims lived. Traditionally, the inhabitants of these settlements were Muslims migrating south either for trading purposes or as hired fighters. Today, Zongos have become a vast network of settlements and there is at least one Zongo in every urban center in Ghana. Since these ethnic groups were not indigenous to the territory, it is not surprising that many were historically marginalized. This thesis, therefore, uses history as the primary mechanism by which to dismantle, complicate, re-construct, and understand the Zongo phenomenon – to demonstrate how it has evolved over time - with and against political, economic, and religious forces. Rather than a sweeping comparative approach between settlements, the strategy is to deeply investigate its most extreme case of marginalization – that of the Zongo located in the coastal city of Cape Coast. It seeks to answer what combination of historical and social factors have caused the Cape Coast Zongo to become so marginalized. The research identifies five periods, Imperialism, Segregation, Nationalism, Industrialization, and Globalization, that mark important ideological and political shifts in the history of marginalization in Cape Coast and then examines what themes emerge from this particular historical case that may be generalized for all Zongos. Furthermore, the thesis contributes to larger theoretical discussions explaining how, why, and when ghettoization appears and functions in West Africa.

Thesis Supervisor: James Wescoat
Title: Aga Khan Professor

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I. INTRODUCTION

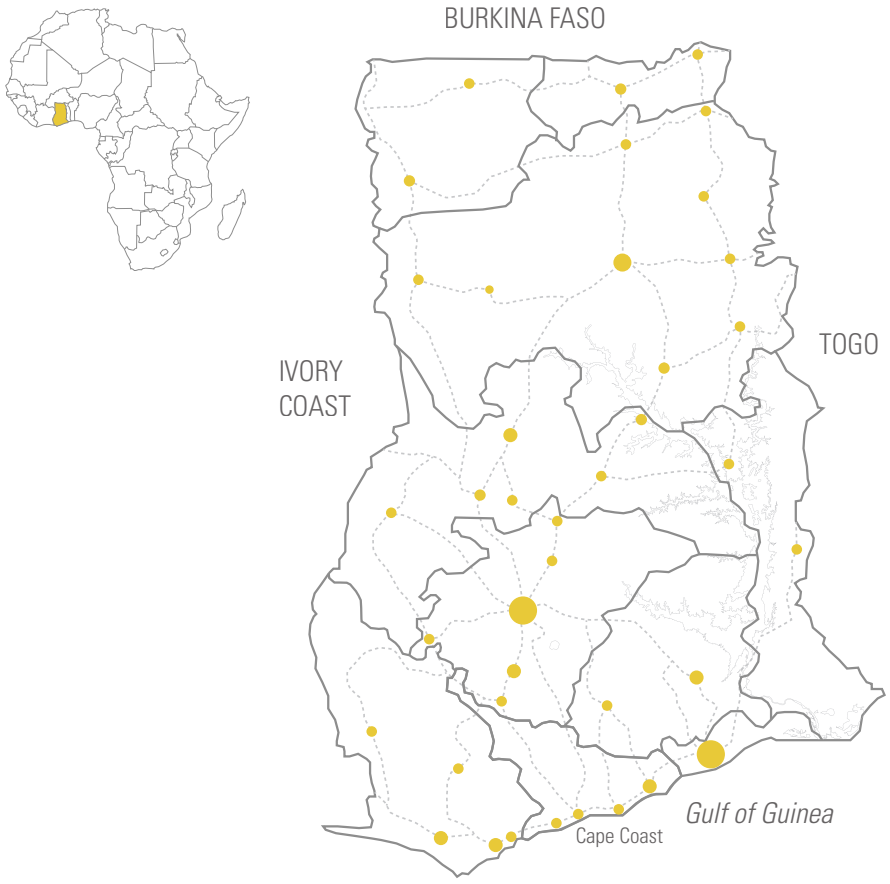

Figure 1

Figure 1 Map Showing Zongo Network in Ghana drawing by Emily Williamson

Figure 2 Map of Cape Coast, Ghana, drawing by Emily Williamson

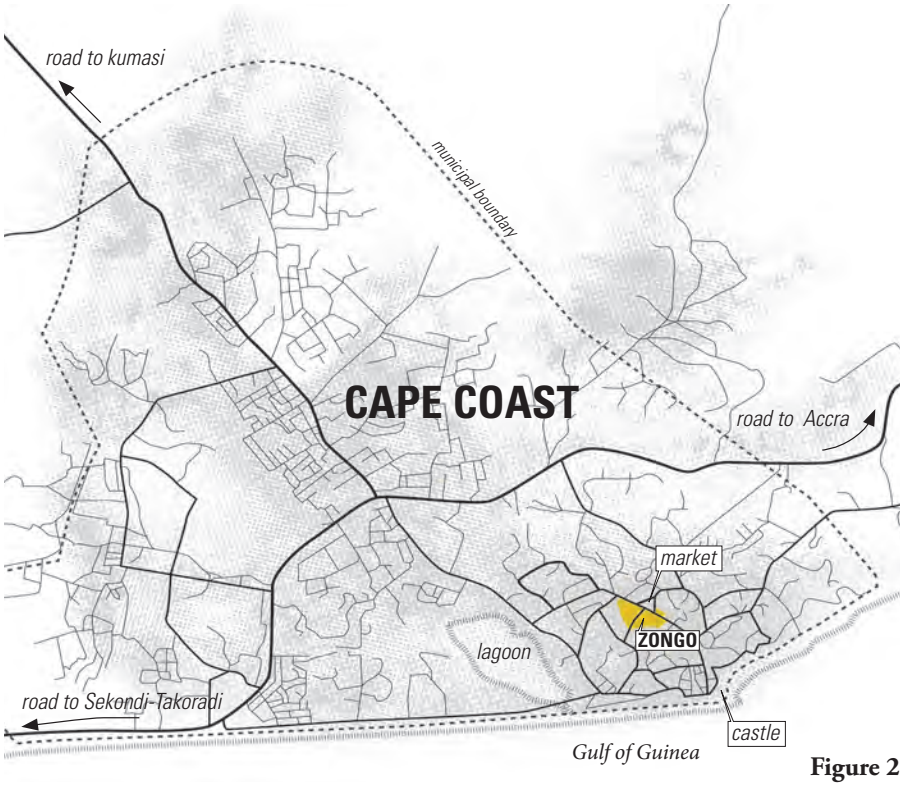

Figure 2

I. INTRODUCTION

Overview

This is an investigation into the socio-spatial processes of marginalization and ghettoization of the Zongo. A fascinating and understudied historical phenomenon in Ghana, Zongo means "traveler's camp" or "stop-over"[1] in Hausa and was used by British Colonial Officers to define the areas in which Muslims lived.[2] Traditionally, the inhabitants of these settlements were Muslims migrating south from northern territories either for trading purposes or as hired fighters. Today, Zongos have become a vast network of settlements, and there is at least one Zongo in every urban center in Ghana (Figure 1). Since these ethnic groups were not indigenous to the Gold Coast, it is not surprising that many were historically marginalized. While the Zongos in Ghana's northern regions have been able to circumvent marginalization and even enjoy prosperity due to their majority religious status,[3] land-based economy, and little influence from foreign authoritative powers; those further south, particularly those located along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, still struggle to fully engage in civic life. Using *history* as the primary means of investigation, this thesis seeks to understand the Zongo's full range of socio-spatial variation from marginalization to prosperity and the combination of historical and social factors that have caused these settlements to become relatively more prosperous or marginalized. To accomplish this, the investigation centers its inquiry on the most extreme case of marginalization – the Zongo in the city of Cape Coast (Figure 2).

The span of the thesis covers over two centuries, between 1823 and today, and is arranged chronologically to most clearly demonstrate the social and spatial transformations over time. The account begins in 1823 with British explorations to Hausaland to recruit soldiers for the British-Asante Wars[4] and ends with the establishment of a democratic constitution and my own observations for the past seven years. This time span has then been subdivided into five historical periods, *Imperialism*, *Segregation*, *Nationalism*, *Industrialization*, and *Modernity*, that mark important ideological and political shifts in the history of Cape Coast and Ghana. Using primary sources, the thesis threads a nuanced narrative of prosperity and marginalization across these chapters and interrogates the sometimes conscious, and other times unconscious, relationships between social construction and spatial manipulation giving particular attention to architectural, settlement, urban, and regional patterns of marginalization.

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1 Paul Newman, *A Hausa English Dictionary.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 230.
2 Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 67.
3 According to the Government of Ghana, Islam is the dominant religion (56.1% of the total population). See "Government of Ghana," http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/about-ghana/regions/northern. Accessed December 18, 2013.
4 The British Asante Wars were a series of four wars between the Ashanti Empire in the interior of the Gold Coast (now the center of Ghana) and the British Empire between 1824 and 1901. Though the Ashanti successfully defended their territory for some time, by the end, the British were victorious and the Ashanti Empire became a British protectorate.

The main protagonists of this historical narrative include, but are not limited to, the "Colonial Masters,"[5] "Native" or "Aborigine" Authorities, the Military Regiment, The Government of Ghana, and most importantly, the residents of the Zongo comprised of their own rulers (Chief Imam, Sirikin Zongo, and other tribal chiefs) as well as scholars or "uluma", traders, soldiers, business owners, and those who stay in the house (mainly women and children). Though the needs, intentions, and desires of these protagonists change markedly from the height of British Imperialism to onset of Industrialization and Modernity, I argue that the dominant authoritative powers of each period use different combinations of economic production and religion, disguised in "virtuous" missions, to construct a city and architecture in their own image. In some cases this image more closely aligns with the evolving cultural systems and spatial concerns of the Zongo and thus produces a more prosperous period for the Zongo settlement, but at other times they radically diverge causing increased marginalization and hardship. In the extreme case of Cape Coast, the city loses its economic value and devolves from its prosperous position as the capital of the Gold Coast Colony to a marginalized outcast scrambling to make ends meet. Echoing the town's ruinous downfall, the Cape Coast Zongo was consigned to the same fate. Though the thesis traces the historical evolution of this particular case, it constantly shifts scales so as to understand not only how the Cape Coast Zongo plugs into larger socio-spatial systems, but also how these emerging patterns explain the gradation of Zongo development - from the most prosperous to the most marginalized.

Motivations from Existing Literature

In the section that follows, I will explain how the Zongo phenomenon fits into the existing scholarly discourse grounded in Ghana and Africa - its questions, concerns, and controversies among urbanists, anthropologists, and sociologists. Since the amount of material is vast and diverse, I have chosen to focus on four particular areas where I see gaps that this research will help fill: African urban scholarship, the complicating of dichotomies (rural v. urban and traditional v. modern), emphasis on the particulars of place rather than western universals; and research on the history of Islamic architecture.

The African City, Space, and Time

First, and most broadly, African cities are often excluded from discussions on the world's cities. When they are included, the term "third world" or "less-developed" usually serves as a disclaimer. Richard Grant, a geographer who has written extensively about West Africa rightly argues that, "Africa's cities need to be included in the discussion of global cities – because they are."[6] Though

5 This was a term commonly used by the Zongo residents throughout the in-depth interview sessions in January, 2014.
6 Richard Grant. *Globalizing City: The Urban and Economic Transformation of Accra, Ghana*. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009).

most urbanists working in Africa share this view, the research is limited to fast-growing, globalizing cities that are seen as most directly influencing other parts of the world. Hence, smaller cities such as Cape Coast (which is of course also affected by these larger global forces) are often left out of the discussion. Thus, this research on the Zongo will contribute to urban scholarship on smaller West African cities and deepen our understanding of how they are affected by their larger global counterparts.

Who and how these cities are written about is also an important consideration. Thus far, the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and urban planning dominate the discussion on urbanism in Africa with little input from urban design or architecture. As one would expect, the literature most often explains the social, economic, and political dimensions of the African city with little articulation of how these factors affect and transform the built environment. Abdoumaliq Simone for example describes the invisible, informal, spectral, and movement aspects of the city. He writes, "By focusing on diffuse and largely "invisible" ways in which participation and collaboration are mobilised, it is possible to discern tensions and contested development trajectories of the urban arena."[7] When the scholarship does invite the built form into the discussion, it is most often treated as a static object, a stage upon which their actors create an invisible city of human infrastructure.

I am not trying to proclaim that the built environment should be fore-grounded and the social dimensions relegated to the back, rather that research on urban Africa would benefit from an emphasis on the connection between social forces, spatial processes, and built forms and how they transform over time. Historically, space, time, and the built environment were often thought of as distinct, oppositional entities. In an interview concerning the discipline of geography Michel Foucault reflects upon this problematic binary, "Did it start with Bergson or before? Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time on the contrary was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic. For all those who confuse history with the old schemas of evolution, living continuity, organic development, the progress of consciousness or the project of existence, the use of spatial terms seems to have the air of an anti-history."[8] He goes on to argue that spatializing history is crucial to understanding the power dynamics that impress upon it. Arguments such as Foucault's have become increasingly resonant with scholars who have worked extensively in Africa such as Edward Soja,[9] Trinh T. Minha, and Simone. These scholars, among others working in Africa, insist on increased attention to the dynamic attributes of space in research on Africa's cities. Grounded in the dialectic between the social and spatial, this thesis contributes to not only helping to fill this gap, but also demonstrates how bringing in the spatial dimension reveals new linkages and patterns.

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7 Abdoumaliq Simone. "Between Ghetto and Globe: Remaking Urban Life in Africa." *Associational Life in African Cities* (2001): 48.
8 Michel Foucault. Colin Gordon, Ed. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. Chapter 19: Questions on Geography. (New York: Pantheon,1980) 177-178.
9 Edward W. Soja. *Post-Modern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. (New York: Verso, 1989), 11.

Dichotomies: Rural v. Urban and Traditional v. Modern

Moving from the larger scale of how African cities are written about as a whole and the need to both expand and deepen the inquiry to encompass the dialectic of time and space, a second theme and gap in the literature pertains to the insistent dichotomies of rural v. urban and tradition v. modern. Though scholarship on Africa's human settlements became more prolific in the 1960s -1990s, the emphasis was on the rural, not urban. It has only been in the last couple of decades that there has been a renewed interest in the city.[10] This dichotomy however, as explained by Mahmood Mamdani, is a lasting residue of colonial domination and the "bifurcated state."[11] This distinction between rural and urban and traditional and modern persists both the way they are written about and on the ground through plural policies and spatial demarcations. In binary opposition to the Modernist principles of dynamism, change, and progress, rural and tradition became notions relegated to the past.[12]

Thus, recent scholarship on urban Africa calls for a hybrid approach, one that examines these settlements as intricately connected to one another and that are impossible to understand without the other. Simone calls these cities "trans-territorial", places with plural modes of action and interpretation among their actors, materials, and places.[13] Similarly, Edgar Pieterse describes the process as "the multi-plex," a network of relational politics and processes.[14] Since I have conceptualized the marginalization of the Cape Coast Zongo as a process that manifests on the architectural, settlement, and urban scales, the research will complicate current bounded, one-dimensional representations of the city. Furthermore, because the Zongo in some ways may be conceived as a village operating within a city in its traditional modes of organization, this research will contribute to a blurring of the dominating Western ideology bifurcating the rural and urban.

From Western Universals to the Particulars of Place

Third, I want to touch briefly on a theme in literature on Africa that encourages a shift away from applying theory generated in the United States or other Western contexts to African cities. After all, the celebrity social and urban theorists such as Harvey, Lefebvre, Massey, Sassen, and Castells, hardly emphasize Africa.[15] Instead, Garth Meyers, Jean and John Comaroff, Abdoumaliq Simone, and Tim

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10 Garth Andrew Myers. *African Cities*. (London: Zed Books, 2011) 1-2.
11 Mahmood Mamdani. Citizen and Subject. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996) 8.
12 Marcel Vellinga, "The Inventiveness of Tradition: Vernacular Architecture and the Future," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, 2 (2006): 115.
13 Garth Andrew Myers. *African Cities*. (London: Zed Books, 2011) 12.
14 Garth Andrew Myers. *African Cities*. (London: Zed Books, 2011) 16.
15 Garth Andrew Myers. *African Cities*. (London: Zed Books, 2011) 5.

Edenser[16] among others propose developing theory that begins with an 'ex-centric' vantage,[17] one that emerges from local phenomena in Africa's cities. Even before generating new theory however, scholars of urban Africa such as Myers insist on "cutting through the abstraction" by paying attention to the particular and unique qualities of the everyday.[18] In investigating the extreme case of marginalization in Cape Coast and the specific patterns of urban transformation in Ghana, the research contributes to not only the field's growing interest in detailed local phenomena but also its ambition to develop a more comprehensive repository of urban theory in West Africa. Furthermore, the overarching patterns and themes that emerge from this historical inquiry will contribute to larger theoretical discussions explaining how, why, and when ghettoization appears and functions in West Africa.

Vernacular Islamic Architecture in Sub-Saharan Africa

Contemporary discourse on the vernacular of Islamic architecture in West Africa is sparse with little analytical investigation into its formal and performative aesthetics. The writing tends towards outdated, unhelpful dualities between West and Non-West that situate its vernacular in a surpassed epistemology. While scholars in many other geographical regions have begun creating historical narratives rooted in cultural context, the vernacular of Islamic architecture in West Africa remains largely ahistoricized with few admitting to Islam's influence.[19] In addition, the number and types of sources need to be expanded to include far more Islamic documentation and other non-European visual, written and oral records.[20] Beyond this extensive laundry list to heave the vernacular of Islamic West Africa into contemporary discourse, if the vernacular is to remain relevant, its basic definition needs to change simultaneously with its methods. Instead of equating the vernacular's character with the physical characteristics of an artifact, it should become a far more versatile process that coincides with multiple, interdependent identities. In this way, the ideals of the vernacular – that of collective and local expressions - may assimilate into a multiplicity of methods, techniques, and traditions able to migrate from one physical form to another. Furthermore, if plural modes of action comes to define the vernacular more than a singular mode of being, perhaps it is more germane to historicize the vernacular in terms of duration - the span of time during which the architecture is constructed, maintained, and re-constructed rather than confining it to a specific point in time.

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16 See Tim Edensor and Mark Jayne, eds. Urban theory beyond the West: a world of cities. Routledge, 2012.
17 Jean and John Comaroff. "Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa." In *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 113-131. (2012): Routledge, 1.
18 Garth Andrew Myers. *African Cities*. (London: Zed Books, 2011) 16.
19 Labelle Prussin. *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 256.
20 Labelle Prussin. *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 7.

As applied to the vernacular Islamic architecture of West Africa, Trevor Marchand offers a hopeful command of the vernacular as process with duration in his writing about the largest mud Mosque in the world. He argues, "Djenne's distinct architectural tradition, like that of other towns and cities where building crafts flourish, is perpetuated not through a rigid conservation of its surviving buildings and monuments, but instead via its dynamic and responsive transmission of skill-based knowledge from one generation of building to the next. Effectively, it is this 'tradition as process', as instituted in the apprenticeship-style education, which must be conserved if architectural styles and techniques that respond to, and create the specificities of 'place' are to survive and potentially proliferate."[21] Echoing this far more versatile vernacular as demonstrated by the transactions at Djenne, this thesis frames Islamic architecture as defined by its historical transformations and not static form.

Personal Motivations

This research is also highly motivated from a more personal, long-term interest and involvement with the Cape Coast Zongo. My first encounter with one of these settlements was in 2007 when I was introduced to the Chief Imam of a Zongo located in the urban, coastal city of Cape Coast. At that time, I had observed issues of flooding, drought, sanitation, and erosion, but also reflected upon what I saw as the community's strong collective social and cultural identity. Since that initial visit, I have been teaching design studios in Cape Coast, conducting interviews, and working with the residents to develop long-term, community-based design strategies aiming to improve their quality of life. Over these last seven years, I have developed a trusting relationship with the community and lifelong friendships. The Cape Coast Zongo affectionately gave me the name "Habiba" and I have been invited to participate in what I perceive as highly personal activities such as sharing of tea and fresh bread with a family inside their home, attending wedding receptions, and being privy to ablution and communal prayer.

I still have an infinite amount to learn about the Zongo as a place and community. Thus, for this historical research, I aim to adopt a parallel approach to that of my earlier design initiative grounded in human-centered design.[22] Rather than implementing a top-down design strategy, or in this case, a top-down research strategy in which I would map terms, observations, and theories invented in the West, for the West, on to the Cape Coast Zongo, I will begin with local context and concerns to

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21 Trevor H.J. Marchand, "Endorsing Indigenous Knowledge: The Role of Masons and Apprenticeship in sustaining Vernacular Architecture – the case of Djenne," in *Vernacular Architecture in the 21st Century: Theory, Education, and Practice*, ed. by Lindsay Asquith and Marcel Vellinga (London: Francis and Taylor, 2006), 47.

22 There are many examples of practitioners and scholars who have contributed to the concept of human-centered design. A few of them are as follows: Bryan Bell of "Design Corps", Jeremy Till as outlined in his book "Architecture Depends", the architecture and urban design firm IDEO, and artist Teddy Cruz.

guide my inquiry. Furthermore, the research requires uncertainty from beginning to end – a constant questioning and self-reflection of how I see, name, interpret, and differentiate people, places, materials, and value systems.[23] Such an approach requires a conceptual framework formulated from local perceptions and concerns.

Conceptual Framework

To conduct this research, I have created a conceptual framework through which to define, collect, analyze, and synthesize the evidence. The purpose of this framework is to make the process transparent – to reveal my own subjective interpretations and analysis so as to encourage further discussions against or continuing to develop the initial logic.

Definitions

Here, I will focus on the particular definitions and conceptualization of the terms I will use throughout the research. For the primary terms, "Zongo" and "marginalization", I will also discuss how each has been written and talked about in scholarship on urban Africa and from voices on the ground in Ghana.

Zongo:

The Zongo phenomenon is understudied. Most of the in-depth ethnographic research was completed in the 1970s and includes little comparative, regional analysis that I believe is necessary to more fully understand local urban conditions – especially in the case of Zongos that operate as a network of settlements. Furthermore, the Cape Coast Zongo, most likely the oldest Zongo in Ghana, has never been the subject of an in-depth investigation[24] and has been referenced only briefly in the ethnographies about Zongos in Accra and Kumasi.

The definitions of Zongo are many and vary radically depending upon one's relative geographical, historical, and social positioning. All of them however, describe the Zongo as a place, not a group of people. According to the Hausa-English dictionary, Zongo means "traveler's camp" or "stop-over"[25] thus demonstrating its linguistic linkage to the Hausa ethnic group and associations with temporality and travel. A map dated 1959 (most likely created by the newly inaugurated State) , labeled the Zongo with a lowercase "z" and defined it on the map key as, "Settlements of Foreign African Races (Hausa

23 See Ben Agger. "Critical theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance." *Annual Review of Sociology* (1991): 106.
24 In Roger Gocking's history of Cape Coast, there was only a single reference to the Hausa community. See Roger Gocking. *The Historic Akoto: A Social History of Cape Coast Ghana*, 1843-1948. Stanford: Stanford University (1981).
25 Paul Newman, *A Hausa English Dictionary*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 230.

Zongo)".[26] More recent contemplations on the meaning of Zongo emphasize its distinct social and spatial arrangement as compared to areas "outside" it.[27] Deborah Pellow for example, emphasizes the bounded quality of the community, or as she calls it "Zongo-ness", that according to her is caused by particular formations of genealogy.[28] Pellow focuses on the interiority and exclusionary attributes of the Accra Zongo that stand in "stark contrast" as compared to the Western city of Accra.[29]

While Pellow[30], Enid Schildkrout[31] and Kelly JoAnne Tucker[32] provide the reader with detailed, thick and longitudinal accounts of the community, other scholars treat the Zongo settlement homogeneously and ahistorically. In a recent book about ghettos, Julius Fobil and Raymond Atuguba describe the rise and character of all Zongos' in Ghana the same way. They write, "The city centers are mostly characterized by congestion and squalor, rapid urbanization which imposes immense land and shelter demands within short time stretches, has led to the development of slums popularly known as Zongos."[33] Similarly, other scholars use the term "slum problem"[34] or "ghetto"[35] to describe the Zongo without understanding the particulars of the situation and that Zongos vary depending upon the context. Zongos in the north, such as Kumasi or Wa, for example are some of the most prosperous sections of the city.

Since the definitions and their conceptualization of the term Zongo are slippery, plural, and divergent, I will rely on the voices of the Zongo communities to determine its multiple meanings in different places and times. In preliminary systematic interviews for example, a resident in the North defined the Zongo as a place "Where strangers settle."[36] Another resident from Techiman, a city in the center of Ghana described it as a place, "Where our forefathers would stop and rest for awhile when they were carrying their trade items from one place to another."[37] Further south, the secretary of the Zongo Chief in Kumasi explained, "A Zongo is a camp, a settlement founded by ancient Hausa traders. Zongo

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26 Map from 1959, *Kumasi and Cape Coast Zongo*, from the Kumasi Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
27 Deborah Pellow. *Landlords and Lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community*. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002) 1.
28 Deborah Pellow. *Landlords and Lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community.* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002) 9.
29 Deborah Pellow. *Landlords and Lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community*. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002) 59.
30 See Deborah Pellow. *Landlords and Lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002; Deborah Pellow. "Cultural Differences and Urban Spatial Forms: Elements of Boundedness in an Accra Community." *American Anthropologist* 103, 1 (2001): 59-75; Deborah Pellow. "The Power of Space in the Evolution of an Accra Zongo." *Ethnohistory* 38, 4 (1991): 414-450.
31 See Schildkrout, Enid. *People of the Zongo: the Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
32 See Kelly JoAnne Tucker. "A History of Accra's 'Zongos': Heterogeneity and Social Change." Ph.D., Indiana University, 2002.
33 Julius Fobil and Raymond Atuguba. "Ghana: Migration and the African Urban Context" in Falola, Toyin, and Steven J. Salm, eds. *Globalization and Urbanization in Africa*. (Africa World Press, 2004) 257.
34 See Kwasi Nyadu-Larbi, "The Slum Problem of Urban Ghana: a Case Study of the Kumasi Zongo." (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2001).
35 Joseph A Sarfoh. "The West African Zongo and the American Ghetto: Some Comparative Aspects of the Roles of Religious Institutions." *Journal of Black Studies* 17, 1 (1986): 71-84.
36 Interview with an anonymous Wa Zongo resident on July 28, 2013.
37 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 23, 2013.

means 'camp' or 'settlement.' In time, it became a place for Muslims to stay from far away, outside of the Hausaland."[38] For a Zongo Chief in Salt Pond along the coast, "the word comes from the Hausa tribe and means 'come' (zo) and 'get' or 'take' (ngo). It means 'let's come together and stay'."[39] Whereas the previous definitions include dimensions of trade, travel, religion, migration, and temporality, the residents of the Cape Coast Zongo provided what I see as a less insular definition, one that suggests that the Zongo is part of, and shaped by larger structures of power. For example, one resident explained, "The meaning is a settlement of people who came to a particular place that was originally not theirs; mostly they are Muslims; highly populated; little to no amenities; everything about the Zongo is poor."[40] Still, almost every member of the Zongo community I've talked with over the last five years is proud of their Zongo heritage and associate closely with Islam, its cultural traditions and religion.

Marginalization:

Before addressing how I plan to define marginalization in the context of the Cape Coast Zongo, I will communicate how I have seen the term (and other closely associated terms such as segregation and ghettoization) interpreted and used in both the Western and African context. According to Ceri Peach, it is important to differentiate between both the social processes of segregation (integration and assimilation) and their geographical terms (ghetto and enclave).[41] First, integration and assimilation are terms that refer to the geographical dispersal of a community. While integration asserts that a group maintains its difference after having been dispersed among the majority population, assimilation assumes the group abandons its difference and endorses the practices of the majority. Second, Peach describes the ghetto as having a negative connotation and enclave as having a positive one. Segregation, she asserts, has the potential to be good, bad, or a combination of both.[42] I would like to note however, that these definitions stem from American and European models and that I will use them only as reference points to question and challenge assumptions in the literature.[43]

With reference to Africa, Simone similarly explains the difficulty of naming marginalized groups and spaces. He insists in the importance of problematizing the label - where it comes from, what its

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38 Interview with an anonymous Kumasi Zongo resident on July 18, 2013.
39 Interview with an anonymous Salt Pond Zongo resident on August 2, 2013.
40 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on August 1, 2013.
41 Note: The Chicago School was known for not differentiating between ghetto and enclave. Ceri Peach, "The Ghetto and the Ethnic Enclave" in *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves, and Inequality*. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2005) 35.
42 See Ceri Peach. "Good Segregation, Bad Segregation." *Planning Perspectives* 11, 4 (1996): 379-398; Peter Marcuse. "Enclaves Yes, Ghettos No: Segregation and the State" in David P. Varady, ed. *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves, and Inequality*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2005; and Ray Hutchison and Bruce D. Haynes, eds. *The Ghetto: Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2012.
43 For example, in Margaret Peil's, "Ghana's Aliens", she talks about how "Nigerians resisted assimilation." See: Peil, Margaret. "Ghana's Aliens." *International Migration Review* 8, 3, (1970) 370. A second example is a comparison between the Zongo of West Africa and the New York Ghetto. See: Sarfoh, Joseph A. "The West African Zongo and the American Ghetto: Some Comparative Aspects of the Roles of Religious Institutions." *Journal of Black Studies* 17, 1 (1986): 71-84.

function is, when, why, and how the term arose in the first place, and what the term does. Instead of examining "difference" objectively from above, he argues for a participatory understanding or what he calls the "cityness" of everyday life.[44] Whereas Simone investigates the contemporary spatialization of marginalization in the contemporary African city, Mamdani explains it via historical interpretation. He argues that the slicing of the city into pieces may be attributed to "institutional segregation" as installed by the colonial powers and that still perpetuates under a number of different guises today.[45] Instead of focusing on exclusionary aspects of marginalization, Mamdani advocates for an inclusionary tactic – one that investigates how marginalization and different forms of power collide and interact with one another. He writes, "The accent is on incorporation not marginalization."[46] Along the same lines, Bell Hooks insists that marginalization is part of the whole and thus becomes a space of resistance and possibility.[47] Hence, using the concepts of process and whole as well as these dimensions, I begin with the following definition: Marginalization is the process of being an integral part of, but not conforming to a dominant society or culture as measured by the socio-spatial outcomes at the intersection of social forms (religion, authority, and trade) with that of spatial (geographical, urban, settlement and architectural).

Spatial Forms of Marginalization

At the architectural scale, I will investigate the perceived quality of building materials, typologies, and real estate (spatial capacity to renovate). Second, at the settlement scale, I will inquire after the quality of relationships among buildings in the Zongo settlement: whether some areas maintain a higher quality of perceived materials, typologies, or real estate than others, the quality and locations of amenities such as the mosque, shops, and wells, and to what extent real estate and amenities are shared. Third, at the urban scale, I will examine the quality of real estate of the Zongo settlement relative to that of the rest of the city: its building materials and typologies, its vulnerability to natural disasters, and its relative proximity to amenities such as schools, markets, and other institutions. To answer why and how socio-spatial marginalization occurs at each of these scales, the following section introduces their social driving forces: Religion, Authority, and Economic Production.

Social Driving Forces of Marginalization

Religion:

For this thesis, I define religion as an organized collection of beliefs, rituals, cultural systems, and

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44 AbdouMaliq Simone. "Demonstrations as Work: Some Notes from Africa." in Hutchison, Ray, and Bruce D. Haynes, eds. *The Ghetto: Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies.* (Boulder Colorado: Westview Press, 2012), 246.
45 Mahmood Mamdani. *Citizen and Subject*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 6.
46 Mahmood Mamdani. *Citizen and Subject*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 15.
47 Bell Hooks. "Marginality as a Site of Resistance" in *Out there: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures.* ed. Ferguson Russell Ferguson and Martha Gever (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990) 341.

worldviews that connects humanity to a set of ordered powers.[48] Since the Zongo community is composed of multiple ethnic groups and bound first and foremost by Islam and occupation,[49] the categories that reflect the historical distinctions among Fante Traditional Religion, Christianity, and Islam are relevant. The Fante Traditional Religion, most often set against Christianity in the archival evidence, is the belief in a Supreme Being that created the universe and that lowers spirits to assist humans on earth. The priest or priestess serves as the mediator between humans and spirits. Also central to this religion is that spirits are the owners of the lands and chiefs serve as their custodians. The spirits are personifications of the natural world and shrines from which they emerge are most often trees surrounded by a low wall. Dancing, drumming, and the pouring of libations on a weekly and monthly basis are the most common practices among the Fante.

While the colonial archival evidence consistently berates the "witchcraft" of the "Black Natives", they use these disparaging remarks to elevate Christianity's position as the tool by which to civilize and enlighten the mind and spirit. Though there are many Christian denominations, the Methodist and Catholic predominate Cape Coast and have tended to operate in unison in religious matters. Christianity is a monotheistic, Abrahamic religion, and concerns the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, the Son of God and savior. Rituals include Sunday church services, baptism, communion, prayer, and learning the Bible. The cultural belief systems of the Christianity that Great Britain imported to the Gold Coast were closely tied with the culture, education, and ideologies of the "West".

Considered far more civilized than the Fante religion, Islam or "Muhammadism" as Christian Missionaries often called it, is also monotheisitic and is based upon the belief that there is no god but God and Muhammad is his prophet.[50] Two texts serve as its foundation: The Quran, believed to be a direct revelation from God, is the central religious text and the Hadith, a collection of reports concerning the life and sayings of Muhammad and his followers. Also central to the Islamic faith are the five pillars of Islam: the Creed, praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, giving to the poor and pilgrimage to Mecca. In the Fante Traditional religion shrines are the primary location of worship and in Christianity, the Church, in Islam the Mosque serves as the primary location for prayer.

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48 Clifford Geertz proposed calling religion a "cultural system". See Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System." In: *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays,* Geertz, Clifford, Fontana Press, 1993. 87-125..
49 Jean Marie Allman. "'Hewers of Wood, Carriers of Water': Islam, Class, and Politics on the Eve of Ghana's Independence." *African Studies Review: The Journal of the African Studies Association African Studies Review* 34, 2 (1991) 4.
50 This information came from informal conversations with Cape Coast Zongo residents in July 2013.

Though I have defined these social driving forces as distinct from one another, their intentions, strategies, and results are in constant conversation and in different configurations. At times, authority might entirely consume religion and economic production and at others, religion and authority might diverge from economic production. Furthermore, the combinations of two social forces might at one point create an entirely new, fourth autonomous force. To investigate the complex configurations of these social forces and how they change over time, systematic data collection and analysis is crucial.

Authority:

For the purposes of this research, I define Authority as "The right or power to give orders and enforce standards."[51] The types of Authority vary depending upon the period and their initial conceptual models began with Max Weber's "Three Types of Legitimate Rule."[52]

Important Authorities in the archives and interviews include the Colonial Authority or as the Zongo residents called them, "Colonial Masters". This authority, fundamentally foreign in its rules, regulations, and European ideologies, was dominant during the first three periods of Imperialism, Segregation, Nationalism. The power and interests of the Colonial Authority over Cape Coast steadily declined during the Nationalism period, but in many ways was transferred and recast in Cape Coast's local Municipal Government. Both the Colonial Authority and Municipal Governments were often just called the "Government" for short in the primary sources and could be described as bureaucratic because power was primarily legitimized by rules and regulations.

In addition to the "Government" whether Colonial or Post-Colonial, a second set of Authorities is the "Traditional Authority" which is composed of The Oguaa Traditional Council (those who considered themselves the indigenous of the Gold Coast and owners of the land) and the Sirikin Zongo and other Chiefs of the Zongo settlement. Whereas early on the Oguaa Traditional Council and Zongo Chiefs maintained separate, autonomous structures of authority, in 1973 the Sirikin Zongo became a voting, representative member of the Oguaa Traditional Council. What both of these sectors have in common, is their tribal affiliations and that the power is legitimized because it "has always existed", in other words, it is inherited. Though these positions are tinged with, and fortified by cultural and religious tradition, the decisions made by these authorities have more to do with social affairs than they do with either political or religious ones. Third, there is charismatic authority in which power is legitimized based upon the charisma of the leader and their ability to

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51 "Authority," *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/public/tocnode?query=authority&widen=1&result_number=2&from=search&id=g9781405124331_yr2012_chunk_g97814051243317_ss1-80&type=std&fuzzy=0&slop=1. Accessed December 2, 2013.

52 Max Weber. "Legitimate authority and bureaucracy." Pugh, DS (1997) *Organization Theory. Selected Readings* (1947): 3-15.

lead by virtue of heroism, magical powers, prophecy, or other qualities. In the case of Cape Coast, these authorities were most often religious leaders and included chiefs and fetish priests filled in the Fante Traditional Religion, Missionaries and Priests in Christianity, and Imams and Uluma in Islam. Finally, the last authoritative power that plays a major role in this thesis is that of Military rule. Rather than Bureaucratic, Traditional, or Charismatic authority , in which there are hereditary or procedural rules by which to govern the people, Military Authority champions rule by aggression and force that promotes the interest of the Nation State over individuals.

Economic Production:

For the purposes of this research, I define economic production as "The activity or process of buying, selling, or exchanging resources and/or services locally, regionally, and internationally by caravan, road, rail, sea, or air". For Cape Coast, economic production varies on whether it is local land-based, local or regional marine-based, long-distance land-based, or long-distance marine-based. While local, land-based economic production includes the exchange of small quantities of resources via foot, caravan or road, long-distance land-based trade assumes much larger quantities and expands the modes of transportation to include railway and air. Similarly, local or regional marine-based trade assumes small quantities of resources by sea in canoe, sailboat, or other small ships to local coastal ports along the Gulf of Guinea. Although this mode of economic production most often suggests a higher degree of prosperity than local land-based trade, it was considered less prosperous than long-distance land-based economic production. The mode of production with the most economic gain in Ghana? however, has historically been long-distance marine-based trade that now also incorporates trade by air. Historically, the Colonial merchants were the ones who benefited the most from the marine-based trade due to their ownership and operation of not only the steamships, but also of the coastline itself. The Islamic traders on the other hand were known for long-distance land-based trade across from the coast to Kano, Katsina, or even up to Djenne, Timbuktu and across the Sahara. The indigenous of the Gold Coast, the owners of the land, worked most closely on the production rather than distribution and could benefit from both the marine-based and land-based trade.

Data Collection and Analysis

Since there is no data source that spans every period, and because it was important to hear from those voices left out of the archival evidence, I collected material from a combination of colonial letters, legal documents, newspapers, historical photographs, maps, field notes from informal observation + participation, in-depth interviews, and my own photography.These sources of data convert into three types: text, images, and maps.

From the texts, I will make inferences about the community conditions of socio-spatial marginalization by linking thick descriptions of construction materials, buildings, and urban space (spatial) to implicitly or explicitly stated social causes such as policies implemented by the Colonial Government (authority), restrictions on Islamic practices (religion) or availability of resources (economic production).

From the images, I will make inferences about the perceived quality of materials, buildings, and landscape (spatial); what content chosen to be represented in the frame and why; and whether particular social forces are illustrated more or less often than others – whether it be images of markets (economic production), churches, mosques, or fetish houses (religion) or government institutions (authority).

Finally, from the maps, I will make inferences about the spatial positioning of buildings and settlements – whether they are located at the center or periphery of the city and to what degree their adjacencies to markets, schools, and other institutions contribute to a more or less marginalized position. In addition, I will be able to speculate about to what degree one consciously intended to marginalize the settlement based upon building and infrastructure sequencing. For example, if the Zongo settlement relied on the market for their livelihoods and then the Government built a market at the opposite side of the city, one could infer that the Government was not taking the community's needs into account.

It is also important to note that I coded and analyzed the data according to the time in which it was produced because the indicators for marginalization and its causes shift depending upon the period. Furthermore, I examined the text and subtext of each text, map, and photograph for every piece of evidence is "contested terrain."[53] In addition to the examination and interpretation of primary sources, I have also created my own maps and floor plans to illustrate particular modifications, additions, or erasure of the building environment. For the maps, most of this information came from hundreds of textual sources that I then compiled and translated into graphic form. The purpose of these maps is to demonstrate the spatial transformations from one historical frame to the next. As for the floor plans, these too were not measured with a high degree of accuracy for their purpose is to understand the use of the spaces, their adjacencies, and how buildings evolved over time.

Rather than focusing on the spatial marginalization of the Zongo as a singular, ahistorical bounded entity (as many scholars have treated it in the past), I endeavor in this thesis to privilege its process of becoming over its object-ness. Understanding the space of the Zongo as a process of socio-spatial

53 Note: text as "contested terrain" is Derrida's formulation, but is described in Agger:
Ben Agger. "Critical theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance." *Annual Review of Sociology* (1991) 112.

transformation allows us to free it from the misconception that it somehow operates "outside" the city in isolation from its context. In fact, I would argue the exact opposite is true – the Zongo functions as an economic and social hub of the city with a strategic location across from the market. At one point, a Zongo resident even asked me, "Emily, why is it that the Zongo is always at the center?"[54] Trinh T. Minh-ha reinforces this relationship between margin and center. She writes, "it is an elsewhere that does not merely lie outside the center but radically striates it."[55] Even though this research is first and foremost a history of the Zongo settlement, this notion of process and becoming, shifting between edge and center, leans away from description and explanation towards practice and spatial agency. As opposed to some draconian historians and theorists, Meyers and Simone among others, argue that scholars should find more ways to link theory and practice – to improve the quality of life of those living in African cities.[56] As an architect by training, I believe that such a deep, yet open and inclusive investigation into the socio-spatial histories of the subaltern, will help dislodge space from its taken-for-granted and immobile position and enable projections of alternative futures.

The historical periods interrogated in Chapters 3-7 focus on the transformations of the Cape Coast Zongo. The first period, *Imperialism*, begins with a letter with British explorations to Hausaland to recruit soldiers for the British-Asante War. During this period, I have detected in the archives a larger geographical focus in which movement from one area to another for trading and conquest of territory and resources are of primary concern. The Zongo as a physical place exists in Nigeria and is a prosperous walled city. It is only towards the end of this period in which the Zongo translates from the contours of the British imagination to fixed, physical locations.

For the second period, *Segregation*, the seat of British government moves from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast in 1901 and Cape Coast loses its prominence as a capital, port, and stopping point along the newly built railway. Locally, with the outbreak of Yellow Fever, the British Commissioners of Cape Coast begin placing emphasis on building regulations and codes and there is an increased desire to segregate African natives from Europeans in the name of sanitation. Even with these new regulations however, the Zongos in Cape Coast existed at the spatial margins of the city and British thought.

With the onset of the third period, *Nationalism*, the British bestow more power to the native traditional authorities in 1927 with Native Administration Ordinance. Though their agendas diverged in terms of land ownership, Native and British authorities both advocated for new

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54 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on July 29, 2013.
55 Trinh T. Minh-ha. "Cotton and Iron" in *Out there: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures.* ed. Ferguson Russell Ferguson and Martha Gever (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990) 328.
56 Garth Andrew Myers. *African Cities*. (London: Zed Books, 2011) 14-15.

comprehensive town planning schemes. In Cape Coast, this results in more rigid building regulations, zoning, and permitting procedures that cause the Zongo to become more marginalized.

After Ghana's independence in 1957 and with the rise of a nationalized economy, territorial boundaries became less porous at the macro-regional and settlement scales. Resources and people became more closely affixed to place and labeled "foreign" or "indigenous". For the Zongo, this resulted in increased in marginalization.

Finally, the last period, *Modernity*, demonstrates how the perceived binaries of modernity and tradition are overlayed onto particular territories and used to further the agendas of those in power. Though this tactic causes increased economic and social difference between inside and outside the Zongo settlement, virtual networks provide its residents with a second, less ghettoized and more porous cyber-Zongo.

Before presenting these detailed historical chapters however, it is important first to establish the larger historical and geographical context within which the Cape Coast Zongo operates. The following chapter introduces the historical formations of the Zongo as a phenomenon, provides an overview of the current economic and social geography of Ghana, and demonstrates how these larger forces translate and vary with local conditions through vignettes in four cities.

II. ZONGO IN CONTEXT

Figure 1 Historic Trade Routes in West Africa, Patrick K. O'Brien, ed., Oxford Atlas of World History, Oxford University Press (adapted)

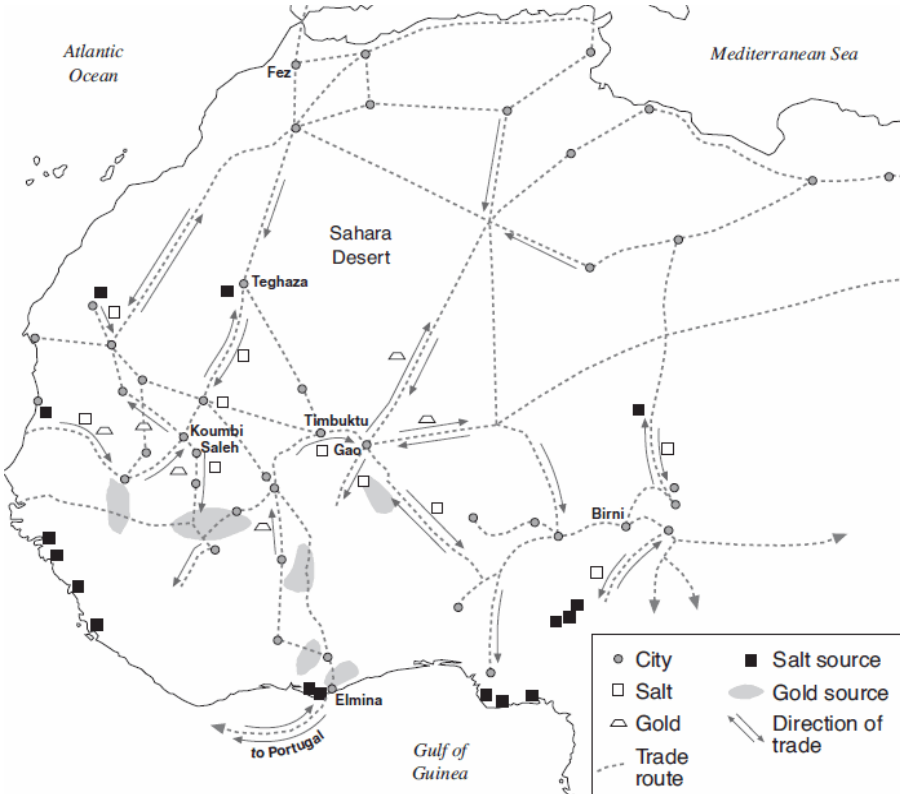

Figure 1

II. ZONGO IN CONTEXT

The primary purpose of this chapter is to provide the contemporary, geographical context for the in-depth historical analysis in subsequent chapters. To do so, it is important to first explain how, why, and when these settlements emerged in the first place.

A Brief Settlement History

With the advent of Islam in 10th century West Africa, pre-colonial commercial networks crossed the Sahara and converged at the major trading entrepots of Awdaghust and Tadmekka.[1] Traveling by caravan, these Islamic traders and clerics traversed different ecological zones and ethnic territories initiating commercial transactions and spreading their spiritual beliefs.[2] From here, some Merchants departed southeast to join the Hausa tribe[3] in city-states such as Katsina and Kano in northern Nigeria, others traveled southwest to cities such as Djenne, Begho, and even to Elmina on the Coast (Figure 1). While the latter had established their own "Stranger" settlements and long-term economic relationships with the indigenous of the Gold Coast by the 18th century, the Hausas, among other "stranger"[4] ethnic groups arrived under the command of Colonial Authorities as hired fighters, traders, and agriculturalists.[5]

It was only by the mid 19th century however, that the term Zongo came to be used to differentiate between Muslim (foreign) and Indigenous (native) territory.[6] Even though historically the residents of the Zongos share similar spiritual belief systems, cultural practices, and commercial tactics, where they are situated geographically shapes their unique identity formation and in turn, their capacity to prosper. For example, whereas in Ghana's northern territories, Islam is the majority religion and culture, as one moves south, Christianity and variants of its Western ideology dominate. Similarly, the north operates predominantly on an agricultural and land-based trade economy, whereas industrial and capitalist enterprises command the south. Moreover, since Ghana's Government is decentralized by region, the structures of power follow suit. As one moves outwards from the Seat of the Government in Accra and other urban centers, traditional and localized systems of authority become more robust.

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1 Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels. *History of Islam in Africa*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012. 63.
2 Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels. *History of Islam in Africa*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012. 63.
3 "A widespread black African people of the Sudan and northern Nigeria, of the Bantu family with some Hamitic descent; (also) the language of this people, used, esp. in commerce, over much of West Africa." In *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Hausa", http://www.oed.com.libproxy.mit.edu/view/Entry/84650?redirectedFrom=hausa#eid. Accessed February 20, 2014.
4 According to Elliot Skinner, early "Stranger Settlements", settlements where non-indigenous lived, existed in much of pre-colonial West Africa. See: Elliot P. Skinner. "Strangers in West African Societies." *Africa* 33, 4 (1963): 307.
5 Elliot P. Skinner. "Strangers in West African Societies." *Africa* 33, 4 (1963): 308.
6 Note: This is my hypothesis only. I have not found any references to the Zongos in Ghana before this time and believe it is a label that came to be used during the Colonial period.

Figure 2 Ghana's 10 Regions Subdivided into 216 Districts. Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the The Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census dated June 2013.

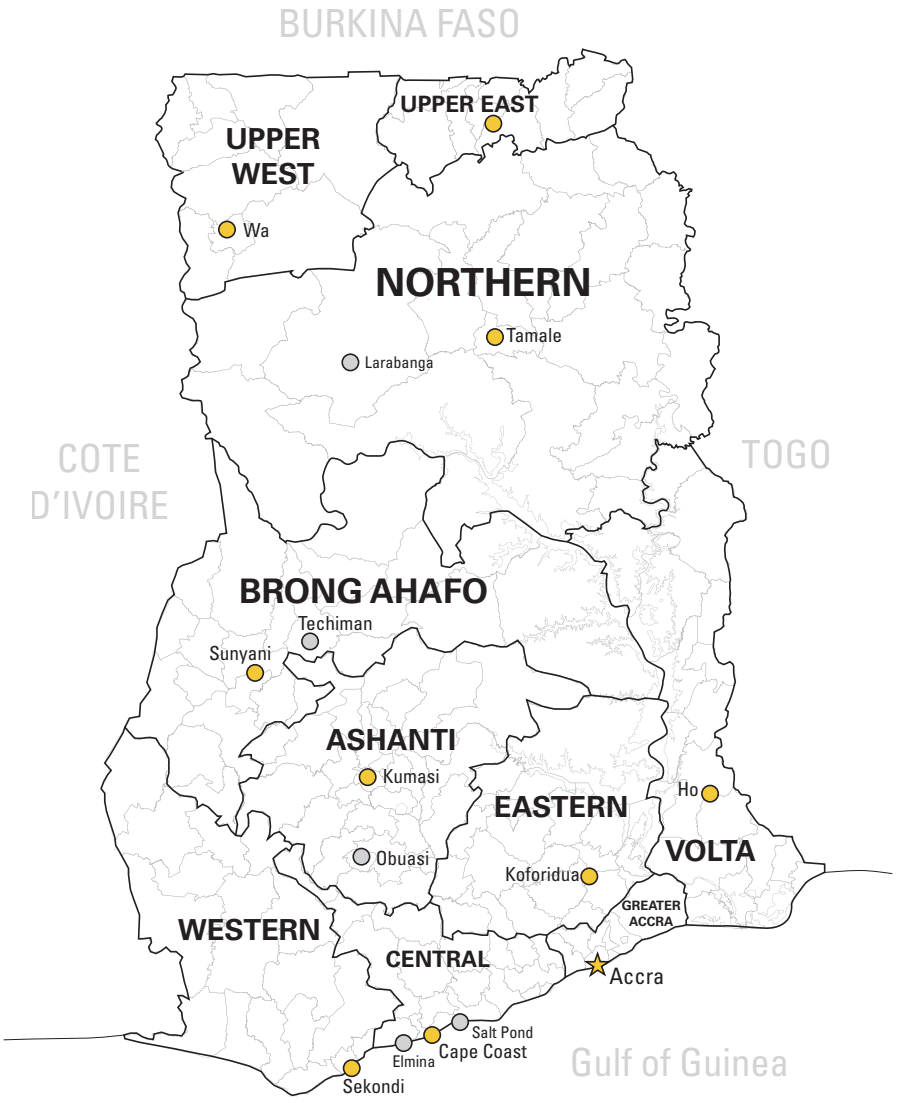

Figure 2

Equally important to the settlements' historical formation, is its current positioning in Ghana's political and socio-economic geography. The first two sections present these organizational structures and trends at the scale of the nation and the last section chooses four city vignettes through which to explain their nuance and variation at the finer grain of the city.

Political Geography

The political geography has changed dramatically over the study period. Thus, this section will introduce the current situation both for orientation and as a benchmark to which the thesis will return in the conclusion.

Ghana, named after the West African Ghana Empire, is a sovereign state and a Constitutional Presidential Republic. The country is located in West Africa and shares boundaries with Togo to the East, Cote D'Ivoire to the West, Burkina Faso to the north and the Gulf of Guinea and Atlantic Ocean to the south. Ghana gained independence from Great Britain in 1957 and Kwame Nkrumah became its first Prime Minister and President. In 1966, Nkrumah was overthrown in a coup led by Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka and the National Liberation Council. After years of Military rule interspersed with coups, Ghana's Fourth Republic and National Constitution took effect in 1993 and became the foundation for Ghana's Government today.

The three current branches of Government are The Executive (President and Council of State, Legislature (230 member Parliament) and Judiciary (Superior and Regional Courts). Since the enactment of the Constitution in 1993, decentralization has played a major role in defining the Government's roles and policies. According to Chapter 20, section 2a, "Parliament shall enact appropriate laws to ensure that functions, powers, responsibilities, and resources are at all times transferred from the Central Government to local government units in a co-ordinated manner."[7]

Ghana is divided into ten administrative Regions subdivided into 216 Districts (Figure 2). The capital of the country is Accra and each region has its own Regional Capital. At the Regional level, the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) is the highest administrative authority and consists of the Regional Minister and Deputies, two Chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs, and the Regional Ministry Heads. In addition, the President appoints a Minister of State who both represents the President and is in charge of administrative duties for that Region.[8] Rather than developing policies and regulations, the role of the RC is to oversee, coordinate and evaluate the political functions

7 "Constitution of the Republic of Ghana", http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/constitution.php?id=Gconst20.html, Accessed February 20, 2014.
8 "Constitution of the Republic of Ghana," http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/constitution.php?id=Gconst20.html, Accessed February 20, 2014.

Figure 3 % of Population whose Religion is Islam, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

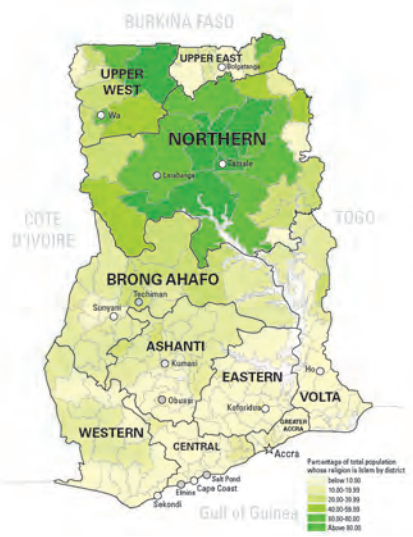

Figure 3

Figure 4 Urban Population as % of Total, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

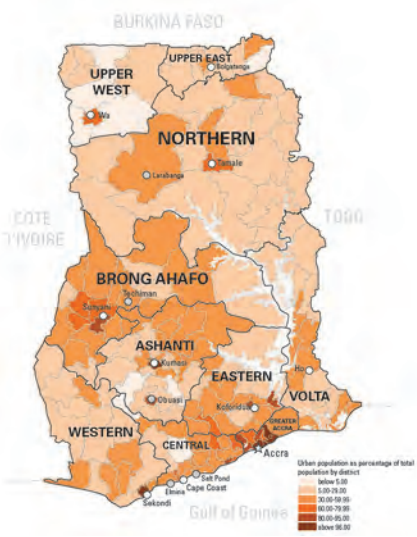

Figure 4

Figure 5 % of Houses with Cementblock Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

Figure 5

Figure 6 Population, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

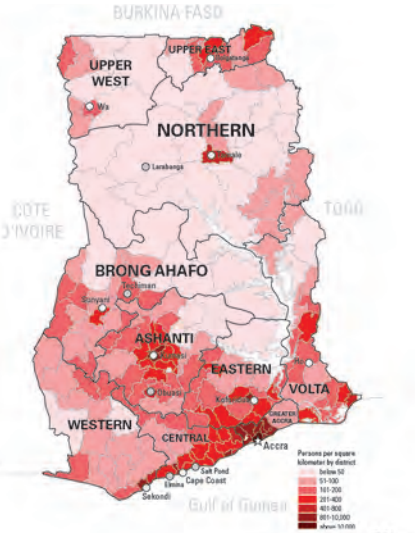

Figure 6

Figure 7 % of Population who are Literate, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

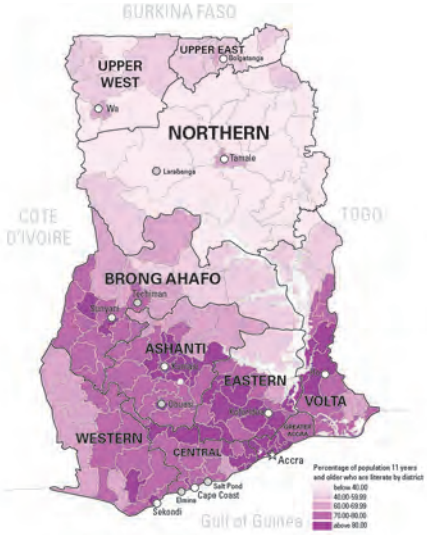

Figure 7

Figure 8 Relative Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

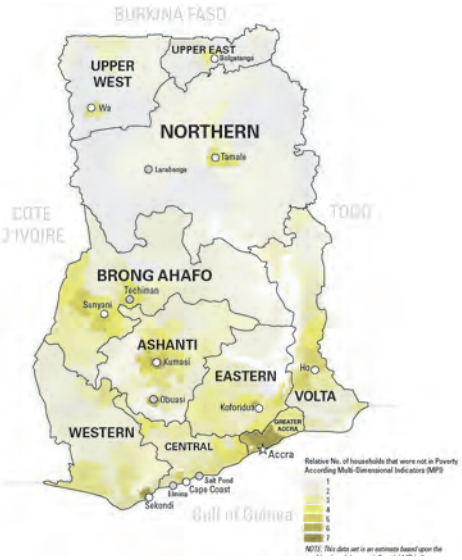

Figure 8

executed at the District level of Government.[9]

At the local District level, the District Assembly, Municipal Assembly or a Metropolitan Assembly (depending upon the population of the District) is the highest political authority.[10] The Assembly consists of the Chief Executive of the District, Representatives from each local electoral area, and Parliament Members from that District, and other members appointed by the President.[11] The role of the Assembly is to implement policy, regulations, and development planning within its own District and coordinate with other Districts. Subsidiary to the Assemblies, is the Sub-District, Sub-Metropolitan District, Urban or Zonal Councils (depending upon the population size and urban character of a particular city or town).[12] Cape Coast for example, has a Zonal Council under the authority of a Municipal Assembly in the Cape Coast Municipal District within the Central Region of Ghana.

Socio-Economic Geography

In addition to the contours of Ghana's political geography, the functions of the socio-economic geography are equally varied and complex. Though there are many different factors that contribute to measure an area's prosperity in addition to GDP per capita such as employment, construction materials, education, literacy or number people per household), the Ghana Statistical Service's Report on Non-Monetary Poverty uses a Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (MPI), "an international measure of acute poverty"[13] to measure poverty in Ghana (Figure 3-8). Rather than income, the MPI uses a combination of education (years of schooling and child school attendance), health (child mortality and maternal mortality), and standard of living (electricity, toilet, water, flooring, cooking fuel, and over-crowding) as dimensions of poverty.[14] For all Regions in Ghana, the study reported that low education rates and low standards of living are the most important dimensions causing increased poverty levels.[15] Overall, Ghana has an MPI value of .179. When this number is divided

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9 "Ghana Districts," http://ghanadistricts.com/home/?_=13&sa=3621&ssa=128, Accessed February 21, 2014.
10 Note: There are 3 Metropolitan Assemblies (population over 250,000), 4 Municipal Assemblies (population over 95,000), and 103 District Assemblies (population of 75,000 and over) in Ghana. "Ghana Districts", http://ghanadistricts.com/home/?_=13&sa=3621&ssa=128, Accessed February 21, 2014.
11 Note: the number of members the President may appoint is not to exceed 30%. "Constitution of the Republic of Ghana", http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/constitution.php?id=Gconst20.html, Accessed February 20, 2014.
12 For more information, see the section on "Functions of Assemblies" in the "Structure of the New Local Government System", http://ghanadistricts.com/home/?_=13&sa=3621&ssa=128, Accessed February 21, 2014.
13 "Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index," http://www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/, Accessed February 21, 2014.
14 For more information on dimensions and indicators, see Table 3.1: The dimensions, indicators, deprivation thresholds and weights of MPI. In "Non-Monetary Poverty in Ghana", http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Non-Monetary%20Poverty%20in%20Ghana%20(24-10-13).pdf, Accessed February 21, 2014.
15 See Table 5.2: *Percentage Contributions of Dimensions and Indicators to Overall National Poverty* in "Non-Monetary Poverty in Ghana", http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Non-Monetary%20Poverty%20in%20Ghana%20(24-10-13).pdf, Accessed February 21, 2014.

Table 5.6: Ranking of MPI scores by region and locality

Region	National		Rural		Urban	
	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank
Western	0.164	5	0.217	5	0.090	4
Central	0.155	4	0.184	2	0.122	6
Greater Accra	0.072	1	0.158	1	0.063	1
Volta	0.187	6	0.222	6	0.116	5
Eastern	0.147	3	0.196	4	0.083	3
Ashanti	0.121	2	0.189	3	0.077	2
Brong-Ahafo	0.217	7	0.278	7	0.139	7
Northern	0.371	10	0.430	10	0.236	10
Upper East	0.335	8	0.369	8	0.204	9
Upper West	0.341	9	0.376	9	0.158	8
Ghana	0.179	-	0.261	-	0.098	-

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population Housing Census

Figure 9

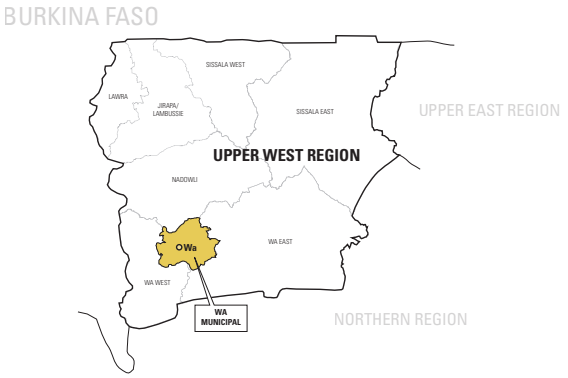

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 9 Table 5.6 Ranking of MPI scores by region and locality."Global MultiDimensional Poverty Index," http://www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/, Accessed February 21, 2014.

Figure 10 Upper West Region and Wa Municipal District Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

Figure 11 The City of Wa (Zongo in yellow). Drawing by Emily Williamson.

between rural and urban however there is a drastic difference. While the urban area's maintain an average MPI of .261, in rural areas it's only .098. In addition to the urban and rural contributing to economic positions, poverty also varies by Region and District. The Greater Accra Region is the least impoverished whereas the Northern, the Upper West, and Upper East are the most impoverished Regions. Thus, the two most important socio-economic country level trends are that poverty tends to increase as one moves further from Ghana's coastline. At the smaller regional and city levels however, poverty tends to increase the further one is located from an urban center. For the Zongo settlement in Cape Coast, however, the opposite is true. Even though the Central Region's cities (mainly Cape Coast) are the fourth most prosperous in the country, the Cape Coast Zongo is the least prosperous Zongo settlement of all (Figure 9).

City Vignettes

To demonstrate the sometimes subtle and other times jarring political, social, and economic differences along this north-south trajectory, I have chosen four cities in the corresponding districts and regions upon which to center this contextual analysis: Wa in the Wa Municipal District and Upper West Region, Techiman in the Techiman Municipal District and Brong Ahafo Region, Obuasi in the Obuasi Municipal District and Ashanti Region, and Sekondi in the Sekondi-Takoradi Municipal District and Western Region. I chose these cities because not only do they represent different regions and ecological zones, but also they sustain similar populations and economic brackets. For each city I will address how the relationships among powers of authority, economic production, and changing perceptions of Islam shape and/or are shaped by the Zongo settlement and its architecture. I will at times however, deviate from the particulars of a city to explain variation or similarities among other Zongos and cities in that same region.

Wa: The Zongo is the Town

The capital of the Upper West Region in Ghana, Wa has a population of 102,446[16] (Figures 10-11). The city is situated in the Savanna high plains along the most southern edge of the Sahel and has historically relied upon Islamic scholarship and trade as its livelihood.[17] In fact, the Tendene, the indigenous, landowners of the city invited the Muslims to stay with them early on because they knew it would bring the city wealth, prosperity, and spiritual regeneration.[18] Since the Colonial Government shifted the trade routes East in the late eighteenth century however, agriculture and manufacturing supplemented the declining long-distance land-based trade. Today, the Zongo community supplies all of the outlying agricultural villages with hoes, shovels, rakes and other

16 Population data collected from the CIA 2010 Census.
17 For more information regarding the history of Islam in Wa, see the book: Wilks, Ivor,. *Wa and the Wala: Islam and Polity in Northwestern Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989.
18 Interview with an anonymous Wa Zongo resident on July 22, 2013.

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17

Figure 12 Tools at the Market in Wa

Figure 13 Kola Nuts in the Wa Zongo Market

Figure 14 Cereals and Beans at the Market in Wa

Figure 15 Ancient Mosque Outside the City of Wa

Figure 16 The Wa Naa Palace

Figure 17 Ahmadiyya Mosque

tools[19] (Figure 12). In addition to dominating the agricultural market, other prevailing commercial enterprises closely linked with Islamic cultural traditions include animal-rearing and trading goods associated with Islamic religion and culture such as incense, the Quran, prayer beads, textiles, cereals, and kola[20] (Figures 13). To most effectively disseminate manufactured tools, animals, and other goods, the Zongo is strategically located in the commercial center of town close to the city's market (Figure 14). One resident interviewed explained that the Zongo is in the most prominent location in the town because they have access to everything they need and their buildings are in better condition than those of the indigenous.[21] Another resident even went as far to say, "The Zongo is the town."[22] For, besides its central location and access to grazing pastures outside it, the Wa Zongo is composed of not only houses, but also markets, blacksmith forge, slaughter houses, butcher shops, and gardens that support the livelihoods and collective traditions of the community.

In addition to Islamic cultural commerce sponsoring spatial prosperity in the Wa Zongo, Islam as the primary traditional authority both creates and is reinforced by its urban patterns and architectural constructions. Since most of the indigenous living in the Wa Municipality now claim Islam as their religion and because historically the Colonial Government has had far less of an impact on the far reaches of its Northern Territories, the Authorities in Wa have worked together in order to conserve their tangible, cultural heritage and developed new modes of construction that incorporate contemporary building materials and technologies. For example, Ancient Mosques in the Sudanese style dot the landscape (inside and outside the city) and the Wa Naa Palace, the home to the king of the Wala people, stresses equally the importance of the relationship between political authority and religion (Figures 15-16). Equally as prominent, is the nearby Ahmadiyya Mosque of modern construction with white-washed walls, brightly-colored mosaics, and sea-foam green minarets (Figure 17). On a smaller scale, the built structures in the Zongo exude a confidence in Islam as an authority and way of life.

Though not elaborately decorated, the markets, blacksmith forges, and shared structures for programs such as weddings, funerals, and baby-naming ceremonies, serve as visual markers and constant reminders that the primary authority organizing the space and activities is Islam. In addition, the buildings and physical infrastructure such as the roads are well-cared for and clean, the houses often exhibit mosaic tiling and fresh coats painting announcing their intention and desire to stay in the Wa Zongo permanently. In terms of dress, the Chief Zongo, Chief Imam, Secretary,

19 Interview with an anonymous Wa Zongo resident on July 23, 2013.
20 Interview with an anonymous Wa Zongo resident on July 22, 2013.
21 Interview with an anonymous Wa Zongo resident on July 23, 2013.
22 Interview with an anonymous Wa Zongo resident on July 22, 2013. According to this interviewee, the Zongo makes up 80% of the population.

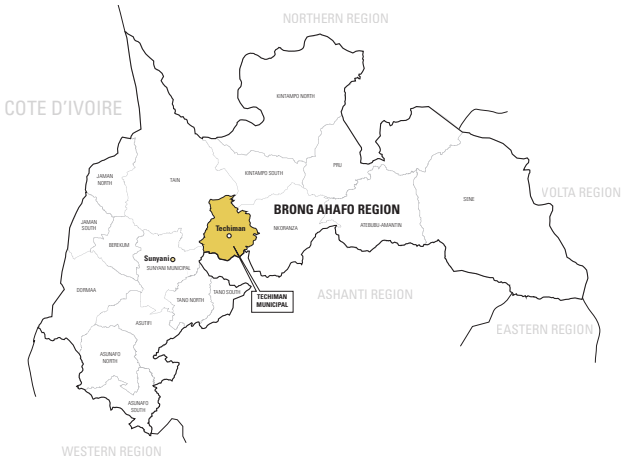

Figure 18

Figure 18 Figure 26: Brong Ahafo Region and Techiman Municipal District. Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

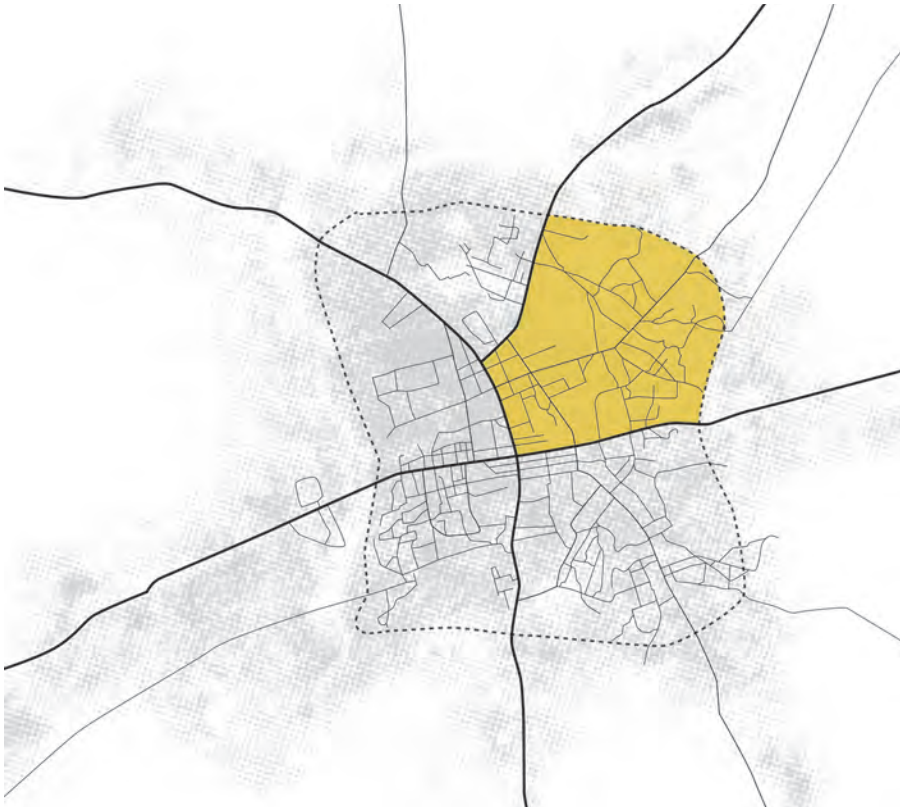

Figure 19

Figure 19 The City of Techiman (Zongo in Yellow). Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 20

Figure 20 Main North-South Street in Techiman

Municipal Assembly Representative, among the other nine members of the council that met with us, all wore clothing either specifically for religious contexts or that which was sewn in the material and style of the North.

Techiman: At the Crossroads of Trade

Approximately 200 miles south of Wa in the Brong Ahafo Region is the city of Techiman with a population of 104,212, slightly larger than that of Wa[23] (Figures 18-19). Strategically located at the intersection of two historic trade routes and at the climatic seam where the Savanna meets the Forest, Techiman was described by residents as "the exact center of Ghana" and "where North meets South."[24] Even today Techiman maintains its status as a market hub at which buyers and sellers converge.

Though not straddling all of the main streets as in Wa, the Techiman Zongo occupies one of four distinct quarters of the town. In explaining its origins, one Chief gestured towards the filling station and explained that the first plot of land the indigenous Borno people gave their forefathers was just to its left and now extends from the bank, to the hospital and all the way to the round-about[25] (Figure 20). Though this dryer land, "siroso", that they were given is good for planting the yam, the wetter land, "kwy", that the indigenous own may be used for planting the more profitable cocoa.[26] Despite having less control over the quality of their land for cultivation purposes, the Zongo residents continue to expand and buy up land for the rearing of animals outside of the city.[27]

In addition, the indigenous have consistently consulted with the people of the Zongo, the primary authority in trade, as to the location and design of the marketplace.[28] The residents of the Zongo chose the location and its clear as one meanders through its highly compartmentalized sections that "the market is the Zongo"[29] in its close associations with Islam and the culture of the North. One enters first into a large open produce zone - into a landscape of yams and cassava followed by formidable mounds of onions, tomatoes, peppers, oranges and okra laid out on canvas or plastic tarps (Figures 21-22). Narrow passages then lead to stalls of foodstuffs and other products: some containing bowls and bags overflowing with different types of beans, rice, and spices, others with woven baskets and hand-forged metal tools, and then more open ones dedicated to goats and other small livestock. Finally, the market's largest section opens up to a sea of Brahman cattle in front of a

23 Population data collected from the CIA 2010 Census.
24 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.
25 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.
26 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.
27 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.
28 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.
29 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.

Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 21 Yams at the Techiman Market

Figure 22 Piles of Oranges at the Market

Figure 23 Cattle in front of a Mosque at the Techiman Market

Figure 24 Blacksmith Forge in Techiman Zongo

Figure 25 Cultivation Garden in Techiman Zongo

Figure 26 House in the Techiman Zongo

Figure 27 Extruded Concrete Detail at a House in the Techiman Zongo

Figure 28 Christian Church with Asante Symbols in Techiman

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

mosque under construction (Figure 23).

Similar to the Wa Zongo, the layout of the Techiman Zongo exudes the importance of trade in its abundance of markets, blacksmiths, butcher shops, and gardens (Figures 24-25). While the functions of these shared spaces make visible a society that continues to be shaped and defined by a customary Islamic commercialism, there is a slight difference in the perception and expression of its built elements. Rather than assuming the architecture is their own, residents consciously attribute the forms and styles to either the indigenous or the British. In constructing their homes, they decidedly "copied" the architecture of the indigenous and then later adopted methods imported from Great Britain. One resident pointed to his own roof and said, "England did this."[30] Even though the residents built the structures themselves out of locally available materials, the construction techniques and form reflect the image of local political powers as distinct and detached from the Zongo's commercial operations. Within the largely appropriated building skeleton however, the residents added their own woven wood paneling, inserted blocks of extruded concrete in the typical Islamic configuration of a star and crescent, and applied brightly colored paint that demarcate the doors (Figures 26-27).

In addition to the important role trade played in securing and configuring the commercial terrain, the relationship between the three major religions and the Government also influences the spatial dynamics in the city. Without the stringent rules imposed by Missionaries further south, Christianity in Techiman more fully embraces and incorporates aspects of the Asante Traditional Religion. For example, a church in the center of town contains an amalgum of symbols that pays tribute to both religions: a cross adorns the front façade, but is filled with a webbing of Asante design. In addition, the Asante Stool, a symbol of spiritual and political importance, serves quite literally as the support system for three Crosses (Figure 28). Though there are no architectural elements that demonstrate any visible fusion between Islam and either Asante Traditional Religion or Christianity, the mosques, churches, and other places of worships are evenly distributed throughout the city. Furthermore, a third building type, that of the Chief's Palace, is located in the center of town and is dedicated to secular ceremonies and programs. Despite Techiman's admirable combination of religious hybridity and autonomy, education and Governmental positions are most closely associated with Christianity, not Islam.

30 Interview with an anonymous Techiman Zongo resident on July 19, 2013.

Figure 29

Figure 29 Ashanti Region and Obuasi Municipal District, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

Figure 30 The City of Obuasi (Zongo in Yellow), Drawing by Emily Williamson

Figure 31 Courtyard House in Obuasi Zongo with Market and City Beyond

Figure 32 House in Obuasi Zongo

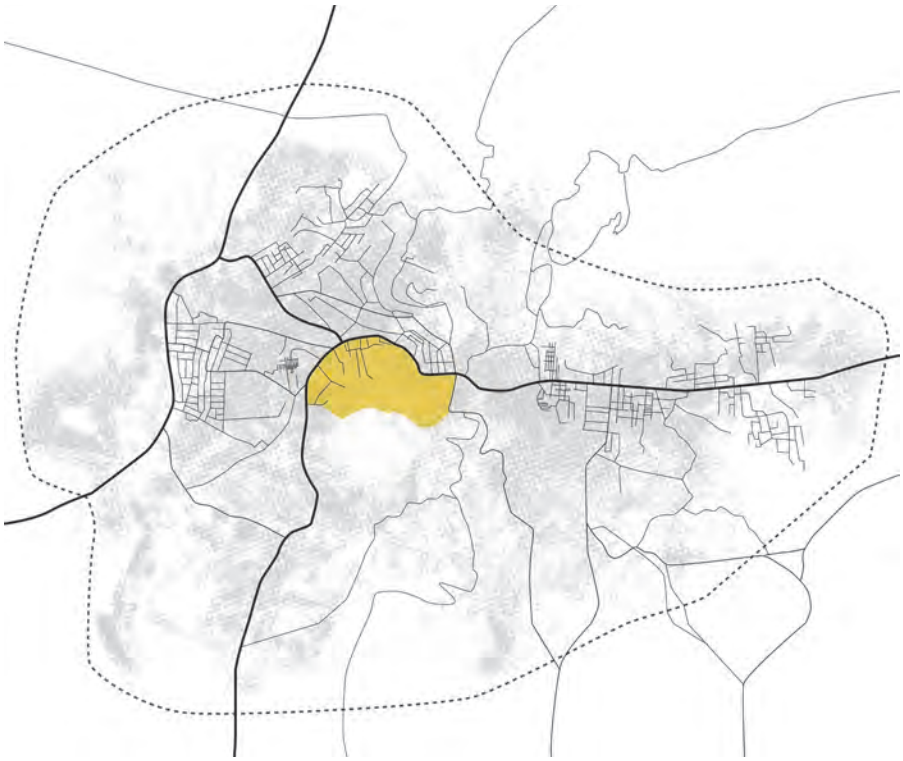

Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

Obuasi: Outside Authority

Obuasi, a hilly, linear city in the southernmost part of the Asante Region, has a population of 168,641 (larger than either Wa or Techiman)[31] and is best known for its prosperous mining industry (Figures 29-30). In addition to Gold, Obuasi is also a major exporter of hardwood and cocoa due to its strategic location at the edge of the Forest zone. Distinct from its northern counterparts, the residents of the Obuasi Zongo did not come here of their own accord to trade or spread the teachings of Islam. Instead, British Colonial Administrators sent them from Cape Coast to Obuasi to dig the mines for the Asante Gold Corporation.[32] For the Obuasi Zongo, therefore, the relationship between economic production and political authority were inextricably linked from the time of their arrival.

While at first the Gold Coast Colony controlled the production and distribution of Gold, the authority has now shifted to the Asante Gold Corporation headquartered in British Columbia.[33] In both cases, these foreign entities have been less interested in investing in the infrastructure of the city and more interested in maintaining and expanding the infrastructure of the mines. The city center, where the Zongo have been given land by the Paramount Chiefs therefore, serves more as a subordinate support system for the prosperous authorities outside it. Close to the market-center, the Zongo is located on a steep hill. In some ways the Obuasi Zongo has a spatial advantage because it's close to the market (now providing for most of their livelihoods), the residents maintain ownership of the land, and there are few building or land-use regulations in place that would compromise their cultural or religious practices.[34] The residents appear to care about maintaining the buildings and there were at least a few houses under major two-storey renovations. At the same time however, the steep slope upon which they are situated is not conducive for cattle-rearing, there is little space for expansion, and there are no roads (Figures 31-32).

Aside from the spatial challenges the Obuasi Zongo faces as a result of the Mining Corporations' needs, religion as an institution plays a pivotal role in Obuasi. Since Christian authorities have always focused on mining, churches slipped to the less visible, outer edges of the city and Mosques now dominate the urban landscape in and outside the Zongo.[35] Thus, even though the Zongo's structures, mostly residential, are limited to steep slopes, its institutional buildings occupy indigenous territory.

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31 Population data collected from the CIA 2010 Census.
32 Interview with an anonymous Obuasi Zongo resident on July 15, 2013.
33 "Asante Gold Corporation," http://www.asantegold.com/s/Home.asp. Accessed February 21, 2014.
34 Interview with an anonymous Obuasi Zongo resident on July 15, 2013.
35 Interview with an anonymous Obuasi Zongo resident on July 15, 2013.

Figure 33

Figure 33 Western Region and Sekondi Takoradi Metropolis District Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

Figure 34

Figure 34 The City of Sekondi (Zongo in Yellow), Drawing by Emily Williamson

Sekondi: A Modern Way of Life

Located along the southernmost point of this North-South analysis, is Sekondi, an influential seaport connected to its even larger counterpart, Takoradi (Figures 33-34). Chief industries of both these cities include timber, plywood, manufacturing technologies, diamonds, and most importantly, oil.[36] Because of its rising industrial and commercial importance since the 1940s, the city boasts of well-maintained roads, a railway to Obuasi, and its own airport. The Zongo, given to the community by the Traditional Chiefs, is located on the top of a hill overlooking the Gulf of Guinea dotted with offshore drilling platforms, oil tankers, cargo vessels, and the occasional hand-carved wood canoe (Figure 35). If taking Takoradi and Sekondi together, the Zongo's location is in the older, traditional area on the margins of modernity – far away from the industrial and commercial center of the town. If taking just Sekondi however, the Zongo might be considered one of the most desirable locations within which to live. It consists of gridded, square blocks with access to electricity, piped water, and well-maintained roads.[37] The Chiefs I spoke with had even kept records of the initial town survey when they moved to this location in 1910[38] (Figures 36). There is little to no perceivable difference between "inside" and "outside" – only that there is an absence of colonial buildings within its boundaries. Paralleling that of the physical infrastructure, one resident explained that there is no distinction between where Christians live as opposed to Muslims. He stated emphatically, "We are all mixed. We all live together in the Zongo"[39] (Figure 37-38).

While the Traditional Authorities were a necessary component to this particular community's prosperity in terms of land ownership, the Colonial Government and later the National Government envisioned and developed a modern image of Sekondi-Takoradi that was representative of their power as a Colony and later as a Nation (Figure 39). It was a place to be civilized, cultivated, and capable of conversing with Western ports all over the world. In this particular environment, the Zongo community has been able to thrive by both trade of easily accessible imported goods and integrating fully into the social and cultural infrastructure of the city rather than maintaining distinct, foreign cultural practices.[40] Perhaps this has been easier here than in neighboring Zongos such as Salt Pond and Elmina because of the city's emphasis on modernity: secularism, utilitarian individualism, and the self-made man. Though Islam is still paramount in the Zongo in terms of spiritual practice and authoritative structure, its visible religious manifestations were far more difficult to identify. The mosques I witnessed here were smaller, less ostentatious and there was little evidence of prayer mats, kettles for ablution, or traditional dress in the streetscape (Figure 40).

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36 "Economic Infrastructure," http://westernghanachamber.org/stcci/economic_infrastructure.php, Accessed February 21, 2014.
37 Interview with an anonymous Sekondi Zongo resident on July 10, 2013.
38 Interview with an anonymous Sekondi Zongo resident on July 10, 2013.
39 Interview with an anonymous Sekondi Zongo resident on July 10, 2013.
40 Interview with an anonymous Sekondi Zongo resident on July 10, 2013.

Figure 35 Oceanfront at Sekondi with Oil Rigs in the Distance

Figure 36 Survey of the Sekondi Zongo

Figure 37 Main Street in the Sekondi Zongo

Figure 38 Side Street in the Sekondi Zongo

Figure 39 Development Plan for Best Western in Sekondi-Takoradi

Figure 40 Mosque in the Sekondi Zongo

Figure 35

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figure 38

Figure 39

Figure 40

I do not claim that each of these four cities along the North-South axis represents the "typical" Zongo in its region. Instead, these rapid case studies not only provide us with general trends of change among economy, religion, and authority as one traverses the North-South axis, but also demonstrate the large amount of variation between two cities - even in close proximity.

While these Zongos, in different ways and degrees, have been able to be spatially prosperous, the Cape Coast Zongo, is more spatially marginalized than its counterparts. Located in the Central Region of Ghana in the Cape Coast Municipal District, the city of Cape Coast is situated on the Gulf of Guinea and has a population of 169,894[41] (Figures 41-42). Historically an important seaport serving as British Colonial Capital of the Gold Coast until it moved to Accra in 1877,[42] the city became renowned for its Castle and international trade in slaves, gold, honey, ivory, among other highly valued resources. It is a city of hills and perched upon each are the chronicled potentates of territory – Forts William and Victoria, The Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Ministries, the House of Chiefs, and the prestigious Mfantsipim School (Figure 43). Though not on a hill, the Cape Coast Zongo is also located in prominent, central location of the city adjacent to Kotokuraba Market and the Municipal Assembly (Figure 44).

The five subsequent chapters will tell the fascinating story of the Zongo – using the extreme case of the Cape Coast Zongo - its social and spatial evolution and why it faced particular challenges that these other Zongos managed to evade.

41 Population data collected from the CIA 2010 Census.
42 According to a conversation with a Cape Coast Zongo resident in July 2013, this was due to the local population rebelling against a window tax.

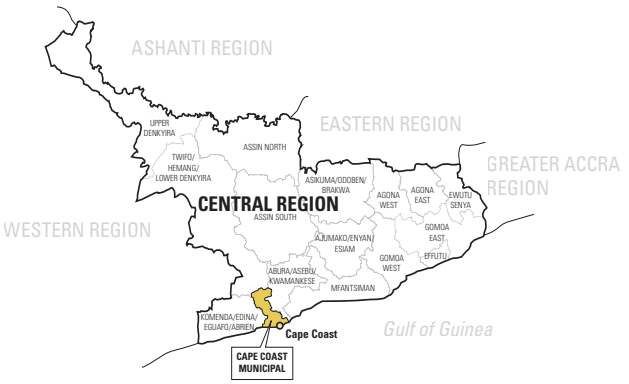

Figure 41

Figure 41 Central Region and Cape Coast Municipal District, Drawing by Emily Williamson. Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census from The Ghana Statistical Service dated June 2013.

Figure 42 The City of Cape Coast (Zongo in Yellow)

Figure 43 The City of Cape Coast. Photograph by Brian Wimer.

Figure 44 The Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

III. IMPERIALISM AND TRADE: PART OF A TERRITORIAL VISION

Figure 1 1839 Map of West Africa, "Map of West Africa," http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e9/West_Africa_1839_Mitchell_map_-_Kong.jpg, Accessed March 5, 2014.

Figure 1

III. IMPERIALISM AND TRADE: PART OF A TERRITORIAL VISION

This chapter covers the period 1823-1901. It begins with British explorations to Hausaland to recruit soldiers for the British-Asante War in 1823, and it ends in 1901 with the British capture of Kumasi and official documentation declaring the Gold Coast a British Colony[1] (Figure 1). Unlike subsequent chapters, this one pays more attention to the introduction of important characters and places, their relative geographical positioning, and how the socio-spatial patterns of Cape Coast in particular were affected by a rising British imperial agenda in the wake of Mercantilism. The term Zongo and its assignment to a physical location does not yet exist, so the stories emphasize where, why, and how these Muslim-Northerners converge in Cape Coast and to what extent they were either prosperous or marginalized. Since much of the British Colonial evidence is silent regarding Muslim-Northerners, assessing what is not included and why becomes of particular importance in this chapter. To begin this story, a quote from National Geographic provides us with a troublesome backdrop of the Gulf of Guinea at this time:

> *The Guinea coast lies between the southern boundary of Sierra Leone and the Delta of the tortuous Niger, in West Africa. It is a part of Africa that abounds in dark tradition and tragedy, and romance has never dared to trespass on its forbidding shore or penetrate its deadly swamps and jungle. It is a place where the fiercest and most selfish passions of man, white and black, have vented themselves for four centuries. The white slaver came here for his merchandise, the black slave-owner ashore supplied the trade, and if his barracoons were empty when a cargo was needed, a quantity of trade goods– rum, gin, cloth, and trinkets – accomplished his purpose in a moment. It was in very truth the survival of the stronger, and one native was as eager to sell his brother as he was to collect his pay from the native procureur.*[2]

An "Interior" Advantage

The processes of spatial marginalization for the Zongo began not in Cape Coast or even Gold Coast Colony, but in the British colonial imagination and imperial ambition to extend its power north. Though Great Britain among other European nations had participated in flourishing merchant activity on the Coast of Guinea for centuries, an order from the Queen of England to explore the "interior" refashioned what had been a consciously mercantile enterprise into an imperial one. In a letter printed in Great Britain's Morning Chronicle dated October 20, 1823, traveler Mr. Belzoni

1 Before 1901, the Seat of the British Colonial Government was in Sierra Leone and The Gold Coast was a Protectorate.
2 George K. French. "The Gold Coast, Ashanti, and Kumassi" *National Geographic*, Volume VIII, (January, 1897) 1-2.

Figure 2 Hausa Soldiers, 1888, Captain Lapham, http://bmpix.usc.edu/bmpix/controller/browse.htm?summary=THEME&mode=search&nodeIds=8792, Accessed March 5, 2014.

Figure 2

Figure 3 Fante "Types" *The Illustrated London News*, The Gold Coast and Ashante 06, 1873, p. 549, Issue 1788, p. 1.

Figure 3

recounts his journey to Hausaland[3], the territory from which the majority of the people of the Cape Coast Zongo hailed:

> *I write to you, my dear friend, by transport, which is just sailing for England, and send you a few lines in haste. I cannot enter at present into detail of all of the events which brought me to this coast, but reserved until I write you more fully. I am only able now to tell you that I am going to take a northern direction from the Kingdom of Benin, straight up to the Haussa.*[4]

As the determined yet wary British colonial officers encountered Northern territory, they recorded, measured, and analyzed the geography, settlements and people against those they had already assessed and categorized on the Coast. Whereas the Fante people in Cape Coast were portrayed as lazy, cowardly and even soggy because of their close proximity to the sea, the Hausas, Fulani, Dahomeys, and other tribes of the north were attributed with a "superior mental and bodily vigour that may perhaps partly be due to their living in a healthier climate, upon higher land than the habitation of the coastal tribes."[5] In addition to geographical location, devotion to Islam further elevated the Hausa's position in the eyes of the British. In *The Illustrated London News*, a correspondent explained, "They are of a warlike faith – that of Mohammed and can contribute 3,000-4,000 soldiers."[6] Thus, the British produced a convincing image of the ideal Hausa soldier and other Northern ethnicities characterized by morality, justice, strength, and tenacity that would eventually carry the Hausas south to fight in the British-Asante wars (Figure 2). Even after descending to Cape Coast, the soldiers were primarily associated with their northern coordinates of origin, giving them a socio-spatial advantage compared to their local Fante counterparts (Figure 3).

These newly fashioned colonial images of military might however, were not the only factor contributing to a northern characterization that would eventually constitute the Zongo identity and configure its socio-spatial relations. Equally important were the much older, traditional conceptions of the North – Islam, travel, and trade. For centuries, the spread of Islam was inextricably linked to the expansion of trade. Merchants and clerics traveled together linking commerce, knowledge and faith to territories and ethnic groups on either side of the Sahara Desert. By the 18th century, these routes extended south to the Forest and eventually to the Sea. Thus, before the arrival of the Colonial Military forces, Hausa, Wangara, Grunshie, Yoruba, and other tribes from the North had

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3 Before Nigeria's independence, Hausaland was a territory spanning northern Nigeria and southern Niger occupied primarily by the Hausa tribe.
4 "Orange Outrages In Ulster." *The Morning Chronicle*. London, England. Issue 17067 (Wednesday, December 31, 1823) 1-2.
5 "Affairs At Cape Coast Castle." *The Star*. Saint Peter Port, England. Issue 52. (Saturday, October 25, 1873).
6 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee Country". *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1778. (Saturday, September 27, 1873) 303.

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 4 Mohammeden Natives, Basel Archives, 1885-1910, Accessed November 15, 2013.

Figure 5 Cracker Sifter Trademark, *The Gold Coast Times*, October 1, 1881.

Figure 6 Road from Cape Coast to Kumasi, *National Geographic Magazine*, 1897, Volume VIII, Issue 1, p.2

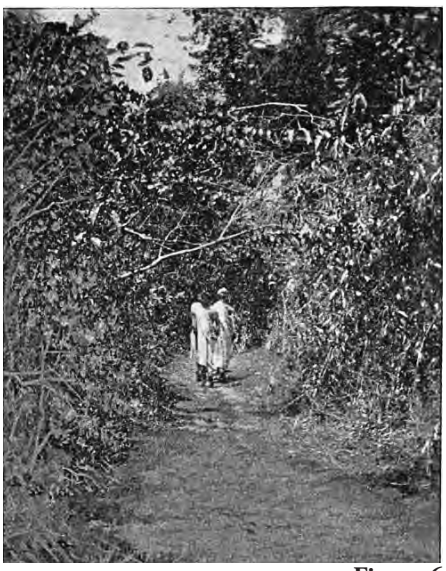

Figure 6

for centuries been engaged in long-distance trade with local and European Merchants and had set up temporary settlements outside of the town (Figure 4). The "Muhammadan" northerners were highly valued for their ability to converse with the Interior: their knowledge of when and where resources would be available, their aptitude in traversing vast distances by foot and caravan, and their congenial relationships with the indigenous economic producers. Even in the late nineteenth century, British Merchants relied heavily on land-based trade and resources coming from the direction of the Sahara. One Merchant explained in writing to Britain's newspaper, *The Graphic*,

> *The importance of this trade question is better understood when it is realized that at present most of the European goods come into the Hausa estates from the North across the great Sahara instead of through the Niger Territories, several thousand camels, loads of goods coming annually into Kano from that direction, besides quantities of salt, which is in great demand, as it is found here in Hausaland.*[7]

Moreover, the Gold Coast produced advertisements visually demonstrating the important, variegated roles among the Islamic trader, indigenous producer, and colonial merchant in the commercial realm. For example, in an 1881 ad for a Cracker Sifter, the trademark is composed of Arabic script across the top representing Islam, intellect, and perhaps a certain freedom of movement against the heavy, static Golden Stool symbolizing the power and land ownership of the Asante kingdom[8] (Figure 5). Though not contained within the frame, the choreographer of the ad and vendor of the product, the British Merchant, maintains ultimate authority. Similarly, the British believed Muslim-Northerners possessed the most talent in manufacturing. When compared to the Ashantes, *The Illustrated London News* explained to its reader in 1873, "The Ashantee carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, potters, weavers, dyers, and tanners were less skillful than the artisans of the Dagumba and the Houssas, but they have improved by the example of the foreign workmen, more especially of the Mohammedans who come from Soudan as traders or settlers of Coomasie."[9] Even so, the British considered these products, or "specimans"[10] as they often called them, subservient to their own.

During this period, therefore, British Colonial powers crafted representations of the North and Islam in perfect alignment with their own twofold agenda: to expand trade to the interior on one hand and to extend its authority on the other. While these two plans shared similar concerns for expansion,

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7 "Campaigning on the Niger." *The Graphic*. London, England. Issue 1476 (Saturday, march 12, 1898).
8 Ad from *The Gold Coast Times*, (October 1, 1881) 4.
9 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1787. (Saturday, November 29, 1873) 521.
10 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1787. (Saturday, November 29, 1873) 521.

their strategies and end aims often diverged. Even though both Merchant and Government demanded the improvement of existing road conditions, new roads, and construction of railways, Merchants sought transportation networks to increase communication and the rate of economic transactions, the Government desired to ownership and control. Even so, the Gold Coast media crafted a shared vision for these two divergent educated and "enlightened classes of the community"[11] that could accommodate the needs of both using the prototypical "civilizing mission" as a guise and negotiator for the emerging imperial empire (Figure 6). In 1875, an article in *The Gold Coast Times* explained,

> *Roads, which are of primary importance in all countries, must have their share of attention. Good roads will do more to facilitate commerce, to develop the resources of the country, to open the interior to the beneficial influences of civilization and Christianity, than any amount of sensational legislation, even though that legislation has for its object the removal of the bane, the curse of mankind – the custom of slavery. With free access into the light of civilization must penetrate further inland, bringing its teeming thousands within its beneficent rays. Immense quantities of produce are annually locked up in the interior owing to the absence of good highways, which would facilitate the transit thereof to the Coast. With good substantial roads, piercing the length and breadth of the Protectorate in all directions, merchants could purchase their produce from off the plantations on the spot; they could establish factories inland in the produce yielding districts, and thus extend her sphere of action. This would entail Government supervision, would necessitate the government stretching forth his hand and laying a firmer grip on the country, and bestowing more attention on the People's inland, who would then begin to perceive the advantages to be reaped of a good Government.*[12]

Not surprisingly, the indigenous and Muslim-Northerners were neither considered Merchant nor Government in this expansionist scheme. Their joint Islamic and Northern identity however, helped them acquire important, supporting roles to the British either as ambassadors of trade to northern territories or as soldiers for the military. In other words, their peripheral geographical positioning and Muslim-Northern identity relative to the British Colony in this period helped them in their travels to, and eventual settlement in Cape Coast.

The next two sections transport us from larger geographical concerns to the particular Mercantile and Government Colonial agendas affecting the urban development of Cape Coast and its Muslim-Northerner settlements.

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11 *The Gold Coast Times*. November 1, 1877.
12 *The Gold Coast Times*. June 11, 1874.

Commercial Coastal Concerns – Resources, Ports, Roads and Rail

Instead of dividing the Gulf of Guinea territories according to physical boundaries, political alliances, or cultural variation, early European navigators labeled and valued them according to the primary resource each could procure: grain, ivory, slaves, and most importantly, gold.[13] While leading exports in The Gold Coast had once comprised of gold, slaves, and honey, in 1807 British Parliament instituted The Slave Trade Act abolishing the slave trade[14] (Figure 7). To fill this void, Britain added to the quantity and variety of its resources including African mahogany, cotton, coffee, cocoa, rubber,[15] palm oil, pal kernels, groundnuts, ginger, chilies, and guinea grains.[16] Though Cape Coast city proper could boast of few resources, it became a prominent, centrally located port with salt and gold mines to the west and an overabundance of palm oil to the east (Figure 8). Thomas B. Freeman wrote from Cape Coast Castle on August 20th, 1838,

> *The natural capabilities of the Fante country are great. For tell hills and veils, and fine open plains, continually meeting the eye of the traveler. The land in the immediate neighborhood of Cape Coast is hilly, and in some places rather barren; but at a distance of three or four miles from the town it is much more fruitful; producing pines, guavas, oranges, and limes, sweet-sops, sour-sops, sugar-canes, plantains, bananas, yams &c., some of them in great abundance.*[17]

In addition to locally grown produce and extracted minerals, Cape Coast was the capital of The Gold Coast Colony until 1877 and therefore tailored its retail merchandise for the European. Typical of a Cape Coast Castle shop, items for sale at Joseph W. Cole's included shelves of imported goods such as mixed pickles, table vinegar, salad oil, table salts, red current jam, Windsor soap, and curry powder.[18] Framed in sharp contrast, is a scene of Cape Coast Castle Market in which the artist and author ridicule both Fante vendor and local commodity (Figure 9).

> *The market is a scene of great bustle, full of dark-skinned figures whose bright-coloured shawls and other attire, mostly calico, are the more conspicuous by contrast… The articles of food usually offered for sale at Cape Coast Castle are guinea grain, maize, bananas, plantains, cassada root, melons, gourds, hot pepper and half-dried fish, with the fins of a shark, and some cheap kinds of flesh-meat, amongst which the flesh of monkey is used; there is also tiger-milk, a thick creamy*

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13 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee Country." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1778 (Saturday, September 27, 1873) 303.
14 "The Slave Trade Act," http://abolition.nypl.org/essays/us_constitution/5/. Accessed April 30, 2014.
15 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*. January 1, 1898.
16 *The Gold Coast Times*. January 4, 1884.
17 "Extract of a letter from Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, dated Cape Coast Castle, August 20th, 1838." *Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Empire*. London, England, Issue 8 (August 01, 1839) 122.
18 *The Gold Coast Times*, May 22, 1875.

Figure 7 1886 Map of Gold Coast Colony
Source: Map of Gold Coast Colony, http://www.pennymead.com/images/WINMP0071.jpg, Accessed March 5, 2014.

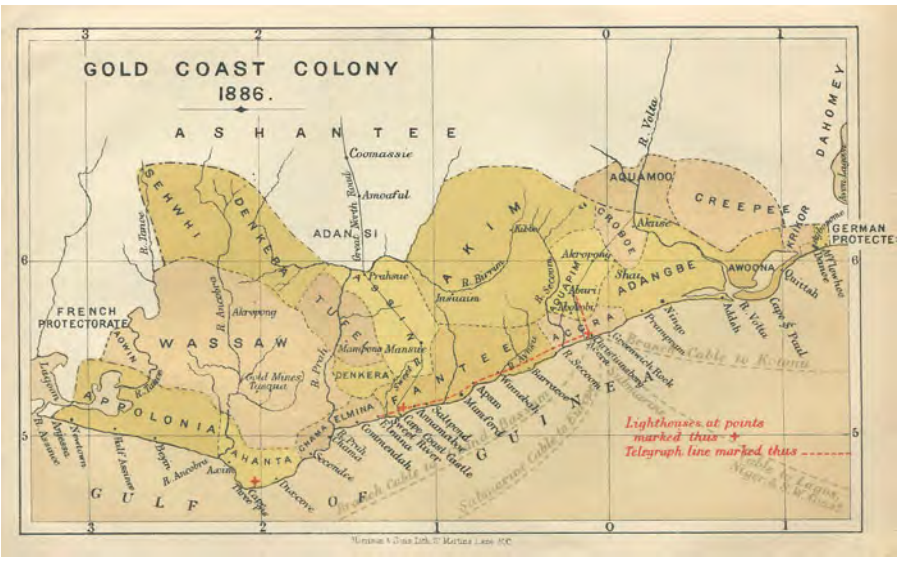

Figure 7

Figure 8 Ships at Cape Coast Castle
The Illustrated London News, September 24, 1864, p. 313, Issue 1279

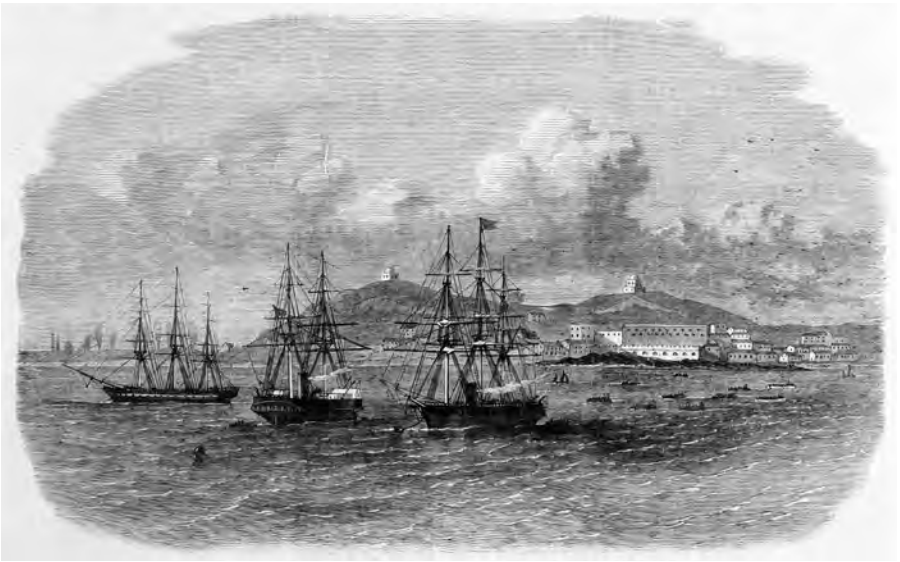

Figure 8

Figure 9 The Ashantee War: General Market, Cape Coast Castle, *The Illustrated London News*, January 24, 1874 - 77.

Figure 9

yellow liquid, boiled from the starchy root of an esculent plant.[19]

What is missing from both of these "market" types however, is the Muslim trader and the resources most closely associated with their transactions such as kola nuts, amulets and parchment with inscribed Arabic lettering, incense, yams, goats, and manufactured goods. This could partly be attributed to the fact that these particular resources were of less concern to the Europeans and also that the traders changed the commodities they sold on the Coast to accommodate British taste. More importantly however, the British had wanted to demonstrate their mercantile dominance over trade and this was most powerfully communicated when set against the backdrop of the indigenous Fante. The Muslim-Northerner's spatial positioning in Cape Coast reinforces this hypothesis. For during this period, these traders were considered neither a threat nor a permanent fixture in Cape Coast. Their presence remained largely invisible as they operated as middle-men connecting Coastal resources to those of the interior.

While Cape Coast was still a prominent port of "some commercial importance" in the late nineteenth century at which large quantities of goods were shipped to England and the European continent, its status began to decline when the seat of Government shifted to Accra.[20] Despite a myriad of articles in the locally published *The Gold Coast Times* requesting "The Want of a good Landing-Place in Cape Coast"[21] and the "Desire for a Decent Wharf,"[22] the Colony instead took up interest in cities such as Takoradi and Axim further west boasting calmer waters, sanitary living conditions, and close adjacency to oil reserves and gold mines. Inextricably linked to this issue of the most efficient, prosperous port, were questions of how to transport goods by land.

Though there were initial whispers among Cape Coast Merchants hoping for a rail connecting Cape Coast to Assin Denkera, the Government quickly suppressed these hopeful speculations because of the city's hilly landscape and lack of principal resources.[23] Instead, the disappointed Merchants learned in 1898 that "The British Government has determined to build a railway from the port of Takoradi, near Sekondee, to Tarkwa – a distance of 40 miles: and in the neighborhood of Tarkwa are situated most of the mines which are being worked…There is a general belief among those who know the port that Takoradi could easily be made available for ocean steamers."[24] Following a similar pattern, the Government let the roads connecting Cape Coast to Kumasi, Salt Pond, and Elmina fall

19 "The Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1796 (Saturday, January 24, 1874) 75.
20 George K. French. "The Gold Coast, Ashanti, and Kumassi." *National Geographic*, Volume VIII, (January, 1897) 4.
21 *The Gold Coast Times*, September 10, 1881.
22 *The Gold Coast Times*, September 10, 1881.
23 *The Gold Coast Times*, June 2, 1883.
24 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, April 2, 1898.

Figure 10 Approach to Cape Coast Castle *The Illustrated London News*, 1873, p. 549, Issue 1788.

Figure 10

into disrepair while at the same time planning for a highway linking Kumasi to Accra. Beyond the declining infrastructure of the port and roads in Cape Coast, the Government imposed heavy taxes on all imported goods, had not developed a commercial trade policy,[25] and excluded Merchants from participating in legislature.[26]

Though new ports, bad road conditions, and the possibilities of a new railroad loomed as future threats for the Muslim-Northerners in Cape Coast, their attachment to Cape Coast was still tenuous, they were not subject to the taxation that fell upon the European Merchant ships, and they still dominated trade to the North. Since the British had cut off western-bound trade routes to avoid encounters with French territories and the Asante Kingdom, the Muslim-Northerners, particularly those hailing from Hausaland, were of crucial importance to the diversity of resources and prosperity of trade. The Merchant writing for *The Gold Coast Times* wrote, "In these days it is absurd to suppose that our merchants can acquire prosperity by trading and confining themselves solely to the boundaries of the colony…They should zealously struggle to enter upon cordial relationships with the inhabitants in the interior…"[27] Though their temporary settlement operated at the outermost edges of Cape Coast, this intermediate position between Coast and Forest was ideal for their commercial transactions and provided them the latitude to live and build according to their own cultural and religious criteria. Furthermore, when trade slowed due to war and taxation, they had the flexibility to move to a more prosperous location or as encouraged by the Government, to cultivate the vacant land around them.[28]

Fortified Visions – The Castle, Church, and Climate

A prerequisite to the Government's vision of an extended trade network during this period was the need to acquire the Asante kingdom – the region containing the most gold, timber, cocoa, and other valuable resources. Thus, hanging on the Queen's wall next to the glorified images of unlimited railroad expansion, were those of the Colony's superior strength and control – its castles, forts, and armies. For this task, Cape Coast remained the main attraction until the end of the British-Asante war in 1900. In his publication "Wanderings in West Africa," Captain Richard Burton frames the view of Cape Coast from the sea (Figure 10):

> *The distant view of this place, on approaching by sea presents a long green-grown tongue of reddish land, broken with dwarf cliffs and scaurs, and lined below with clean sand. Upon the outline appear three projections – a fort at the root, a second about the centre, and a castle with a mass*

25 *The Gold Coast Times*, June 9, 1875.
26 *The Gold Coast Times*, November 1, 1877.
27 *The Gold Coast Times*, August 13th, 1881.
28 *The Gold Coast Times*, June 2, 1883.

Figure 11 Fort William Basel Mission Archives, 1885-1910.

Figure 12 Cape Coast Castle http://www.bartholomewroberts.com/Cap'nRobertsCapeCoastCastleLG.jpg, Accessed March 5, 2014.

Figure 13 View of Cape Coast Castle - 1873 *The Illustrated London News*, May 31, 1873, Issue 1761.

Figure 11

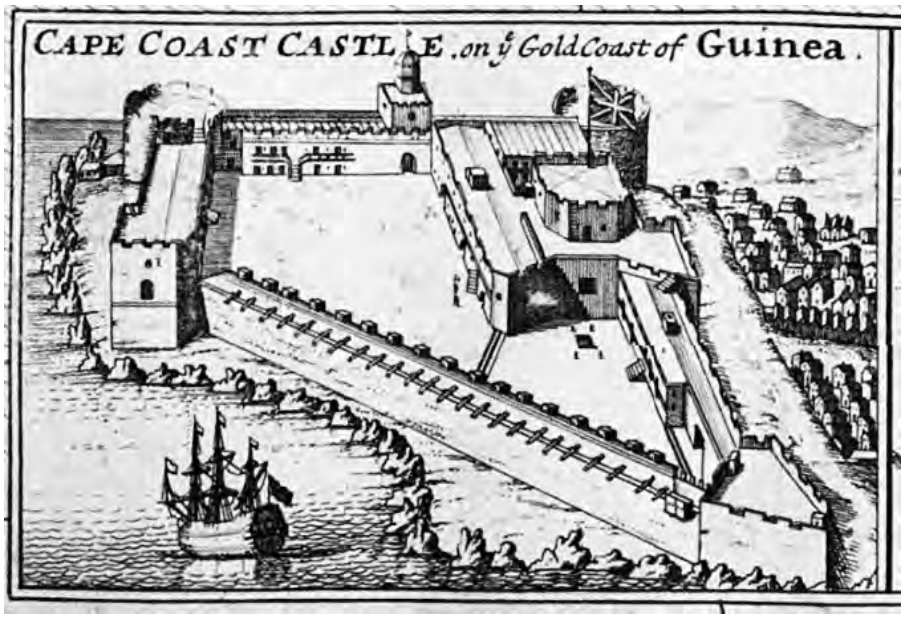

Figure 12

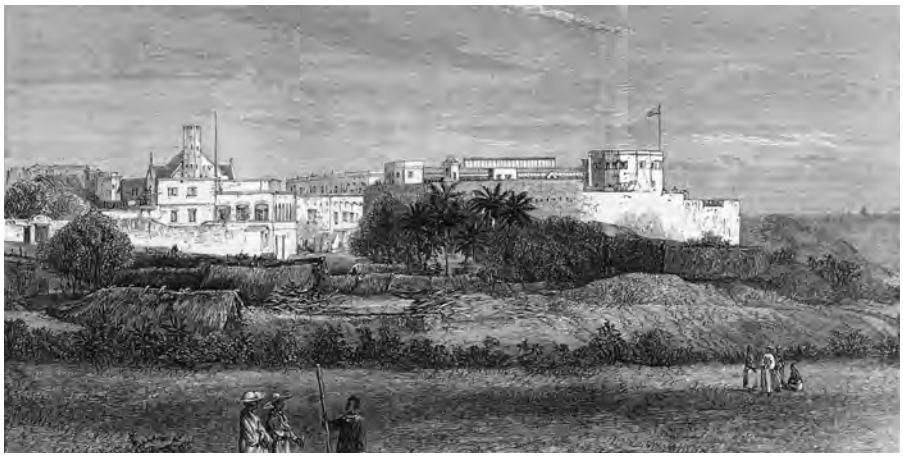

Figure 13

> *of native huts upon the tip. The first, which lives north-west of the settlement, is Phipp's Tower or Fort Victoria, a Martello thing, so placed that in the hands of an enemy it would command both castle and town. The second, or central post is Smith's Tower, now Fort William* (Figure 11)*, built by President MacLean, another Martello tower, circular below and square above, mounting twelve guns, it has a lighthouse, 192ft above sea level. The principal castle is on the tip of the tongue of land, and native houses cluster behind it.*[29]

A drawing from *The Illustrated London News* by their "special artist" reinforces this jarring visual difference between the chaotic clustering of dark native huts in front of the castle the white, massive "well-built" castle hugging the sea (Figure 12). A second drawing, an axonometric of the castle, displays not only this difference between European and Native, but also between land and sea. (Figure 13) According to this image, the only way to access the sea, a symbol for travel, trade, and knowledge, was by passing through the fortified castle.

Inside The Castle: Military, Commerce and Education

The castle's programmatic functions further bolstered the separation between European military power and the feeble, ancillary Native town. A traveler writing for *The Gold Coast* in 1873 recounts his arrival to, and exploration of the castle interior:

> *The landing place, which is very bad, as everywhere on this coast, is in a small bay under the northeastern bastion of the castle, protected by a reef jutting out from a ledge of rocks…A few steps up the steep rock, which is called Tabara, rising 18ft above the sea, bring the landed traveller into the gateway of the castle. It is a vast, irregular pile, covering several acres and in some parts 4 stories high. Within it is a large triangular space, used for drill, adorned with two mortars and five old Danish brass guns. On the west side is a range of substantial and rather stately buildings, which contain the Council Chamber and the Government offices, with a gallery paved in squares of black and white marble; on another side are barracks, and bastions mounted with guns...The castle further includes a courthouse for trials, and quarters for the garrison.*[30]

Thus, the castle operated as a town with all European living requirements met within its hermetically sealed container. For in addition to the Government and Military facilities lining the sea, there was a Merchant's yard with adjacent warehouses and storage rooms, a carpentry shop, kitchen, sleeping

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29 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1788 (Saturday, December 6, 1873) 549.
30 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1788 (Saturday, December 06, 1873) 549.

Figure 14 Map of Cape Coast Town 1874, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 3, 2013

Figure 15 Governor Maxwell's Arrival at Cape Coast from Coomasie, *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday March 28, 1896, p405, Issue 2971

Figure 16 The Church, Cape Coast, Opposite the Castle, Basel Archives, 1885-1910

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

quarters, pond, parade ground, chapel, and missionary school.[31] Rather than making a long-term commitment to, and investment in Cape Coast at this point, the British Merchants and Military limited their activity outside the castle's walls whenever possible. A map from 1874, shows the relative importance of each District in Cape Coast with the castle at the center (Figure 14).

For the recruited Haussa soldiers, such a fortified vision separating Native and European worked to their advantage. Even though their situation ought not be glorified, these soldiers held a superior social and spatial position compared to the Fante. The British commended them on their strength as a function of geographical determinism and on their "morality of war"[32] as a product of Islamic law. In 1897, traveler George French remarked, "Of the natives that have migrated to the colony within the last 50 years, the most important are the Mohammedan Houssas, from the Niger districts of the interior, who man the ranks of the military police"[33] (Figure 15). Furthermore, the British entrusted Haussas with leadership roles (district commissioners and tax collectors) in which they acted as liaisons to the Fantes.[34, 35, 36] Because of this close relationship with colonial authority at this time, the Hausa soldiers camped at the Castle and practiced military procedures in its parade grounds.[37] Thus, rather than being associated with the Natives at the margins, the Haussa soldiers were located inside the castle walls and at the center of British thought. Towards the end of this period and the Asante-British wars however, the voices of local Fantes chimed in with the desire for a "Cape Coast Rising Reserve" composed of local Fante soldiers only. Even so, a British observer mocked this "new infant army" with their red hats with blue tassels carrying guns made of wood.[38] Perhaps more of a threat to the Haussa's socio-spatial marginalization than the Fante army, was the Church operating as a physical and social threshold between Castle and Town.

31 *The Gold Coast Times*, February 11, 1881.
32 The British believed that the morality of war was even more important than civilization during this time. See: *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, May 7, 1898.
33 George K. French. "The Gold Coast, Ashanti, and Kumassi." *National Geographic*, Volume VIII, (January, 1897) 5.
34 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
35 The *Gold Coast Times*, July 1, 1882.
36 It should be noted that this relationship was further solidified due to Sir Samuel Rowe, a governor of Cape Coast who was said to have "cherished Mahammedan doctrines" and was"partial to the theories promulgated by Mohammed" *The Gold Coast Times*, July 1, 1882.
37 "Sir Garnet Wolseley at Cape Coast Castle. Return of the Troops." *The Morpeth Herald*. Morpeth, England. Issue 939 (Saturday, March 21, 1874) 6.
38 *The Gold Coast Times*, March 4, 1882.

Church as Threshold: Christianity, Civilization, and Education

Similar to the Castle, yet interspersed throughout the town and accessible to the Fantes, was the Church, portrayed as a strong, spiritual presence (Figure 16).

> *Passing out of the Spur Battery Gate, across the esplanade, into the town, the stranger finds himself in a broad street, lined with ragged umbrella-trees, a kind of ficus. He notices the Episcopalian church and the Wesleyan meeting-house; but the sides of the very irregular street are incongruous mixture of white-washed houses and red-brown clay huts.*[39]

Though the Church maintained its own autonomous physical structures located in town with its own evangelizing mission, the Government reached over the castle walls to latch on and mould this mission into a "civilizing" one fit for its imperial agenda. The Church, therefore, through Christian education, acted as the Government's ambassador to the local Fantes. Pushing back against such a fusion of ideals, in 1899 the Basel and Wesleyan Missions explained,

> *The purpose of these missions (Basel and Wesleyan) is to evangelise, not to civilize. It does not necessarily follow that it is a paradox to say that civilization is the hand-maid of religion. The Government expected them to do both because they were alive to the fact that the propagation of the Christian religion necessarily produces civilization: and the Governments reap the first fruits of that civilization, the produce of the Christian religion. The secret of England's greatness lies in the BIBLE.*[40]

Despite these differences in agenda, the Church's programmatic layout and functions reinforced the joint mission of "Christianity and Civilization". Missionaries constructed additional rooms in the church to serve as classrooms and it was expected that in addition to the Bible, students learned subjects "important to commercial life" such as Mathematics, English, and Science.[41] Kings and chiefs also became invested in these institutions because they could choose two pupils to go for free.[42] Furthermore, churches were used for other Governmental purposes such as a military hospital[43] and public meeting house.[44] Thus, the Government, Christianity, and even Economic Production became

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39 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News,* London, England. Issue 1788. (Saturday, December 06, 1873) 549.
40 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, February 4, 1899.
41 *The Gold Coast Times*, March 13, 1884.
42 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, December 3, 1898.
43 A quote about a church being turned into a hospital: "Service has ceased in the Protestant church, and that building has been turned into a hospital, for which it is very well adapted. The communion table is set off by boards, and 22 iron bedsteads with very clean looking linen, beds, &c., arranged round the lofty and airy church." from "En Route To Coomassie." The Morning Post. London, England. Issue 31672 (Friday, January 02, 1874) 5.
44 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, March 5, 1898.

inextricably linked through education.

Since this multifarious agenda was in its formative stages at this point, Muslim-Northerners maintained an advantage over the Fante. Even though they could not participate in Christian services or schooling, their religious knowledge of Islam and ability to read and write in Arabic was considered far more intellectual and civil than that of the Fante. As one interviewee explained, "The Hausas did not learn to read and write from the white folks that came from the sea."[45] Moreover, the Hausa soldiers (located within the Castle walls) and the Muslim-Northern traders (located outside of the town), were most often not physically confronted with the Church or its educational agenda.

In addition to local Fantes attending the Church for religious and educational purposes, the Missionaries extended their agenda into the town and "Circuit"[46] by injecting Christian beliefs into the social life of the city. Representing the Anglican, Wesleyan Methodist, and Baptist Churches for example, the popular "Christ's Little Band"[47] played in the streets, at farewell teas, and at ceremonies welcoming the troops home from war. In addition, Missionaries visited Fantes in their homes.

> *Missionaries are throughout the day anxiously pursuing their studies, against which the climate fight; after which they go, led by their love to God and precious souls, and to many of the unhealthy parts of the town, among the people, whose houses (many of them) are very filthy, and void of water treatment and full of noxious air. It is not at all unusual to find pigs, goats, sheep, poultry, and people, on the same confines the yard together. Many of the native houses are built in such a manner as to have a small yard in the center of each building, 15 to 30 ft.², their small, low, narrow house, running around it encompassing it; in this yard to keep their fires for cooking &c., so that it is often filled with smoke; here they wash themselves and their clothes, feed their pigs, goats, sheep, &c., and spend most of their time.*[48]

Even though the Fante domestic arena is still treated as distinct, chaotic, and primitive compared to that of the chapels and Missionary homes, the goal of these representations differ from those of the Government at this time. Instead of reinforcing this difference by showing British and Native in the same frame, the Church uses these images as a justification for their involvement; as a way

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45 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
46 "Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, dated Cape Coast Castle, August 20th, 1838." *Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Empire*. London, England Issue 8 (August 01, 1839) 122.
47 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, April 2, 1898.
48 "Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, dated Cape Coast Castle, August 20th, 1838." *Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Empire*. London, England Issue 8 (August 01, 1839) 122.

Figure 17

Figure 18

Figure 17 A Fantee Hut, *The Illustrated London News*, November 29, 1873 Issue 1787

Figure 18 Inside a Fante Hut, *Illustrated London News*, January 31, 1874 Issue 1797

Figure 19 Map of Cape Coast - 1864
Cape Coast Archives - Accessed July 3, 2013.

Figure 19

to demonstrate Christianity's capacity to transform these barbaric, unhealthy and provisional conditions. Thus, the temporary, Fante dwelling is set against the permanent Christian one (Figures 17-18). In an article from *The Illustrated London News* dated October 1, 1898, the author explains the building of a native house: "The materials are chiefly palm-leaves plaited together, long grass or reeds. It is, of course, evident that when dry these huts are very inflammable…Of course, such primitive homes can easily be rebuilt."[49] In contrast, the Wesleyan Mission House was described as "one of the healthiest locations in town"[50], the Chapels as "indispensable to the climate,"[51] and the Church as having been built of "strong and durable materials" with the foundations made of stone.[52] In a map produced in 1864, only the Colonial town is represented, thus stressing the temporality of Native structures (Figure 19).

Again, the Muslim-Northerners were excluded from a housing evaluation because their status and housing was considered temporary. The structures in which they lived were "made out of sticks with palm branches woven between"[53] and nearly identical to those of the Fantes. There were even cases in which Muslim-Northerners rented homes "scattered among the Fante".[54] The difference however, was that their houses were perceived as a function of their provisional sojourn and not a physical reflection of those living there. In recalling how their great-grandfathers would have perceived their settlements, residents of the Zongo today described them as resting stops, places to cool off from wariness before leaving again.[55]

Against the Climate: Local Neglect and Imperial Measures

Finally, these British visions perpetuating the dichotomy between Native and European in which the Muslim-Northerner was largely absent, also manifested in colonial climatic concerns. At the local level in Cape Coast, the Government neglected areas outside the boundaries of the Castle, Forts, and Church. They were concerned about the detrimental effects of the West African climate and thus made every effort to erect thick walls to block wind, light, and disease.[56] At the same time however, the Government forbade native kings and chiefs to wield any political influence in Cape Coast. Instead, Colonial officials relegated them to positions of Native parody sketched as amusing spectacles of dark figures carrying decorated umbrellas and surrounded by drumming, dancing and

49 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England. Issue 1787 (Saturday, November 29, 1873) 521.
50 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, October 1, 1898.
51 "Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, dated Cape Coast Castle, August 20th, 1838." *Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Empire*. London, England Issue 8 (August 01, 1839) 122.
52 *Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Empire*. London, England, Issue 21 (September 01, 1840) 361.
53 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
54 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
55 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
56 *The Gold Coast Times*, May 10, 1884.

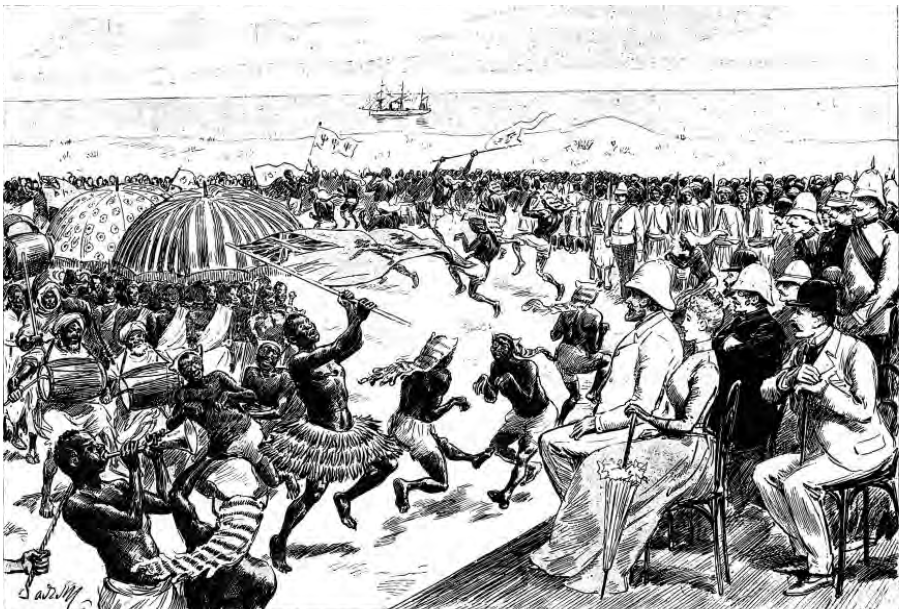

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 20 Reception of the Governor of the Gold Coast, *The Illustrated London News*, August 23, 1890, Issue 1082.

Figure 21 A Mosquito Curtain for the Soldier's Rest, *The Illustrated London News*, December 20, 1873 p. 596, Issue 1791

Figure 22 Detail from 1874 Map of Cape Coast Town, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 3, 2013.

Figure 22

the blowing of horns[57] (Figure 20). Since no local authority managed the physical infrastructure, it was left to the household owners to address drainage and sanitation.[58] These conditions grew worse when the seat of Government moved to Accra in 1877 and caused Cape Coast's central position in authority, military power, and missionary activity to shift towards the margins. Moreover, its dilapidated state was attributed not to lack of Government funds, but to Cape Coast's "naturally unhealthy" character.[59]

Instead of focusing on improving the urban space for the benefit of the residents, the Colonial Government had a grander imperial scheme in mind. If scientists could observe, identify, and measure the obstacles of the climate, then they imagined "The merchants and traders here will benefit…which not only means a fearful waste in human life, but in hard cash."[60] However expansionist a strategy, this calculated research in climate would eventually translate into an acute interest in fitting out the urban realm for European needs (Figure 21). An article published in *The Gold Coast Times* entitled "The Mosquito's Sting", is a forecast what would later become a sharpened assessment and diagnosis of the urban realm:

> *The Bill of a mosquito is a complex institution: It has a blunt fork at the head, and is apparently grooved. Working through the groove, and projecting from the angle of the fork, is a lance of perfected form, sharpened with a fine bevel. On either side of the lance two saws are arranged, with their points fine and sharp, and their teeth well refined and keen…The sawing process is what grates upon the nerves of the victim, and causes him to strike wildly at the sawyer.*[61]

Just as this mosquito's machinery had been carefully examined and evaluated, so too would Cape Coast's drainage patterns, building placement, and material quality in the coming decades. At the same time as there will be an increased focus on the city's physical appearance and layout in the proceeding period, diverging mercantile and military livelihoods of the Muslim-Northerners would converge at Kotokuraba, where the British would give the ex-soldiers land to build (Figure 22). Thus, the Muslim trader's freedom of movement and the Hausa soldier's proximity to the center of town that they both enjoyed, would drastically change in the next period.

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57 *The Gold Coast Times*, October 20, 1874.
58 "En Route To Coomassie." *The Morning Post*. London, England, Issue 31672. (Friday, January 02, 1874) 5.
59 *The Gold Coast Times*, August 4, 1883.
60 "En Route To Coomassie." *The Morning Post*. London, England, Issue 31672. (Friday, January 02, 1874) 5.
61 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, June 3, 1899.

In summary, the first period beginning in 1823 with the British expedition to Hausaland demonstrates the ambitious agenda of colonial authorities and their burgeoning imperial desires to both extend and control the Gold Coast territory. Fortunately for the Muslim-Northerners, they were central to this vision – both on military and economic terms. First, as opposed to their soggy and sinful coastal counterparts, the British attributed the Hausa's formidable strength to their "interior" geographical location and their high intelligence to that of their Islamic culture. Hired as fighters, Hausas stayed at Cape Coast Castle, the Colony's capital and center of British thought. Similarly, the Muslim-Northerners who were traders by occupation also commanded an advantageous, central position between Africa's elusive, resource-abundant interior and British seaports along the Gulf of Guinea. Thus, Muslim-northerners, operated across three centers – their religious home, economic zone, and military camp.

In Cape Coast, the Muslim-Northerner's socio-spatial identity was equally negotiable. Even though the British had carefully partitioned the civilized European from native barbarian as demonstrated by representations of their formidable and hermetically sealed castles and forts set against a backdrop of flimsy, dark mud huts, the Muslim-Northerners managed to elude spatial classification because of their because of their temporary sojourn in the Gold Coast. Furthermore, the Church, operating as threshold between castle and town, was far less interested in converting the "civilized" Muslim without permanent lodging than the "uncivilized" native whose heathen housing needed to be remedied by Christian morality. Thus, although the Muslim-Northerner remains eternally subservient to British authority, their central roles in British visions of economic expansion and military control and their absence from religious concerns placed them in a more prosperous position than in periods to come.

IV. SANITATION AND SEGREGATION: AT THE URBAN MARGINS

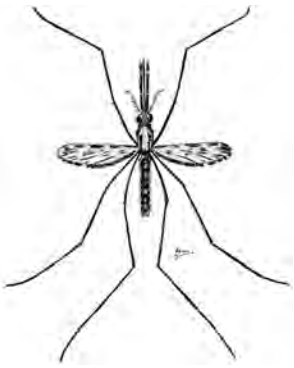

Figure 1

Figure 1 Pietermaritzburg 1838–1988: a new portrait of an African city, edited by John Laband and Robert Haswell (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1988), pp. 193–5.

Figure 2

Figure 2 Road to Kotokuraba (Hausa town), 1885-1910, Basel Mission Archives

Figure 3

Figure 3 Part of Kotokraba, 1885-1910, Basel Mission Archives

IV. SANITATION AND SEGREGATION: AT THE URBAN MARGINS

This second historical chapter covers the period 1901-1926, beginning in 1901 with The Gold Coast becoming a British Colony and ending before the passing of the Native Administration Ordinance. Whereas the last chapter explained the socio-spatial fissures and fusions among the British, Fante, Hausa Soldiers, and Muslim Traders from the North with a particularly thick divide between the civilized European and the exotic "African Native", this chapter further complicates these relationships. Not only does it rely more on the voices of the educated Fante elite and members of the Zongo settlement, but also on a revised agenda for the British Colonial project in the Gold Coast– one with a tightened grip on the machinery, hygiene, and configuration of its cities. Under the guise of altruistic efforts to sanitize the city from the deadly Anopheles mosquito, Colonial authorities segregate, sever, demolish, and reconstruct its anatomy in its own image to further their imperial agenda (Figure 1). Furthermore, the Colonial economic enterprise penetrates deep into the Hinterland, not only threatening the Native African's land rights, but also planting the seed for a distinct, National African identity. While all these actions have specific socio-spatial consequences for the Cape Coast Zongo that ultimately push it further to the margins, perhaps the most important of these comes with the British decision to "award" the ex-Hausa soldiers for their service with land located at Kotokuraba that was not necessarily theirs to give.[1] Still located at the outskirts of town in the late nineteenth century, a colonial officer describes the view in the direction of this uninhabited landscape,

> *A wavy mass of little hills, paps, and hummocks, all bushy, some rounded at the summit others with tabletops; but none with signs of cultivation, being shaggy and with trees between. The only road in sight is the narrow ribbon winding through the valleys in the direction of Coomasie.*[2]

In addition, photographs from the Basel Mission Archives depict a desolate, rural landscapes at odds with the city in which Muslim figures play the dominant role (Figures 2-3).

Besides these distant, framed views from outside, Cape Coast Zongo residents provided a rich collection of memories passed down to them from their forefathers. "In the beginning," one resident explained, "The place was full of bush at the side of a mountain. The Europeans and Fantes were

1 By customary law, the "Asante Stool" or Chieftancy were custodians of this land, but according to the Lands Bill, the British had access to unoccupied land.
2 "The Gold Coast and Ashantee War." *The Illustrated London News*. London, England, Issue 1788 (December 06, 1873) 549.

scared to live there because of the wild animals, but the Hausas were brave. It was swampy and infested by crabs. Hence the name Kotokuraba."[3] Another resident clarified, "The name Kotokuraba may be understood by dividing it into two parts: Koto means crab and Raba means stream. People used to go there to catch crabs and sell them."[4] One last resident added, "the crab is the symbol of Cape Coast and the God the Fantes used to worship. It might still be alive."[5] Crabs and other wild animals such as lions and wolves however, were not the only ones inhabiting this secluded, frightening landscape steeped in tradition. Residents described a "thick bush densely populated by spirits."[6] These spirits or "dwarves"[7] as they called them, enjoyed living near water bodies.[8] A young resident pointed out, "There are different types of dwarves. There are short ones and tall ones. The taller ones are higher than a building and you can only see its legs. Some dwarves are Muslim. They are good. The ones that aren't, they are bad. Muslim dwarves can't easily be seen. You have to be a Scholar to see them."[9] To chase the dwarves away, the forefathers had called upon an Islamic scholar, Sheich Abubakar Kommenda[10] from Nigeria, to stay on the land for three days and prepare rituals. After some time, the forefathers began to tentatively occupy the land and invited their friends staying in nearby villages to join them. They named the mountain Kantudu-Latif, the Mountain of God"[11] and "chopped it little by little using the mud to fill in the swamp and to build their houses."[12] At first, the settlement grew by tribe, Hausa, Fulani, Wangara, Mossi, Yoruba, or Grunshi, with Hausas dominating the population. Eventually however, a resident explained that Muslims came from all over - Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and the Ivory Coast - "the settlement became mixed, for from a religious perspective, they were all Muslims."[13]

This brief account of what the British first labeled "Hausa-town,"[14] perhaps conceived out of its earlier invention "Hausaland" , sketches an isolated landscape vulnerable to natural disaster, yet soaked with a meaningful intangible heritage of religious practice and cultural belief. In many ways, the establishment of Hausa-town, a material and spiritual marker of Muslim-Northern identity, is the same moment at which the strong connection to Hausaland fades away in the minds of the Europeans, Fantes, and even the Muslim-Northerners. As important as Hausa-town becomes for

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3 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
4 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
5 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
6 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
7 An anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident explained that spirit or dwarf translates to "jinn" in Arabic and "aljannu" in Hausa.
8 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
9 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
10 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
11 "Kantudu" is Hausa for hill/mountain and "Latif" is the name of God in Arabic - one of the 99 names" Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
12 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
13 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
14 Note that this is my hypothesis only and is based upon my archival research in Ghana.

many Muslim-Northerners during this period however, their population is not yet bounded to this place and is "scattered across Cape Coast and its surrounding villages."[15]

At the same time as Hausa-town was established at the outskirts of the city, the British Government developed an ambitious antidote for the deteriorating cities on the Gold Coast.

In The Name Of Sanitation!

Early in the year 1908, the British Colony announced, "We are at the beginning of new developments, of a new pathological era for West Africa, with political changes in recent years, increasing intercommunication, and above all, the new railways, were sure to bring about. Diseases formerly limited to an area would become diffused and widespread, and diseases for their two unknown bests – for example, – plague and cholera – would be introduced."[16] Following this ominous broadcast, Sierra Leone and Southern Nigeria placed The Gold Coast under quarantine for the plague[17] and *The Gold Coast Leader* became riddled with advertisements concerning the health of the Colony. From Genuine D'Guillie's tonic antibilious elixir,[18] Fussell's Milk" fever reducer,[19] and columns with "hygienic hints"[20] to "celebrated worm lozenges,"[21] "nicotine oil for skin diseases"[22] and warnings about the Filaria Loa metamorphosis in the salivary glands of the genus Chrysops,[23] distress over disease tormented European thought. To ameliorate the situation, the Crown Colony System executed comprehensive scientific research on tropical diseases, instituted the 1911 Ordinance for the Destruction of Mosquitos,[24] and developed comprehensive urban planning strategies to segregate and sanitize the city for the benefit of the European. At the local Municipal level on July 1st, 1905, the Government formed Cape Coast's Town Council[25] to help instigate these plans. Its representatives included official members (a European mayor and six European Councilors elected by households making more than 24 pounds a year)[26] and unofficial members (3-4 "Native Gentlemen") who held no decision-making power.[27] Voting members maintained the power and authority to:

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15 Villages included Antam, Essudu, Peabsa, Abullosko, Konsimah, Yaeyakwanu, and Kweku Kroom. "Cape Coast Hausa Community" Letter dated 1918 From: Chiefs and Headmen of the Wangara Community to District Commissioner's Office, Cape Coast, Cape Coast Archives, Accessed July 2013.
16 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 7, 1908.
17 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 1, 1908.
18 *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 3, 1922.
19 *The Gold Coast Leader*, April 6, 1912.
20 *The Gold Coast Leader*, October 5, 1912.
21 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 1, 1913.
22 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 1, 1913.
23 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 1, 1913.
24 *The Gold Coast Leader*, August 5, 1911.
25 Though the Town Council Ordinance was approved 1894, it wasn't until the early 1900s that it was implemented in Accra, Sekondi, and later Cape Coast.
26 *The Gold Coast Leader*, September 3, 1904.
27 *The Gold Coast Leader*, September 2, 1905.

1. *To make, maintain, alter, or repair any road, streets, bridges, ferry, tank, conflict, sewer, and the like, within the limits of the Municipality.*
2. *To prevent and put down nuisances.*
3. *To establish and maintain public market and market dues, and to make and enforce regulations regarding the same.*
4. *To assize weights and measures.*
5. *To establish and maintain public grounds*
6. *To establish and maintain a police force and make and enforce police regulations.*
7. *To form and maintain a local public health board, or to appoint sanitary commissioners.*[28]

With little to no control over their own political structure, economic production, or built environment, Cape Coast Natives had a strong distaste for the Town Council. When there was an election, "not a single voter out of the 650 names more or less in the Voters' List turned up at the Castle to take part…there was no nomination, and the people took absolutely no interest in the whole affair."[29] Though subordinate to the Town Council, a second authority contributing to the contentious sanitation measures was that of the Aborigines' Protection Society, an organization composed of "Natives" who had objected to the Crown Lands Bill of 1896 and the Lands Bill of 1897.[30] Lastly, a third authority with far less perceived stature during this period was that of Traditional Council led by their leader The Omenhene and associated warrior groups composed of Seven Asafo[31] Companies led by their leader The Tufuhene.[32] Though the "Chief of the Mohammadan Community" was also a traditional authority at this time, his participation in local Native affairs was minimal. While the Town Council possessed ultimate authority, the Aborigines' Protection Society operated as an important autonomous negotiator between Government demands and Traditional requests. For example, since the Omenehene was illiterate, the Society relayed to him Councils orders such as to have gutters cleaned, rubbage placed in dustbins and pigs removed from homes. It would then be the Omenhene's responsibility as the Council's puppet,[33] to relay this information to his people.[34] In addition to their role as facilitator, the Aborigines' Protection Society was composed of influential Wesleyan Missionaries and Merchants and thus used their respected position to further their own religious and commercial agendas.

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28 *The Gold Coast Leader*, July 1, 1905.
29 *The Gold Coast Leader*, May 4, 1912.
30 *The Gold Coast Leader*, April 4, 1908.
31 The word Asante is derived from sa (war), and fo, (people) in the local Fante language.
32 Traditional Warrior Groups In Akan Culture. The Tufuhen Is The Master Of Arms And Leader Of The Seven Companies In Cape Coast. The Asafo Companies carried flags with symbols representing their company. Examples of symbols include an ivory hand holding a pair of swords, a woman climbing a lime tree, a headless fish, and a man sitting under a tree, with pink leaves, *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 6, 1909.
33 *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 10, 1911.
34 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 6, 1915.

In December 1908, Professor Simpson addressed the local Cape Coast authorities among other residents of Cape Coast. He insisted that to rid the town of the "insidious plague" that "measures taken for the protection of Cape Coast Castle must not be relaxed at all."[35] Following this pronouncement, doctors proceeded on "mosquito crusades,"[36] the "gong-gong called on people for vaccinations,"[37] and reports a couple months later proudly announced the death of 5000 rats by the hands of the City Council.[38] By the end of the following year, Dr. Langeley, among other medical experts insisted that segregation was the only way to eradicate these "formidable diseases" and improve the health of the town.[39] A sarcastic response from a Cape Coast Native in *The Gold Coast Leader* jeered, "There are specialists in medicine and we may say in all other professions and perhaps in trade but did not know there was such in the doctrine and art of segregation."[40] Thus, what began as concern for the hygiene and health of the European expanded from the scale of an individual to that of the city. Though health was certainly a cause for concern for all Cape Coast residents, the Colonial Authorities used sanitation as their scapegoat to segregate, demolish, and re-build the city in a configuration that would advance their own political, religious, and economic programs.

Cultural And Spiritual Segregation

Cloaked under this humanitarian sanitary agenda, British authorities desired to physically separate the sophisticated European from the "diseased" Native. For the Fantes, this disease translated into cultural concerns – property ownership, programmatic needs for public and private space, and methods of building maintenance, construction, and materials. For the Muslim-Northerners however, this disease translated into spiritual concerns. In other words, cultural concerns were still present, but in this case they was inextricably tied to the religion of Islam. Spiritual then is defined as the fusion of religion and culture. Whereas the British bestowed the Fante with a malleable identity, one that separated an indigenous culture from Christianity, the Muslim-Northerner's identity was seen as static and monolithic. The first section below demonstrates how these concerns manifest spatially in the programmatic arrangements in the city and the second pays particular attention to the increased segregation of spaces occupied by Muslim-Northerners and how the Zongo as a distinct settlement emerged as a figure out of the field.

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35 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 7, 1908.
36 *The Gold Coast Leader*, April 2, 1904.
37 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 6 ,1902.
38 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 7, 1908.
39 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 4, 1909.
40 *The Gold Coast Leader*, January 6, 1906.

Figure 4 Map of Suggested Site for CD Hospital - May 9, 1925, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.

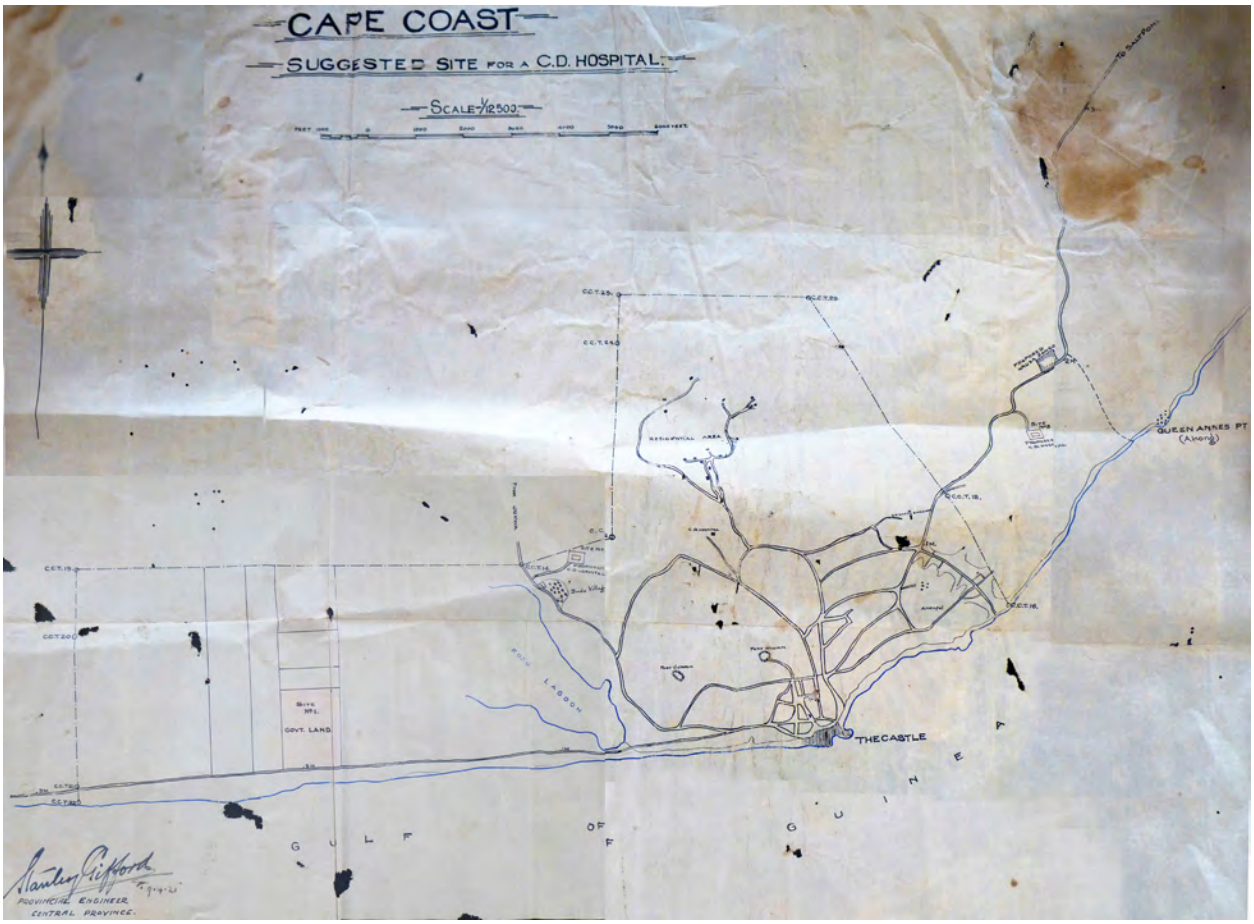

Figure 4

Segregation of Institutions and Public Space

Even before the seat of Colonial Government moved from Cape Coast to Accra, the Government purchased properties outside the fortified castle walls. With Cape Coast Castle as its nucleus, the Government increasingly operated from its Colonial satellites including Gothic House, the Courthouse, and Wesleyan Church.[41] Upon the departure of the Crown Government to Accra, these satellites became more permanently implanted in African soil and extended as far West as the Lagoon. Along this coastal sliver of European territory, the Town Council constructed Victoria Park, named after Queen Victoria with the dual purpose of pleasure ground and hygienic sanctuary.[42] Though elite Natives could use the grounds for highly orchestrated recreational events such as "The Government School Empire Day Athletic Sports celebration,[43] the majority of Cape Coast Natives complained that it was not "suitable for recreation." Moreover, the Town Council had immediate plans to construct Government buildings over top the Native recreation grounds protruding into their territory.[44] In addition, the Town Council moved the Omenhene's Court from its central location close to the Castle to "a hill somewhere near Jackson Street."[45] As if occupying the shoreline west of the castle was not enough to germinate a sanitary environment for the European, terminating this extension was the new Government segregation area bounded by the sea to the south, lagoon to the east, and hills to the north (Figure 4). Superceding the Castle on hygienic terms, this area came to be known as District one and was described by a Town Council member:

> *In regard to division one of the town – the area to the west of the Lagoon – I would recommend that this be reserved for Europeans – merchants or others. There is not room for other than officials on the present European reservation and although Division I has been condemned on account of the proximity of swamps it will, if Cape Coast again comes to the fore, the drained and will then, possibly, become the most desirable residential district of Cape Coast. The question of filling in and draining the lagoon also arises: this will be done at some future time and should not be forgotten in a general town planning scheme. Possibly it will become the site of the future Cape Coast railway station or pleasure ground. There is ample material in the neighborhood for filling it in.*[46]

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41 "Certificate Of Purchase – 1866." Notes dated 1925. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
42 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 4, 1905.
43 *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 1, 1912.
44 *The Gold Coast Leader*, July 1, 1905.
45 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 3, 1912.
46 "Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements." April 18th, 1913. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.

In response, an indigenous resident caustically exclaimed in *The Gold Coast Leader*,

> *I suppose when the segregation bungalows are completely fitted up a monster Glass Screen, miles in length and breadth, will be fixed between heaven and earth and at the segregation boundary to prevent the deadly draughts and mosquitos of the town of Cape Coast from penetrating into this novel Paradise.*
> *– ATOO*[47]

For Government buildings such as Fort Victoria and Fort William that had been constructed before this linear extension West, the Town Council, "without consideration of the Public,"[48] encased them in barbed wire fencing for protection against the sea of Native dwellings surrounding them.[49] Furthermore, in attempt to remedy the unsanitary conditions outside in Native homes outside this fencing, the Government instituted strict building regulations bridled with a sanitary inspector and doctor. To reduce the risk of outbreak, the Town Council implemented the Town Ordinance of 1905 required the removal of refuse on a regular basis, keeping animals so they are not a "nuisance", and clearing open spaces so they are "free of weeds, grass, prickly pear, wild bush, and other vegetation."[50] Three years later, the regulations became more draconian. The houses were numbered "exposed to public view"[51] and inspected on a regular basis to ensure they complied with the following regulations:

1. *Every room, yard and surroundings of the house must be swept daily.*
2. *All rat holes must be filled up; whitewashing inside of houses instead of the outside.*
3. *All house refuse, in town or village sweepings must be collected outside the town or village, and their burnt daily. Pigs ought not be allowed to roam about.*
4. *Rats propagate plagued by their leavings, urine, or spittle getting into uncovered food; people must therefore cover of all food. Fleas from rats also spread the plague, a relentless war must be waged against rats, and the more they are killed the lesser the risk of an outbreak.*
5. *The outskirts of town or village must be kept clean; windows of rooms should be opened for free ventilation.*
6. *Strict isolation, away from town or village of anyone attacked.*[52]

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47 *The Gold Coast Leader*, September 13, 1902.
48 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 5, 1904.
49 *The Gold Coast Leader*, November 5, 1904.
50 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 4, 1905.
51 *The Gold Coast Leader*, Saturday, March 3, 1906.
52 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 7, 1908.

Furthermore, if Natives desired to demolish, renovate or add to their existing dwellings, they had needed to apply for a permit whose convoluted requirements, as described by the residents, made it nearly impossible to navigate. Dated 1913, a Memorandum concerning building permits stated,

> *Plans of the proposed building must be drawn to scale and must be signed by the person making the plans. The boundary lines and dimensions of a lot of land must be clearly shown: as well as the width of all adjoining streets, lanes and passages, and the dimensions of all adjoining buildings, rooms, charts, walls, fences etc. Alterations, additions or new structures must be clearly shown and distinguished from existing structures. All windows, doors or other means of ventilation must be shown. Where buildings or parts of buildings are to be used as kitchens, latrines, shops, stores, evidence for purposes of trade or manufacture or as workshops, factories or schools they should be clearly indicated. All walls within the area covered by the plan must be shown.*[53]

Moreover, in some cases, the Government simply posted signs that read, "Notice of Land Required for the Service of the Colony and Ashanti." In this case, if the landowners didn't come up with a "good" case for why they needed the land, the land would be transferred to the Government.[54] Thus, the intent of the Colonial Authorities was two-fold: to mitigate sanitation and design a taxing regulatory process – one that gave bestowed them with the authority to control shaping and character of the urban realm even from the interior of one's home.

At the same time as Native dwellings and institutions were sacrificed for the health of the Europeans, the Town Council encouraged the construction of new Native institutions to both heal these wounds and further their cultural segregation agenda in the name of sanitation. For example, the "African House," became a popular Fanti social club erected "separate from where the Europeans gather."[55] These Native institutions however, excluded the Muslim-Northerner because they were not of this soil. Thus, in planting the seeds for a proud, distinct Fante identity, the Colonial powers subconsciously effected a schism between the Fante and the other, who in this case was the Muslim-Northerner.

Even though Colonial powers invented distinct cultural identities for the European and Fantes, on religious terms, their identities converged with religion at the Christian Church. Churches and Missionary Schools, therefore, were strategically positioned either in the town center for accessibility or crowning the hilltops as a visual marker. Whereas in the previous period, photographs and

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53 "Memorandum Re: Building Permits" 1913, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
54 Notice of Land Required for the Service of the Colony and Ashanti dated 1913, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed January 2014.
55 *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 6, 1903.

Figure 5 Map of Suggested Site for CD Hospital - May 9, 1925, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.

Figure 6 Cape Coast Castle & part of Cape Coast with Swish Houses from the top of the Wesleyan Chapel, Basel Mission Archives

Figure 7 Prismatic Compass Survey Shewing Boundaries of Proposed New Cemetery at Cape Coast, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.

Figure 5

Figure 6

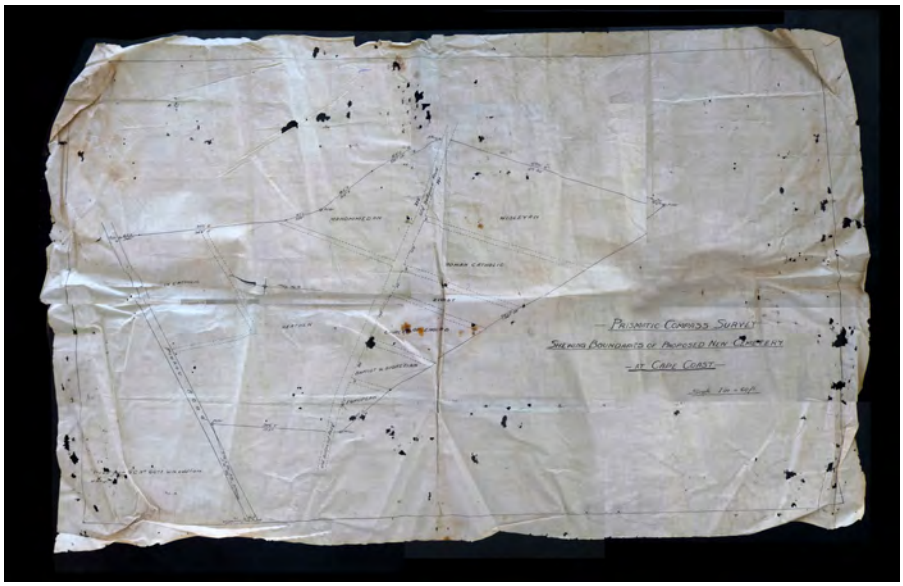

Figure 7

drawings most often framed churches and other fortified edifices in isolation or as a seascape from a great distance, this period demonstrates an increased interest in showing how structures such as the Wesleyan Chapel reign over the urban realm (Figures 5-6). In 1902, *The Gold Coast Leader* announced that "The Catholics we understand intend building a Cathedral at their hill: from the site selected, it will be a very imposing edifice." Even though the Europeans were the ones constructing these permanent structures with foundations in stone, because the Fantes shared their religion, they could also claim these visible representations of power as their own. To bolster these inclinations of ownership, Missionaries both published a Bible[56] and Hymnals in the Fante language.[57] Furthermore, this rising Fante identity within Christianity became tinged with a political, nationalizing agenda. One article entitled, "The Need for a National Church": speculated, "There is probably no organization better calculated to influence national life in the country than the Methodist Church… practically life does not consist of mere spiritual exercises."[58] Thus, this rising national consciousness fostered to physically segregate at the cultural level and politically unify at the religious level.
For the Muslim-Northerner, being neither Fante nor Christian, these socio-spatial demarcations excluded them from the high quality real estate in town. The cemetery located close to Victoria Park exemplifies spiritual segregation. While the east side of the road contains the graves of Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, Zionists, the Church of England, Baptist & Nigretian, and European, the west side contains the graves of Muhammadans, Heathens, and a small area carved out of the Heathen area was an additional area dedicated to the Roman Catholics Perhaps these were the graves of later converts (Figure 7). Even though their marginalization is still a vague formulation characterized by cultural and religious exclusion in the urban realm, when considering spiritual segregation of the Hausa settlement, the Colonial intent to push them to the margins sharpens.

Segregation of the Zongo

Though Hausa-Town as a loose spatial configuration had emerged in the late nineteenth century, the particular identities associated with, and geographical positioning of Muslim-Northerners remained diverse and scattered in the minds and maps of the Colonial authorities. Muslim-Northerners also identified with each other primarily by tribe rather than by religion. The Wangaras for example had wanted their own tribunal under the jurisdiction of the Omenhene to settle political affairs rather than be subservient to the Hausa tribunal. In 1918, the Wangara Chief explained this difference to the District Commissioner, "that our languages and customs in all matters with the Hausas are altogether different. We hold that carrying out our own matters would be beneficial to us. Let us to resolve and adopt these principles."[59] In addition, he reasoned the need for the tribunal based

56 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 4, 1905.
57 *The Gold Coast Leader*, January 6, 1906.
58 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 6, 1915.
59 Letter from Chief Wangara to District Commissioner, dated March 23, 1918. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.

upon their large population of over 1,000 inhabitants spread across the villages of Antam, Essudu, Cape Coast, Peabsa, Abullosko, Konsimah, Yaeyakwanu, and Kweku Kroom.[60] The Hausas too saw themselves as distinct and of a higher-cut than the Wangaras. In an interview with residents in 2014, one Zongo resident explained, "At first, the Wangara merged more with the Fantes. They envied the Haussas."[61] In another interview account, "Hausas had been charged with collecting tributes to give to the Government during "the great war," but that later there were disagreements over who should give tribute to whom.[62] Further complicating these social relationships were political divisions that cut across ethnic lines. Those siding with the Omenhene called themselves "first party," while those under a different headman called themselves "second party". These political demarcations were expressed spatially as the two parties attended separate mosques.[63]

These ethnic, political, and spatial divisions among Muslim-Northerners however lost their potency by the middle of this period and were replaced with a rising consciousness of a collective Muslim identity.[64] What initiated these sentiments was not only the Colonial authority's sour response to their social and spatial needs, but also an emerging nationalist Fante identity that craved to draw a line between who was indigenous and who was foreign. Together, these attitudes created increased difference, part physical and part imagined, between what was Muslim space and what was not. Though not stated explicitly in the primary sources, one could conjecture that it was this very shift in mentality that triggered the British naming of the Muslim settlements "Zongo," which in northern Nigeria, were walled quarters of the city. It was also at this same moment of transition, that a British Officer described his experience in a Nigerian Zongo:

> *Around me is quite picturesque. We've been sleeping in a Hausa Zongo holding it against the night attack. Picture me as a bloodthirsty ruffian with my rifle, revolver, and bandolier by my bed, which consists of the ground, a coat, and blanket around me, and my shirt and trousers as a pillow. The Zongo is built around a big square with only one entrance…*[65]

Though British authorities in Cape Coast began calling settlements in which Muslim-Northerners lived Zongos by 1914 (roughly the same time the British "bloodthirsty ruffian" experienced them first-hand in Nigeria), it wasn't until 1923 that the archives produced evidence of Muslim-

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60 "Cape Coast Hausa Community" Letter dated 1918 From: Chiefs and Headmen of the Wangara Community to District Commissioner's Office. Cape Coast, Cape Coast Archives, Accessed July 2013.
61 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
62 Letter to Chief Commissioner from Chief of Mohammadan Community dated January 2, 1923. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
63 Letter to Chief Commissioner from Chief of Mohammadan Community dated January 2, 1923. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
64 *The Gold Coast Leader*, Saturday, February 3, 1906.
65 Devon And Exeter Daily Gazette, Exeter, England, Issue 21243 (September 17, 1914) 3.

Northerners referring to their own settlement as a Zongo.[66]

Located in close proximity to one another, the three primary Cape Coast Zongos included Kotokuraba (previously known as Hausa-town), Ewim, and Ayiko-Ayiko.[67] Whereas the latter two settlements came later and were built on rented land, Kotokuraba was the oldest and constructed on land given to them by the British. Initially, the British Government had probably decided to give the Cape Coast Zongo the land at Kotokuraba partly because it was unoccupied, vulnerable to natural disasters and was adjacent to the town's dumping ground.[68] Most importantly however, the land was at safe distance from the center of town and did not figure into the Government's expansionist agenda following the coastline west. Thus, it was only when this east-west axis agenda with an emphasis on Governmental Institutions and Segregation spaces joined forces with the Mercantile one, a north-south Commercial corridor extending from the Castle to the burgeoning Kotokuraba market square, that Hausa-Town became a "sanitary" threat to authorities complete with "excrementitious matters and noxious exhalations."[69]

Before this encroachment, residents had developed their own autonomous town with two small mosques, a cemetery,[70] and gardens centered around Kotokuraba market square complete with their own traditional methods of construction, commercial transaction, animal-rearing, agriculture, law, and religious practices. Even though the area was predominantly Muslim, there were also Fantes living amongst them. One Cape Coast Zongo resident had even explained in a recent interview that the Queen Mother, the most important female leader in the Traditional Chieftancy, had once lived in the only two-storey structure in the Zongo.[71] Afterwards however, the Government used sanitation as its excuse to further segregate and consolidate the residents into well-defined areas that came to be called Zongos. In the District Commissioner's notes dated August 8, 1924, he explained, "There is no reason for three separate Zongos and the one at the foot of residency hill is much too close to the residential area."[72] A few lines later he added, "Although the Hausa people are not very keen on their personal cleanliness, there compounds surroundings are generally very clean but it will be more sanitary to have all these people together and not scattered about as is the case at present."[73]

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66 The return address read, "Kotokraba Zongo, Cape Coast – 24th March 1923," Letter to the District Commissioner from Kotokuraba Zongo dated March 24th, 1923. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
67 From informal conversations with Cape Coast Zongo residents in July 2013.
68 *The Gold Coast Leader*, August 2-9, 1919.
69 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, February 1, 1902.
70 "Muhammadan Cemetery," Notes from the Chief Commissioner dated 15th November, 1922. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
71 Informal Conversation with a Cape Coast Zongo resident at this two-storey house on January 27, 2014.
72 Notes From Honorable District Commissioner Dated August 8, 1924, Cape Coast Archives. Accessed January 2014.
73 Notes From Honorable District Commissioner Dated August 8, 1924, Cape Coast Archives. Accessed January 2014.

In addition to these complaints concerning the Zongo's location and adjacency to Europeans, the Town Council prescribed building regulations aligned with these "sanitary" concerns to ensure an urban growth that benefited the European economy and Christian spirit. In a letter to the members of the Provincial Health Board, the Honourable the Commissioner Central Province expressed the opinion that "the time had come when the latitude allowed to the Mohammedan Community as regards to the materials used in the building of their houses, might be restricted if not withdrawn, and suggested that the matter be brought up at the next meeting of the Provincial Health Board."[74] In response to a myriad of letters, the Town Council responded that:

> *(a) That the time has arrived when the Hausa people should be required to conform to the Building Regulations in force for other Communities in the Colony.*
> *(b) That the type of house now being built by the Hausa people being mostly of wattle-and-daub and having a thatch roof is objectionable on sanitary grounds, and particularly from an anti-plague point of view.*
> *(c) That the majority of the people are able to afford the increase in cost that the change in the building requirements would occasion, probably more able than some of the communities to which existing Building Regulations apply.*
> *(d) That if the Central Health Board were of opinion that the foregoing proposals demanded too much from the Hausa Community, then approval be requested for enforcing such less measures, as say, a concrete floor and foundations and corrugated-iron roof, which the Central Health Board may consider reconcile sanitary requirements with other considerations in this matter.*
> *(e) That there are good reasons, quite apart from Building Regulations, for the isolation of Zongos from other sections of the community.*[75]

Though not explicitly stated, line item (e) is particularly telling of an underlying discrimination that moves beyond the desire for a sterilized city. In addition to these initial concerns about Zongo settlement placement and building materials, the Town Council amplified these spatial restraints by limiting how the land could be used from a cultural and spiritual standpoint. For example, Zongo residents were required to keep their cattle outside of the town, to show sheep to the Doctor before killing it for a naming ceremony, and to allow sanitary inspectors in their home at any time.[76]

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74 "Hausa Zongos – Materials To Be Used For", Letter To The Director Of Medical And Sanitary Services, Chairman Central Health Board From Medical Officer Of Health, Secretary. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
75 "Hausa Zongos – Materials To Be Used For", Letter To The Director Of Medical And Sanitary Services, Chairman Central Health Board From Medical Officer Of Health, Secretary. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
76 Letter to The Governor of Cape Coast From Chief Musa dated March 11, 1916. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Furthermore, these building regulations are tailored not to the Fantes nor other indigenous members of the community, but directed specifically to the people of the Zongo, who at this point emerge as having a distinct culture expressed in derogatory, visual forms. In response to these rigid regulations, Chief Musa wrote to the District Commissioner on March 11, 1916,

1. *In our country we needed to live in a house covered by grass, and anywhere we go, we do the same thing.*
2. *That since we settled in this town of Cape Coast, we needed to repair our houses when they were damaged, but about five years ago we were compelled to get permission before repairing these houses.*[77]

And, in a similar letter seven years later, Chief Musa's initial concerns about limits on building construction and materials escalated to encompass distress over diminished authority and pressures to conform to local cultural and religious norms:

1. *But as your Excellency is aware we the Hausa, Wangaras, Fulanis, Moshis, Wallas, Grunshies, Kotohoris, Dagombas, Bambaras, Lagocians, Gwanyafes in Cape Coast are entirely strangers to the Fante's and manners custom and creed.*
2. *This although we Hausas, Wangaras are not of the same tribe, our religious belief is the same.*
3. *That at present, there is but one tribunal in Cape Coast and in addition to this the police Magistrate Court though we fully appreciate the work both of these courts are doing we Muhammedans invariably find ourselves disappointed where our religious beliefs came in conflict with the principles of English law or the Fante law and customs.*
4. *That at present the head chief of the Mohammed on community arbitrate over a case between two Mohammedan but his decision is always lacking of the usual respect owing to the fact that both parties recognize that there is no means of legally enforcing the decision. If therefore not always possible to satisfy either party under the circumstances stated above.*
5. *That's another difficulty which presents itself as a case between two Muhammedans before the native tribunal, the decision has not always been very satisfactory and has been in majority of cases inconsistent with the Muhammadan creed and custom.*
6. *That your petitioners learned with regret that the new native jurisdiction bill which would, they understand, have afforded them an opportunity of getting a tribunal has been withdrawn. This being the case your humble petitioners respectfully submit for your Excellency's sympathy. The consideration that the present native jurisdiction ordinance be so amended as to*

77 Letter to The Governor of Cape Coast From Chief Musa dated March 11, 1916. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

make it possible for them to have a tribunal of their own. This your humble petitioners" case the unsatisfactory state of affairs among so many Muhammadan's temporarily or permanently residing in Cape Coast District.[78]

Towards the end of this period, the intensity of socio-spatial marginalization for the Zongo increased further still when colonial authorities raised "The Zongo Question" and inquired after whether the Zongo should be moved somewhere outside of town. In a letter dated March 11, 1919 The District Commissioner wrote,

During the time I have known this town, I have always felt that the settlement of the Mahomedan Community in their own Zongo was one of the pressing needs of the town….As you are aware the Hausa and Wangara people at present are scattered and if it were possible to find a site suitable for a Zongo, it would not only be a distinct sanitary improvement, but at the same time leave the congestion which now exists at and near Kotokuraba.[79]

Though still laced with concerns for sanitation, this new scheme for a Zongo located at the 2nd milestone towards Accra[80] (the furthest point from the European segregation area shown on a Colonial map) more explicitly expressed the need for a spiritual segregation, one that spatially separated the laws and customs of the Fante and European Christian from that of the Muslim. To convince the Zongo community, Authorities peppered their letters with compelling, yet subversive arguments for a unified Zongo community with improved sanitary conditions. In a letter dated September 17th, 1919, the District Commissioner wrote to the Chief Zongo,

My good Friend,
I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 63/1920 of the 17th instant. As you are aware I am anxious that the Mohammedan Community in Cape Coast should have a Zongo where you can all live together when you would be in a very much better position to look after the interests and welfare of your people.

It will be necessary of course to find water at the proposed site for your Zongo and this I will have done directly. I know that you have approved of the site and are prepared to live there.

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78 Letter to the District Commissioner from Kotokuraba Zongo resident dated March 24th, 1923, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
79 "Proposed Hausa Zongo - Cape Coast," Letter to The Regent Chief Kofi Sackey, from Commissioner Central Province dated March 11, 1919. Cape Coast Archives, Accessed July 2013.
80 "Proposed Hausa Zongo - Cape Coast", Letter to The Acting Commissioner, Central Province, Cape Coast Castle from The Regent dated March 24, 1919. Cape Coast Archives, Accessed July 2013.

Compensation would be paid to the Owners of Houses in Cape Coast and this money would help you to build your new houses. In paying out the compensation the resent cost of materials would be taken into consideration.

I should be willing to give you all the assistance in my power in making your New Zongo a good one and your roads, streets, latrines, wash-houses, market place and slaughter house would be erected by the Public Works department.

I have no desire to force you and your people to go to a new site but I am sure you will realize the great benefits which you will derive under the improved conditions.[81]

Despite the Colonial Authorities fervent ambitions and detailed plotting to consolidate and remove the Zongo to an area outside of town, the scheme was too expensive, the Zongo residents expressed a strong desire not to move, and the authorities were optimistic that with the construction of the Cape Coast railroad to Kumasi, that many of the Zongo residents would leave.[82]

In sum, the Colonial Authorities crafted a hidden agenda of spatially segregating themselves from "disease," which included not only malaria, small-pox and the plague, but extended to cultural and spiritual difference. Whereas for the Fantes, these symptoms were curable in light of their devotion to Christianity, for the newly christened Zongo, they seemed permanent and inoperable.

Demolishing Tradition and a New Urban Vision

In addition to cultural and spiritual segregation, equally important to the revised Colonial project in the name of sanitation, was that of a new European urban vision through which to exhibit its power. In other wealthier cities such as Accra and later Takoradi, the Government planned and executed comprehensive, highly organized schemes etched into unoccupied land. In response, a concerned colonial official based in Cape Coast wrote, "With the proposed utopian improvements, Accra will very soon be transformed into a fairyland. But what of Cape Coast, Secondi, and Axim? The government should remember to provide for the European communities in these towns also."[83] Even though the Seat of Government in Accra set aside only 1,000 pounds for sanitary

81 "Proposed Hausa Zongo, Cape Coast," Letter to Head Chief, Hausa Community, Cape Coast From Acting Commissioner Central Province dated September 17, 1919.
82 "Proposed Hausa Zongo, Cape Coast," Letter to The Honorable The Colonial Secretary, Accra from Commissioner Central Province dated August 11, 1925.
83 *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, February 1, 1902.

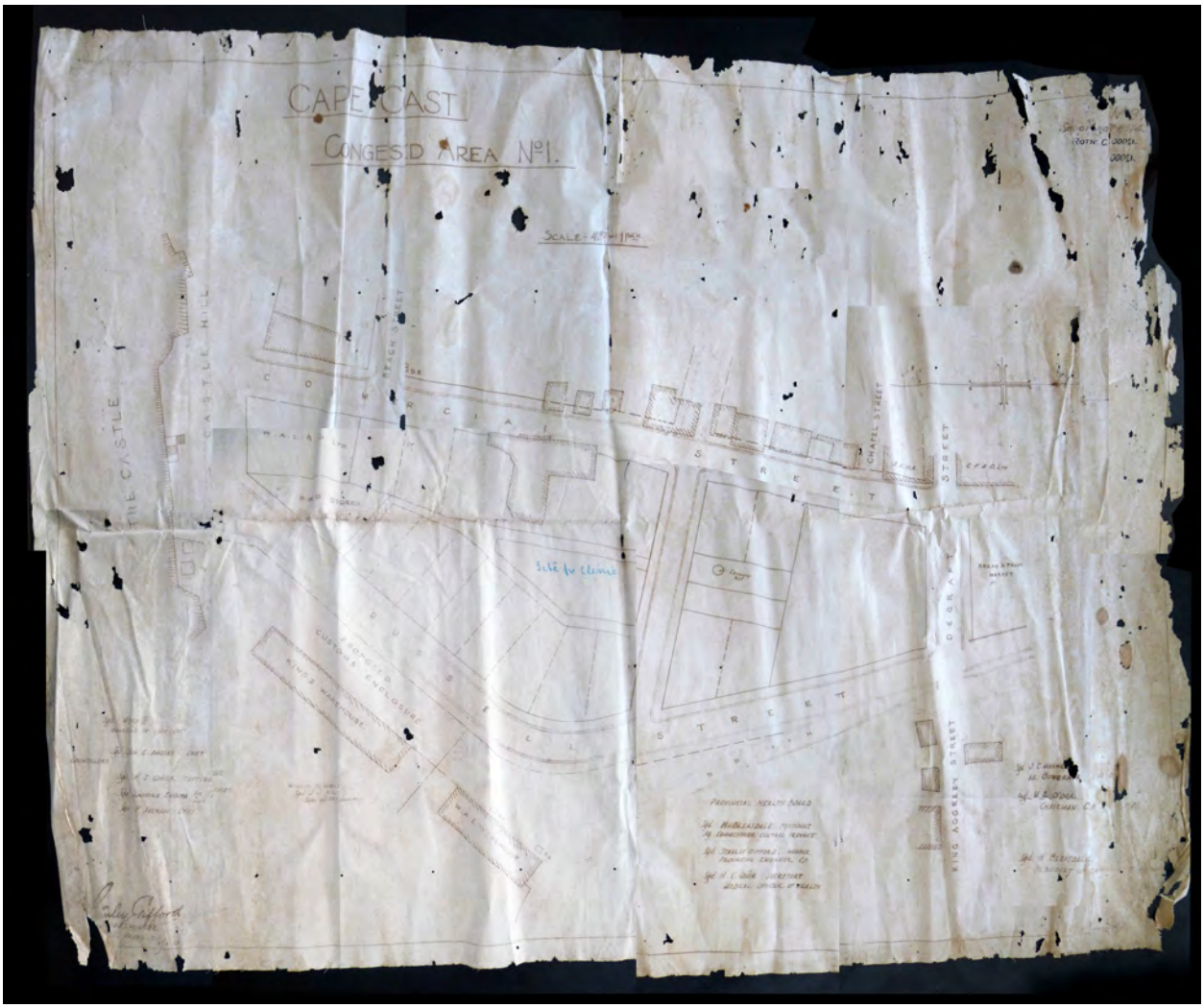

Figure 8

Figure 8 Map of Congested Area No.1, 1922, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

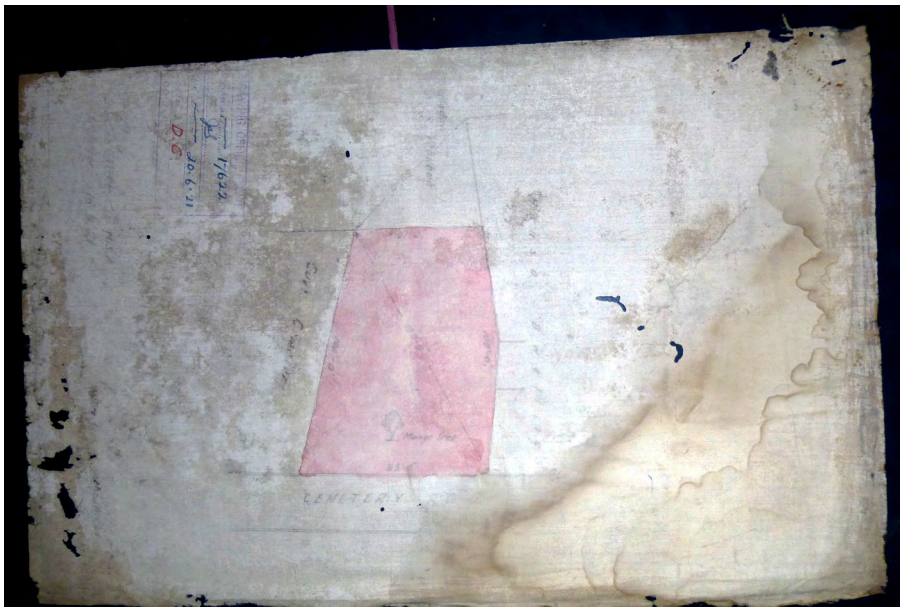

Figure 9

Figure 9 Map of Land Plot in the Zongo on Cemetery Road, June 20, 1921, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

improvements in Cape Coast,[84] the local Town Council explained that because the town "is at its lowest ebb commercially,"[85] that this was "the best time for the initiation of a comprehensive town planning scheme." Rather than initial fantasies of a new sanitary town requiring the "ruthless cutting of roads in all directions regardless of existing structures,"[86] the actual execution of Cape Coast's new urban plan required a surgical procedure of demolition and reconstruction.[87] In 1914, the Town Council divided the areas to be demolished into four "varieties": congested areas without "proper streets" and with narrow, irregular passages, congested areas with well-defined streets, areas with few to no houses, and congested streets.[88]

In careful calculation, these congested areas were then ordered in their degree of importance from one to five – beginning at the Castle and Segregation areas and ploughing their way north in the direction of Kotokuraba and the Zongo settlements. A map shows "congested area No 1", a short segment of Commercial Street connecting the Castle to the Chapel (Figure 8). After these congested areas of primary importance, came a set of lesser concern. And, it was only at the very bottom of this list that the "Hausa Village west of Kotokuraba Market Square" and the "Hausa Village on the Hill between Ashanti Road and Cemetery Road" were mentioned. Hence, in the Colonial Authority's vision for the city, the Zongo played one of the least threatening roles.

In addition to this larger order of operations at the urban scale however, and once again veiled by the virtue of sanitation, the Town Council implemented abstruse building regulations and permit processes that almost always resulted in the demolition of homes.[89] Dr. Barker explained that it was not enough to scour roads and alleys, but that the houses themselves were "hotbeds for disease."[90] By 1911, the Government proudly announced that 138 "ancient ruins" had been demolished" and by 1912, 70 more had been razed.[91] A frustrated resident voiced his opinion on the matter in *The Gold Coast Leader*,

> *Why Mr. D.C. Peregrine and his Building Committee, make it a point to disturb every new building in Town, we are at a loss to know: if we are not to be allowed to build anymore we should be told so right out, and not to tell us to ask for permission and then in every case refuse applicants, after undergoing expensed by the land &c. are we to have another Sekondi!*[92]

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84 *The Gold Coast Leader*, March 6, 1909.
85 Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements M.O.H. April 18th, 1913. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
86 Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements M.O.H. April 18th, 1913. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
87 Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements M.O.H. April 18th, 1913. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
88 Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements M.O.H. April 18th, 1913. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
89 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 6 ,1902.
90 *The Gold Coast Leader*, November 7, 1903.
91 "Memorandum Re: Building Permits"-1913, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
92 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 21, 1903.

Even though lack of ventilation, hygiene, and rodent control served as the rationalization for demolition, the Government, Doctors, and "their conspirators"[93] had ulterior motives that went beyond creating open space or "lungs" as they called them for these districts.[94] As one resident revealed, the Town Council's right to demolish a building also became their right to acquire the land free of charge.[95]

A letter from the Omenhene of the Traditional Council further elaborated on the divergent ideologies concerning building construction between the European and Native. In plea against the demolition he wrote,

> *If Dr. Beringer and his colleagues only knew that most of these houses were built by the contribution of personal labor, materials &c. from members of the family, and held in common by them, they would have realized the hardship they are bringing to bear on the people by the present heartless and unnecessary demolition of the houses within the municipal area.*[96]

While the European ideology privileged policy measures, building regulations, imported materials, hired maintenance founded in individualism, the Traditional Council ideology (probably shared by many Fantes at the time) privileged local materials, self-built structures maintained on a daily basis, and community alliances. Though some elite Fantes had probably become more versed in the European ideology than others at this time to their spatial proximity and shared religious values, the Cape Coast Zongo, still at the spatial periphery and with a different set of religious values, maintained an ideology more in line with that of the Traditional Council. In remembering how his parents has described constructing their house, a Cape Coast Zongo resident explained, "They used wood from the forest, actual trees. Not bricks. They used tiny sticks and tied them round with a gap like this. They then used mud to plaster inside and out."[97] A second older resident described how his family used to maintain their home when he was small. He said, "When I was young, we used to cut the bush and thatch the roof ourselves. It was replaced a lot."[98] Elaborating on the self-built strategy and community cooperation, an older woman in the community described her home's evolution and maintenance during this time,

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93 *The Gold Coast Leader*, October 7-28, 1911.
94 "Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements" - April 18th, 1913, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
95 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 6, 1902.
96 *The Gold Coast Leader*, October 7-28, 1911.
97 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
98 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

The building plans were not square. They were not fixed plans. We would build something small. Then we would add on later when we needed to. At first, the whole place was made of mud. When I was young and the buildings started breaking when it rained, every morning we would fix the cracks. Since we took good care of the buildings, they never leaked.[99]

The demolition executed by the Colonial authorities, therefore, was more than just the physical destruction of a home – it was also an erasure of long-held traditions and belief systems rooted in cultural and religious practices. Since the Fante community, including the Traditional Council, lived in closer proximity to the sea and Colonial influence than the Muslims, their homes and ideologies were threatened to far greater degree. Furthermore, Colonial authorities took a slightly different stance on demolition when it came to the Zongo. More important than the destruction of individual homes, the Town Council treated the Zongo as a monolithic, foreign religious entity that needed to be demolished, removed, or contained without consideration for any variation within. A map from 1921 illustrates a survey of Hausa Dwellings in which individual homes are represented as a monolithic pink block (Figure 9). At this point in time, the combination of these factors – the Colonial Authority's relative disinterest in the land and the Zongo's unique religious identity secured not only their spatial position at Kotokuraba, but also constructed increased difference between traditional-Islam and contemporary-Christian. At this point, the Fante had no choice. In their voice from *The Gold Coast Leader* dated May 4th, 1912, a resident writes, "the sanitation of the colony is turning into a huge machinery for oppressing the people."[100]

Re-Placing Urban Inventory

Though sanitation concealed the hidden Colonial authority's agenda to both spiritually and culturally segregate themselves and craft a new urban vision by sacrificing local tradition, the elite merchants of Cape Coast openly revealed their mission to re-place urban inventory. Almost exclusively dominated by the Fante elites, many who were members of the Aborigines' Protection Society,[101] this Native mercantile class wanted to acquire urban land, or "inventory" to reclaim the prosperous trade that has once defined Cape Coast. In a revealing column from *The Gold Coast Leader* dated July 5, 1919, a merchant explains the importance of this mission and the monetary returns the landowner would receive:

We are glad that our appeal to our fellow townsmen on the necessity of giving facilities to commercial concerns to acquire building sites the development of trade has not fallen on barren

99 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
100 *The Gold Coast Leader*, May 4, 1912.
101 *The Gold Coast Leader*, April 4, 1908.

ground. We hope those are people who are still wavering, whose views are influenced by conditions as they existed in a bygone age, will be gradually led to regard the problem in the light of present-day conditions, from the standpoint of these progressive times... We believe by now the urgency of giving an impetus to trade; in Cape Coast in bringing business to the town is apparent to all.... If these elderly people wish industry to flourish in the town; if they wish to be comfortably looked after by the breadwinners; the young people to return home to find employment and help to make the home cheerful, let them think now and give up those building sites to the firms who are prepared to treat reasonably over the bargain, for dilapidated houses and unoccupied town plots do not feed a family nor do they pay the doctors bill or for the funeral custom. There is a chance now of making handsome returns out of them and stifling the woeful cry of hard times, for money is the thing and with money one can buy houses and lands in any part of the town and provide comfortably for a family...[102]

In addition, rather than demolishing buildings by force to achieve a sanitary city as the Town Council had done, these merchants attempted to win over the hearts and land of residents by explaining the increased attention Cape Coast would receive from the Seat of the Government if trade were to be improved:

The government is reluctant to spend money on a place that does not bring it much revenue. If we, therefore, give facilities to industrial companies, to open up here trade will flourish and with it the revenue and the improvement of the town will engage serious attention from the authorities. For that it will be a question about only improving the surroundings of the natives but also those of the European in their midst. We wish to put the town ahead and to let it hold its own with the others, you have no doubt that all natives of Cape Coast as well as those natives from the neighborhood from the sister colonies with cost in their lot with us will assist in doing the work of enlightening those members of the community who are still backward interviews.[103]

Whereas the Town Council Authority was more interested in the slivers of land demarcating the coastline and in close proximity to the Castle for much of this period, the Native Mercantile class saw great potential further up the main road, later to be named "Commercial Street," linking the Castle to Kotokuraba. There were a number of reasons for this selection. For one, the European dominated the coastline and marine-based commerce. Second, since the major ports and mercantile centers had shifted to Accra and Sekondi that the Kotokuraba corridor was located closer to both the roads leading to these cities and to important resources such as cocoa farms, gold mines, and

102 *The Gold Coast Leader*, July 5, 1919.
103 *The Gold Coast Leader*, July 5, 1919.

rainforest stocked with mahogany to the north. Furthermore, since European factories that had been located in the Castle shifted to locations in the town at the base of Commercial Street,[104] it made sense for Native merchants to explore real estate along the same street, but further north where Europeans had not yet staked a claim. Finally, even though the market located near the Castle was still in existence at this point, other local markets had begun to spring up along Commercial street, the largest of which was an open market at Kotokuraba adjacent to the Zongo and most likely initiated by the Zongo residents (Figure 10).

The most valuable real estate for commercial enterprise during this period therefore, were on either end of Commercial Street – close to the Castle for the Europeans and close to Kotokuraba Square for the Natives. Thus, whereas Colonial Authorities had not yet developed an appetite for the Zongo's real estate until late in this period and at the end of World War I, the elite Native merchants had. Just as Europeans had constructed two storey buildings around a courtyard built of "native brick," containing both shop or factory and living quarters,[105] so too did these merchants dream of this possibility at Kotokuraba. The following is an exchange between the District Commissioner and a Native Merchant dated 1924 concerning the Zongo at Kotokuraba:

> *In view of the new market at Kotokraba, traders and well-to-do persons, would like to build better houses in Kotokraba where Hausa squatters have erected temporary mud huts. Can the question of new houses for the Zongo be taken up again sir?*
> *(Merchant)*
>
> *The layout and acquisition of a new Zongo is a costly affair. Please obtain a list of persons who would guarantee to construct good houses in Kotokraba if land is made available.*
> *(District Commissioner)*
>
> *It is difficult to obtain the list required that I know of six friends who have asked me to secure lands for them in Kotokraba Road and I'm quite certain of many more applicants.*
> *(Merchant)*
>
> *Has the Hausa Community expressed any desire to move?*
> *(District Commissioner)*

104 Examples of factories and shops along Commercial Street in the early 1900s: "The African Association, limited", "David Jones & Co" and "West African Mineral Water Manufacturers selling lemonade, ginger ale, peppermint, and soda. *The Gold Coast Leader*, October 1, 1904.
105 *The Gold Coast Leader*, May 2, 1903.

Figure 10 The Market Cape Coast, 1885-1910 Source: Basel Mission Archives

Figure 11 Classes of Machinery - Advertisement, *The Gold Coast Leader,* November 27, 1920

Figure 10

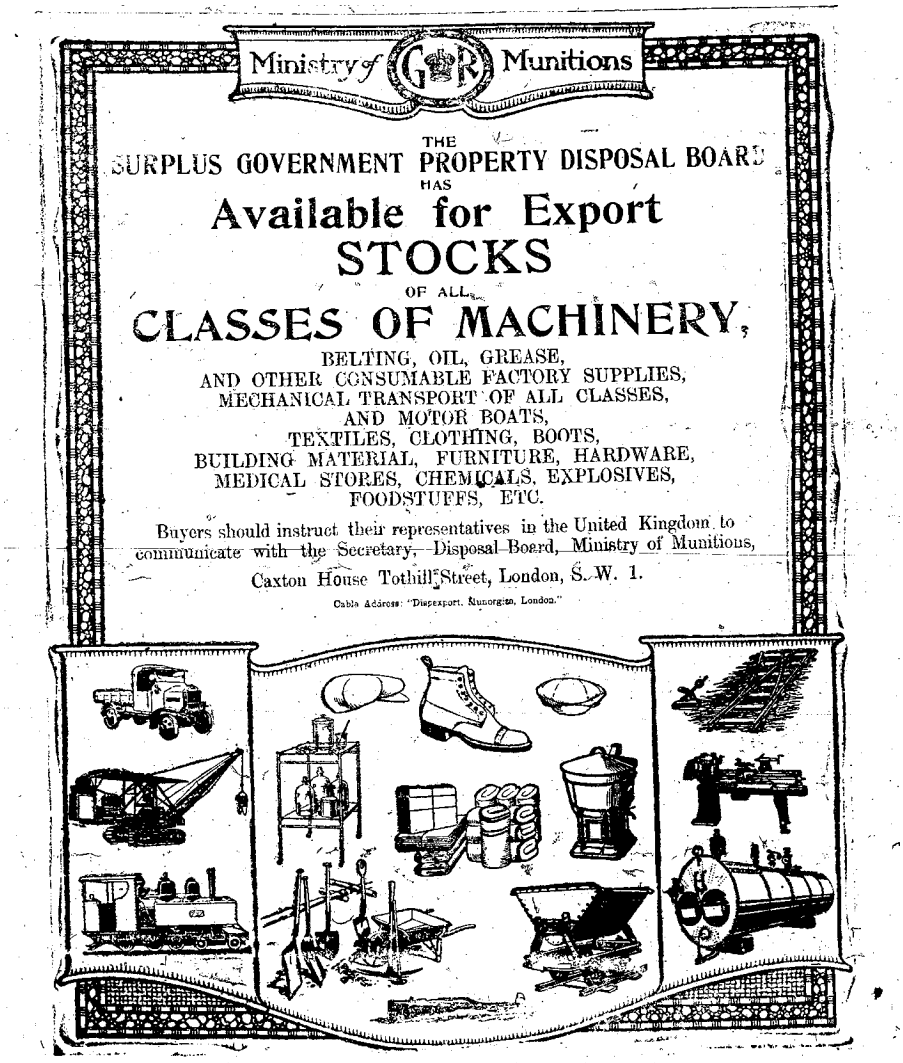

Figure 11

I have interviewed the Hausa community and they were unanimous that they did not desire to move. They were prepared to correct better buildings if by doing so they would be allowed to remain in their present position." [106]

Thus, as illustrated from this conversation, in the eyes of the Native merchant, the Zongo is becoming highly desirable real estate and that these individuals have acquired enough wealth to construct two-storey, permanent structures. Their earlier mercantile fantasies however, of residents readily giving up their land in exchange for a prosperous Cape Coast, were never fulfilled as they still needed Government authority and funding to relocate homes. Because of the perceived religious uniformity of the Zongo and the expense associated with moving the entire Muslim entity, the settlement once again circumvented removal. For different reasons however, both Native merchants and Colonial Authorities began regarding the place with distaste. Not only was the Zongo unhygienic and organized by a foreign set of spiritual norms, but also poor with temporary structures. The Zongo had gone from being less marginalized at the margins, to more marginalized at the commercial center of their own making.

Transactional Segregation

At the urban scale, authority and commerce contributed to the increased marginalization of the Zongo in their attempt to dislocate the settlement due its foreign religious patterns and valuable real estate. While in some cases this took the spatial form of segregating one area from another, in other cases demolition and reconstruction were the primary means by which to accomplish the mission. At the geographical level, transactional segregation plays the major role in both Cape Coast's and the Zongo's increased marginalization during this period.

Though early twentieth century economic production in Cape Coast commenced with optimistic zeal in the witnessing of "a new machine for making bricks and tiles at Grant's Yard in which "ten bricks were being turned out in a very few minutes,"[107] it quickly turned sour as factories and companies so often written about in the local newspapers decided to either remain in Great Britain or open up shop in Accra or Sekondi (Figure11). Directed to the European, Christian consumer, British companies advertised for "cabin biscuits, fresh from a modern factory in Liverpool,[108] portable organs and harmoniums made to suit tropical climates fabricated in Birmingham,[109] and Jackson's felt

106 "Kotokoruba Land Discussion," Letters Between A Native Cape Coast Merchant And The District Commissioner dated 1924. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed January 2014.
107 *The Gold Coast Leader*, January 4, 1908.
108 *Gold Coast Leader*, September 4, 1920.
109 *Gold Coast Leader*, January 3, 1914.

Figure 12 Overland Motor Cars - Advertisement, *The Gold Coast Leader*, January 4, 1920

Figure 13 Map of the Development of the Gold Coast Railway, 1893-1929. Tsey, Christian E. (1986) Gold Coast Railways: The Making Of A Colonial Economy, 1879-1929. Phd Thesis.

Figure 14 The Anglo-French Boundary Settlement Mission to the Gold Coast. *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday, October 18, 1902.

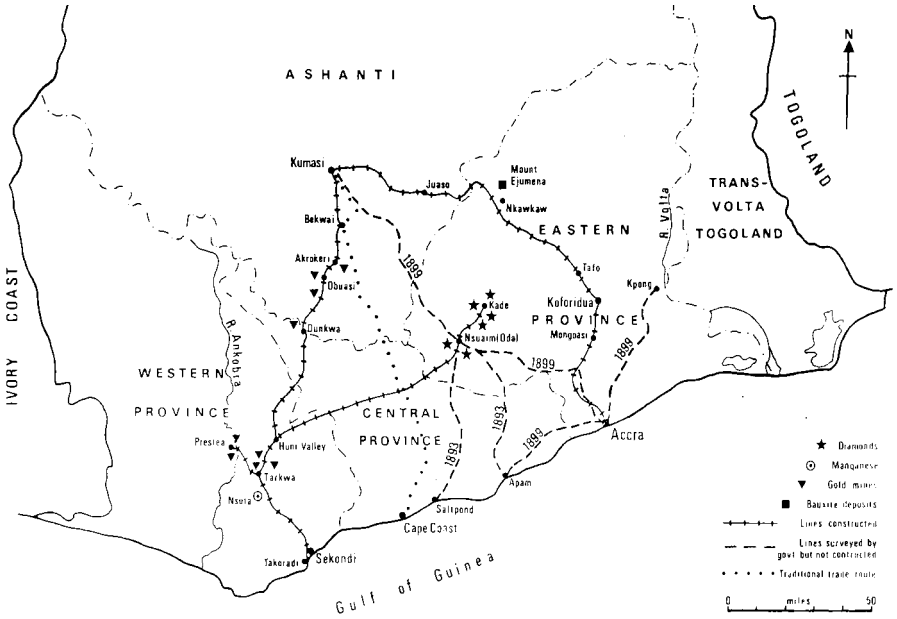

Figure 13

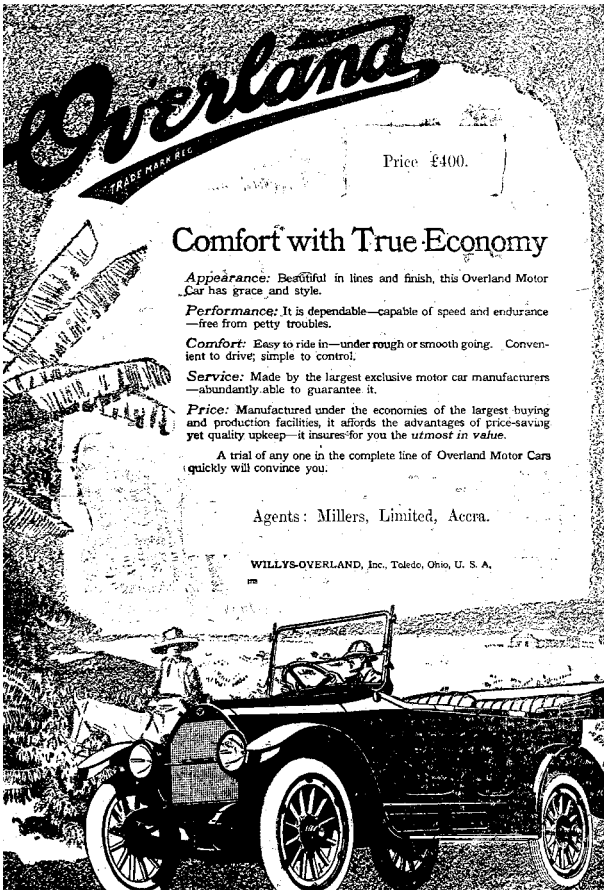

Figure 12

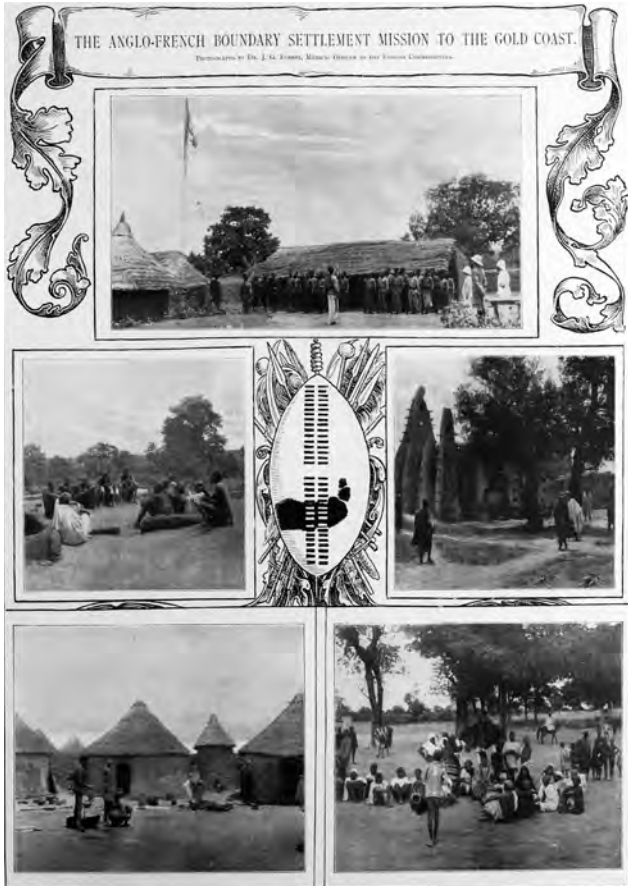

Figure 14

hats, tweed caps and leggings from Stockport.[110] Those companies that did initiate transactions in the Gold Coast were mainly focused either in the emerging motorcar industry in Accra[111] or the timber manufacturing in Sekondi[112] (Figure 12). Relegated to a short paragraph without images, ads for Cape Coast such as "E.J. Richard, art tailor and renovator" concerned the skills of an individual and not the mass production of a company.

Contributing to this increased difference in the social organization of commerce, Cape Coast traders complained of having no railway or "other adequate transportation facilities" to access the mahogany, palm products, kola, and other agricultural products growing in vast quantities in the central region north of the city.[113] As a Muslim trader explained to local authorities, "there are many kola nuts in the hinterlands of this town, where Mahommedans from this town and Saltpond usually proceed for purchasing the crops, but as lorry-traffic freight fares are always very expensive, we will be very thankful if your Excellency can be pleased to construct a railway tract from this town to the hinterlands where by our purchases may be conveyed with less expense."[114] In stark contrast, the Seat of Government built a railway for Sekondi in 1903 carrying timber, gold, and gold dust to its port.[115] [116] And just one year later, construction began on the Eastern Rail connecting Accra, the center of cocoa production to Kumasi, the capital of mining production[117] (Figure13). One Government official exclaimed, "The railway will be in Kumasi by the end of September for certain, therefore, all traders, should, rather are advised at Kumasi to divert their course to Sekondi and leave Cape Coast severely alone, to dwindle and to die! Heads of mercantile houses – even deputy departments of government offices so to speak, are all to be removed from Cape Coast to Sekondee and Accra anywhere but Cape Coast."[118] Thus, without a primary port linking the city to international trade or Gold Coast Government Railway[119] and other means of affordable transport connecting it to resources, Cape Coast and the Zongo settlement was cut off from more prosperous means of economic production and relegated to what was seen as more primitive means of trade from days gone by. A contributor to *The Gold Coast Leader* on May 4, 1912 invented a mocking, yet slightly wistful portraiture of trade before the "strenuous commercial age":

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110 *Gold Coast Leader*, January 13, 1912.
111 *Gold Coast Leader*, September 4, 1920.
112 Ad in *The Gold Coast Leader*, dated January 13, 1912.
113 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 4-11, 1922.
114 Letter From Maharma Musa Wojie, Head Chief of Mahommedans for All Mahommedans of Cape Coast And Salt Pond to the District Commissioner, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July, 2013.
115 *The Gold Coast Leader*, Saturday, April 7, 1906.
116 Tsey, Christian E. "Gold Coast Railways: The Making Of A Colonial Economy, 1879-1929". Phd diss., (University of Glasgow, 1986).
117 Tsey, Christian E. "Gold Coast Railways: The Making Of A Colonial Economy, 1879-1929". Phd diss., (University of Glasgow, 1986).
118 *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 6, 1903.
119 *The Gold Coast Leader*, May 6, 1905.

> *The romance of the African trade is fast dying. Before the advent of fast steamers, railways, typewriters, and all the unlovely things born of a strenuous commercial age, the African trader had an Arabian nights kind of glamour about his business, which must've been weirdly fascinating. Then the trader on the coast was an adventurer, who carried his life, literally speaking, and his hands every time he made a bargain…. What is euphemistically described as the days of the palm oil ruffian were days when the traitor Delighted his profits not paid units, but by hundreds. But these days belong to a bygone age, and before the black men of all from a stage of semi-savagedom to an astute observer in commercial affairs.*[120]

During this period therefore, the concepts of trade, bargaining, and travel by foot had become outdated and slanderously romanticized, yet the majority of merchants, Muslim and Fante in Cape Coast, had no choice but to engage in trade where and how they could. Instead of the thriving commercial seaport it had longed to be, Cape Coast, from its central position, became the subservient agricultural supply area to the more prosperous cities of Accra, Sekondi, and Kumasi at its and the Colony's margins.[121]

Lastly, the shared expansionist agenda initiated by Colonial Authority and Mercantalism in the late nineteenth century was realized by the end of this period. Whereas "trade is dull!"[122] was the typical refrain in Cape Coast and other small littoral towns, the "modern merchant cry was "northward, ho!"[123] as European officials and merchants, stocked with elixirs, tonics, and other medicinal remedies, abandoned the coast for a gold-dusted hinterland. An image from *The Illustrated London News* dated October 18, 1902, captures one of these journeys to the Hinterland – capturing landscape, building, and culture typologies along the way (Figure 14). This "peaceful penetration,"[124] as they called it, a euphemism for building infrastructure in exchange for land and resources in the hinterland, had a disturbingly familiar ring to it in its close parallel to the segregation, demolition and new visions desired by the Cape Coast Colonial Town Council and Native merchants.

Cultivating Land Ownership and a National Consciousness

Though the Aborigine Protection Society had first reared its head in response to the Colonial Administration's institution of the Land's Bill of 1897, in this period the Society both expanded its

120 *The Gold Coast Leader*, April 4, 1914.
121 *The Gold Coast Leader*, May 4, 1912.
122 *The Gold Coast Leader*, October 3, 1903.
123 *The Gold Coast Leader*, September 2, 1905.
124 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 1, 1906.

defense of Native land affairs and encouraged the development of a distinct African identity[125] – one tinged with nostalgia and a rising national consciousness. To carry out this ambitious project, the Society tactfully engaged with the Colonial Government on a Colony level and with religious educational institutions at the Municipal level. In both cases, their agenda was grounded in agriculture – to strengthen the tie between soil and soul, physical activity and mental awareness, and earthly and spiritual realms.[126] Since according to one Native, "nature had planted them in this part of the world,"[127] the Society worked with the Colonial Government to establish "botanic stations," "experimental stations," and "model farms"[128] that would function as transportable agricultural advertisements used to entice Natives into the agricultural industry. In addition, the Society encouraged the most devoted students from religious educational institutions on the coast to learn the cocoa-industry at the capital. Furthermore, primary schools were required to introduce vernacular industrial and agricultural training into their curriculum.[129] To reward agricultural triumphs, display the Colony's successes, and encourage a productive competition, the Colony organized Agricultural exhibitions in Cape Coast, Kumasi, and even London throughout this period.[130] Thus, the Society's and Colonial Government's agendas coalesced on agricultural terms as well as on religious terms. While the Society desired to foster an African identity rooted in the soil, the Colonial Government preached their "crusade, 'Back to the Soil'," to augment agricultural production and profit margins.

Where their agendas did not align however, was in "the land question." In *The Gold Coast Leader* in 1910, one Native explained,

> *From all parts of the country enquiries come to us for information about the progress of the Land question… The Authorities are lying low for the present on the matter… The West African native knows what ownership of land means. He knows the value of land being under his own possession and immediate control and is keenly interested and concerned in any attempt of the Government to tamper with his land.*[131]

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125 The Society established the Fanti Constitution, (*The Gold Coast Leader*, August 4, 1906),
The National Congress of Africans of British West Africa (*The Gold Coast Leader*, January 7, 1922),
Fanti Public School System (*The Gold Coast Leader*, January 2, 1904) and The Fante Customary Laws (*The Gold Coast Leader*, April 6-27, 1918).
126 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 3, 1904.
127 *The Gold Coast Leader*, September 2, 1905.
128 *The Gold Coast Leader*, December 5, 1908.
129 Note: approximately 37% of the curriculum in rural schools was to be devoted to agriculture and 44% of the curriculum in urban schools. *The Gold Coast Leader*, July 3, 1909.
130 *The Gold Coast Leader*, September 2, 1905.
131 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 1, 1913.

Even though Governor Guggisberg declared that the land was "owned by the people," the Native's opinion and the Forest Bill, constituted in 1911, suggested otherwise. On October 20, 1910, the legislative council read the objects of the Bill:

> *+To establish forest reserves, their conservation and management.*
> *+To acquire land for a forest reserve.*
> *+For the colonial secretary to grant concessions, leases or licenses on behalf of the owner or owners*
> *+To sell, purchase, possess and export such produce.*[132]

In addition, the Bill noted that all lands were to be at the disposal of the Government. In other words, the Government had the capacity to pay native owners for use of their lands and that all "wastelands", those not used by the public, were to become reserves.[133] The term "reserve" for the Colonial Government therefore, was not about environmental preservation, but about controlling inventory and safeguarding capital. In retort, a Native writing from Cape Coast in 1911 explained,

> *There is no such ownerless land on the Gold Coast, nor as far as I know, anywhere in West Africa. Practically everywhere of land in the Gold Coast colony is owned either by a stool by a family or by an individual. Stool land is communal land and is possessed by the whole tribe, and the orders of the chief of the tribe have to be obeyed with regard to it… The members of the tribe are allowed to take up and cultivate any unoccupied piece of land, with the previous consent of the chief and elders. But the land is inalienable and on the death of the occupant, it reverts back to the tribe.*[134]

As inferred by this statement, tensions between Native and European ideologies concerning land ownership, land use, and distribution of resources caused increased agitation during this period. Since other forms of commercial enterprise had deserted Cape Coast for Accra, Sekondi, and Kumasi, the Society and Town Council in Cape Coast endorsed the Gold Coast Colony's agricultural agenda with a particular rigor and passion. Both authorities encouraged Natives to follow Hon. J.P. Brown's advice to "plant palms everywhere"[135] and to plant cassava and corn along the seaboard.[136] While both the Society and Council hoped that adopting such measures would bring the town (and themselves) economic prosperity, the Society further manipulated this agenda as way to gain loyalty and respect from the Fantes by sympathizing with the African identity. On July 4, 1908, a Native gratefully said,

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132 *The Gold Coast Leader*, February 4, 1911.
133 "Memorandum: Cape Coast Improvements" April 18th, 1913, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
134 *The Gold Coast Leader*, October 7-28, 1911.
135 *The Gold Coast Leader,* July 4, 1908.
136 *The Gold Coast Leader*, April 3, 1909.

We rejoice that there is to be a move by the Aborigine Society who, by its commercial section with the cooperation of the Cape Coast Chamber of Commerce, made soft measures for watching and fostering the development and ensuring the purity of produce exported from the town.[137]

To plant "methodically and systematically", "care for the plants as they should be, and attain "beautiful results" however, the Society and Town Council insisted that the agricultural industry needed to be learned in the renowned Cape Coast schools. Fortified with a growing national spirit, a newspaper correspondent reiterated, "The great aptitude for Agriculture now shown by our young men from Secondary Schools is an encouraging sign of the greatness of the nation's future. With their mental picks and shovels so well sharpened at School, these future builders of the country will find no difficulty in making our rich soil yield the best of which it is capable."[138] Whereas before, Colonial Authorities and Missionaries had developed curriculums of a jointly spiritual and civilizing nature with an outcome of moral commercial success, with the Society's input, the mission and outcome were recalibrated. Thus, the Society replaced the Colonial Government's term "civilizing" with "national consciousness" and the Colonial Government's term "Commercial" with "Agriculture". Even though these changes were subtle and predominantly in line with the Colonial Government's mission, the Society used education as a means by which to gain authority and ultimately challenge Colonial Authorities later on. In terms of land ownership, it was still unclear who had the right to what land and under what conditions in Cape Coast. Without a clear Colony-wide policy, the Town Council instigated local regulations by which to gain "rightful" ownership over desirable land.

For the Cape Coast Zongo, the cultivation of a native consciousness in combination with agricultural production and rights to land ownership generated increased socio-spatial challenges. Because the educational institutions, still closely affiliated with Christianity, were the primary means by which agricultural skills were introduced, the residents of the Zongo chose not to participate due to their religious orientation. In addition, since most of the Zongo resident livelihoods were founded in trade at this point, the introduction of agriculture as the primary means of economic production in Cape Coast was a challenge. Whereas trade had not required land ownership or knowledge of local production techniques, agriculture required both. Even so, early on when Hausa-town still operated as an autonomous entity, many traders picked up farming and eventually "made their living out of farming." In January 2014, one resident recalled his father's days in farming, "just like their religion, they used to come together over farming. They would discuss these communal places."[139]

137 *The Gold Coast Leader*, July 4, 1908.
138 *The Gold Coast Leader,* January 22, 1916.
139 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.

"Every day," he explained, "we would go to the farm and bring back cabbage carrots cassava and coconut. It used to just be a path, not a road.[140] Later in this period however, with increased interest in Kotokuraba's strategic location on the expanding Commercial Street, Colonial Authorities pushed the farms further outside of town – requiring the Zongo resident to either walk long distances to the farm or to rent land for cultivating on Government Land for a small annual fee.[141] If they chose the latter however, they were limited to growing the resources chosen by the Government - cassava, yam, corn, and ground-nuts – some of the least desirable resources as compared to the more popular exports of cocoa, kola nuts, palm kernels, palm oil, rubber, and guinea grains.[142] Thus, more than ever before, the authorities (Aborigines' Society and Town Council), bound together by similar religious and economic goals, used agriculture and land ownership to push the Zongo more towards the socio-spatial margins than the previous period. In 1910, the editor of *The Gold Coast Leader* wrote,

> *Who can tell what Cape Coast shall become 10 years hence with the young ones dreaming dreams and the oldsters seeing visions? The seeds of industry in the church as well as in the world are being scientifically and strenuously sewn everywhere…*[143]

In summary, with the shift of the colonial capital to Accra in 1877 and the official establishment of The Gold Coast British Colony in 1901, this second period exhibits major changes in British policy and spatial hierarchies for Cape Coast and the Zongo settlement. Though the colony constructed new roads and rails connecting gold mines, salt fields, and rainforests to its important cities and ports, Cape Coast did not benefit from this new infrastructure and was relegated to the margins.

In addition, with the dawn of a "pathological era" and in the name of sanitation, the British culturally segregated themselves from the diseased native. While European construction, primarily regional administration offices, hugged the coastline along an east-west axis, native commercial enterprises followed a north-south trajectory along what would later be called Commercial Street. Where their beliefs and spaces converged however was the Church, the lungs of the city.

This shared space became the center for not only religious education, but also training in agriculture that simultaneously planted the seeds of nationalism. The Muslim-Northerners however, were spiritually segregated from church and economy. Rather than encourage integration, the British awarded the ex-Hausa soldiers with an uncultivated, distinctively Muslim landscape at the margins

140 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
141 Agreement Between The Honourable Commissioner, Central Province And Sey Wangara, Chief of the Wangaras dated October, 1925. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
142 *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 1, 1907.
143 *The Gold Coast Leader*, November 5, 1910.

of the city that the British would christen Zongo. Thus, this period marks increased marginalization for the Zongo on religious, economic, and spatial terms. Furthermore, with rising nationalist sentiments, Zongo residents came to be seen as "not of this soil" and thus their relationship with both land and native became increasingly tenuous.

V. NATIONALISM, BUREAUCRACY, AND PLANNING: AT THE CENTER OF THE MARKET

V. NATIONALISM, BUREAUCRACY, AND PLANNING: AT THE CENTER OF THE MARKET

This third historical chapter covers the period 1927-1957, beginning with the Native Administration Ordinance and ending with the proclamation of Ghana's Independence on March 6, 1957. With the passing of the Ordinance, the voices of the Aborigines' Protection Society[1] faded away in favor of new robust Native voices emerging out the Town and Native Councils and Committees. In addition, the distressed voices of the Zongo community, primarily expressed through the Sirikin Chief Zongo[2], become more pronounced and numerous during this period. Perhaps the most dominant of these voices to surface however, is that of the nation-state. Though not always overtly pronounced in the array of letters and legal cases that monopolize the evidence of this period, the State reveals its desire to protect, legitimize, and validate Great Britain's claims to town and territory in the execution of modern town planning schemes. Along with the State's desire to sharpen and define geo-political boundaries on these plans however, Native Authorities overlaid their own visions of a nascent Nation – one with a dominant culture, tribe, and descent. Though for the most part Nation and State engaged with one another directly, the Zongo settlement confused, complicated, and trespassed across what could have been a neatly delineated Nation-State scheme. Thus, this chapter examines how Authorities – Native and British – crafted multiple Cape Coast town planning schemes, some of which coincide and others that diverge, to achieve grander visions of State and Nation. To accomplish such lofty "modern" visions on a local level, these schemes required simultaneously a flourishing economy through which to fund and showcase these projects as well as a modified ideology promoting individualism defined and limited by the bureaucratic state. Before examining how these town planning efforts were carried out in Cape Coast and how they pushed the Zongo into a more marginalized socio-spatial position, it is important to first detail the relationships among the authorities and the nature of the schemes at local and state levels.

Town and Country Planning Ordinance

While Cape Coast's urban transformations in the previous period could be characterized as piecemeal in the way the Town Council and Native Merchants demolished, altered and reconstructed segments of the town without a shared comprehensive vision, in this period planning becomes highly

1 By this time the Aborigines' Protection Society had become more focused in Anti-Slavery than citizen rights. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aborigines'_Protection_Society. Accessed March 24, 2014.

2 The Sirikin Zongo's leadership position was encouraged (if not created by) the colonial administration. This is my own observation from the archival correspondence in this period between the Sirikin Zongo and Chief Commissioner.

centralized and bureaucratic. At its initial stages, the Native Administration Ordinance clarified and bolstered the role of the Native Council with respect to its administrative and judicial powers. Rather than its previous subordinate and superficial position as tribal head, the Council was now responsible not only for maintaining local law, order, and general welfare of the town, but also "to deliberate national legislation."[3] Furthermore, under the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1945[4], the Government established a Town Planning Committee of which Native membership comprised nearly half of its members. According to the "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast", document dated 1947, Cape Coast's committee included:

1. *The District Commissioner (Chairman)*
2. *The Medical Officer of Health, ex-officio*
3. *The District Engineer, ex-officio*
4. *Nominee of the Cape Coast Town Council*
5. *Nominee of the Cape Coast Town Council*
6. *Nominee of the Oguaa Native Authority*
7. *Nominee of the Oguaa Native Authority*
8. *The Representative of the Chamber of Commerce*[5]

Thus, under British direction, Native authorities began not only taking control of political and judicial matters in Cape Coast, but also steering its socio-spatial development.

With this increase in Native authority however, also came a highly systematic, centralized form of Government in which the State's voice drowned out that of local authorities. Integral to the agenda of developing a singular voice of the Gold Coast, was that of fabricating its matching image. Town planning, therefore, replaced sanitation as the primary means by which Colonial Authorities would achieve its goals. In 1945, the Central Board of Health in Accra became the Office of the Town and Country Planning Board.[6] Rather than earlier planning attempts addressing "island sites" that were described as "uncoordinated", "spasmodic in origin", and exuding a "dullness, drabness, and lack of character,"[7] the Board sought to develop comprehensive long-term schemes that could be

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3 Kathryn Firmin-Sellers. *The Transformation of Property Rights in the Gold Coast: an Empirical Study Applying National Choice Theory*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2007), 48.
4 It is important to note that the Town and Country Planning Ordinances and Schemes executed in the Gold Coast during this period closely align with Britain's before and after World War II. (ie: Town and Country Planning Act, 1932; New Towns Act, 1946, and Town and Country Planning Act, 1947).
5 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast," 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
6 The Board, composed of six to eight members, included the director of medical services, the director of public works, the commissioner of lands and other ex-officio representatives, and Native authorities. "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast" Document, 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
7 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast" Document, 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

Figure 1 Map of Cape Coast - Reference No. X1843/16. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed March 28, 2014.

Figure 2 "Cape Coast Town Boundary", 1944. Reference No. Y 54.C. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.

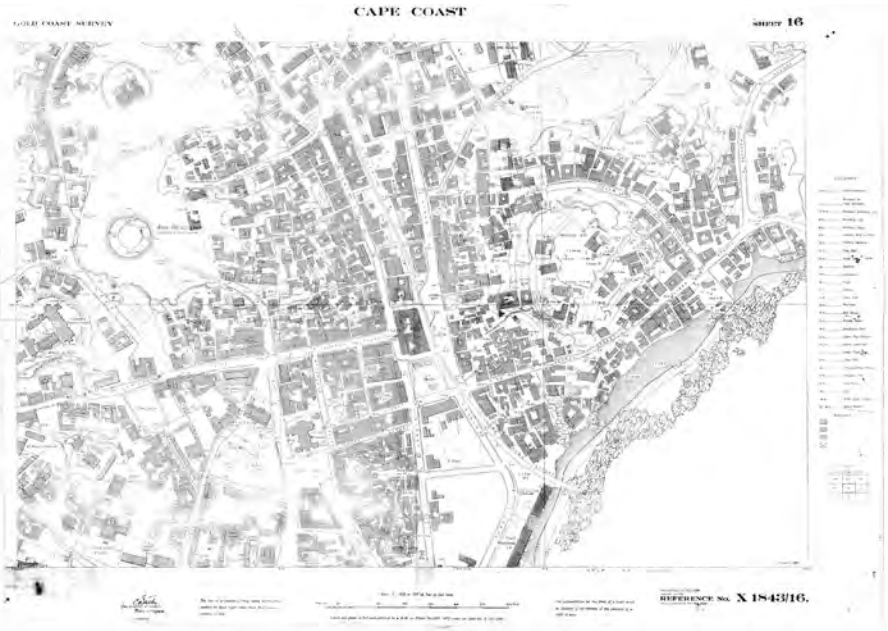

Figure 1

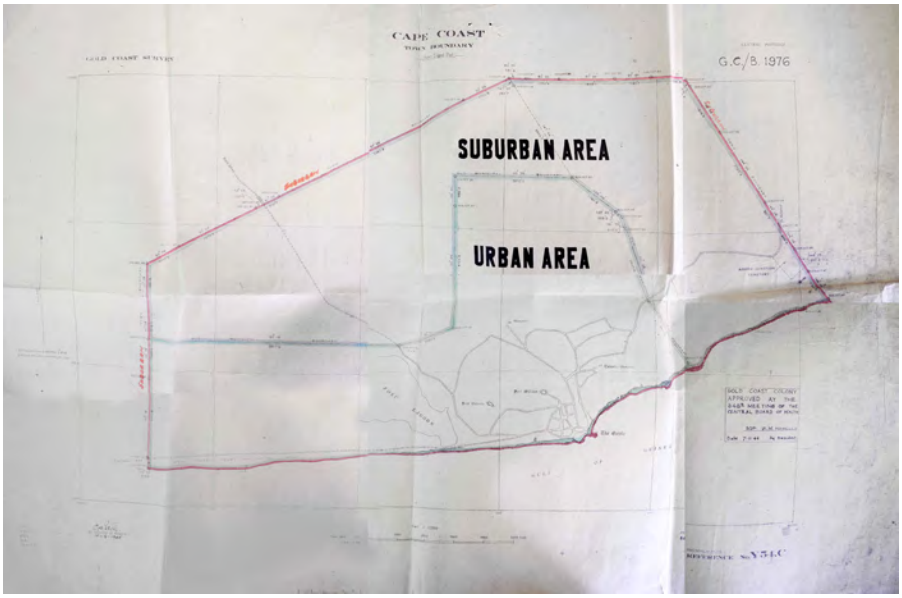

Figure 2

sub-divided into two distinct groups – country/regional or town planning.[89] The town planning component was then divided into the planning of undeveloped areas and the re-planning of built-up areas which was then further subdivided into either slum clearance and re-housing or street widening and improvement.[10] Although other towns were to be incorporated in the future, Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, and Sekondi-Takoradi were the first areas to receive Town Planning Committees who worked with the Board to develop "statutory schemes" that included "plans, details of the reservation of lands, zoning of the towns for various purposes and of the restrictions and controls."[11] Instead of a short-term fix, these schemes were intended take 20 to 50 years to complete[12] and thus required the ability to adapt to "the implications of modern invention" and "new ways of life."[13] The British and native Authorities alike therefore, viewed the schemes as "machinery" – an enduring regulatory system with shiny replaceable parts.[14]

Cape Coast's Town Planning Scheme

On the 28th of January 1946, "the Cape Coast Planning Area was constituted by order Number 10."[15] Prior to this highly anticipated announcement however, the fervent Provisionary Planning Committee, with the help of Native surveyors, draftsmen and building inspectors, had already completed a detailed town survey.[16] As if staking claim to the territory, the Committee designed a dimpled, triangulated landscape of concrete pillars from which to extract topography, distances between settlements, building dimensions, and even building quality.[17] Though British authorities had developed town maps prior to this survey, this was the first time a map claimed to have objectively and scientifically captured the entirety of Cape Coast's existing physical condition (Figure 1). With the survey in hand, the Board carved out both "the Cape Coast planning area" and the "Cape Coast Town Planning Scheme". While the collection of archival maps found do not explicitly label these zones, it could be surmised that they closely match the "Suburban Area" outlined in pink and the "Urban Area" outlined in blue as shown the Cape Coast Town Boundary map dated 1944 (Figure 2). Though not labeled, the Zongo settlements were not just located on the edge of this Planning Scheme, but in its very center.

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8 ADM 23 3815, Cape Coast Regional Archives, January, 2014.
9 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast," 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
10 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast", 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
11 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast", 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
12 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast" Document, 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
13 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast" Document, 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
14 "Town and Country Planning in the Gold Coast", 1947. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
15 Supplement to Gold Coast Gazette No. 13, p. 9, February, 28, 1946.
16 Note that the survey started in 1940 and was completed in 1944. Cape Coast Contour Survey Letter dated 1940 to the Director of Surveys, Accra form the Honourable Commissioner of The Central Province. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
17 As shown in the 1938 comprehensive survey of Cape Coast.

Figure 3 "Graphische Darstellung der Basler Missions Stationen auf der Goldküste, West Africa - Beilage zum Gesundheits Bericht des Arztes", 1933, http://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100201205, Accessed March 28, 2014.

Figure 4 Survey of Cape Coast, Kotokuraba Market Area with Sketches Over Top. 1938. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

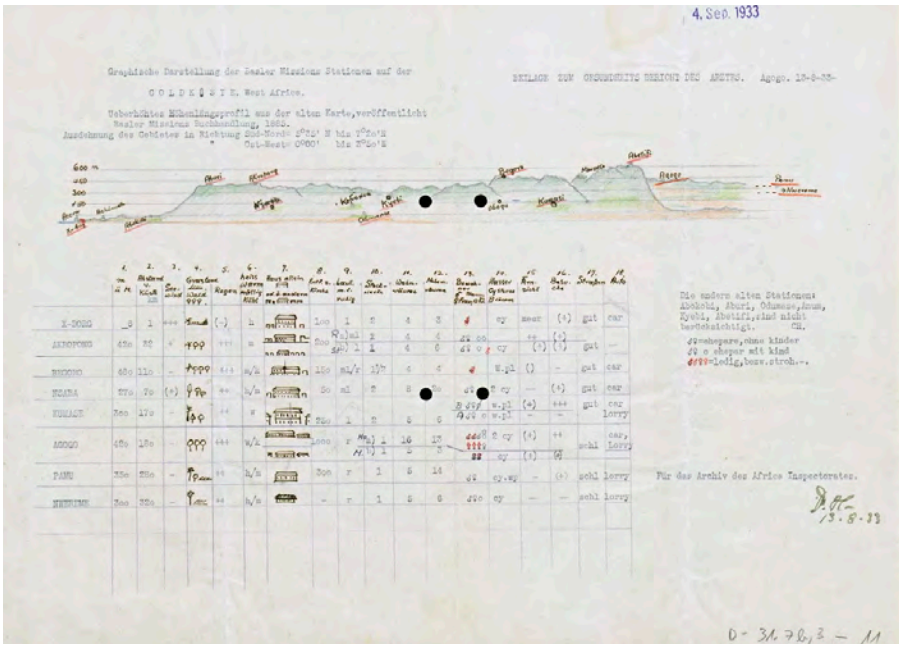

Figure 3

Figure 4

Within the boundaries of the "scheme", the Board characterized existing types of construction and their uses. For example, a "slum clearance area" was defined as "an area within which in the opinion of the board the narrowness, closeness and battery demand are the bad condition of the streets and houses within the area, for the want of light, air, ventilation or proper conveniences any other sanitary defects, or one or more of such causes, are dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants either of the buildings in the area of the neighborhood."[18] In addition, other types and uses included: "Dwelling Houses" defined as houses designed for a single family; "Noxious Industrial Buildings" defined as buildings designed for the carrying out of offensive trades; "Places of Amusement" defined as a billiard saloon, skating rink, swimming bath, cinema, etc. and stores defined as buildings for the purposes of carrying out retail trade. Moreover, the Board among other authorities also categorized and rated existing types based upon aesthetic qualities such as size, proportions, access to gardens, and location. For example, the table created by Basel Missionaries in 1933 assigns particular characteristics to houses in different towns (Figure 3). The "haus alien" however, the smallest of these types situated at the top of column 7 is not matched with any particular town.

As Cape Coast Authorities appropriated these Schemes therefore, they consciously assigned particular building types and areas to social and economic programming. For example, "private open spaces" with "ornamental gardens" colored dark green and "European residential areas" colored yellow and edged in brown were shown in close proximity to one another on a hill (Figure 4). Rather than the more fluid and malleable categorization and modes of representation used in previous periods, Cape Coast's planning authorities not only coupled specific "approved" programming with approved building types, but also fastened them to a particular set of fixed coordinates on the plan. If one needed to alter programming or building configurations, the Planning Board and Committee required proper documentation, lengthy procedures, and certified approvals.[19] For the Zongo in particular, these rigid socio-spatial definitions and procedures, founded in the European "modern" canon, produced particular economic and religious challenges as will be demonstrated in the subsequent sections.

Centers Of Economic Production

Defining and Securing Valuable Real Estate

Though improved sanitation and the need for a "modern" town layout were common rationalizations used for the Cape Coast Town Planning schemes, both Native and British Authorities ultimately wanted to use the schemes as a way to acquire and secure valuable real estate. Their motives however,

18 Cape Coast Town Planning Scheme (1949 – estimate), Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
19 Cape Coast Town Planning Scheme (1949 – estimate), Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

Figure 5 Map of Antem, Cape Coast, 1943. Reference No. Y 545.A. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.

Figure 6 Survey of Cape Coast [area to the west of the castle], 1938. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

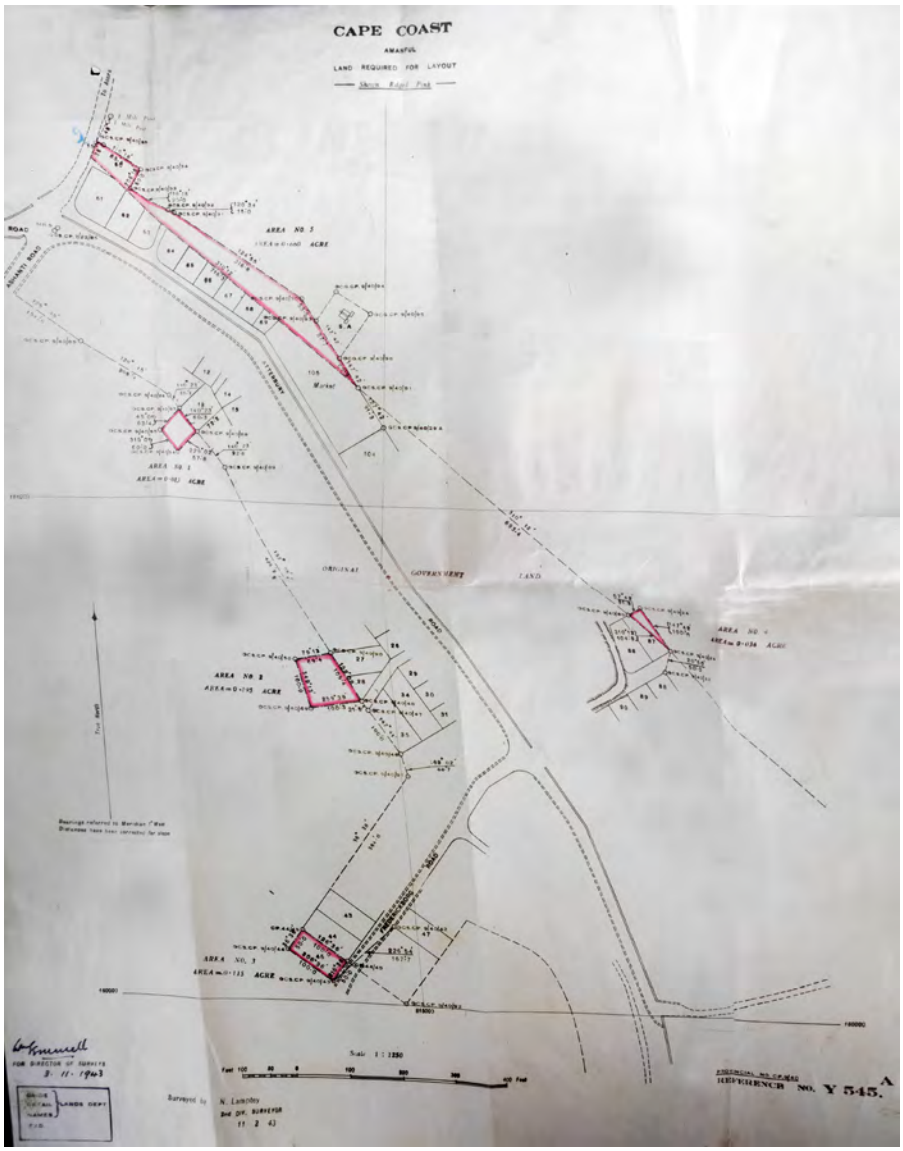

Figure 5

Figure 6

were different. While the Native Authorities yearned to prove their right to real estate and take back what was theirs by customary law, the Colonial Government wanted to both buy up more real estate to invest both in property with revenue return and in the Colony's "modern" image and create clear boundaries between what was theirs and what was not. In 1938, a letter addressed to The President of the Cape Coast Town Council stated the Government's reasons for the "present bad situation":

> *a. Owing to the topography of the ground the land suitable for building is limited and the center of the town has become badly congested.*
> *b. Private ownership of individual sites and absence of sufficient government or stool land for town planning purposes.*
> *c. Due to the absence of town planning in the past no system has been followed in the erection of buildings unless those constructed in recent years where buildings have followed the line of existing roads and it would be very difficult to work in a system of modern town planning without the demolition of a greater part of the centre of town.*
> *d. The poverty of the people.*[20]

To ameliorate these unfavorable conditions, the Board and Town Council developed a "skeleton town planning scheme" that included the Government's acquisition of "large areas within the Municipal boundary suitable for building", temporary or permanent housing layouts for those people removed from congested areas, and new modern building plans replacing the old ruinous ones[21] (Figure 5). For the Government, therefore, the purpose of real estate acquisition had more to do with securing their tenure in The Gold Coast and developing a recognizable image of the State. Thus, the economic "centers" with the highest real estate value for the Government comprised of two images: the ancient, romanticized fortifications facing the coastline as shown in the 1938 bounded survey and the newly cleared land at the quiet outer bounds of the city that was ripe for the construction of private bungalows and proud institutions (Figure 6). Near the Castle, the areas that received the most attention were those of Low Town and Bentail.[22] After sending "the dangerous building committee" to inspect these areas in 1939, a Town Council member reported, "The only way to improve the present condition is by clearing the entire area and laying the land in plots. I think it should be made possible to start a building scheme…"[23] Thus, the systematic plans for

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20 Letter about housing and planning in Cape Coast dated April 13, 1939 to the President, Cape Coast Town Council, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
21 Letter about housing and planning in Cape Coast dated April 13, 1939 to the President, Cape Coast Town Council, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
22 "Congested Areas – Cape Coast," Letter dated March 3, 1939 from Municipal Offices, The Castle, Cape Coast to The President, Cape Coast Town Council, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
23 "Congested Areas – Cape Coast," Letter dated March 3, 1939 from Municipal Offices, The Castle, Cape Coast to The President, Cape Coast Town Council, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 7 "Plan Referred to Cape Coast Planning Scheme" CP. NO 2089. 1945. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

Figure 8 "Cape Coast. Proposed New Store & Showroom. For Messr. UTC", 1937. Basel Missionary Archives, http://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100204135, Accessed March 28, 2014.

Figure 9 "Cape Coast Plan of Motor Dept," 1937. Basel Missionary Archives. www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100204140?output=pdf. Accessed March 28, 2014.

Figure 10 "Cape Coast, Proposed Lorry Park Site at Elmina Road" 1939. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 11 "Cape Coast, Site for Christ Church," Plan No. Ski. L.D. 356/4236 dated . Scale: 1:1250, 1937. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 12 "Proposed New Bungalow for Messers U.T.C. Cape Coast," Basel Missionary Archives. www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100204133?output=pdf." Accessed March 28, 2014.

Figure 13 Drawing of Bungalow for the Union Trading Co, Cape Coast, 1932, Basel Mission Archives. http://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100204139. Accessed May 5, 2014.

Figure 7

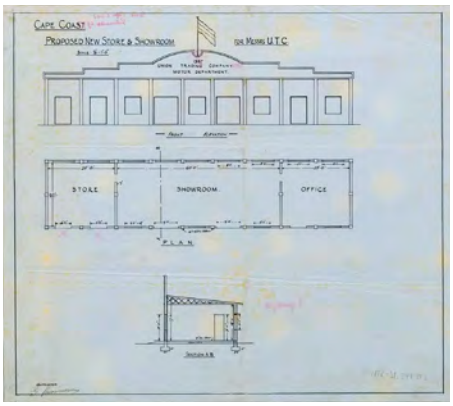

Figure 8

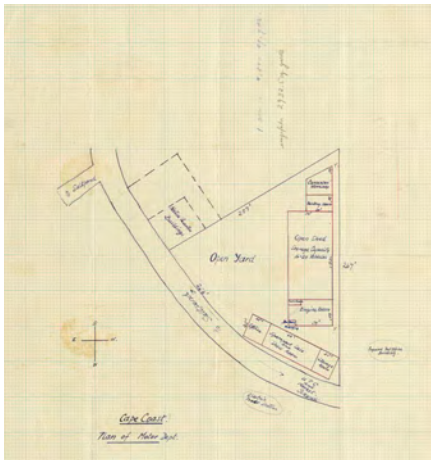

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

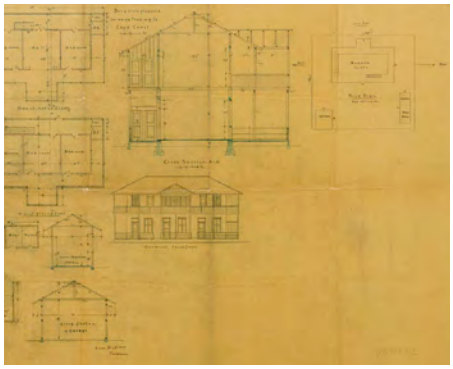
Figure 13

removal and relocation of people in Cape Coast began here along the sea. By 1945, 130 plans had been passed to replace the demolished buildings.[24]While the Council expected 1/3 of these residents could afford to return, the remainder would be housed in flats outside the town.[25]

Thus, the congested "backwards areas" obstructing the Government's "view" of its real estate, were removed without resident consent. Fortunately for the Zongo settlements during this time, the views overlooking Kotokuraba were listed at the very bottom of the page and a layout capturing views from Prospect Hill was as close as they came[26] (Figure 7). In addition to the preservation of old images of wealth and prestige at the cost of settlement relocation, the Government's agenda also entailed promoting the Gold Coast's modern image. Since Cape Coast had long been the center for secondary education, the Government invested in pure, unoccupied sites at the outskirts of the city upon which to construct proud academic institutions such as the Abrem Catholic Middle School, Roman Catholic School, and Adisadel College.[27][28]In addition, the Government inserted smaller modern showpieces along main streets to demonstrate the State's modern aesthetic and economic prowess. Located across from the Zongo mosque for example, was the Union Trading Corporation's modern art deco building, composed of a large showroom flanked by a store and an office.[29] A precise scaled, blueprint of the building boasting dimensions to the nearest inch, further attests to the Government's increased concern with definition, precision and planning (Figures 8-9). Though few vehicles were probably purchased at this location due to Cape Coast's poor economic condition, the building was in service to the State, not the town. Other plans included a lorry station and Christ Church situated along the coast (Figures10-11).

Aside from preserving old images and generating new modern ones that invited public viewing, the Government was equally concerned with designing exclusive bungalows whose image could only be viewed by a privileged few (Figures 12-13). Tucked into distant hills labeled "A", "B" or "C" and at times pirating agricultural land,[30] these extravagant bungalows for European staff became more secluded and autonomous than the European segregation areas constructed decades earlier. A concerned note on a site plan states, "Great attention must be given to the position of Bungalow

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24 Minutes of the first meeting of the Provisional Planning Committee held at this District Engineer's office, Public Works Department, Wednesday, December 5, 1945 at 3pm. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
25 Method for Relocation, notes from JW McIntyre, European Building Inspector. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
26 ADM 23 714, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
27 Development Summary, p. 2, December 31, 1954, #1535. Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed January 2014.
28 ADM23, 2426, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
29 "Proposed Hausa Zongo - Cape Coast," Letter dated February 18, 1944 from the Sirikin Zongo to the District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
30 Minutes of the first meeting of the Provisional Planning Committee held at this District Engineer's office, Public Works Department, Wednesday, December 5, 1945 at 3pm. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 14 "Cape Coast Site Plan, Traces from Sheet No. 808-160." A traced plan by an anonymous Zongo resident of a 1938 survey map. Provided to Emily Williamson in July 2013.

Figure 15 Map of Cape Coast - Reference No. X618. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 14

Figure 15

drives to ensure the maximum amount of privacy to the occupant, generally the drive should be kept the maximum distance from the bungalow, the sketch below gives the general principles to be observed." Even though these images and views were exhibited in the local Cape Coast economy, they were manufactured for the Colonial State.

Legitimizing the Right to Valuable Real Estate

Whereas these European exhibits occurred outside the Zongo settlements' purview along the coastline or outskirts of the city, the construction of Kotokuraba Market in 1931,[31] a joint venture of British and Native Authorities, was different and would ironically cause increased socio-spatial marginalization for the Zongo settlements. Originally, the Town Council had constructed the market close to Victoria Park for the very reasons it was never used. In 1927, a defeated British Town Council representative lamented,

> *An excellent site for a market for Cape Coast was chosen several years ago and sheds were constructed. Some of the more turbulent members of the community, for reasons which is quite impossible to understand, demolished these sheds and the market has never been occupied except by butchers. As a result small markets appear to be held in different quarters of the town at the will of the market sellers and results from a public health standpoint leave a good deal to be desired. The writer was shown a site for a new market in Cape Coast at Kotokuraba Square. This area is small, lies below the level of some of the roads skirting it, is to the leeward of the busy, dusty Cape Coast – Salt Pond Road, is incapable of expansion should Cape Coast increase in size after the advent of the pipe-borne water supply and is close to African and habitations. From the public health standpoint the site is far less satisfactory than the site originally selected years ago.*[32]

Though Zongo residents had described Kotokuraba a century earlier as a swampy area infested with crabs and teeming with evil spirits, "By this time", a resident explained, "The Zongo became the center of the town."[33] This same resident showed me a map he traced from a survey during this period (Figure 14). Another resident added, "After the Zongo was developed the Fantes wanted to take it from us. The Zongo always develops places. It is always a commercial area around the Zongo."[34] At the end of the day therefore, the British reluctantly funded the construction of the triangular-shaped Market at Kotokuraba. While for the British Authorities this location was a compromise, for the Native Authorities it was ideal – at the center of both economic production and

31 ADM23, 2426, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
32 Note about "Public Health" dated 1927, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
33 An informal conversation with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
34 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.

their town[35] (Figure 15). Even though distinct areas zoned for either Native or European had always existed in Cape Coast, this was the first time that a Native economic center became a visual marker and vied for just as much attention as the Castle.

With the construction of the new market, Kotokuraba real estate skyrocketed and the Zongo settlements, once located at the undesirable margins, now occupied the most valuable property in Cape Coast. Since the Government had less interest in this Native section of town, already occupied a large rectangular property on the hill north of the market, and had higher priorities when it came to slum relocation, the District Commissioner played the mediating role between the Zongo's desire to stay at the center of economic production and the Native Authorities ambition to seize it. Just before the erection of the new market in 1929, the Commissioner wrote to Chief Mama Shimilla of the Hausa Zongo,

> *I have the honor to inform you of the desirability of correcting better buildings in order that no cause may be given to persons who desire to build good houses on the site of the present Zongo in view of the new market being erected in Kotokuraba now to press their claims by pointing out the present condition of some of the Hausa's houses.*[36]

Just one month later and most likely before Zongo residents had begun renovations, an eager wealthy Native Merchant eying the prized Zongo real estate wrote to the District Commissioner,

> *In view of the new market at Kotokuraba…well-to do persons would like to build better homes in Kotokuraba where the Hausa squatters have erected temporary mud huts. Can the question of a new Hausa Zongo be taken up again sir?*[37]

While relocating the Zongo was not entirely out of the question and would resurface in the Town Council's meeting minutes on a regular basis, the District Commissioner viewed the relocation of the Zongo as a "costly affair"[38] and one that needed the Chief Zongo's approval. Though at times letters from the Zongo community expressed interest in moving to a new site, most reinforced their desire to stay. In a letter dated 1930 to Joseph Cooke, presumably the owner of a commercial enterprise, an indignant Chief Zongo wrote,

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35 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
36 Letter dated June 13, 1929 to Chief Mama Shimilla, Hausa Zongo, Cape Coast to Acting District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
37 Letter dated May 22, 1929 from P.T.O. to the Commissioner of Central Province, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
38 Letter dated May 22, 1929 from P.T.O. to the Commissioner of Central Province, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.

Dear Sir,

Owing to your recent troubles of claiming lands at Kotokraba, we the Hausa Community at Cape Coast beg to inform you that you have no lands at Kotokraba. Please note that as your Ancestors came to Cape Coast and met it in thick bush and ploughed it and stayed on. So we too met Kotokaraba in thick bush and had the place cleaned and stayed on the lands for over a Century and no one ever troubled us.

Now as you see that Kotokraba is improving and a Market is being built, then you start to claim Kotokraba lands as yours.

Please note further that you have no land at Kotokraba, but if you insist you may carry it further and we will follow you.[39]

Over time, the threats to the Zongo settlements only increased in number and intensity. Rather than asking permission to purchase the real estate, Native Authorities began claiming ownership of the property. In a letter to the Commissioner's Office dated 1939, the Head Fiekessim Ebiradzie Tribe pleaded,

Sir, I beg most respectively to apply through you to the Honourable Provincial Commissioner, to be good enough as to kindly ask the Chief of the Wangaras to quit from my land at Kotokuraba with his people and I will give them a place to stay at Adisadel village via Essudu.[40]

And, in yet another adamant letter, the Omanhene of Cape Coast, also a member on the Town and Country Planning Committee, voiced his right to this important commercial property,

It is the intention of my Stool Family to clear a slum at Kotokuraba area measuring 300'x300' out of the portion of the Paramount Stool land to enable a commercial firm to be established thereon. This land was given to ex-soldiers by the Government on application to the Omanhene of Cape Coast at a time when these men needed immediate assistance in respect to accommodation on the clear understanding that they would clear there from whenever the land is required by my family.

There are certain houses, most of them swish-built and thatched roofed, situated on the area in question and a list consisting of the names of the owners is attached hereto.

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39 "Sarikin Zongo's House", Letter dated November 11, 1930 to Joseph Cooke, Cape Coast from Sarikin Zongo's House. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.

40 Housing and Planning in Cape Coast, Letter dated June 11, 1939 from Head Fiekessim Ebiradzie Tribe to the Cape Coast Commissioner's Office. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 16

Figure 16 Survey of Cape Coast, Kotokuraba Market Area with Sketches Over Top - Detail. 1938. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

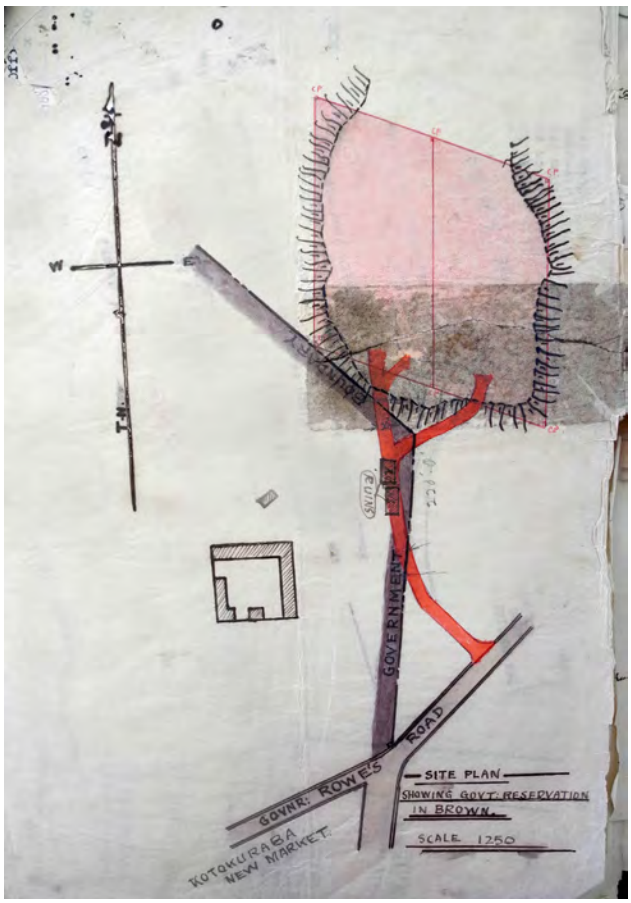

Figure 17

Figure 17 "Site Plan Showing Govt. Reservation in Brown", 1940 (date approximate), Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

I have intimated the owner, most of whom are squatters from the Northern Territories, of the proposal and in order to facilitate the accomplishment of the scheme as soon as possible I shall be glad if you will be good enough to call the owners and explain to them how important it is that Cape Coast should be developed economically and otherwise.

I have for the meantime got from the Cape Coast Town Council the ratable value of the houses to be demolished and I am prepared to give the owners adequate compensation, and an alternative site for them to settle.[41]

A year later without having conferred the promised compensation or alternative site and having received letters from the Chief Zongo, Lemam Musa Commander, among other Zongo residents claiming the property as their own,[42] the Omenhene revised his statement to further posture his right to the real estate and thus ease of access to economic production. In a letter of warning dated March 15, 1947 to the District Commissioner, he explained,

Assuming that the ownership of the Kotokraba lands has not been determined, what is there to prevent the State with the Stool Family from exercising rights of ownership in pursuance of its claim?... The foregoing comments are made without prejudice to the position or status of the Zirikin Zongo the Head of the Hausa community in Cape Coast.[43]

For the Kotokuraba Zongo these threats from Native authorities increased their awareness of their "foreign" status set against a rising Nation and demanded "modern" architectural adjustments to rectify their image. Because the Government defended their rights to the land in a 1955 court case however,[44] this Zongo fared better than the two on rented land. In a letter dated February 28, 1947, a resident of the Ayiko Ayiko Zongo wrote remorsefully,

For 86 years, no trouble had arisen between the Muslim community and the owner of the land at Ayiko Ayiko. The residents pay house and water rates. The land belonged to the late Mr. W.E. Sam, but recently, Mr. K. Bensi-Enchill, the District Manager of the United African Company

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41 Letter dated March 21, 1946 from the Omanhene of Oguaa State to the District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2013.
42 Letter dated July 9, 1946 from Zongo Chiefs to The District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
43 Letter dated March 15, 1947 from the Omanhene, Oguaa (Cape Coast) State to the District Commissioner Cape Coast District. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
44 Land Court Proceedings, July 22, 1955. Document supplied by a member of the Zongo community. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.

Limited wrote a letter to Garriba in pursuit of the land for development.[45]

Though they did not abscond with all the real estate of these two settlements, Native planning authorities used the existing survey drawings upon which to overlay new and improved planning schemes including a printing press, retail shops, supermarkets, among other economic ventures (Figures 16-17). In accordance with Mr. K. Bentsi-Echill's suggestion and with the Town Planning Committee's full approval, residents were moved to the town margins in areas "zoned as Zongo."[46] Ironically, therefore, the construction of a market at the very location where the Zongo had developed a thriving trade industry, caused the Zongo settlements to become more socio-spatially marginalized. While for some this meant physical displacement to the margins, and for others such as the Kotokuraba Zongo, it meant a thickening of social and spatial difference at the center.

Islam or Modernity?

With the advent of the Gold Coast's centralized town planning schemes in tandem with the Town Planning Committee's increasingly rigid building requirements, Cape Coast's urban image came under intense scrutiny. The Committee sent a myriad of inspectors and surveyors to not only calculate the distance from the drains to the street, the angles at which buildings fronted streets, and the width of streets, but also assess land value, land use/zoning, and durability of construction materials. Rather than accommodating variation, the Committee desired a clean, uniform, "modern" scheme that followed the contours of the bureaucratic State and the culture of a rising Nation. Since the Zongo settlements were now located at Cape Coast's center of economic production, their layout, building methods and materials quickly captured the attention of local authorities. In some ways, these new requirements applied to Zongos reinforced cultural and religious difference between Zongo and Fante and thus strengthened the Zongo's distinct, collective Islamic identity. In other ways however, these "modern" persuasions sponsored an individualism that was perceived as contradictory to their religious traditions. Even though the former encouraged a collective Islamic identity and the latter desired to accommodate a "modern way of life," in combination these changing perceptions caused the Zongo settlements to become increasingly marginalized.

Land Ownership

In Cape Coast as well as other towns in the Gold Coast, Colonial officials grappled with the diverse conceptions of land ownership most often soaked in religious practice. In response to Islamic settlement layouts in the Northern Territories, a colonial land ordinance dated 1926 stated,

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45 Letter dated February 28, 1947 from Ayiko-Ayiko Muslim community to the District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
46 Minutes of the first meeting of the Provisional Planning Committee held at this District Engineer's office, Public Works Department, Wednesday, December 5, 1945 at 3pm. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

> *The whole conception of land is based entirely on religion. This is of paramount importance and must be clearly understood before the least grasp of the native conception of land tenure can be obtained.*[47]

A year later, a similar statement to the Provincial Commissioner's Office in Kumasi from a Commissioner of the Eastern Province expounded,

> *…In the case of a Christian the matter (land ownership transferral) would be simple because a Christian keeps separate his civil and religious code, and an Ashanti Christian would be still bound by native customary law. In the case of a Moslem, however, the laws of inheritance as laid down by the Prophet in the Koran are inseparable from his religion. The case is not only an interesting one, but a very difficult one.*[48]

While there were also conceptual differences between British Common Law and Fante Customary Law, they seemed to be reconcilable in ways that Islamic law was not. In Cape Coast, the acute perceived difference between the Zongo or Islamic layout and Fante or Christian layout caused enough agitation that the Town Council, composed of Native and British members, encouraged their relocation. On September 5, 1947, the District Commissioner wrote,

> *Town planning has already come into operation in Cape Coast. A scheme to the planning area is now being prepared and it is hoped that it will be approved in 1948. The Government proposes to acquire land for a housing estate at Cape Coast and it is intended that this estate should cater largely for the types of persons who normally lived in Zongos.*[49]

In addition to the Town Council's desire to remove them from the town for religious reasons, the Zongo residents themselves did not feel comfortable residing in a place in which the "general mode of living of the of the two sects differs."[50] In a letter dated 1946 from the Sirikin Zongo, he thanked the Committee for the selection of the new site at Antem, but asked that it be "large enough to accommodate all the Mohamadans as there are several staying and living in the villages around Cape Coast for want of accommodation in this town, and the planning of a New Zongo will bring all of them to the site chosen for us to live together as you find in several places." He also prayed that

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47 "Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, No 3 of 1926", Ghana National Archives in Accra, Accessed July 2013.
48 Land Ownership in Kumasi, letter dated April 11, 1927 to Provincial Commissioner's Office from Commissioner Eastern Province – Juaso. Kumasi Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
49 Letter dated September 5, 1947 from the District Commissioner, Cape Coast to AG Heward Mills, Esq. BL. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
50 Letter dated July 13, 1944 from Chief of Zongo Community, Komenda to District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.

Figure 18
A Mural of a Mosque and the Ka'ba, in a Madrasa - Cape Coast Zongo.

Figure 19
A Mural the Ka'ba in a Madrasa, in a Madrasa - Cape Coast Zongo.

Figure 20
A Mural of the Prophet's Night Journey, in a Madrasa - Cape Coast Zongo.

Figure 18

Figure 19

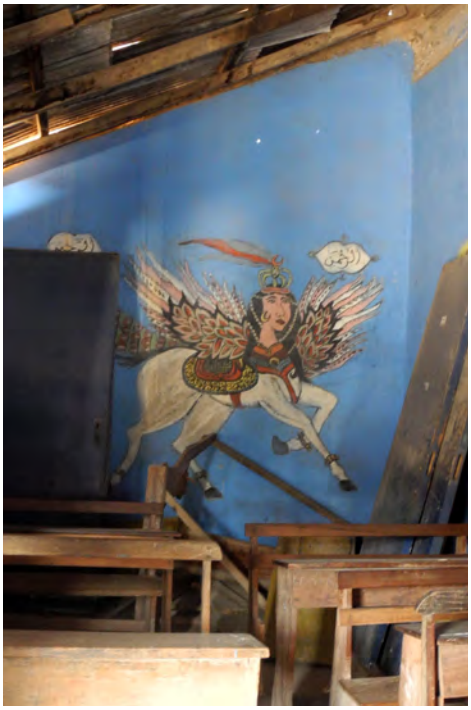

Figure 20

"the place be cleared as soon as possible to make it possible for the people to take up their plots and build thereon."[51] Thus, it may be inferred that the Zongo residents did not only want to maintain their own settlements, but they also wanted to build them according to their own religious needs. Zongos in a sense became islands of Islam, bounded entities within which one could practice religious land laws of inheritance and renovate to accommodate growing family units. One resident recently explained that because of Islamic laws of inheritance, he owns land in both the Cape Coast and Elmina Zongos.[52] Even though the Zongo as a bounded, homogeneous entity was desired by the British, Fantes, and Zongo residents, the spatial expression of religious difference further segregated the Zongo.

Madrasas and Mosques

The perceived dichotomy between Islam and a "modern education" also began to have spatial consequences during this period. Since Cape Coast's schools in particular had been steeped in Missionary zeal since the 18th century, Zongo residents fought to keep their children out of these "Churches" in fear that they would be converted to Christianity.[53] While some of the children were sent to school secretly in the north, most were not allowed to receive a "western education" and thus only attended Islamic School within the Zongo.[54] [55]These madrasas assumed different spatial configurations and building types depending upon availability of land and resources. Whereas some negotiated temporary space in alleyways between homes, others were constructed of palm branches and leaves built on land borrowed from surrounding properties. In both cases, these spaces required collective maintenance and community support. One resident explained that when they were young that every morning before class, they would collect leaves for the roof of the school.[56] Since religious knowledge was of utmost importance during this time, their fathers traveled to Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, to learn more about the Arabic language and the Quran.[57] Pointing to the elaborate murals on the walls in one of the Madrasas illustrating the Kaba, the mythological steed (Al Buraq),[58] and a mosque with minarets protruding out of the frame, a resident explained that his father had these painted after returning home from one of his long journeys (Figures 18-20). "When I was young," he explained with remorse, "religion was very important."[59]

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51 Letter dated June 25th, 1946 from Sirikin Zongo to The District Commissioner, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
52 An informal conversation with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 17, 2014.
53 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
54 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
55 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
56 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
57 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
58 The mythological steed that carried Mohammad from Israel to Jerusalem on the "Night Journey". "Burak." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buraq. Accessed April 1, 2014.
59 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

Figure 21 Original Wood Ceiling System in the Cape Coast Zongo, now saved in some cases underneath a newer corrogated metal roofing system with wood framing.

Figure 21

Figure 22 Old house in the Cape Coast Zongo with "naked mud walls" (according to an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident).

Figure 22

Towards the end of this period however, "when the change to cement happened," explained one resident, "some of the people in the Zongo began going to school."[60] Thus, this material change is an index of modernity that in turn encouraged residents to attend school despite their religious differences. Another resident disclosed however, that her parents still didn't allow her to go to school or live outside the Zongo. Her mother had wanted her to be a housewife. "Luckily," she grinned, "my husband refused. He wanted me to go to school."[61] Another resident's account was quite different. He recalled that his father was so well educated that he was selected as a Councilor for the colonial Government. "Because of this," he pointed out, "we were able to build a cement brick house."[62] Finally, the Chief Zongo wistfully recalled, "Formerly, when the moon shined in evening, when the moon was bright, the children would come out to sing the songs, even the women would come out."[63] He further elaborated that the children learned these songs in the Zongo, but that these were gradually replaced by rhymes at school.[64] Though these accounts describe varied educational experiences, they all suggest that with increased western education that religion was perceived with less importance and that those who received western education were wealthier and began moving outside the Zongo. Thus, the Cape Coast Zongo began to be viewed not only as an old settlement, saturated with tradition and religion, but also a poorer, marginalized settlement without a rising nation-state and western education.

Construction Methods and Building Materials

Similar tensions arose concerning Zongo construction methods and building materials. Though treated by British and Native authorities as monolithic and foreign, these methods and materials varied throughout the settlement and were contingent upon family unit financial positions and the construction knowledge residents imported from the north. While most of the houses were originally of a temporary wattle and daub construction with pitched, thatched roofs, those residents with capital who desired to invest in Cape Coast long-term, rebuilt and/or constructed additions of solid mud walls with wood ceilings and flat roofs (Figure 21).

One resident explained, "When I was young there was a change from stick haystack buildings to mud houses. This started in the 1950s and was completed by 1965."[65] Another resident described a slightly different account. He recalled, "Houses at that time were built with mud and sand bricks. They would dig up some sand, add water, stamp on it, box it, and then the walls would go up. They

60 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
61 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
62 Note: This "cement brick house" the interviewee described was located outside of the Zongo. Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 25, 2014.
63 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
64 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
65 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

would add sticks and mud for the roof and later an iron sheet"[66] (Figure 22). Finally, a third resident likened the structures during this time to those in the North. He recounted, "If you go to Kano, you will see buildings much the way as they were built here; the arrangement was different than Christians.[67]

Despite accusations from local authorities that these buildings were "different" and of lower caliber than either British or Native buildings, Natives (and even Europeans) had used these very same construction methods until the British had begun razing "congested areas" in the name of sanitation just a couple decades earlier. Thus, because the Zongo settlements had managed to stay at the margins of British urban visions, they had been at liberty to construct, renovate and add to their homes when and how they needed. At the same time however, this period of socio-spatial detachment, was long enough for Native authorities to disassociate themselves from these poor, Islamic building types and recast their image in the name of modernity and rising Nation.

Discussions regarding the Zongo's "backwards" building methods were initiated at the Provincial Health Board meeting on June 7th 1926:

> *In a circular letter to the members of the Provincial Health Board, the Honourable the Commissioner Central Province expressed the opinion that the time had come when the latitude allowed to the Mohammedan Community as regards the materials used in the building of their houses, might be restricted if not withdrawn, and suggested that the matter be brought up at the next meeting of the Provincial Health Board.*
>
> *(a) That the time has arrived when the Hausa people should be required to conform to the Building Regulations in force for other Communities in the Colony.*
> *(b) That the type of house now being built by the Hausa people being mostly of wattle-and-daub and having a thatch roof is objectionable on sanitary grounds, and particularly from an anti-plague point of view.*
> *(c) That the majority of the people are able to afford the increase in cost that the change in the building requirements would occasion, probably more able than some of the communities to which existing Building Regulations apply.*
> *(d) That if the Central Health Board were of opinion that the foregoing proposals demanded too much from the Hausa Community, then approval be requested for enforcing such less measures, as say, a concrete floor and foundations and corrugated-iron roof, which the Central Health Board*

66 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
67 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

may consider reconcile sanitary requirements with other considerations in this matter.
(e) That there are good reasons, quite apart from Building Regulations, for the isolation of Zongos from other sections of the community.[68]

Though these initial recommendations in the name of sanitation were not immediately enforced, with the construction of Kotokuraba Market and the execution of the Town Planning Schemes in 1945, the pressure for the Zongo settlements to adhere to regulations intensified tenfold. By 1949, the Town Council and Planning Board were paying particular attention to "the design and external appearance of a building or structure that would disfigure the locality, detract from the amenities or neighborhoods, cause a depreciation of the value of properties in the locality, or be detrimental to the general environment in the vicinity."[69] In Cape Coast, their main target was the Zongo settlements whose buildings, exuding religious and economic difference, scarred the modern image of economic production at Kotokuraba. To ameliorate this blighted urban condition, authorities required Zongo residents to apply for building permits for approval by the Town and Country Planning Board,[70] use approved building materials such as iron sheets and cement block,[71] maintain rooms with minimum dimensions, and add verandahs to their building footprint.[72] The Board even went as far as to publish building guides such as the "Introduction to Programming and Progressing for Builders" published in 1954.[73]

The Zongo resident response regarding these new building regulations varied. For those forced to leave their current locations for other "new" Zongos designed as part of the Town Planning Scheme, residents demanded that they be able to build how they see fit. In a letter from a Muslim community member to the District Commissioner, he writes in protest,

I do not think that any of our people will stay long before quitting away, although you can build it, but not for us, but for strangers – commerce can come and stay with us...[74]

The resounding response of the Zongo settlements at Kotokuraba however, was a plea to stay followed by a promise to rebuild their houses in accordance with the new regulations. In a letter

68 "Hausa Zongos – Materials to be Used for" Letter dated July 2, 1926, from Medical Officer of Health to Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, Chairman Central Health Board, Cape Coast Regional Archives, Accessed July 2013.
69 Cape Coast Town Planning Scheme, 1949 (approximate), Cape Coast Regional Archives.
70 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
71 Town Council Meeting Minutes dated 1945, Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.
72 "Hausa Zongos – Materials to be Used for" Letter dated November 6, 1926, from A. Heron, Medical Officer of Health, Cape Coast to the Honourable CCP. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
73 "Introduction to Programming and Progressing for Builders," Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January, 2014.
74 "In the Matter of the Zongo area for Hausas, Wangara, Moshie, etc." Letter dated 1929 (approximate) from a Muslim community member to the District Commissioner? Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

dated 1929 from Chief Zongo Shimalla Alikali to the District Commissioner, he wrote,

> *Sir,*
> *I have the honor most respectfully to acquaint you that upon your instructions, I have called all the Hausas living at the Kotorkurabah and informed them about the building of the new market and breaking down houses at Kotorkurabah Road Cape Coast by the Government. They wish me to inform you that they humbly beg to put before you if you will approve of it. That the house which is not properly built be broken down by them and rebuilt the white washed and corrugated iron sheets, house which is built very low will be broken down and rebuilt higher, whitewash, and roof with corrugated iron sheets. They further state that they humbly beg that if you will be kind enough to cause it to the supplied with boards and corrugated iron sheets for roofing their houses, they are prepared to pay the cost by monthly installments. They humbly beg that this application will meet your kind consideration and favorable reply.*[75]

In acknowledgment of the Chief Zongo's appeal, the Acting Commissioner wrote to the Commissioner of the Central Province,

> *I have interviewed the Hausa community and they were unanimous that they did not desire to move. They were prepared to erect better buildings if by doing so they would be allowed to remain in their present position. I think that the Hausa people should be asked to move, if they fail to comply with reasonable demands to erect proper buildings.*[76]

The Commissioner of the Central Province replied,

> *I agree. Please encourage the construction of better houses in place of some of the older examples.*
>
> *I have to inform you that the Hausa Community are quite at liberty to break down their own houses and rebuild on the same sites. They will not be removed from that neighborhood against their will.*[77]

While the first case demonstrates authoritative control over the Zongo's urban plan and flexibility at

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75 Letter from the Chief Zongo Shimalla Alikali and members of the Stool to the District Commissioner dated August 1, 1929. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
76 Zongo - Cape Coast. Letter from the Acting Commissioner to The Commissioner of the Central Province, Cape Coast dated 1929. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.
77 Zongo - Cape Coast. Letter from the Acting Commissioner to The Commissioner of the Central Province, Cape Coast. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

the scale of the house, the second case indicates the opposite. The Kotokuraba Zongos maintained their land and Islamic inheritance laws, but forfeited their traditional house construction methods and materials. By the end of this period however, wealthier Zongo residents in both cases began using concrete for building additions and iron corrugated roofing. With these changes to more permanent, less flexible building materials for some, came less emphasis on collective, daily contributions to the built environment for all. Thus, even though the majority of the houses did not employ more concrete than what was required by the Town Council, the community invested less time dedicated to building maintenance. At the scale of building methods and materials therefore, the Authority's push towards "modern" building sponsored a shift towards the importance of the individual over the collective. While in some cases this shift encouraged residents to leave the Zongo in pursuit of larger parcels of land and "modern" amenities, in others it discouraged residents from working together to maintain the houses in the Zongos. The sum of both of these outcomes however, resulted in the further socio-spatial marginalization of the Cape Coast Zongo settlements. More than ever before, Zongos during this period came to be treated islands of religious tradition – places that could accommodate Islamic land inheritance, additions to the house by family unit, and semi-private zones dedicated to ablution and prayer – but did not invite western education or Christianity. Even though authorities instigated "modern" building requirements such as concrete block foundations, interior dimensions, and corrugated iron roofing in an attempt to at least cosmetically integrate the Zongos into the town planning scheme, these techniques ironically generated an overall wariness among Zongo residents that deepened perceived spatial difference.

In-Dependence

In *The Daily Graphic* on January 24, 1956, the first paragraph of an article entitled "What it Means to be the Citizen of a Country", effectively summarizes the burgeoning sentiments of the period:

> *It seems to me that citizenship implies acceptance of the customs and the traditions of a country. The recognition of the reasonableness of its laws, and a willingness to pursue one's dailies applications in such society and to advance its interests because it assures to those who dwell within its borders, an adequate measure of protection.*[78]

With the rise of a centralized State with clearly delineated geo-political boundaries and the rise of a nation with shared customs, traditions, and laws, emerged a Nation-State, "this new baby, this child", that the new Parliament would christen Ghana.[79] Even though the Colonial project favored promoting the State and its progressive, modern image as viewed by other colonizing countries and

78 *The Daily Graphic*, January 24, 1956.
79 *The Daily Graphic*, October 24, 1956.

the Native agenda vied more for a unified Nation, both used the National Town Planning Scheme as the mechanism by which to achieve their goals. In Cape Coast, these schemes valued centers of economic production at the expense of collective spatial and religious identity. While the British authority's economic "centers" either remained along the coast to preserve old views of Cape Coast's prosperity or outside the town to sell new views of a modernizing "Gold Coast", Native authorities were more concerned with the "center" of the local economy at Kotokuraba Market. Despite these increased spatial pressures the Zongos receive in their central location, this location simultaneously provided them with new trading opportunities.

In summary, this period, beginning with the enactment of the Native Administration Ordinance, tells the story of tensions and collaborations between an imminent nation-state and abdicating colonial power. In Cape Coast these struggles manifested in comprehensive town planning strategies. Whereas the British desired to preserve its imperial image of Cape Coast with views to the castle and sea, natives were more interested in the thriving economy at Kotokuraba. At the end of the day however, the Town Planning Scheme centered its attention on the construction of the Kotokuraba Market. With ambitions to occupy the Zongos' valuable real estate close to the market, the Town Council and Town Planning Committees attempted to eject Zongo residents first by claiming the land as their own, second by developing schemes superimposed over the existing Zongo settlements, and third by enacting new rigid building regulations requiring concrete and iron sheets. Even though some Zongo residents had started building with concrete and some were attending western schools, authorities saw the Zongo as neither part of their economic nor nationalizing ventures. Thus, residents that desired a "modern way of life" often left the Zongos, further aggravating the Zongo's "traditional" image closely associated with Islam. In a sense, at the same time as Ghana was materializing as a Nation-State, so too was the Zongo. As opposed to Ghana's birth branded in progress, Christianity, and industrialization however, the Zongo's was stigmatized in stasis, Islam, and tradition. In other words, it became dependent upon the State, yet forcibly independent from the Nation.

VI. NATION-STATE, INDUSTRY, AND EDUCATION: INSIDE-OUT

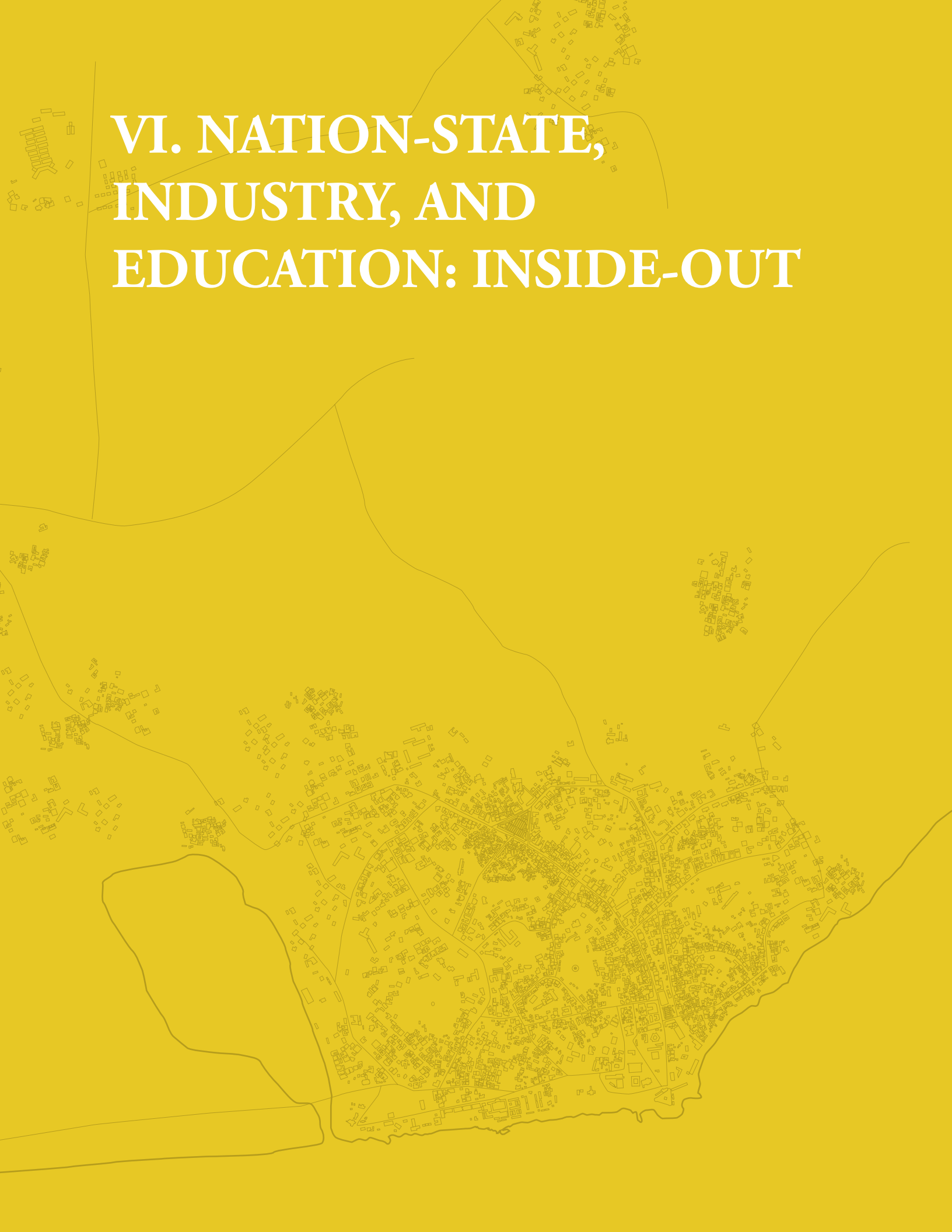

Figure 1

Figure 1 "Mammy Wagon Arrival" *Ghana is Born*, (London: Newman Neame London for Ghana Information Services Accra, 1958) 18.

Figure 2 "How many minutes to independence? Only a few seconds now" *Ghana is Born*, (London: Newman Neame London for Ghana Information Services Accra, 1958) 49.

Figure 3 Kwame Nkrumah shaking hands with Muslim Leader. Framed Photograph from an anonymous Zongo resident's house.

Figure 4 "Places 'Made in Ghana'" Ghana Year Book, 1977.

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

VI. NATION-STATE, INDUSTRY, AND EDUCATION: INSIDE-OUT

This chapter covers the period 1957-1993 and tracks the growing pains of a new nation as it bobs between civilian and military rule; socialism and democracy; and local, state, and neo-colonial controls. Because Ghana was the first colonial territory in Africa to achieve its independence, the British concocted extravagant, highly choreographed festivities to exhibit their continued influence over, and paternalistic relationship with, the new nation-state. In recalling the "The Gathering of the World in Ghana" Kofi Baako wrote, "They came from the four corners of Ghana and from the ends of the earth. Thousands arrived by plane; hundreds by ship; tens of thousands by mammy-wagon. One arrived, unforgettably, by gun-boat"[1] (Figure 1). Though the days up to independence were flavored with a fusion of dichotomous amusements such as traditional African drumming and Fox Trot, a speech given moments before the birth of Ghana on March 6, 1957 implied the country's fierce intentions to shed its colonial constructions:

> *"Mr. Speaker, how solemn it is that we, representatives of the people, are here tonight to witness the passing of the old days and the birth of the new days of freedom and independence. For, within the space of a few minutes, our colonial association with Britain will disappear and our new association with the Commonwealth, based on absolute equality and friendship will begin. Let us join with the poet to say Ring out the Old, Ring in the New…"*[2] (Figure 2).

However fresh and liberating this speech may have sounded however, "the poet" to which the speaker refers is Great Britain's own Alfred, Lord Tennyson. Thus, this pronouncement is an analogous foreshadowing to Ghana's political challenges in the tumultuous period ahead. Even though the first Prime Minister and President, Kwame Nkrumah (1957-1966)[3] and later Head of State Ignatius Kutu Acheampong (1972-1978) developed Pan-Africa, anti-western agendas while their adversaries, President Kofi Abrefa Busia (1969-1972) and Head of State Jerry Rawlings (1979-1993) advocated for more democratic, pro-west agendas, all of these leaders found themselves combating, perpetuating, or reinventing colonial patterns and institutions (Figure 3).

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1 Kofi Baako. *Ghana is Born*. (London: Newman Neame Limited, 1958) 10.
2 Kofi Baako. *Ghana is Born*. (London: Newman Neame Limited, 1958) 46.
3 Kwame Nkrumah was Prime Minister from 1957-1960 when Ghana was an independent State within the Commonwealth and became President in 1960 when Ghana became a Republic. First Republic (1960-1966), Second Republic (1969-1972), Third Republic (1979-1981) "List of Political Parties in Ghana," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_political_parties_in_Ghana, Accessed March 30, 2014.

Just as Ghana was a nation-state of colonial invention, so too was the Zongo. Thus, Zongo settlements during this period grappled with political, religious and economic struggles paralleling that of Ghana at a smaller scale. While some favored national integration and statehood,[4] others desired more traditional forms of leadership bound within colonial constructions of religious unity.[5] Both however, had spatial consequences that pushed Ghana and the Zongo into a more marginalized position. In addition to these tensions between national integration and religious unity, the new Government's desire to rapidly industrialize and reduce imports had profound spatial consequences for Cape Coast and its Zongo settlement.

In contrast to previous periods during which law cases, letters, newspaper articles, among other forms of communication had been protected and stored, this period marks a substantial decline in record keeping and an increase in government media censorship resulting in fewer and less varied primary sources. Thus, interviews with Zongo residents, ethnographies, national newspaper clippings, and other locally produced publications become the primary voices of this period.

National Integration or Perpetuating Religious Unity

A Rift in the Zongo Settlements

Just as a political split at the State level caused animosity between those in favor of an anti-tribal, anti-west socialist agenda[6] and those in support of traditional groups and a pro-west democratic agenda, the same fissure cut across the Cape Coast Zongo.[7] While some residents championed the independence movement and were in favor of a nationalized, integrated identity composed of a national Muslim council, others wanted to maintain their local religious traditions, the Sirikin Zongo's leadership position,[8] and were concerned that the new nation-state would spatially and culturally fragment the settlement. As one resident explained, "Before independence it was more prosperous, but things afterwards got very hard. Things became harder because some wanted independence and other's didn't. This caused a rift in the community."[9] Another resident added,

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4 For example, the NRC desired increased State control and required European companies to reallocate 40% of their shares back to Ghanaian control. Hutchful, Eboe. "A tale of two regimes: imperialism, the military and class in Ghana." *Review of African Political Economy* 6, no. 14 (1979): 38.

5 For example, the National Liberation Movement (NLM) had a following of primarily traditional groups as opposed to the Convention People's Party (CPP), Kwame Nkrumah's party. See Akon Kwame Ninsin. Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: "A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." Dissertation. (Boston University Graduate School, PhD, 1976) 174.

6 Hutchful, Eboe. "A tale of two regimes: imperialism, the military and class in Ghana." *Review of African Political Economy* 6, no. 14 (1979): 36.

7 It should be noted that the party names and their agendas changed many times throughout this period. The political dimensions here are simplified for the sake of the argument.

8 Here Schildkrout asserts that the political organization of the Zongo is modeled after Ghana's political parties. Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 216.

9 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.

"There were two groups of Hausa people. There were the Islam people following their religion[10] and there were others following CPP.[11] CPP was led by Kwame Nkrumah and NLM[12] was the military. Under NLM, there was no development."[13] In terms of spatial allocation in the settlement however, a resident pointed out, "Kotokuraba was not divided between CPP and NLM. They were all mixed. Most of the Hausas supported CPP though.[14] To better understand what caused this rift, the subsequent sections will describe the two opposing policies in detail.

An Agenda for National Integration (Anti-Colonial Policy)

Even though the majority of the Zongo residents had supported independence and that according to the Ghana Nationality Act No. 1 of May 1957, "an individual was considered to be a citizen of Ghana of one of his/her parents or grandparents were born in Ghana," that there was a growing distrust and distaste towards "foreigners" after independence.[15] Whereas the Colonial agenda had warmly welcomed non-indigenous groups to the territory and in many cases had even sought them out to bolster their economy or military, the Government ascribed them with new, nefarious names such as "foreigner," "stranger," "alien," and "squatter" and banned identification by ethnic group.[16] The rationale behind this classification system was both to reinforce a "made in Ghana" national identity over an ethnic identity and later was used as the scapegoat for the country's rapid economic decline[17] (Figure 4). Though The Deportation Act of 1957 and Aliens Act of 1963 caused increase concern for the Zongos, it was the Compliance Order issued on November 18, 1969, requiring all "foreigners," those who were migrants from other countries or regions, to have residence permits in two weeks or be forced to leave the country[18] that stringently attached identity to nationality and forced over 100,000 foreigners out of Ghana.[19] Thus, under this national integration policy, Zongos ironically became increasingly monolithic and cast in foreign soil.[20] In describing the situation, a Cape Coast Zongo resident had shaken his head and said, "After independence all foreigners were

10 The Muslim Association Party, a political party formed out of the Gold Coast Muslim Association, was one of the groups opposed to the CPP. "Muslim Association Party," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Association_Party, Accessed April 7, 2014.
11 CPP stands for Convention People's Party, the socialist party under the first President, Kwame Nkrumah.
12 NLM stands for National Liberation Movement.
13 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
14 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
15 Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) xi.
16 Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 214.
17 Zongo Link Radio. The Citizenship Question in Sub-Saharan Africa with Ghana as a Case Study – Part II; http://www.zongolink.com/index.php/opinion/95-the-citizenship-question-in-sub-saharan-africa-with-ghana-as-a-case-study-part-i-of-iv. Accessed April 13, 2014.
18 Peil, Margaret, R. M. Prothero, W. T. Gould, M. M. Kritz, P. J. Grandstaff, K. Noma, O. Cornblit et al. "Ghana's aliens." *International Migration Review* 8, no. 3 (1974): 367.
19 Peil, Margaret. "The Expulsion of West African aliens." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (1971): 206.
20 It should be noted however, that not all Ghanaian leaders during this period supported this agenda. In 1972, General Acheampong explained desire to protect alien rights, suspended deportation. *The Ghanaian Times*, February 2, 1972. Another example comes from Ethnographer Enid Schildkrout who describes the ethnic differentiation in the Kumasi, Zongo. See Enid Schildkrout. *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

asked to leave many tribes were asked to leave. Before that it was more prosperous. The government destroyed the unity."[21]

An Agenda for Religious Unity (Colonial Policy)

In contrast to those who desired an identity tied to the nation-state, other Zongo residents used religion as an instrument for unification, security, and expression of their distinct cultural identity.[22] Led at first by the Muslim Association Party (MAP) that later merged with NLM to form the United Party[23] (and later became the Union Government). This faction relied on former colonial organizational principles that grouped Islamic tribes together under the authority of a Zongo Chief (or as the British called him, the "Headman of the Mohammedan Community").[24] Just as the Zongo Chief was charged with the political and judicial affairs of the settlement, the Chief Imam was designated the religious head caring for the spiritual well-being of the residents.[25] In February 1978, the Muslim Chiefs expressed their support for the Union Government under General Acheampong, "We overwhelmingly embrace the proposed Union Government which is in line with the basic principles of the Islamic concept that all men are equal and united."[26]

In describing this unified "Zongo Complex", Ethnographer, Ansu Kumar Datta, writing during in this period explained, "…it is that in a zongo a lonely immigrant will find shelter and nourishment until he is able to earn his living. Here he will find persons who speak his language and follow his way of life with whom he can contract intimate relationships."[27] Further reinforcing these sentiments concerning cultural solidarity within the Zongo, a Cape Coast Zongo resident remembered his reasons for returning to the settlement after having traveled extensively during this period, "I came back to Cape Coast because I was getting old and someone needed to take the place of my parents in the Zongo. Tradition is important."[28] Another resident similarly recalled, "I came back to the Zongo because of heritage. I stayed a long time outside. Some children were born and I didn't know them so I had to come back."[29] One last resident who never left the Cape Coast Zongo during this perilous period reiterated the importance of religion to maintain peace, "The coups did not affect the peace. Over here in the community we did things according to our religion. There was no fighting

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21 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
22 In some cases, migrants from the north even converted to Islam as a way to reduce feelings of insecurity. See Bruce T. Grindal. "Islamic affiliations and Urban Adaptation: the Sisala migrant in Accra, Ghana." *Africa* 43, no. 04 (1973): 343.
23 Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 99.
24 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (University of Cape Coast, 1970) 445.
25 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (University of Cape Coast, 1970) 445.
26 *The Ghanaian Times*, February, 1978.
27 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (University of Cape Coast, 1970) 454.
28 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
29 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

between us."[30] Despite these sentiments advocating for spiritual and social unity, other Cape Coast residents explained bitterly that this unity caused poverty. One man remorsefully explained, "After independence, there were no changes except for the beginning of English education. Because of the Islamic religion they didn't go to English school. There was no development. They had to live in poverty because of religion.[31]

Socio-Spatial Consequences: A National Network and Autonomous Settlement

Rather than create plural, diffused conceptions of Zongo, these two opposing policies hardened the perceived spatial difference between "inside" and "outside" the Zongo at State and local levels. Because of an increased consciousness of their perceived foreign status and the sharpening of state boundaries due to those favoring a national identity, Zongo settlements began looking to each other for support. Thus, even though commercial transactions and religious camaraderie had fostered informal alliances in the past, with the onset of a nationalizing venture, the Zongo as a network of settlements became a more official political and religious structure. During the 1960s in Cape Coast, the District Executive Committee, composed of the District Commissioner, Secretary of the Center Region, and The Chairman of the Council, maintained ultimate authority and translated State-wide CPP policies to the local level.[32] Though their initiatives also included heavy taxation and increased control over coconut plantation policies, their slum clearance enterprise received the most notoriety.[33] In defense of their plan, Akon Kwame Ninsin wrote, "Houses were built very haphazardly. As the buildings degenerated into slums they presented a very unsightly spectacle and a source of embarrassment to the Cape Coast leadership."[34] Thus, under the guise of a socialist agenda "to provide basic needs for the people" complete with new housing and improved sanitation, the Committee, not unlike their British counterparts, installed a "Special Sanitation Committee" and "Permanent Site Advisory Board" to "handle the situation."[35] The Committee chose the sites to demolish according to their own needs and visions. While most of the initial demolition in the late 1960s occurred close to the Castle and at the center of what would be the Municipality's "leading

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30 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
31 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
32 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1976) 158.
33 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1976) xi.
34 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1976) 116.
35 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1976) 124.

Figure 5 Numbered Markings on an Exterior Wall of a House in the Cape Coast, Zongo

Figure 6 Ayiko Ayiko Flats in Cape Coast

Figure 7 Ewim Nurse's Flats in Cape Coast

Figure 8 Municipal Assembly Building in Kotokuraba, Cape Coast

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

commercial and cultural center,"[36] by the 1970s, slum clearance extended north to the Zongos at Ewim, Ayiko Ayiko, and Kotokuraba. Buildings were tattooed with large red lettering that in some cases still remains as an unsettling souvenir[37] (Figure 5). In a letter to the Kotokuraba Zongo residents in 1972, the Officer-Charge wrote,

> *The Government has decided to extend the present Kotokuraba market which is very congested at present. It has therefore been decided that some areas near the present market should be acquired for the project. This extension would affect your buildings. I would therefore be pleased if you could grant my Department – Lands Department the right-of-entry to inspect your premises and advise the Government on the compensation payable to you.*[38]

Even though the Kotokuraba Zongo managed to elude evacuation this time, "the other Zongos were removed instantly and given estates elsewhere."[39] A man who used to live in the Zongo at Ewim recalled the day with repugnance,

> *On the first of March 1975, General Acheampong removed us from our houses with force. It was at this time I was moved to Staff Quarters. How can I live here I thought? I used to have 14 rooms, now I only have two. They broke down my old home. Now I have to pay the government every month. Politics. We are Ghanaians. We are staying in our own country and they dislocate us. According to English law, we should be able to stay because we had been here for more than 12 years. If a person stays in one place for more than 12 years, then it is for them.*[40]

While some Zongo residents were forced to live in crowded flats that did not cater to their religious needs, others refused to leave the Zongo and rebuilt their houses in the Kotokuraba Zongo (Figure 6-7). One resident recalled his family's relocation at the Ewim Zongo, "My father's house is no longer there. It was demolished in 1973. His house was right behind Kotokuraba Market. But, before was demolished, he built another house out of sandcrete nearby. My father did not want to leave the Zongo. He belonged there. This house still stands."[41] In addition to housing relocation, shared spaces for commercial and religious activities that had once subsisted outside the new,

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36 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1976) 133.
37 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
38 "Cape Coast – Site for Extension of Kotokuraba Market" Lands Department, PO Box 183, Cape Coast, August 4, 1972. Letter from the Officer-in-Charge (valuation division) Central Region (G.D.A. Akwensivie) to the Zongo Community, Kotokuraba. Provided by an anonymous Zongo resident.
39 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
40 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
41 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.

Figure 9 Map of Kotokuraba Area in Cape Coast Before independence (Zongo in yellow). Drawing by Emily Williamson. Note that this drawing is for diagrammatic purposes only.

Figure 10 Map of Kotokuraba Area in Cape Coast After independence (Zongo in yellow). Drawing by Emily Williamson. Note that this drawing is for diagrammatic purposes only.

Figure 11 Cape Coast Central Mosque

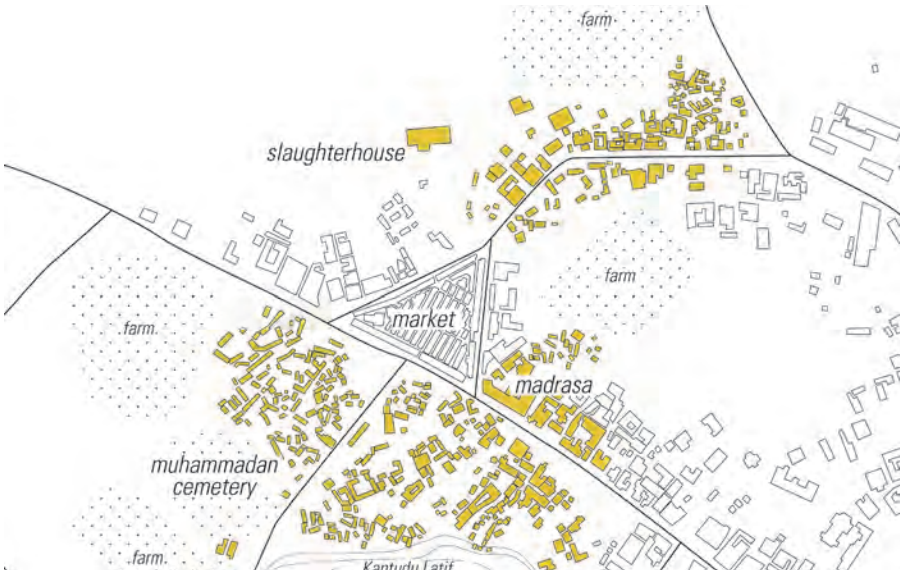

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

rigid boundaries of the Zongo were now relegated to its interior. For example, the Municipality constructed a new headquarters on top of the Muhammadan Cemetery and a resident's Farm in 1959;[42][43]the slaughterhouse next to the Market was converted into a Municipal Yard, and additional farmland was appropriated for a Memorial Park and lorry-stand (Figures 8-10). Thus, even though some residents left the Zongo and others remained, the Government's consolidation of the Zongo from four to one primary Zongo served to intensify difference rather than dissipate it. Whereas before, the Zongo had relied on spaces external to their domestic arena for their livelihoods, during this period the Zongo became increasingly self-reliant with an increased number of public spaces such as shops, slaughterhouses, and mosques attached to their homes. This period therefore, marks increased settlement consolidation, isolation and marginalization of the Zongo settlements as caused by the joint state and local authorities attempts at national integration.

The second and opposing policy, to increase religious unity, caused similar detrimental effects. Because of increased pressures from within the settlement to use Islam as a way to secure and defend its assets, the settlements became increasingly insular resulting in fewer economic, educational, and social opportunities. Even though the Government had wanted to remove the Zongo at Kotokuraba for example, one resident explained that the government was also afraid of Islamic tradition and could not afford to give each wife and child their own house.[44] To defend and secure their settlement, therefore, Zongo residents accentuated Islamic spatial requirements whereas in previous years these would have been repressed. In addition, residents constructed four additional mosques[45] during this period, the most important being of which was built at Kotokuraba Road (Figure 11). One Cape Coast Zongo resident had even regarded this to be the most important moment in the Cape Coast Zongo's history. He said, "This place was the most prosperous when the mosque was built. It was in 1978. It used only hold 30 people. Now it holds over 200 people."[46] Furthermore, residents not only inserted mosques and Madrasas into open spaces between homes, but also converted (whether physically or conceptually) bedrooms, porches, and alleys into places for ablution and education (Figures 12-13).

The sum of these authoritative policies, therefore, caused the Zongo to become increasingly insular and rigid as a network and settlement, but also poorer with fewer connections to the "outside". Though these policies were the instigators of this spatial differentiation and increased marginalization, ethnographers and geographers began describing and representing the Zongo

42 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
43 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
44 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
45 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (University of Cape Coast, 1970) 444.
46 Informal conversation with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 25, 2014.

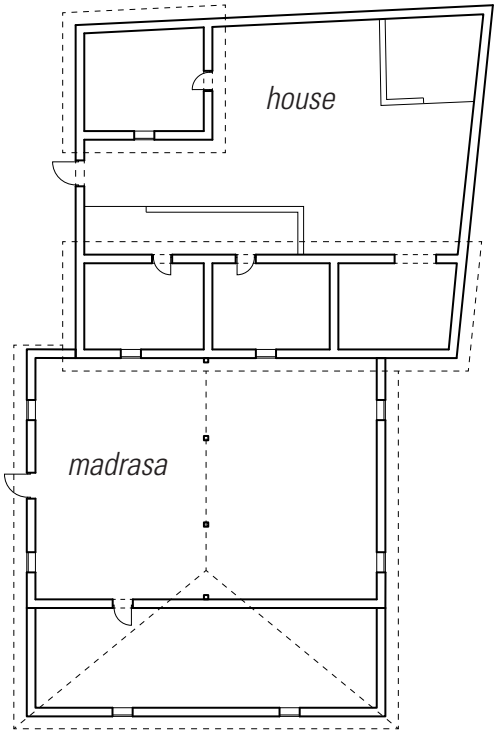

Figure 12

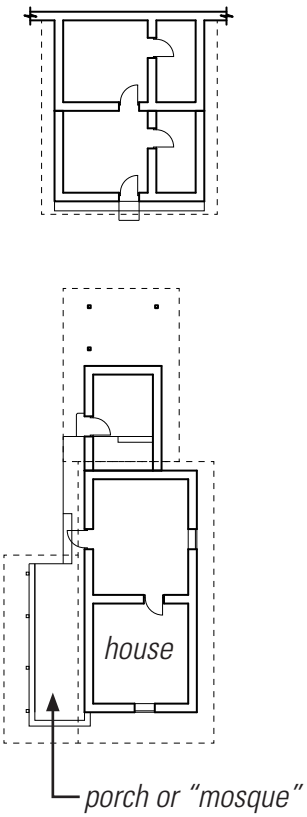

Figure 13

Figure 12 Floor Plan of a House in the Cape Coast Zongo with a Madrasa attached. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 13 Floor Plan of a House in the Cape Coast Zongo with a Porch also used as a "Mosque" Drawing by Emily Williamson - 2014

Figure 14 Map of Cape Coast Region - Key, 1966. Kumasi Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.

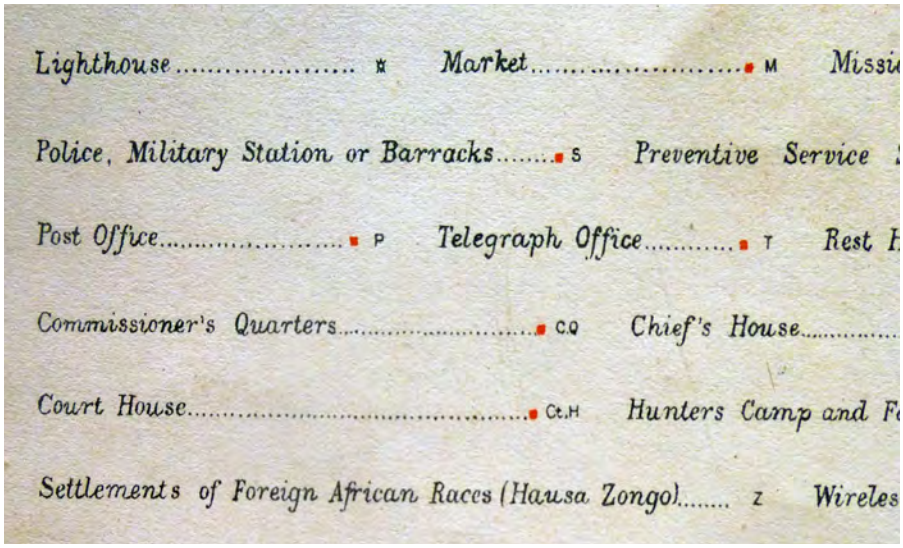

Figure 14

in ways that reiterates and exaggerates its ahistorical object-ness as an autonomous political and religious entity in abject poverty. In 1970 for example, in his article "The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana" he writes, "Whatever the origin, the zongo complex in Cape Coast today bears unmistakable marks of its separateness, reflected in physical conditions, demographic structure and occupational pattern. Such separateness is also seen in the Quranic schools, mosques, congregations and autonomous political systems."[47] And, reflecting upon the tentative relationship between Zongo and Fante he asserts, "In the social field the scope of relationships of reciprocal obligations between zongo inhabitants and Fante citizens of Cape Coast is limited. Neighborhood relationships are possible only for those who live on the periphery of the Zongos and that too, if there are Fante living on the outskirts. Marriage and affinity are rare. Common religious affiliation affects only a handful of Fante. Common membership of voluntary associations is equally scarce."[48]

A decade later, Joseph Sarfoh similarly robs the settlements of their history. He describes Zongos as having "appeared on the urban landscape"[49] as a result of "voluntary isolation of immigrant Africans. It was the conceptual opposition of its residents to the indigenous urban population that caused the community to grow."[50] Rather than introducing social factors that affect both the Zongos and their contexts, he develops a simple dichotomous narrative in which Zongo and Indigenous territories are fundamentally opposed to one another, all the while blaming the Zongo's "foreignness". In addition, rather than differentiating one Zongo from another, they are treated as a homogeneous network characterized by their "adoption of Islam, adherence to Muslim dress codes and behavior, the use of the Hausa language."[51] On a map key from the Kumasi region dated 1966, Zongos were marked with a lowercase "z" and labeled, "Settlements of Foreign African Races (Hausa Zongo)" (Figure 14). With specific reference to Cape Coast, the Zongo's static, bounded, and uniform identity is further reinforced in Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg's spatial classification system. They divide the town into "four large subdivisions" as "distinguished on the basis of age and manner of occupancy":

> 1. *Cape Coast Old Town:*
> *comprising the original nucleus around the castle formed by the Intsin and Nkoom-Bentsir areas, the various and topographically differentiated quarters of Cape Coast centre with the*

47 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (PhD diss., University of Cape Coast, 1970) 440-441.
48 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (PhD diss., University of Cape Coast, 1970) 452.
49 Joseph A Sarfoh. "The West African Zongo and the American Ghetto: Some Comparative Aspects of the Roles of Religious Institutions." *Journal of Black Studies* (1986) 83.
50 Joseph A Sarfoh. "The West African Zongo and the American Ghetto: Some Comparative Aspects of the Roles of Religious Institutions." *Journal of Black Studies* (1986) 83.
51 Joseph A Sarfoh. "The West African Zongo and the American Ghetto: Some Comparative Aspects of the Roles of Religious Institutions." *Journal of Black Studies* (1986) 74.

Figure 15 "Morpological Subdivision of Cape Coast." Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. Anatomy of an African town: a socio-economic study of Cape Coast, Ghana. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 263.

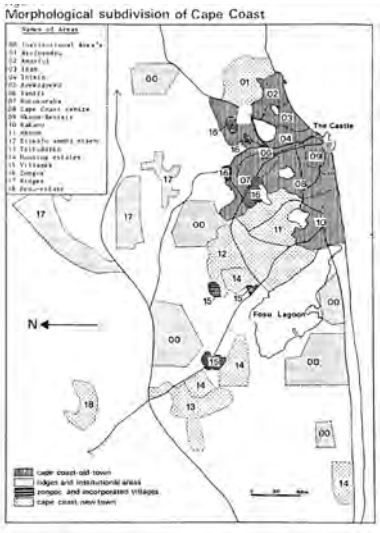

Figure 15

Figure 16 "Housing Quality Based on Ratable Values." Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. Anatomy of an African town: a socio-economic study of Cape Coast, Ghana. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 285.

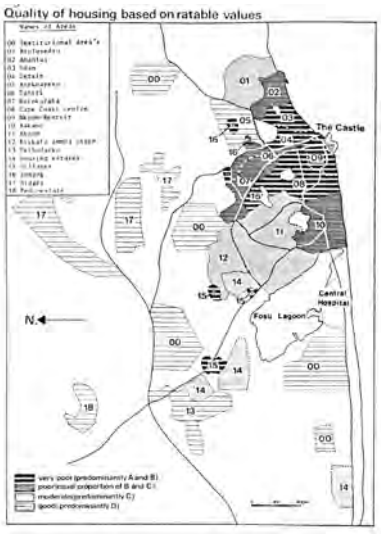

Figure 16

Figure 17 "Dominant Type of House." Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. Anatomy of an African town: a socio-economic study of Cape Coast, Ghana. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 283.

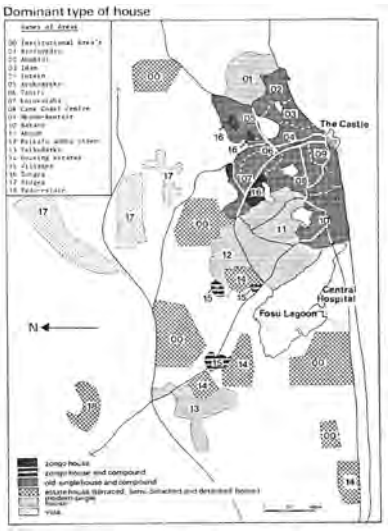

Figure 17

adjacent old areas of Bakano, Kotokuraba and Tantri, and the built-up coastal strip and valleys to the east, viz. the areas of Idan, Amanful with part of Brofoyedru and inland Akekoayeko

2. *The Ridges and Institutional Areas*
3. *The Zongos and Incorporated Villages*
4. *Cape Coast-New-Town:*
   including two sub-types, viz. the housing estates, and the unplanned and recently built-up areas of Aboom, Esikafo ammba ntsem, Tsibudarko, and, partly again, Brofoyedru.[52]

Apart from classifying these Zongos as homogeneous settlements as further represented on maps of Cape Coast as dark solitary pools, these authors also attribute this spatial difference to the Zongo's "poverty-stricken"[53] condition due to their reliance on "petty trade and various semi-skilled and unskilled production processes"[54] (Figures 15-17). Such low incomes therefore, result in high density, poor sanitation,[55] and "humble and often ramshackle constructions."[56] Datta describes the urban conditions of the Cape Coast Zongo as follows:

> *The Zongo complex in Cape Coast lies in the middle belt and consists of four distinct settlements: i. Kotokuraba ii. Ayiko-Ayiko iii. Kokoado Bisa, iv. Ngua Malam Maku. These are very congested areas with unplanned houses, separated by narrow lanes that can be used by pedestrians only. Very few of them are provided with electricity and pipe-borne water. Open drains flow among and sometimes over narrow lanes. Few houses have any privacy. Most of them are without attached latrines and all are built of cheap stuff: mud-and-swish wall with tin, asbestos, or iron-sheet roof.*[57]

In terms of the housing, Hinderink and Sterkenburg declare, "These parts of Cape Coast have the dubious honour of containing the worst quality houses."[58] Rather than assigning labels such as Single Semi-Detached House, Compound House, Modern Single House, Apartment or "sumptuous" Villa based on spatial characteristics as was done for other neighborhoods in Cape Coast, the Zongo housing was the only type classified for its low economic status. Even though some houses in the Zongo fit the description of a semi-detached or compound house, to Hinderink and Sterkenburg,

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52 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 262.
53 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 292.
54 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (University of Cape Coast, 1970) 443.
55 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 282.
56 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 292.
57 Ansu Kumar Datta. *The Zongo Complex in Urban Ghana*. (University of Cape Coast, 1970) 439.
58 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 284.

all Zongo houses could be defined as "a small single-storey house of very simple construction (mud-house), sometimes without any windows; the name is derived from the Zongo areas where this type of house is fairly common."[59] Furthermore, Hinderink and Sterkenburg purported that three classes of construction comprise Cape Coast's urban fabric:

> *1. adobe or mud houses, ie buildings constructed of mass swish reinforced with bamboo or timber - in this class were also included sub-standard swish buildings – 100% Zongo*
> *2. medium to high quality houses built with cement – or sandcrete blocks*
> *3. houses of mixed quality with walls of bricks, wood, or corrugated iron*[60]

Even though other housing types were also constructed of adobe or mud, the Zongo was the only one exclusively called out as substandard and unvaried in quality.

In sum, whether the post-independence policies advocated for national integration or traditional and religious norms, both caused the Zongo to become more socio-spatially marginalized at national and local levels. While these policies, intentionally or not, produced increased boundedness, consolidation, and material economic difference, these increasingly marginalized spatial qualities were further exaggerated by ethnographers and geographers whose research simplified, fortified and exaggerated their plight. In addition to the new nation-state's convoluted search for identity as demonstrated by these policies, it also called for economic reforms that would have socio-spatial ramifications for the Cape Coast Zongo.

Industrial Inversions

From International Networks to National Insularity

Even though in the 1960s Nkrumah advocated for a pan-African agenda and the strengthening of political and social ties with non-western countries, he simultaneously urged Ghana to become less dependent on foreign commercial enterprise with a particular emphasis on British imports. And, reinforcing this attempt to "nationalize trade"[61] was the Aliens Act of 1963 and the Compliance Order of 1969[62] that blamed aliens for the bad economy and fused "foreign goods" to "foreign people." In *The Daily Graphic* on December 13, 1969, the Ghanaian Ministerial Secretary for the

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59 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 278.
60 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 282.
61 This was attempted by the creation of the Ghana National Trading Company which ended up failing. Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 43.
62 Margaret Peil. "The expulsion of West African aliens." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (1971): 206.

Interior defended the Compliance Order. He explained, "We cannot afford to feed other mouths when ours are not fed. We cannot cater for the interest of those who do not help us pay our debts."[63] This period therefore, marks a stiffening of borders that made it increasingly difficult for people and resources to enter the country from the outside. Because the Zongo, among other groups in Ghana, had long relied on long-distance trade, the nature of the new highly localized economy required a shift in commercial tactic and sometimes even in occupation. In recalling the financial challenges of the 1980s, a Cape Coast Zongo resident revealed, "The 1980s were the most difficult time for Ghana. I left for Sierra Leone at this time. I jumped at a job there. I found the life there better. Here, I had to wait for commodities in queue – toilet rolls, soap, and sardines. But in Sierra Leone food was abundant."[64]

Despite the difficulties that arose with the goal of nationalizing trade, the Government proceeded with an implementation strategy. In 1960, Kwadwo Asafo Akwawuah wrote,

> *For a long time our economic affairs were controlled and directed by foreign powers. Today control and direction are in our own hands. After waking up from a long sleep, there is a quest for rapid developments. But, before we can move any step forward we must know where the country now stands – whether Ghana is more an industrial country or more an agricultural one. This is not difficult to determine.*[65]

Though Ghana's agricultural production far outweighed that of industry at the time, the country's seven-year development plan designed a "blueprint for the future progress and development of Ghana as a nation" and advocated for the development of both through the "use of science and technology."[66] The plan further stated,

> *The only way to build up the national wealth is to maintain a maximum rate of productive investment in industry and agriculture. The Plan, therefore, lays its greatest emphasis on the modernization of agriculture and the most rapid expansion of industrial activity in Ghana…It is our hope that by the end of this Plan in 1970-which will coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Republic-firm foundations will have been laid for the complete transformation of Ghana into a strong, industrialized socialist economy and society*[67] (Figure 18).

63 *The Daily Graphic*, December 13, 1969.
64 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
65 Kwadwo Asafo Akwawuah. *Prelude to Ghana's Industrialisation*. London: Mitre Press, 1960.
66 "Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development." (Accra: Office of the Planning Commission. March 16, 1964) v.
67 "Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development." (Accra: Office of the Planning Commission. March 16, 1964) v.

Figure 18 "Oil Refinery, Tema," plate 13
Boateng, Ernest Amano. *A Geography of Ghana*.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

Figure 19 "Main Industrial Establishments"
Boateng, Ernest Amano. *A Geography of Ghana*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Figure 20 "Timber Export Routes"
Boateng, Ernest Amano. *A Geography of Ghana*.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 69.

Figure 21 The Mining Industry.
Achievement of the Gold Coast, 79.

Figure 22 "The Timber Yard at Takoradi Harbour"
Boateng, Ernest Amano. *A Geography of Ghana*.
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

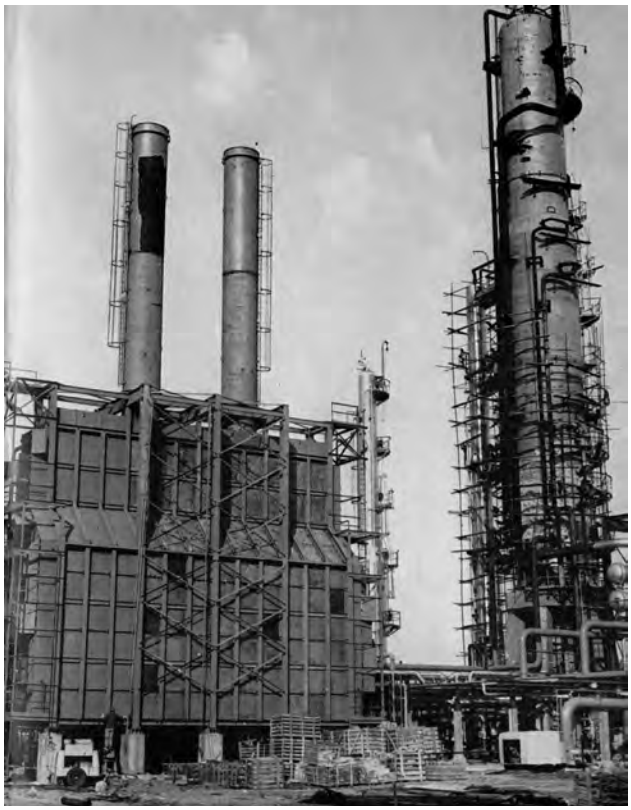

Figure 18

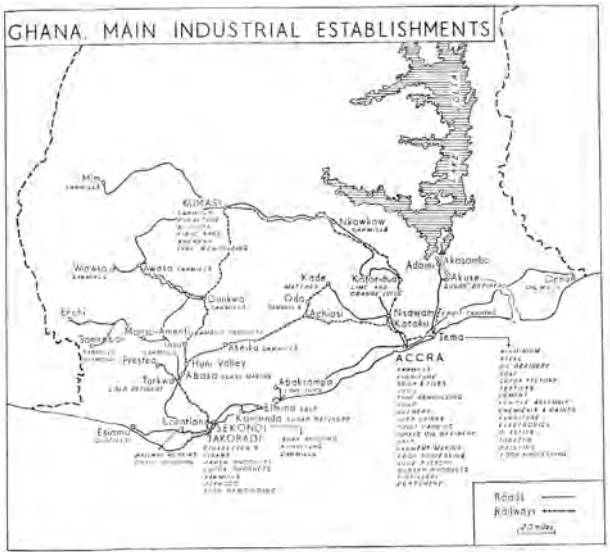

Figure 19

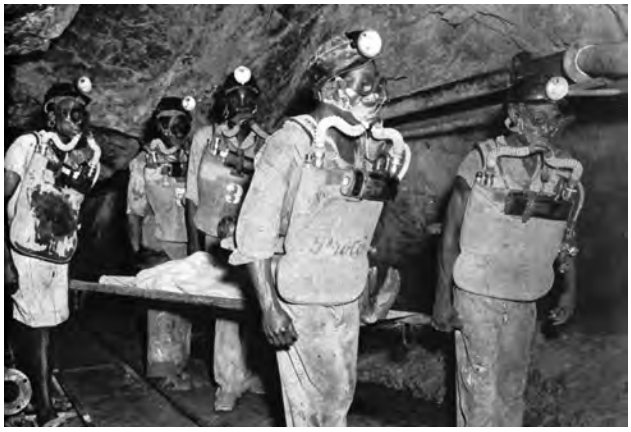

Figure 21

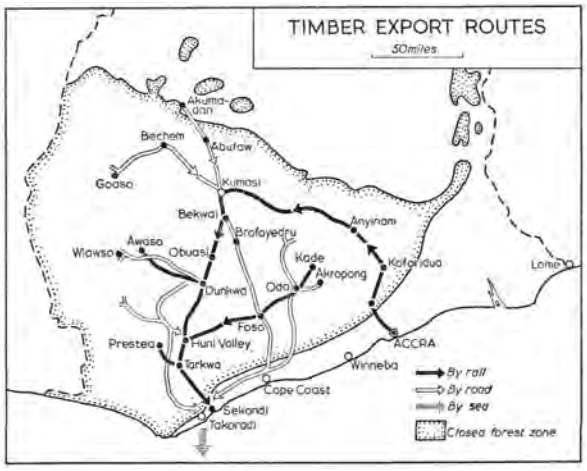

Figure 20

Figure 22

To demonstrate the longevity of this coupled scheme between Agriculture and Industry, more than a decade later The Ghana Year-Book of 1977 echoed the same concerns: "Although Ghana's economy is basically agricultural, much emphasis has been placed on her programme of development, on industrialization so as to help make the country economically self-sufficient and self-reliant."[68] The year's summary further explained, "It is the policy of the government to ensure that the existing industries particularly those in the light consumer goods sector make use of locally produced raw materials."[69] Finally, the book provides a boastful inventory of its accomplishments including 500 medium and large-scale industries and hundreds of small-scale industries across the south of Ghana (Figures 19-20). Among consumer goods and materials were cooking utensils, canned fruit, meat, fish, biscuits cocoa butter, cocoa powder, chocolates, spirits, and construction materials such as cement, asbestos, and plastic pipes.[70] In addition, the Government and private sector constructed factories to manufacture everything from glass, petroleum-based products ("a cheap substitute for metal, rubber, and leather")[71] and steel from scrap metal,[72] to smaller scale production such as cigarettes from locally grown tobacco, biscuit manufacture, and canning.[73] Whereas most of these new "modern industrial enterprises" were established at Accra and Tema with the aim to develop an "Industrial Estate,"[74] Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi flourished in the mining and timber industries[75] (Figures 21-22). Furthermore, new "mechanized" agricultural and fishing techniques precipitated food production and distribution in all of these cities.[76][77]

To more efficiently link these modernized industrial and agricultural hubs to one another and to their international consumers, the Government completed an artificial deep-water harbour at Tema in 1962,[78] carved out a new 220 acre Harbour at Takoradi with accommodation for 16 deep-draught "ocean-going vessels,"[79] opened the "Black Star" shipping line,[80] and established the Ghana Airways Corporation with national and international service.[81] Whereas previously, Cape Coast's surf port

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68 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 64.
69 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 59.
70 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 64.
71 "Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development." (Accra: Office of the Planning Commission. March 16, 1964) 100.
72 "Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development." (Accra: Office of the Planning Commission. March 16, 1964) 100.
73 Paul Redmayne. *Gold Coast to Ghana*. (Cape Coast: The Methodist Book Depot, 1957) 26.
74 Paul Redmayne. *Gold Coast to Ghana*. (Cape Coast: The Methodist Book Depot, 1957) 26.
75 To further reduce dependency on foreign food, Head of State Acheampong implemented the "Operation Feed Yourself" program in the 1970s. *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 34.
76 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 34.
77 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 68.
78 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 193.
79 *Ghana Year Book – 1960, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1961) 26.
80 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 36.
81 Kwamina B. Dickson, George Benneh, and R. R. Essah. *A New Geography of Ghana, Revised Edition*. (Essex, England: Longman, 1977) 112.

Figure 23 new Educational Institutions at the Perimeter of town by the 1970s. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 24 Map of Cape Coast, 1974. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July, 2013.

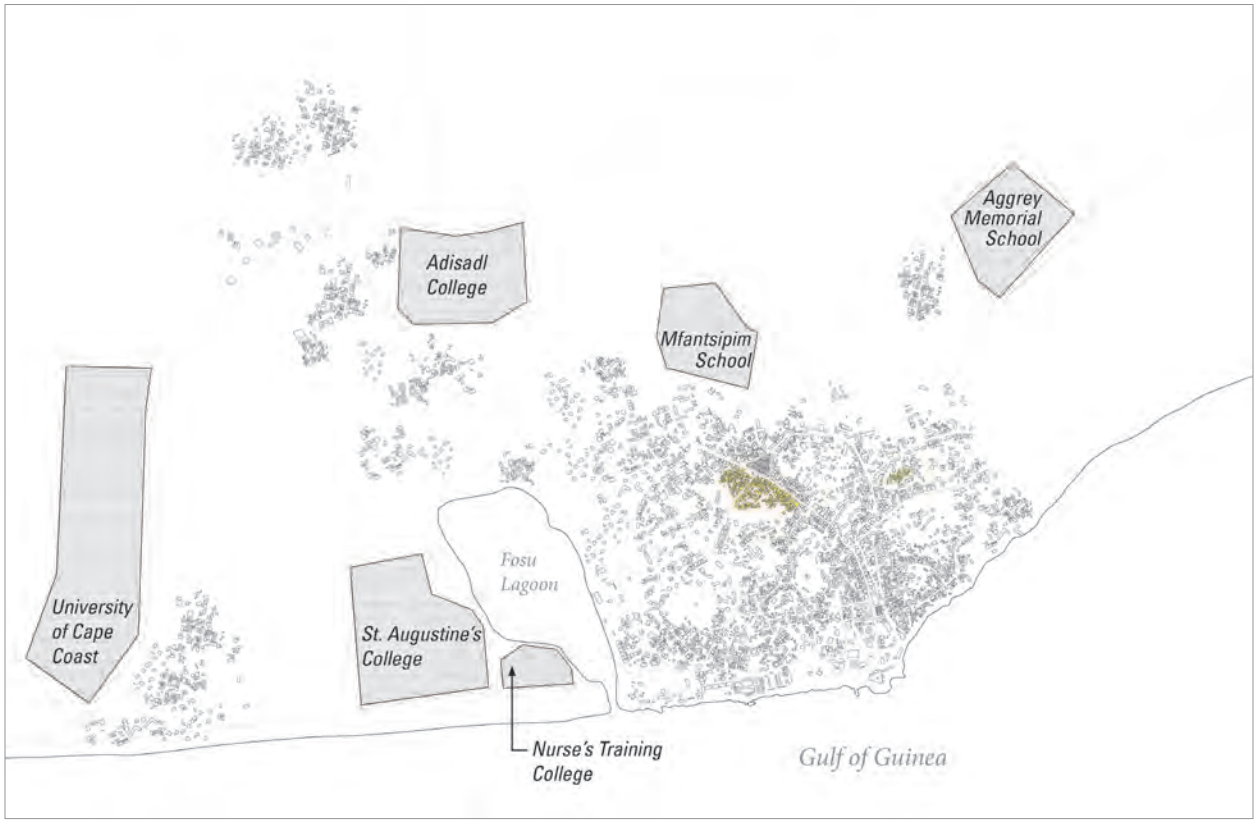

Figure 23

Figure 24

and road systems had contributed, at least in some degree, to this commercial network, the city witnessed further commercial decline in this period when the Government closed its port in 1962[82] and established the Accra-Sekondi-Takoradi Road. Its nickname, "the by-pass road," was indicative of Cape Coast's diminished contributions to Ghana's new industrial economy.[83]

A New Economy of Institutions at the Perimeter of an Old Town

Contrary to the "brisk business at Accra, Tema, Kumasi, and Sekondi-Takoradi,"[84] Cape Coast's commerce was comprised of "small-scale traditional industrial enterprises" such as tailoring, gold-smithing, carpentry, fitting,[85] and fishing.[86] In addition to these small outfits, the city still heavily relied on trade at Kotokuraba market. Here, one could find everything from household utensils, charcoal, cosmetics, medicines and jewelry[87] to maize, cassava, dried fish, and egg fruits.[88] Researcher Paul Redmayne pointed out, "There are stalls for modern packaged products and nearby those for the medicine man's remedies."[89] Despite the array of imported goods and local raw products and available, in the eyes of an eagerly industrializing nation, trade was viewed as traditional and subordinate to other forms of commercialism. In contrast to, and at the perimeter of this old, colonial mercantile center of Cape Coast however, arose the city's contribution to the new national economic agenda: educational centers. Since the city could offer neither industry nor agriculture, the Government bequeathed it as their supplier of intellect and the title "schoolmaster of the nation."[90] After the first decade of Ghana's independence, Cape Coast could boast of nine secondary schools, a polytechnic school, commercial schools, and a teacher-training college "nicely located on hilly parts of the outer edge of the town" [91][92] (Figures 23-27). Its most prominent institution and largest employer in the Central Region[93] however, was The University of Cape Coast established in 1962. Researcher Akon Kwame Ninsin attested to its social and spatial influence:

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82 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 44.
83 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 44.
84 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University, 1976) 22.
85 *Ghana Year Book – 1977, A Daily Graphic Publication* (Accra, 1978) 35.
86 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University, 1976) 21.
87 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 96.
88 Paul Redmayne. *Gold Coast to Ghana*. (Cape Coast: The Methodist Book Depot, 1957) 34.
89 Paul Redmayne. *Gold Coast to Ghana*. (Cape Coast: The Methodist Book Depot, 1957) 34.
90 ADM 23, 1573. Cape Coast Regional Archives, 1961.
91 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 262.
92 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 125.
93 Akon Kwame Ninsin. "Politics, Local Administration, and Community Development in Ghana, 1951-1966: A Case Study of Community Power and its Impact on Socio-Economic Development at Cape Coast." (PhD diss., Boston University, 1976) 176.

Figure 25 "The New Science Block at Mfantsipim, the Gold Coast's Oldest Secondary School".
Achievement of the Gold Coast, 15.

Figure 26 "Adisadel College, one of three large boarding secondary schools for boys at Cape Coast".
Achievement of the Gold Coast, 15.

Figure 27 "From Colony to Commonwealth in 56 Years- The Gold Coast Becomes Ghana". The *Illustrated London News* London, England, Saturday, March 2, 1957.

Figure 28 Shops at the edge of the Zongo on Johnson Street.

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

> *At present, the University covers a site of about five square miles of undulating land a few miles outside the urban area. In certain respects a satellite town has been built: in addition to the faculty buildings, halls of residence, dining-halls and library, one finds a transport yard, a hospital, a post-office, a shop, a nursery and a primary school, a book shop, banking facilities and about hundred and fifty-for Ghanaian conditions luxurious – bungalows with adjacent stewards quarters.*[94]

Hinderink and Sterkenburg further describe the amenities of this prized institution,

> *The University has a section for the maintenance of buildings and furniture and a car repair unit where both official college vehicles and private ones belonging to staff members are maintained. Finally, there is a special section which landscapes the lawns and gardens and that guards this entire capital investment.*[95]

Located at the edges of the Cape Coast, these new Universities and secondary schools bolstered not only the Nation's industrial agenda, but also supplied over 40% of the jobs in the city.[96] Whereas prior to this period the most prosperous economic transactions had operated at the market, its center of gravity had now shifted outwards to these financially and socially self-reliant intellectual machines. For the Zongo settlement, this spatial and economic shift caused increased marginalization. First, with the shift of the economic center from Kotokuraba Market to the newly formed wealthy edges, trading became less profitable and the area became relegated to a pre-independence economy. And second, with Cape Coast's history in education as being steeped in Christian morality, for many Zongo residents it was still a challenge to participate at the University level of the educational sector. Just as Cape Coast's economy was essentially inverted at this time, a similar inversion occurred at the scale of the Zongo settlement.

Constructing Commerce at the Perimeter of Settlement and Home

Whereas before independence, the Zongo economy had still relied heavily on trade and travel and was not explicitly differentiated from those living outside the Zongo, ethnographers in this period describe an economy unique to the Zongo replete with spatial consequences:

> *The Zongos have a more distinct character, since traders and workers with skilled occupations*

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94 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 125.
95 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 127.
96 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (S.tate University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 127.

Figure 29 Plan of a House in the Cape Coast Zongo north of Johnson Road. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 30 Plan of a House in the Cape Coast Zongo south of Johnson Road. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 31 Map Showing the Shops lining the edge of the Zongo. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

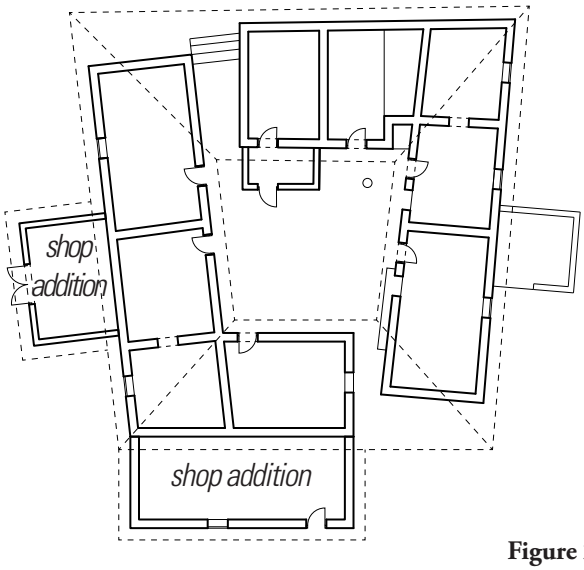

Figure 29

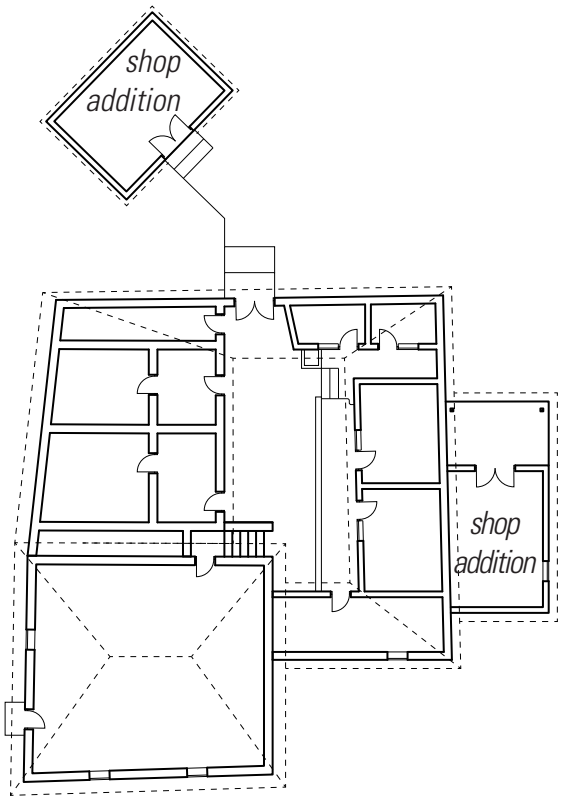

Figure 30

Figure 31

constitute more than three-quarters of all employed. Apart from the high densities per area and the poor quality of housing, the Zongos' low status as a residential area is explained by the negligible number of people with higher and medium level occupations, the presence of a considerable group of unskilled workers, and the Zongo population's low level of formal education (apart from the Arabic School). The location of the Zongos within the center of the town – the source of possible jobs for the unskilled and the place of work for traders and self-employed artisans – is an important determinant of residence for their inhabitants.[97]

Most residents were relegated to "secondary production" as tailors, seamstresses, bakers, carpenters, specialists in electrical and transport equipment,[98] unskilled, uneducated urban proletariat,[99] watchmen, and launderers.[100] As if describing a diorama of a market scene in which the people have no voice or movement, Paul Redmayne states, "In a corner of the larger markets are the stalls of the tinsmiths and shoemakers and other craftsmen. Here you will also find the Moslem tailors with their sewing machines and the letter writers, and we must not forget the native medicine man and the junk stall."[101] According to Zongo residents however, this period marked an increased in commercialization for the Zongo. One man explained, "There were no shops early on. There were just dwellings until the 1970s when my father started commercializing the area. Bedrooms were converted to shops. and new shops were added"[102] (Figures 28-30). Paralleling this account, Hinderink and Sterkenburg describe the evolution of Kotokuraba during this time,

Along the streets surrounding this triangular-shaped market have sprung up many small retail establishments in fixed premises, most of them of the kiosk or the general store type. In close proximity to Kotokuraba market is the wholesale market for agricultural produce, the Kotokuraba lorry park, a taxi parking-place and three of the five Zongos in the town.[103]

Thus, just as the city of Cape Coast's economy had shifted to its outermost edges, so too had the Zongos (Figure 31). While this fortified commercial lining of the settlement protected its fragile interior from increased pressures from authorities and provided new economic opportunities for

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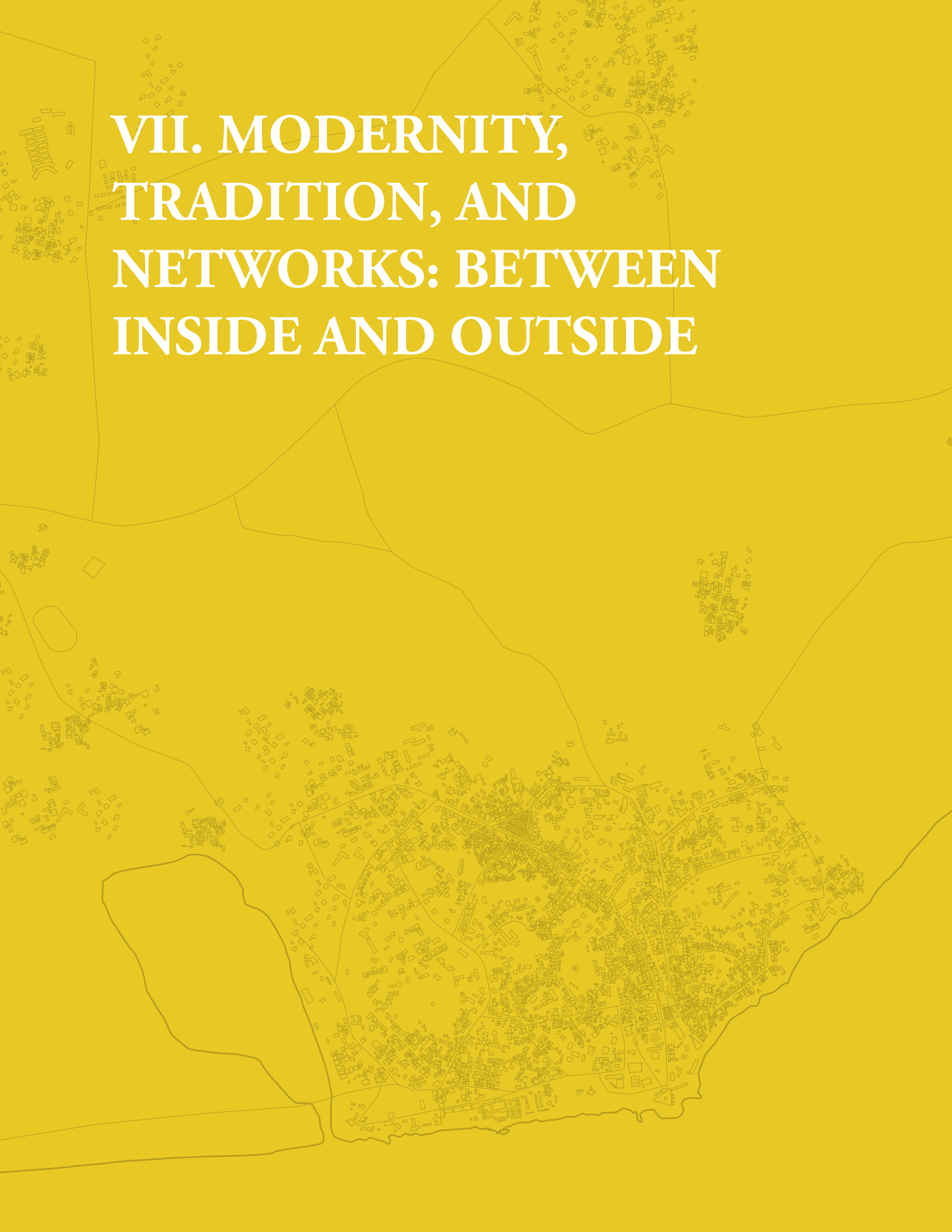
97 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 306.
98 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 148.
99 Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 5.
100 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African Town: a Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 210.
101 Paul Redmayne. *Gold Coast to Ghana*. (Cape Coast: The Methodist Book Depot, 1957) 34.
102 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
103 Jan Hinderink and Johannes Jacobus Sterkenburg. *Anatomy of an African town: a socio-economic study of Cape Coast, Ghana*. (State University of Utrecht, Geographical Institute, Department of Geography of Developing Countries, 1975) 267.

others, not all of these shops were owned and operated by those living inside the settlement. In fact, some of these retail owners had relocated to wealthier areas outside and returned to the market center to do business. Furthermore, where one was located within the Zongo became increasingly important. Whereas those with houses at the edge had the opportunity to engage in a diverse set of transactions, those with their shops hidden inside engaged in economic activity with non-Zongo residents. Again, echoing the larger spatial patterns of Cape Coast, the creation of an economy at the edge caused further marginalization at its center.

In summary, the Cape Coast Zongo to become more marginalized than ever before in this period. Since the Zongo was fundamentally a colonial invention, new anti-western, socialist agendas calling for no tribal or religious affiliation increased agitation and created a thickened spatial and visual divide between what was Zongo and what was not. Even though there were other opposing policies advocating for religious unity, these only served to reinforce the socio-spatial differences initiated by its rival. In Cape Coast, these conflicting agendas manifested in the consolidation of the three Zongos, relocation of some residents to Government Flats, the Municipal Government replacing the Muhammadan cemetery with their own "modern" concrete structure, and the erecting of a new mosques and Madrasas. Thus, the Zongo became increasingly bounded with the political authority to the west, economic trade to the east and the Mountain of God to the south. In addition to these tensions between a national and religious agenda, with the advent of Ghana's independence came cries from the State for an economy equally dedicated to agriculture and industry. Since Cape Coast's economy could boast of neither enterprise, and because of its historically important position as a Missionary educational center, the Government advertised the town as the supplier of intellect to the more prosperous economic centers of Accra, Takoradi, and Kumasi. Rather than locating the institutions in the center of town however, these elaborate campuses, complete with residences, post offices, dining facilities and stores, sprawled across its outermost edges.

In the eyes of the State and wealthy individuals therefore, the Zongo's location at the center of town was once again relegated to the social margins. Even so, local municipal authorities intensified the pressure on the three Zongo settlements orbiting Kotokuraba market. With little space to expand and economic pressures to open shops, the Zongo, in parallel with the newly erected institutions around the perimeter of Cape Coast, constructed their own commercial perimeter of shops lining and protecting the Zongo's swelling interior. Lastly, at the scale of the house, due to lack of space to expand and the municipality terminating their right to renovate, younger generations left the Zongo to build "outside". Thus, this period is marked by inside-outside inversions and increased socio-spatial marginalization at every scale.

VII. MODERNITY, TRADITION, AND NETWORKS: BETWEEN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE



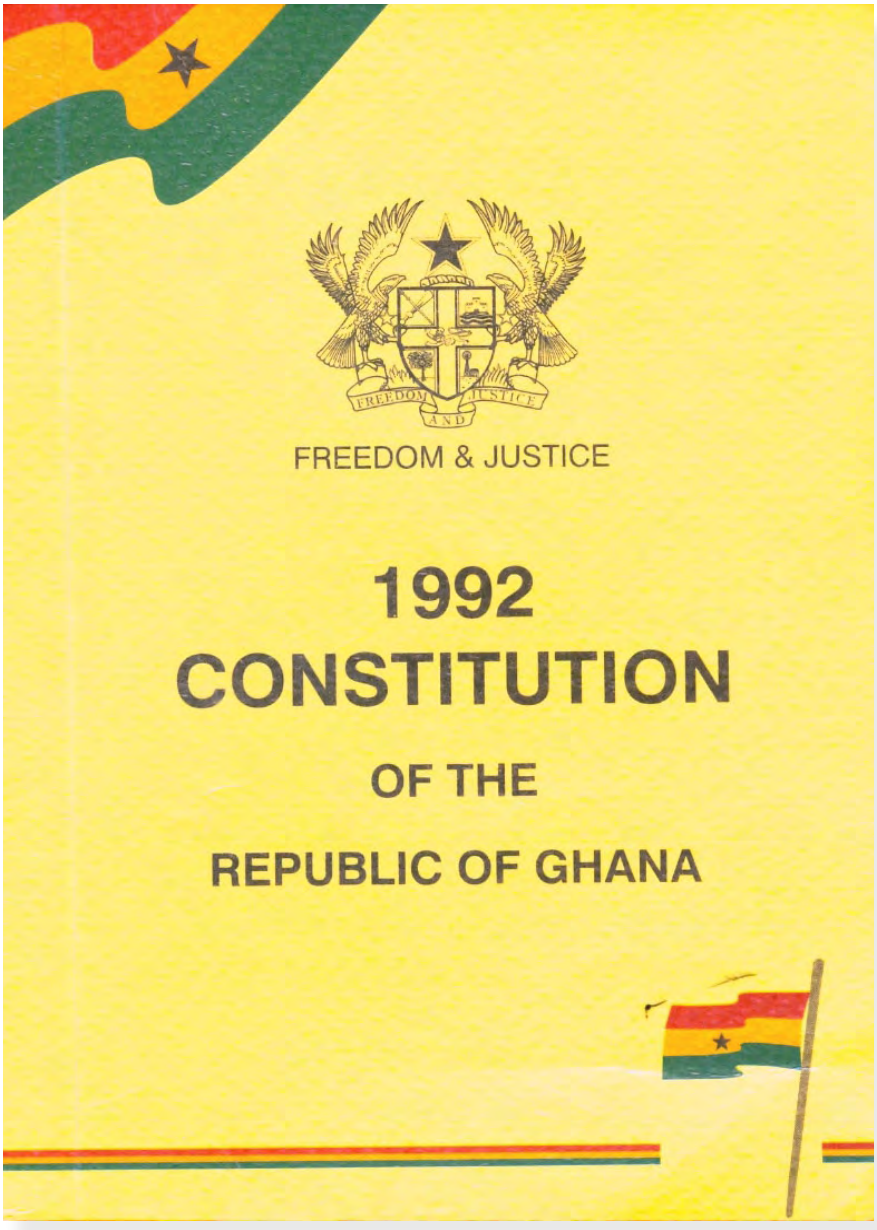


Figure 1 1992 Ghana Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, http://www.ghanaewsagency.org/assets/images/Constitution%201992.jpg, Accessed April 10, 2014.

Figure 1

VII. MODERNITY, TRADITION, AND NETWORKS: BETWEEN INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

This last chapter covers the period 1993-2014. It begins with the consummation of The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, the country's fourth and current republic, and ends with the Zongo's current positioning bounded by the nation-state in a rapidly globalizing world (Figure 1). As opposed to the previous historical chapters in which one could track the transformations of ideologies, architectural and urban form and scholarship before the period began and after it ended, the evidence for this "history of the present" requires a more open, provisional, and skeptical analysis – one that acknowledges that we are swimming in the present. Another challenging difference is that of scale. In addition to examining the socio-spatial relationships at the settlement, urban, regional and national levels, the global becomes increasingly influential in shaping urban form. Because of Ghana's shift from a national to liberalized economy, the urban landscape is becoming increasingly fragmented and disorienting with surprising juxtapositions in which foreign investment at times commands local livelihoods and urban form. Even so, these global economic flows and corresponding spatial textures do not extend into the Zongo settlement causing increased difference between inside and out. At the same time, the nation-state further encourages socio-spatial uniformity and homogeneity among the national network of Zongo settlements. Thus, the nation-state requires the Zongo to adopt a national identity riveted to an undifferentiated, abstract spatial one. Whereas increasing difference between "inside" and "outside" as caused by economic liberalization and the political imagination cause the Zongo to become more marginalized as a settlement and network, new on-line platforms provide a shared virtual space that encourage agency and the generation of new, plural Zongo identities.

In addition to economic liberalization, national consolidation, and new virtual networks rippling from the global down to the settlement scales, are the polarizing concepts of tradition and modernity[1]. Whereas the voices in this chapter index tradition as fixed, old, religious, and place-based, they bestow modernity[2] as adaptable, new, capitalist, and process-based. However discordant these concepts appear however, the nation-state's identity relies upon both. Just as Accra epitomizes

1 This is a pairing that dates back at least to the mid twentieth century. See Milton Singer and Lloyd I Rudolph : Milton Singer "Beyond tradition and modernity in Madras." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13, no. 02 (1971): 160-195; , Lloyd I Rudolph. *The Modernity of Tradition: Political development in India*. University of Chicago Press, 1984.
2 Note that the definition of the term Modernity is based upon inferences from local usage. In most cases, residents equate Modernity with the West, "progress," "development," access to amenities such as electricity, water, and cable television. Most "modern" structures were described as having been constructed of concrete with glass windows, and air conditioning.

Figure 2 Original wood roof beams and mud wall with newer wood framing and corrogated iron sheets above.

Figure 2

and sells a fleeting modern life, Cape Coast consciously embodies tradition as a place and product. In consonance, the Zongo identity relies upon both the preservation of the traditional, religious place in the Zongo, and the less defined, temporary spaces outside it. It is the tension between the two that simultaneously reinforces the identity of both nation-state and Zongo. When these binary, polarizing forces - modernity and tradition, global and local, are assigned to distinctly separate coordinates with one located "inside" an area and the other "outside", they cause the Zongo and Cape Coast to seem increasingly spatially bounded and marginalized.

Though voices in this chapter are still those of individuals such the President, Zongo Chief, Municipal Assembly member, an anonymous blogger or Zongo resident, their tones and content often suggested a loyalty to larger ideologies imparted by political and religious institutions. Thus, even though evidence from interviews, newsletters, and social media is often contradictory and do not always resonate with the physical description or experience of a place, the commentary describes an abstract reality fashioned by the institutions themselves. To supplement these abstract explanations, photographic evidence and on-the-ground observations are the other primary sources by which to analyze the Zongo's socio-spatial relationships.

Tradition And Modernity

Rather than abstract concepts at a global scale, this chapter's narrative begins with the more concrete spatial consequences arising out of the oppositional, yet contingent relationship between tradition and modernity operating within and between the urban, settlement, and architecture scales. During both casual conversation and in-depth interviews, Zongo residents described tradition in spatial terms as "old ways of building," mud structures built by their forefathers, and places that ought to be preserved to respect the past and practice one's religion[3] (Figure 2). Though not necessarily at odds with tradition, their visions of modernity were less concerned with relationships between activity and architecture and more preoccupied with an image of the modern house comprised of "concrete block, a wide place with wood interior designs, a living room, and bedrooms."[4] Other residents added the importance that "the kitchen and bathrooms must all be inside."[5] One last resident grinned and explained, "It must have a jacuzzi!"[6] Thus, this chapter must not only contend with the physical relationships between tradition and modernity, but also their perceived image - effectively a product and place for consumption.

3 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
4 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
5 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
6 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

Figures 3-7 Houses in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Settlement Heterogeneity

Before examining how modernity has caused the Zongo – in reality and image - to become more marginalized however, it is important to first interrogate its impact on the spatial configurations, building typologies, and materials within the settlement itself. Though Cape Coast residents reduce the settlement to derogatory, monolithic stereotypes such as "dirty,"[7] "backwards," or "slum-like,"[8] and assume its residents are "Muslim" and "living a Zongo life", it is culturally and visually diverse. Despite the large Muslim population in this area, "it is also dotted with Christians" and inhabited by a number of different ethnic groups including the Mossi, Hausa, Yoruba, Zaberma, Grunshi, Wangara, Wala and even a few Fante.[9] On a walk through the Zongo for example, one might see a man wearing Adidas pants and a Lacoste T-shirt conversing with another in a traditional white thawb and then later see a group of women – one in hot pink leggings and black t-shirt, another wearing a tailored dress with an ornate pattern of Akan symbols, and the third adorning a blue, silky gown imported from India. One Zongo resident explained, "Everyone dresses very well here. We are taken care of by our "modern fashion designers." We wear western and traditional dress. The elders wear traditional dresses more often than the younger ones."[10] A second resident however, emphasized the importance of Islamic dress. He explained, "The most important thing is how you dress here. Muslim dress is very important. You have to be a God fearing person. And that's not really about you how you dress. But still the dress is important."[11] Just as the clothing exhibits diversity in its multiple religious, ethnic, or national affiliations and conveys contingency in the ability for the same person to wear different outfits depending on the occasion, so too do the materials, typologies, and configurations of the Zongo's architecture.

While some of the houses such as that of the old Fulani Chief's is a "naked mud building"[12] with crumbling mud walls, rusted iron sheets, and has had few modifications over the years, another house also owned by a Chief that recently passed away boasts of new louvered windows, a paneled wood door, and smooth, concrete walls (Figures 3-4). Materials used in Zongo structures vary from wattle and daub, mud brick, and wood to sandcrete, landcrete, concrete, corrugated iron sheets and glass. The details and finishes are just as varied. While some residents invest in fresh coats of paint on an annual basis, insert pre-cast concrete designs into their walls, or announce the entry to their house with a brightly colored framed entry and inlaid ceramic tile, others use materials they have on hand such as old iron sheets, wood scraps, and chicken wire to construct their structures (Figures

7 Informal conversation with an anonymous Cape Coast resident on January 20, 2014.
8 Informal conversation with an anonymous Cape Coast resident on January 20, 2014.
9 Interview with an anonymous Salt Pond Zongo resident on July 31, 2013.
10 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
11 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
12 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

Figure 8 Partial plan of a courtyard house in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figures 9-12 Houses in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 13 Interior of a house in the Cape Coast Zongo

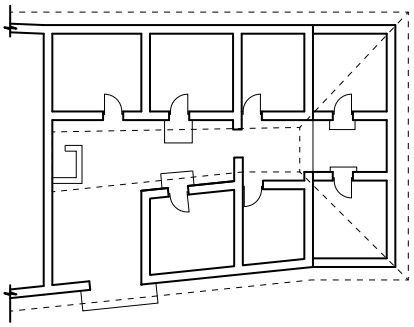


Figure 8

Figure 10

Figure 9

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

5-7). Even though some residents claim these mud structures have not been modified since their forefathers built them, other residents described the change.[13] "Until about 10-15 years ago," one man recalled, "we used traditional materials but now because of modernization, there are changes and they have begun to use concrete and poured stone."[14] Another resident agreed and added, "I left in 1977 and came back in 1998. During that time, some people renovated their houses. The houses look better than they did when they were mud. They are modern."[15] Similarly to its materials, the house size varies dramatically depending upon a family's needs and financial position. In some cases, the structure is a large courtyard house composed of cellular rooms strung around an open space for cooking and washing (Figures 8-9). In others, smaller rooms for family members or renters with separate entrances have been added to a larger, original structure (Figure 10). One resident explained, "The houses used to be smaller with the whole family inside. Now they built large compound houses so a child can occupy part of the house."[16] Although most of the buildings are single storey, there is one two-storey "colonial" house at the center of the Zongo and a few along its edges[17] (Figure 11). What is perhaps the most surprising however, are the large number of homes with electricity and many with satellite dishes (Figure 12).

The interior of these houses is just as varied as the exterior, yet contains a more textured, rich narrative about the residents' lives, almost always commingling traditional place with modern product. Though almost every room took the form of a small rectangle or square, the finishes, furniture layout, and wall decorations befitted that of the owner (Figure 13). One resident, sitting cross-legged with a potbelly protruding over his red board shorts and preoccupied on his cell, had beckoned us into his bright, clean turquoise sitting room. An old TV hiccuping static sat at the far end of a room next to a small window opening and was offset by a bed at the other end. While this room was part of a larger courtyard house, a second interviewee's house was separate from the family house and had been given to him when he turned eighteen. Much larger in size, this interior contained elaborate wood couches with velvety cushions, a matching coffee table, a new TV a ceiling fan and posters of Ibrahim Niasse pasted on the wall. Even though these two examples had well-maintained exteriors and interiors, we visited a resident whose exterior had begun to cave in, but the interior was well-cared, complete with a humming refrigerator and a large intricately woven mustard-colored sajjada spread across the floor next to piles of religious texts. It is also important to note that a crumbling exterior does not always coincide with a well cared for interior. For example, an apartment housed within a formidable two-storey concrete structure at the edge of

13 From informal conversations with Zongo residents, July 2013 and January 2014.
14 Interview with an anonymous Larabanga Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
15 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 23, 2014.
16 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
17 Informal conversation with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.

Figure 14 Variegated Zongo Landscape

Figures 15 Passage in the Zongo

Figure 16 Fragmented Open Space in the Zongo

Figure 17 Useable Open Space in the Zongo

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17

the Zongo had collapsing walls, a greasy concrete floor, was barren except for a collapsed bed frame and smelled of urine and fish. One last residence was that of a renter whose modest 6' x 6' room with a sloping dirt floor could barely fit three people. There was a small window providing a sliver of light and a translucent curtain separating his bedding from a nearly barren "sitting room". Thus, as demonstrated at its exterior and interior, the Zongo house cannot be reduced to a single, static traditional construction. Rather it is a collection of material hybrids spanning from traditional place and process to modern product as differentiated not only between houses, but also within the same structure inside and out.

In terms of positioning within the settlement, there are not particular neighborhoods that lean more towards a traditional method or modern aesthetic and similarly, not distinct neighborhoods that are better maintained than others (Figure 14). Though the portion of the Zongo north of Johnston Road typically consists of smaller houses and narrower passages, this area was constructed earlier than the south side and thus has less space to expand. As one moves from the edges of the Zongo lined with shops, through narrow passages and into the Zongo, the most public, shared spaces are on the flatter ground in close proximity to the road. Further away from the road, the ground becomes steeper, the alleys become narrower, there are fewer mosques, and it is generally more private. The easiest way for one not familiar with the area to navigate the Zongo is by following the large open drains that bifurcate the settlement on either side of Johnson Road and serve as the settlement's main arteries off of which smaller drains branch leading to the bathrooms external to the house. While not in every case, the houses and landscape on the steeper inclines tend to be in poorer condition. Based on a combination of interviews and observations, the prosperity of one house compared with others has more to do with the coherence of familial structure, financial resources, and the quality of the land in terms of topography, soil type, and access to infrastructure.

In addition to the house, land ownership and use is equally important to understanding the heterogeneity of the Zongo settlement. Rather than the western notion of property ownership system in which one purchases a plot of land that is part of a larger planned area with demarcated public buildings, streets, and landscapes, the Zongo is comprised entirely of private property and follows Islamic laws of inheritance. One resident pointed out, "It's very difficult to differentiate one plot of land from another. We use a system of inheritance. Because this place belongs to my grandfather, it also belongs to me."[18] Another resident added, "The people of the Zongo are always open. In every Islamic community there are laws. These laws are about how to relate to people how you see people. The inheritance of the house, the land belongs to the children of the deceased. This is one of the

18 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on July 29, 2013.

Figure 18 An unsanitary area in the Zongo

Figures 19 Tents set up for a ceremony in the Zongo

Figures 20-22 Mosques in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 23 Madrasa in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 23

laws."[19] Since there is no official record of property boundaries, as one moves from the center of one's property (most often an interior courtyard) to its outer edges, ownership and maintenance become increasingly obscure.

Thus, when spliced together, these blurry margins take the form of either thin passages for people, open sewers, and electricity lines, or larger open spaces. While in some cases open sewers splinter these spaces into less functional fragments, those with fewer obstructions are used for wedding and naming ceremonies (Figures 15-17). With a growing number of family members owning each property however, it has become increasingly difficult to negotiate not only the maintenance and use of the houses, but even more so these "shared spaces" at the margins. One resident confided, "When I planted plantains, part of it was on another person's property. There is the sharing of property in the Zongo. Part of the belief is that you can't take anything that doesn't belong to you. My father has 14 children. How are you going to share that place? Who is going to maintain it? Buildings can't be sold. It's not part of the religion. You share among children of the owner."[20] Whereas in some areas of the Zongo the property sharing is highly successful and results in a well-maintained, highly utilized space, in others the margins have been abandoned and are littered with waste (Figure 18). Thus, echoing that of the houses, these landscapes at the seams vary in prosperity depending upon their degree of functionality and the extent in which its owners are willing and able to collectively maintain them. Since these spaces were generated from Islamic law and require collective maintenance beyond that of an individual family however, they are more closely bound to tradition and religion than the house. At the same time, these maintain a programmatic flexibility that the house cannot. Rather than the more permanent mud or concrete structure arranged to accommodate particular domestic activities, these landscapes are temporal and designed to satisfy the needs of a particular event – most often a coagulation of traditional and modern – from traditional spatial formations, dress, and drummers to a tent, sound system, and, coca cola refreshments (Figure 19).

In contrast to the house and landscape that exude a high amount of visual heterogeneity depending upon ownership, quality of land, and financial resources, religious constructions in the Zongo are universally prosperous and able to facilely negotiate tradition and modernity. Located on Commercial Street south of Kotokuraba market for example, is the Central Mosque[21], at least twice the size of any other building in the area. A symmetrical, white concrete structure with large arched openings and impressive minarets that breach the city's skyline, the mosque is constantly undergoing construction and serves as the hub for all religious programs in the area. Even though this Mosque

19 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
20 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
21 Even though the Central Mosque is located in the Zongo, one does not need to live in the Zongo to attend. Some residents go to mosque on a daily basis and others attend only on Fridays.

Figure 24 Hassaniyya Quranic School in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figures 25 8-Pointed Star Drawing in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 26 Painting on a Wall in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 27 Chalkings on a Wall in the Cape Coast Zongo

Figure 24

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 27

is by far the largest, other smaller local mosques are sprinkled throughout the Zongo and equally well-maintained (Figures 20-22). While some of these mosques might be more recognizable in their material expression of a small minaret or Arabic text, others adopt the form of a house with a large set of speakers announcing its Islamic purpose. One resident reflected on the importance of the mosque in building and sustaining a Zongo settlement, "If you want a community to become a fast-growing area, allow Muslims to stay there and build a mosque. As far as you can hear the call to prayer, the town will spread to that area. It is the spiritual thing that brings people together."[22]

Similarly, the two primary Madrasas in the Zongo have different forms, but are equally well cared for. The bright blue Madrasa with yellow shutters on Johnson road was just freshly painted and proudly exhibits its teachings in an intricate set of colorful murals on its walls and an adjacent house (Figure 23). Though the Hassaniyya Quranic school is less visually recognizable apart from a consistent painted blue band that demarcates it as "Madrasa alley", on Saturdays and Sundays it is transformed into a lively classroom composed of wooden benches, chalkboards, and tablets with a canopy strung across neighboring houses overhead (Figure 24). In addition to mosques and Madrasas, other more temporary visual expressions intimate the importance of religion in the Zongo. From quick, graffiti-like chalkings on the side of a house of Al Hajji Ahmed Abul Faidi Maikano Jallo, the leader of the Tijāniyyah Muslim Council of Ghana, to more intricate paintings of Ibrahim Niasse on a wall or the eight pointed star demarcating entry during Ramadan (Figures 25-27). Thus, even though the Zongo urban fabric is a collage of traditional and modern materials, typology, and method of construction – some of which are prosperous and others that are neglected – religious institutions and other modes of visual expressions are universally prosperous and able to mediate between inside and outside, traditional, and modern, and individual and collective modes of participation and financing. On one hand, the house (and landscape to a lesser degree) relies more on the strength of tradition and culture – that of the collective family unit – to sustain its relevance. And, with residents adopting an increasingly "modern way of life" and capitalist mentality, this family structure is decaying against the persistent and unchanging land law of inheritance. Religious institutions on the other hand have been able to link traditional religious belief to modern economic ambitions by modifying their political structure to echo that of the nation-state.

Investing in Modernity Outside, Returning to Tradition Inside

Despite the material and spatial diversity across the settlement and internal intensifying difference between houses and religious institution, the Zongo as a settlement is becoming increasingly marginalized as a static construction of tradition. Reinforced by negative images of the Zongo

22 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on July 29, 2013.

produced in the past and physically actualized by forces of modernity, the settlement is viewed and internalized as a traditional settlement against the modern backdrop of Cape Coast. One resident explained, "Tradition here is important." He continued, "The Zongo is important because of our forefathers. They were minding their own business. They knew the religion very well. They practiced the religion very well. It's still being practiced very well. You can see by what I have around me"(prayer mat, beads, the Quran).[23] "There are certain cultural traits about the Zongo. When you see a congregation of Hausas, 90% of us are Muslim. The clothing, the food, the culture, is all the same. We mingle tradition with religion."[24] Reiterating the importance of cultural and religious unity, another resident traced a circle with his fingers in the air and defined a Zongo "as a place where all people are living in the same place, speaking the same language, and practicing Islam."[25] Further mapping religion onto place, another resident explained, "The level of religion is important because if people don't know their history, they won't respect the place.[26] Thus, for many residents, living in the Zongo translated to the re-living of, and sacrificing for, the religious devotion of their forefathers. A woman said adamantly, "Our forefathers built here so we have to stay with them."[27] In consonance, other residents extended this notion of cultural preservation to its architecture. "I wouldn't want to change the houses," one resident explained. "I would want the children to see the houses as they always were."[28] Another resident reiterated, "I want peace in the Zongo. I would like to keep it how the forefathers built this place. The community should be preserved in the same state it was always in."[29] Beyond its historical and religious significance, residents see the Zongo as a defense mechanism from the "outside" and way to "not be assimilated."[30] A resident reflected, "The importance of the Zongo is "to see ourselves,"[31] and one last resident added, "It is important that we stay because if we get thrown outside of the area, from this very place, we will be forgotten. It is important for the government to see our own matters. We need to be visible. As long as we are here, we are still in their minds."[32] Thus, tradition for the Zongo is just as much about preserving the past and sustaining religion as it is sustaining social and spatial difference through a collective unity.

Though some residents explained that they would never want to live anywhere else and that "There is no place like home,"[33] others fantasized about having enough money to build a modern house

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23 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
24 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
25 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
26 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
27 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
28 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 24, 2014.
29 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
30 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
31 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
32 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
33 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.

outside and keep their house inside for visitors.[34] In contrast with those who wanted to preserve its architecture, other residents wished that people would invest in the Zongo and make it modern. "If I had the power", one resident explained, "I would want the buildings here to be built in the modern way - not the old way. I would want them in concrete. I would like everything to change because the world is changing."[35] Still other residents were less interested in neither preservation nor modernization and viewed the Zongo as a channel by which to obtain admission into the modern city. One man revealed, "There is tradition in the Zongo. People are going outside and developing. People use the Zongo as a stepping stone.[36] In agreement, another resident used a different analogy, "It's like a doorway to a town. The transitional way to become part of the town."[37]

Despite the residents' devotion to their settlement, those who can afford to, most often leave the Zongo for a "modern life outside." A resident explained, "Take me for example, when I wanted to build, I chose to live outside with air conditioning, sandcrete, and glass. With time, we adopted the modern trend. It is less risky, safer, and we wanted to enjoy modernity."[38] This same resident however, reiterated the Zongo's relevance, "There are advantages of living in the Zongo today. Naturally people like to stick to their kind. Even though he is here, he spent most of his time in Kotokuraba among his people. It's a place to share ideas. To promote religion. To maintain their culture and tradition. That is why after so many hundreds of years, we are still not assimilated. It's not easy to get Hausas to assimilate to another culture or tribe. We believe we are a great empire. For example, in the whole of Africa we have three international languages: Arabic, Hausa and Swahili."[39] Echoing this same theme, other residents who had decided to develop outside returned to the Zongo for tradition's sake – for wedding and naming ceremonies, to practice their religion, to visit their people, and to reconnect with their roots. One former resident said, "This is our place, we belong here – Nam Mukafito."[40] When asked whether the Zongo will be here in twenty years, another resident who had recently left to live outside said, "Yes, the traditions will continue. Everything we do we do it in the community. I only know a few people where I live now. It's no Zongo."[41] Since the houses in the Zongo are owned jointly by extended families, some of the residents who have left feel bound to and responsible for the house. One man whose mother still lives in the Zongo explained, "We say that if you leave your house, the house will also leave you. No one wants to leave the house."[42] Despite this hopeful claim, with a rapidly modernizing context and little room to expand in the settlement, fewer relatives are

34 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
35 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
36 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
37 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 20, 2014.
38 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
39 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
40 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 27, 2014.
41 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.
42 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.

Figure 28 Wall
Between the Municipal
Government and the Cape
Coast Zongo

Figure 28

willing to invest in the family house and usually leave it to a "custodian" usually a family member who is older and/or can't afford to live anywhere else. Thus, with the more affluent residents leaving for a modern lifestyle, the Zongo has become more impoverished. Furthermore, since those leaving the affluent still desire to partake in its traditional offerings, the settlement also becomes increasingly bound to, and defined by tradition.

In addition to the sharpened contrast between inside and out as caused by resident migration out of the settlement, the Municipal Government further thickens the divide between tradition and modernity. Rather than providing the Zongo settlement with infrastructure and amenities as it does the rest of the city, the Government does little to ameliorate its impoverished conditions. One resident pointed out, "This is the general picture of the situation: the Zongo is not given attention by the authorities; there are not enough Zongo community members in higher places to make improvements in the Zongo; they are usually not looked at."[43] Another man added, "The municipal government just leaves us here. There are no improvements. There is no toilet. No refuse. The only improvement was the gutter. It was done two years ago."[44] Hence, even though most of the residents in the Zongo pay taxes to the Municipal Assembly on an annual basis[45] that not only do they not receive the same amenities as others, but they also aren't allowed to renovate their houses (Figure 28). One man projected that "if the municipal assembly would allow the people to renovate their houses that it would like nice."[46] In addition to the settlement having difficulty receiving attention from authorities, recent Government plans to develop Kotokuraba Market into an "ultra modern" facility further aggravate the situation and threaten to create more visual difference between the "traditional" Zongo and "modern" city. In a note to the Chief Zongo dated 2010, the Government wrote,

> *As you are no doubt aware, Government intends to develop the Kotokuraba Market into a modern state of the Art market facility that will include Shopping malls, car parks, banking halls, police post, pre-school educational facilities etc., befitting a modern Metropolis like Cape Coast. Achieving that aspiration however, will require the support and cooperation of both Assembly and Community members. As major stakeholders, our duty as far as the execution of the project is concerned, is to get the site plan of the proposed area available to Government for necessary details designs and costing. To that end, the Assembly with your support and cooperation has engaged Pre-Christ Consult, a private survey firm to liaise with you to get the site plan prepared in good time without further delay. We must all realize that this is an opportunity we must not let go as the facility if provided will create jobs for our people as well as improve and boost commercial*

43 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on July 29, 2013.
44 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
45 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.
46 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.

Figure 29 "Modernity and Tradition," Paul Redmayne, *Gold Coast to Ghana.* London: The Methodist Book Depot, Cape Coast.

Figure 30 Cape Coast Postcard http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-Acsv7-oVZWQ/UpIRSzMz0UI/AAAAAAAA1Gw/LUZoUJva1vA/s1600/GH-34-02C.jpg, Accessed April 20, 2014.

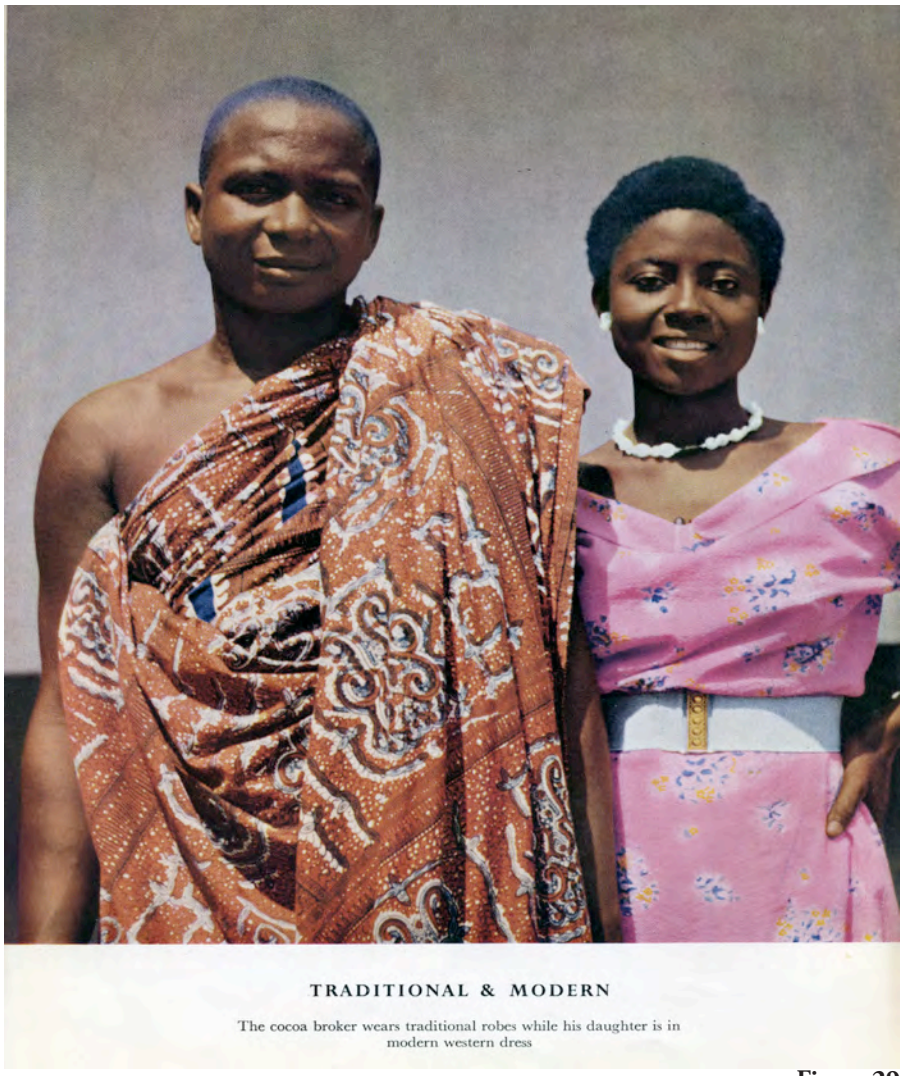

Figure 29

Figure 30

activities in the Metropolis. It is therefore my hope and prayer that all stakeholders will give the project their maximum support to ensure successful implementation. I count on your usual cooperation.[47]

In response to this letter, the resident who shared it with me shook his head and explained, "The most difficult time is right now. Between Mills and Mahama[48]. They've been very serious about evacuation. They went as far as to put pillars down in the Zongo. This could have resulted in a war. For now they are silent, but I don't know their plan of action."[49] Thus, multiple pressures, from inside and out, have caused the Zongo settlement to become more marginalized. While those living inside abide by a more traditional set of norms in which modernity feels unattainable, those living outside enjoy a modern lifestyle while simultaneously perpetuating its tradition for consumption. Furthermore, the Municipal Government has caused increased difference by excluding the settlement from modern amenities, generating land ownership insecurity among Zongo residents, and constructing "modern" structures outside it.

Consumption of the Past and Investment in the Future

Just as Zongo and Municipal authorities sponsoring modernity have fashioned an image of the Zongo increasingly steeped in tradition and tethered to a static past, the nation-state assigned a similar image to Cape Coast. Since the nation-state's collective identity had always subsumed both returning to tradition and progressing towards modernity, it solicited different cities to take on these dichotomous roles (Figure 29). While Accra had been chosen as the epitome of modern – exhibiting imposing industries, contemporary architecture imported from Europe, expansive shopping malls, and Kentucky Fried Chicken, Cape Coast was selected to symbolize its history through images of its infamous mercantile and slave castle, forts, and colonial heritage (Figure 30). In February 2014, *The Daily Graphic* announced the national government's intentions to improve selected cities,

Four cities are set to be upgraded as part of the government's prioritisation policy in the areas of environmental sanitation and economic development. The cities, Cape Coast, Tema, Secondi –Takoradi and Tamale, were selected due to their key contribution towards the socio-economic development of the country. The Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Mr Akwasi Opong-Fosu, announced this in Cape Coast when he addressed the Metropolitan Assembly as part of his Central Regional tour, which started on Monday, February 10, 2014.

47 "Redevelopment of Kotokuraba Market." Letter from Metro. Chief Executive (Peter K. Dery) to The Chief, Zongo Community Kotokuraba, Cape Coast dated 2010. Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed January 2014.
48 This is a resident's reference to the death of President John Atta Mills while in office (2012) and the current President John Dramani Mahama.
49 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 21, 2014.

Figure 31 Cover of *Cape Coast Municipality: Ghana's Preferred Hub for Education, Trade, Investment, and Tourism*. (Cape Coast, Ghana: Cape Coast Municipal Assembly, 2001) 18.

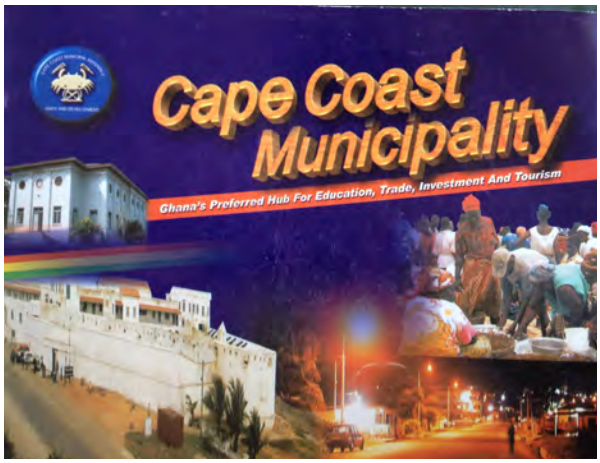

Figure 31

Figure 32 Colonial Building in Cape Coast

Figure 32

Figure 33 Cape Coast Castle

Figure 33

> *Mr Opong-Fosu said the renewal of the four cities were necessary "so that the selected cities will come to life again". He commended the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) for Cape Coast, Mrs Priscilla Arhin, for her tireless efforts at developing the municipality and added that 'I noticed a remarkable change in Cape Coast.*[50]

In the Medium Term Development Plan (2010-2013), the Municipality explains the importance of Cape Coast's heritage,

> *Cape Coast is an ancient and historic town: and its role in Ghana's history, a long and honourable one, despite its still evident associations with the slave trade...Future generations of Ghanaian school children ought to be able to study the roots of their country's development as a modern nation by visiting its historic sites, and places associated with key figures in Ghanaian history.*[51]

Thus, rather than endorse new construction in Cape Coast, the nation-state encourages revitalization and preservation of the old, historic core. "To restore the Municipality to its past glorious status," the Cape Coast Municipal Assembly embarked on a 5-year Beautification Development Plan from 2001-2005[52] (Figure 31). Instead of ameliorating the poor living conditions for the residents as had been the focus in the previous period, the recent plan cares more about producing an enticing image of the city appealing to investors. The Government, therefore, catalogued "the exciting economic, cultural, social, and political facilities of the Cape Coast Municipality which will goad any investor into making the municipality his one-stop residence."[53] While some of the economic opportunities included bee keeping, snail farming, fish cannery, and cashew nut production,[54] cultural opportunities centered on the built environment and suggested the creation of festival grounds, a cultural center at Victoria Park, and the preservation of Cape Coast Castle.[55]

This notion of "place promotion in Cape Coast" as encouraged by the nation-state during this period, has also been endorsed and funded by international NGOs such as USAID, the International

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50 "Four Cities to be Upgraded for Economic Development." *Daily Graphic Online*. February 13, 2014. http://graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/17585-four-cities-to-be-upgraded-for-economic-development.html. Accessed April 11, 2014.
51 "Annual Composite Progress Report for Medium Term Development Plan, 2010-2013," Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly, (2012) 21.
52 "Cape Coast Municipality: Ghana's Preferred Hub for Education, Trade, Investment, and Tourism." (Cape Coast, Ghana: Cape Coast Municipal Assembly, 2001) 18.
53 "Cape Coast Municipality: Ghana's Preferred Hub for Education, Trade, Investment, and Tourism." (Cape Coast, Ghana: Cape Coast Municipal Assembly, 2001) 1.
54 "Cape Coast Municipality: Ghana's Preferred Hub for Education, Trade, Investment, and Tourism." (Cape Coast, Ghana: Cape Coast Municipal Assembly, 2001) 8.
55 "Cape Coast Municipality: Ghana's Preferred Hub for Education, Trade, Investment, and Tourism." (Cape Coast, Ghana: Cape Coast Municipal Assembly, 2001) 19.

Figure 34 Rendering of One Airport Square of Airport City, http://www.oneairportsquare.com/i/home_banner.jpg, Accessed April 20, 2014.

Figure 35 Rendering of Villagio II, "The Utopian Dream," http://www.wallpaper.com/galleryimages/17051193/gallery/testuser5_jun2009_02_Villagio_ls250609_vltsjk_FSOoQC.jpg, Accessed April 20, 2014.

Figure 36 Construction of Kanda Mosque, Accra http://kuukuwa.wordpress.com/category/ghana/ Accessed April 20, 2014.

Figure 37 Tema Complex - Saif & Jos General Trading LLC http://jospongroup.com/data/images12/tema_complex.jpg. Accessed April 20, 2014.

Figure 38 Osu, Accra http://wellahoythere.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/p1040239_1.jpg. Accessed April 20, 2014.

Figure 34

Figure 35

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figure 38

Council on Monuments and Sites (US Chapter) and the Smithsonian Institution.[56] Furthermore, having been labeled by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site in 1979 for its "outstanding universal value," the emphasis on production and consumption of Cape Coast's historic monuments was sealed on a global scale. While the historic importance of such sites cannot be denied and has bolstered Cape Coast's economy close to the Castle, it is crucial to consider the visual weight bestowed upon this tangible colonial core. As a result of this emphasis, physical colonial constructions such as the castle, forts, Gothic House, and colonial residences have been visually reconstituted and whether consciously or not, injected with visual power and prestige (Figures 32-33). Furthermore, these constructions have been chosen to tell the historical narrative of the city.

Because the Zongo settlement is not included in this visual re-telling of the city's history, it is once again pushed to the margins and denied a history. Thus, while the Zongo has been relegated to a static, unbecoming image of tradition, Cape Coast has been elevated to a progressive, modern, commodified version of tradition in which it consumes its past to secure its future.

Economic, Political and Virtual Networks

Whereas the previous section interrogated how the polarizing relationship between tradition and modernity is altering the reality and image of settlement and city primarily at the local level, this one tackles the less tactile and more abstract forces of economic liberalization, political nationalism and virtual space and how they either ameliorate or denigrate the Zongo's socio-spatial positioning[57].

Economic Liberalization: Fragmentation Outside and Consolidation Inside

What had begun after independence as a determined economic nationalism with a government monopoly of companies and resources, was turned upside-down in 1983 with the Ghanaian Government's deployment of the World Bank's and IMF's structural adjustment policies (SAPs).[58][59] With the economy in rapid decline, the SAPs were crafted to liberalize the market and increase transparency by improving physical infrastructure, eradicating import tariffs, and privatizing state-owned companies.[60] Because Accra had become the "gateway to global business" and received 84% of all global investments, the forces of this economic globalization translated more readily onto its

56 Samuel Agyei-Mensah. "Marketing its Colonial Heritage: A New Lease of Life for Cape Coast, Ghana?." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 30, no. 3, (2006) 710.
57 For more information regarding the socio-economic marginalization of Muslim communities in Ghana see, Weiss, Holger. "Begging and almsgiving in Ghana: Muslim positions towards poverty and distress." Research Report No. 33 Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala (2007) 13.
58 Richard Grant. "Liberalization Policies and Foreign Companies in Accra, Ghana." *Environment and Planning* A 33, 6 (2001): 999.
59 Richard Grant. "Liberalization Policies and Foreign Companies in Accra, Ghana." *Environment and Planning* A 33, 6 (2001): 999.
60 Richard Grant. "Liberalization Policies and Foreign Companies in Accra, Ghana." *Environment and Planning* A 33, 6 (2001): 999.

Figure 39 Streetscape - Cape Coast

Figure 40 Building with "Glo" ad

Figure 41 Bags of Rice at the Market

Figure 42 Imported Gino Products

Figure 43 Spices at the Market

Figure 44 Produce at the Market

Figure 39

Figure 40

Figure 41

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

infrastructure and architecture.[61] Among the recently built and planned projects are: "One Airport Square,"designed by Mario Cucinella architects, an international architecture firm based in Bologna Italy, "Villagio II,"[62] comprised of residential and retail space aimed "at the country's emerging professional classes, particularly those Ghanaian ex-pats returning home", the construction of Kanda Mosque funded by a Turkish NGO, and numerous master plans by Saif & Jos General Trading LLC, an international company that invests in waste and oil management, architecture design and real estate, and mining[63] (Figures 34-38). Densely populated by billboards advertising for Sony, Samsung, the American cheeseburger, and fabrics imported from China, Accra's commercial-scape is a collage of local products funded by foreign investors and imported products sold by petty traders (Figure 39). Even though Accra has become the poster child for Ghana's economic liberalization, similar forces affect Cape Coast at a much smaller scale. As mentioned earlier, an NGO from Saudi Arabia provided funding for the construction of the Central Mosque, International NGOs such as USAID continue to invest in the conservation of its historic monuments, and the Chinese Government is funding the construction of both a new 15,000 capacity Stadium at Abura[64] and the redevelopment of Kotokuraba into an "ultra-modern market."[65] Though both the colonial core and stadium remain at the periphery of the Zongo settlement, the market's construction will increase the settlement's visibility and real estate value.

Whereas in the previous period a clear hierarchy of authorities from local to state controlled and planned the city, with foreign investors injecting their visions where, how, and when they want, the global takes increasingly control of the local. Thus, rather than a relatively controlled development bounded by the rules of the region in which one can track patterns of urban growth, these new capricious, capitalist-driven insertions produce an uncertain, fragmented landscape controlled purely by the economy and not social or spatial needs. The Zongo's spatial positioning, therefore, shackled to the global market, could be drastically altered from center to margin and back again without their consent. Rather than a valuable place imbued with history and sustaining livelihoods therefore, the settlement is increasingly seen as a product to be bought at the lowest price and sold at the highest.

In addition, companies such as Glo (short for Globalcom Ltd) a Nigerian telecommunications Company jointly owned by petroleum marketing and crude exploration companies, Airtel, an India-

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61 George Owusu and Samuel Agyei-Mensah. "A Comparative Study of Ethnic Residential Segregation in Ghana's Two Largest Cities, Accra and Kumasi." *Population and Environment* 32, no. 4 (2011): 338.
62 "AHMM's Villagio II in Accra," Ghana http://www.wallpaper.com/gallery/architecture/architecture-overview-the-utopian-dream/17051193/2002#2003. Accessed April 19, 2014.
63 "JOSPONG." http://jospongroup.com/subcat_select.php?catID=156&linkID=13, Accessed April 19, 2014.
64 "Cape Coast Stadium Project Progesses." *Daily Graphic Online*. December 27, 2013. http://graphic.com.gh/sports/sports-news/14826-cape-coast-stadium-project-progresses.html. Accessed April 11, 2014.
65 "Annual Composite Progress Report for Medium Term Development Plan, 2010-2013." Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly (2012) 33.

based cell phone company, and Unilever, a European Company selling beef flavoring, margarine, and soap in over 100 countries, command the streetscape with their advertisements not only pasted to kiosks and printed on umbrellas, but also painted onto shop walls and colonial buildings in bright neon green and tomato red (Figures 39-40). These imported products as well as others such as "Sultana" Thai rice, Gino tomato sauce, and African-patterned fabrics "made in China", litter the market shelves adjacent to locally produced palm oil, powdered soap, and spices (Figures 41-44). Though this convoluted palimpsest of local and imported visual material dominates Cape Coast's urban landscape, it is largely absent within the Zongo settlement as most of the shops still relying heavily on local production and method. One resident explained, "women sell food and other provisions. They also sew cloth. The men do sewing, designing of cloth, mix concrete, and paint.[66] We also have dressmakers, and those who cook and sell rice and beans."[67] A woman added, "I enjoyed the old ways of life now becoming hard and expensive."[68] Another resident specifically blamed the social fragmentation as caused by capitalism, "At first there was much unity between them and now there isn't as much. It used to be very peaceful but now everyone is greedy they do what they can to survive. I really liked the unity of the Zongo and so he enjoyed living there. I would like the Zongo to be like it was. He wishes there were better provisions for jobs. Things are hard today. For example, my remote was just spoiled, but the prices are too high to get it fixed.[69] Others reiterated these sentiments. One man said, "I would like in the near future to see unity between the people"[70] and another man leaning over his sewing machine stated remorsefully, "The community is not willing to help each other."[71] Thus, this increased visual fragmentation caused by the fusion of product and space that is not controlled by the local, causes more visual disparity between inside the Zongo and out. Furthermore, some Zongo residents also leave the settlement to participate in this global marketplace. With the desire to travel and purchase these foreign goods on their own from places like Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Egypt, the settlement location adjacent to the market is no longer as relevant. Hence, at the same time the Zongo is becoming increasingly marginalized with sharper boundaries between a localized inside and a globalized outside, the settlement's singular location is also becoming less important with the rise of a networked virtual marketplace.

Political Nationalism: Consolidation And Homogenization

Whereas the processes of economic liberalization have ruptured the urban realm and commodified its pieces causing increased spatial difference between not only Zongo settlement and city, but also

66 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on July 29, 2013.
67 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on July 29, 2013.
68 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 22, 2014.
69 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
70 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 19, 2014.
71 Note that this appears to be a product of contemporary forces, but it may be that the sources for the earlier periods just did not record inner perceptions and dissonance.

between one Zongo and another, the nation-state endorses the opposite. It aspires for a single, unified, and smoothened image of the Zongo – one that places emphasis on the settlements' collective cultural contributions to the State rather than their variegated socio-spatial needs. According to The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, sections 39:2,

> *The State shall ensure that appropriate customary and cultural values are adapted and developed as an integral part of the growing needs of the society as a whole; and in particular that traditional practices which are injurious to the health and well-being of the person are abolished.*[72]

In addition to modifying belief systems to satisfy the State, The Constitution states in section 55:5 that, "Every political party shall have a national character, and membership shall not be based on ethnic, religious, regional or other sectional divisions."[73]

Rather than encouraging a Zongo identity bound to, and unified by Islam as the colonial project had done years before, the State re-cast the Zongo on strictly political, nationalizing terms. Though these operations to nationalize the Zongo had begun in the previous period, it was with the new constitution and increased stability of the country that the settlements became increasingly obligated to one another on political, social, and spatial terms. In 1992 for example, the State constituted the *National Council of Zongo Chiefs*,[74] followed by the *Islamic Peace and Security Council* (IPSC).[75] Led by a the *National Chief Imam of Ghana*, the IPSC's mission is "to devise, adopt, run and implement projects and policy initiatives on peace and security within the Muslim or Zongo Communities in Ghana."[76] And, in response to this consolidation effort, Zongo residents formed additional groups at the state level such as *The Zongo Employment and Entertainment Development Organization* (ZEED) whose mission is "to create wealth, provide financial freedom and help to reduce poverty in the various Zongo communities" and *Zongo for Mahama*, (ZFM) a political movement created to demonstrate the NDC party's dedication to the Zongo community[77] (Figure 45). First as Vice President and more recently as President, John Dramani Mahama, demonstrated his allegiance to the Zongo by holding a conference in 2010 on "Uniting Zongo Chiefs for Peace and Socio-Economic Development,"[78] announced in a 2013 article from *The Daily Graphic* that the "Government will

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72 "The Directive Principles of State Policy." *The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana*. Chapter 6. (1992) Section 39:2.
73 "Representation of the People." *The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana* Chapter 7. (1992) Section 55:5.
74 "Council of Zongo Chiefs." http://councilofzongochiefs.tripod.com/id4.html, February 13, 2014.
75 "Islamic Peace and Security Council." http://ipasec.org/about, Accessed April 15, 2014.
76 "Islamic Peace and Security Council." http://ipasec.org/about, Accessed April 15, 2014.
77 "Zongo Employment and Entertainment Development trains 670 in hairdressing." *Daily Graphic Online*. June 10, 2013. http://graphic.com.gh/archive/General-News/zongo-employment-and-entertainment-development-trains-670-in-hairdressing.html. Accessed April 11, 2014.
78 "Include Zongo Chiefs in Traditional Councils." *Modern Ghana*. June 10, 2010. http://www.modernghana.com/news/401846/1/include-zongo-chiefs-in-traditional-councils.html. Accessed June 18, 2012.

Figure 45 "Zongo for Mahama," http://zongoformahama.org. Accessed April 13, 2014.

Figure 46 ZongoLink Hausa Radio. https://www.facebook.com/zongolinkradio. Accessed April 13, 2014.

Figure 47 "Zango FM," http://www.zangofm.com. Accessed April 13, 2014.

Figure 45

Figure 46

Figure 47

Develop Zongos", and pledged to launch an "Urban Renewal Project in 2014 to improve on the lives of the people including those living in 'Zongo Communities.'"[79] Rather than investigating the particular needs of each Zongo, the nation-state calls for a single cure for all Zongos, yet treats them as distinct from other impoverished settlements in Ghana. An article from *The Daily Graphic* dated February 4, 2013 explained,

> *President John Dramani Mahama has given an assurance that the government will give a facelift to the Zongo communities in the country. He said one of the programmes the government would focus on was the construction of drainage systems and the improvement of the general sanitation situation in the Zongos. President Mahama said the Zongo communities lagged behind in terms of development, mainly due to the lack of secular education. He, therefore, stressed the need for the Zongo communities to invest in the education of their children.*[80]

Thus, at the same time the nation-state encourages politically unifying the Zongo to further solidify national sentiments, it simultaneously pushes the responsibilities that would otherwise be the State's, onto the newly emergent Zongo authorities. In effect, leaving them to fend for themselves at the State margins. Despite promises to provide the Central Region with "its fair share of the national cake,"[81] in an interview with the Daily Guide in March 18, 2014, the Chief Zongo of Cape Coast disclosed,

> *This is about the third time President Mahama has visited the area after the 2012 general election, but has never bothered to see any of us because we are no longer important to him." In view of that, they have vowed to teach the President a bitter lesson in the next general elections if nothing is done about them within the shortest possible time. The Sirikin bitterly continued, "When the President addressed members of the Regional House of Chiefs, nobody invited us to come and observe whatever transpired at the place. We are not being given any recognition in the region. In fact, we are being marginalised.*[82]

With the nation-state's push for the Zongo settlements to develop new political and social structures centered around nationalizing sentiments rather than religious ones therefore, the Zongo's identity

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79 "Ghana: Program to Improve Zongo Communities in the Offing." http://allafrica.com/stories/201302201523.html, Accessed February 13, 2014.
80 "Government will develop Zongos" *Daily Graphic Online*, February 4, 2013. http://graphic.com.gh/archive/Politics/govt-will-develop-zongos-mahama.html, Accessed April 11, 2014.
81 "Kotokuraba Market Project to Commence soon – VEEP." *Daily Graphic Online*. September 8, 2013. http://graphic.com.gh/archive/General-News/kotokuraba-market-project-to-commence-soon-veep.html. Accessed April 11, 2014.
82 "Mahama Snubs Muslim Chiefs." March 18, 2014. *Daily Guide*. http://www.dailyguideghana.com/mahama-snubs-muslim-chiefs/. Accessed April 11, 2014.

has become inextricably linked to, yet subservient of the nation-state's. Rather than blurring difference between Zongo and non-Zongo however, these modifications have cultivated a monolithic image of the settlements that sets them apart from the others. Perhaps this perceived difference, whether real or not, is best evidenced in a recent blog post on "Ghanaweb" with 41 comments and entitled, "Zongo: The Eleventh Region?"[83]

Virtual Space: Recalibrating Place and Identity

Despite the local challenges associated with the Nation-State's restructuring and consolidation of the Zongo, the recent explosion of on-line platforms has fostered yet another set of more open, adaptable identities for the Zongo. Whereas before, one who lived in the Zongo was automatically affixed and condemned by its physical coordinates, these new virtual spaces provide its users with the freedom to participate in the creation of a second, virtual Zongo – one that is neither fixed geographically nor socially. Its followers include not only residents of Zongos, but also those within Ghana who left the settlement for a "modern life outside", those who left the country for education, business, or family, and those who divide their time between "inside and out". "Zongolink Radio" for example, maintains a Facebook page with 507 "likes" and "looks at issues affecting the Hausa speaking community both at home and in the diaspora" (Figure 46). Not limited to Ghana, topics range from Africa's colonial history, the meaning and importance of Islam, and virtues of patience, to weekly sports programs and updates on Zongo celebrities.[84] Other platforms include: Zongo Youth For Peace And Development,[85] Hausa BBC, and ZANGO FM[86] (Figure 47). Thus, these new virtual spaces empower anyone who identifies with "Zongo" to collaboratively re-contour its identity virtually – to fragment misconceptions and empower a re-invention of place defined by and for the Zongo.
This period, therefore, marks increased socio-spatial difference and marginalization of the Cape Coast Zongo as caused by both binary conceptions of modernity and tradition and limited engagement with economic liberalization, yet a diffusion of difference in the creation of a second, less fixed, virtual Zongo. At the same time, the nation-state further consolidates and homogenizes the settlements as a network. Rather than differentiating settlements locally, the nation-state treats "zongo issues" as universal and has passed off its obligations to the settlements by creating a subordinate Zongo nation. While in many ways the Zongo identity – as settlement and image - continues to be shaped by authorities and capital from outside, on-line virtual platforms provide new opportunities for its users to imagine alternative, plural futures for the Zongo.

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83 "Zongo: The Eleventh Region?" http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=281461, Accessed February 13, 2014.
84 "Zongo Link Radio." Facebook comment posted January 26, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/zongolinkradio. April 13, 2014.
85 "ZongoYouthForPeaceKpando." https://www.facebook.com/ZongoYouthForPeaceKpando, Accessed April 20, 2014.
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VIII. CONCLUSIONS

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From its inception in the British colonial imagination in the late nineteenth century to its contemporary configurations, the Zongo is a complex and variegated network of settlements that requires historical investigation and application to other paralleling urban phenomena. Despite their enduring and ubiquitous existence in all of Ghana's major cities, Zongo settlements are understudied. And, when the settlements have been the subject of research, scholars deny the Zongo a history. According to scholar Joseph Sarfoh, Zongos simply "appeared on the urban landscape."[1] In addition, other scholars construe the Zongo as socially and spatially bounded without context. Rather than a fluid space shaped from a constellation of pressures, they insist on a model in which the Zongo operates autonomously – creating and consuming itself – without requirements from outside. In describing the Sabon Zongo in Accra for example, Deborah Pellow explains, "The social system and spatial locale are mutually constituted. Social relations are spatialized while the physical environment and its spaces are culturalized."[2] While Pellow occasionally introduces larger systemic forces linking inside and out, the emphasis is on a bounded, internalized community. Such a circumscribed understanding of settlement simultaneously encourages a delimited, binary mode of thinking that ruptures the urban realm into "the haves," progress, and modernity set against "the have nots," stagnation, and tradition. Lastly, and reinforcing these conceptions of boundedness and dichotomous thinking, is that of the Zongo's monolithic and poverty-stricken image. Despite the wide range of socio-spatial variation from one settlement to another, scholars classify and reduce all Zongos to "slums" or "ghettos," without taking into account variation between and within the settlements.

This thesis has used *history* as the primary mechanism by which to dismantle, complicate, and re-construct the Zongo phenomenon – to demonstrate how it has evolved over time - with and against political, economic, and religious forces. Whereas most scholarship on urban Africa explains settlement dimensions on *social* terms, this research invites the too often neglected *spatial* into the discussion. Instead of privileging one or the other, it stresses the importance of the mutual aspects of both - the socio-spatial dialectic. Using the extreme case of the Cape Coast Zongo, the thesis has tracked the settlement's socio-spatial evolution across five periods to explain what combination of factors have caused the Zongo to become more or less marginalized at architectural, settlement, city, and regional scales.

1 Joseph A. Sarfoh, "The West African Zongo and the American Ghetto: Some Comparative Aspects of the Roles of Religious Institutions." *Journal of Black Studies* (1986): 83.
2 Deborah Pellow. *Landlords and lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community*. (University of Chicago Press, 2008) 2.

While each historical period marks particular spatial, social, and conceptual transformations of the Zongo settlement, these concluding remarks will focus on four major themes threading throughout the chapters: *A Colonial Religious Invention*, *Historical and Spatial Contingency*, *Socio-Spatial Complexity*, and *Between Margin and Center*.

These themes will contribute to not only deepening our understanding of the Zongo phenomenon, but also larger theoretical discussions explaining how, why, and when ghettoization appears and functions in West Africa.

A Colonial Religious Invention

Prior to introducing themes focused on the Zongo's more historical, social, and spatial dimensions, it's crucial to first address its *cultural origins* as a *colonial religious invention* because its British beginnings have contemporary consequences. Originally a Hausa word, Zongo was cunningly retrofitted by the British as a ploy to culturally and spiritually segregate Muslim-Northerners. Located at the margins of the town in the late nineteenth century, these settlements maintained a certain amount of political autonomy, but most importantly, were rooted in collective religious belief. Despite the Zongos' evolution over the last century, its socio-spatial identity has continued to be fundamentally embedded in and built upon Islam. In contexts where Islam is in the minority therefore, political and economic agendas, whether consciously or not, continuously re-cast and perpetuate this colonial spiritual segregation for their own ends.

Prior to its conception and when Muslim-Northerners were still central to the British colonial agenda in the nineteenth century, their Islamic intellect and formidable strength from living on high ground were preferred over the indigenous Fante - their sinful and soggy coastal counterparts. With the dawn of a "pathological era," the end of the British-Asante war in 1901, and the official establishment of the Gold Coast Colony in 1902 however, the British no longer needed the Muslim-Northerners and desired cultural segregation in the name of sanitation. Where native and European beliefs and spaces converged however, was at the Church, the lungs of the city. This shared space became the center for not only religious education, but also training in agriculture that simultaneously planted the seeds of nationalism. Rather than encourage integration, the British awarded the ex-Hausa soldiers a swampy area at an area called Kotokuraba they christened Zongo. Because it was teeming with evil spirits, the residents called upon uluma to ritually clear, cleanse, and cultivate the landscape. For both the British and Zongo therefore, religion became the foundation and authority of the settlement.

In the subsequent period, 1927-1956, Zongos became increasingly marginalized due to new visions for a comprehensive Town Planning Scheme that introduced rigid building regulations without

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 1 "Proposed Zongo Layout - Komenda" Cape Coast Regional Archives. Accessed July 2013.

Figure 2 New Construction at Kotokuraba Market

accommodating Muslim needs and even threatened to move them outside of town (Figure 1). These new policies caused increased friction by zoning areas "Zongo" only within which residents were permitted to generate visual expressions of faith such as murals, participate in religious ceremonies, practice Islamic laws of land inheritance by adding bedrooms for children and grandchildren to the original house.

Despite the socialist agenda installed after independence in 1957 banning the formation of groups based on religion or ethnicity, the nation-state still sponsored the Zongo's spiritual segregation, but under a political and social guise. Whereas before independence the settlements still maintained farms, slaughterhouses, Madrasas, and a Muhammadan cemetery in areas orbiting Kotokuraba market, after independence these religious and cultural spaces were perceived as "foreign" and demolished in favor of a new municipal assembly building, police headquarters, shops, and housing. As a result, the Zongo became increasingly internalized and associated with Islam.

Today, spiritual segregation has been reproduced through the binaries of modernity and tradition. Just as modernity (and Christianity) have come to define the areas outside the Zongo, tradition (and Islam) have become its necessary complements inside (Figure 2). As Dell Upton explains, "Tradition did not exist until it was imagined as the defining complement of modernity."[3] One Cape Coast resident voiced his own hopeful, yet ironically tragic interpretation of Zongo. He explains that Zongo is not a place at all. "It means transit, to travel, to not always stay in one place. It is actually not a Hausa word. 'Zon' means to come in Hausa and 'Go' means 'I go' in English. It means we come and go as we please."[4] Despite the resident's emboldened vision of a Zongo that has been able to break away from its colonial maker, it reasserts, both linguistically and conceptually, the Zongo's origins in, and entanglement with, its colonial past. This struggle, sometimes more conscious than others, is a theme that will re-emerge in the findings that follow.

No matter the period therefore, the Zongo's identity is defined by a colonial invention soaked in traditional Islamic beliefs. It maintains an underlying structure that relies upon both Islam as its fundamental socio-spatial organizing principle and a culture of difference having been planted in the region by British colonialism. In understanding and making visible these cultural forces that at times impede and other times enable the Zongo settlement, one may then adapt and apply the lessons and methods from this study to other minority Islamic settlements in West Africa. Furthermore, and on a global scale, the research contributes to conversations concerning the welfare of other minority

3 Dell Upton. "Authentic Anxieties." in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism.* ed. Nezar Alsayyad (2001): 298.
4 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.

Islamic settlements with similar origins in which they were uprooted and planted elsewhere for the benefit of the colonizer.

Historically and Geographically Contingent

In addition to its origins bound by and constructed out of colonial desires for spiritual segregation, the Zongo is contingent on historical and geographical processes. Despite blanket claims that Zongos are bounded and operate autonomously, the Zongo's spatial configurations change over time and echo the larger social and political systems of the city and region of which they are a part. Thus, to understand a Zongo at the margins, requires re-conceptualizing the margin as part of the whole – a system that requires the power-less to fashion the power-ful. "The accent", Mamdani reiterates, "is on incorporation, not marginalization." Hooks adds,

> *We looked both from the outside in and from the inside out. We focused our attention on the center as well as on the margin. We understood both. This mode of seeing reminded us of the existence of a whole universe, a body made up of both margin and center. Our survival depended on an ongoing public awareness of the separation between margin and center and an ongoing private acknowledgment that we were a necessary, vital part of that whole.*[5]

To illustrate the Zongo's contingency, the evolving spatial formations of Cape Coast will be used as the example in this section.

The first historical period, *Imperialism*, told the story of Cape Coast as a highly prosperous mercantile town at the center of Gold Coast trade and military prowess. This "town" however, primarily consisted of a hermetically sealed, fortified castle and sustained tenuous connection to the Gold Coast soil with other commercial commitments dotted along the Slave, Ivory, and Grain Coasts. Not yet labeled "Zongos" at this point, the settlements of the Muslim-Northerners emulated a similar economic and spatial patterning. Geographically straddled between Hausaland, Cape Coast, and other colonial footholds, their positioning was also more prosperous, plural and temporary. Those hired as fighters stayed at Cape Coast Castle; those who were traders commanded an advantageous, central position between Africa's elusive, resource-abundant interior and British seaports along the Gulf of Guinea; and still others stayed home to defend their territory in the north.

With the shift of the colonial capital to Accra in 1877 and the official establishment of The Gold Coast British Colony in 1902, this second period exhibits major changes in British policy and

5 Hooks, Bell. "Marginality as a Site of Resistance." in *Out there: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures.* ed. Ferguson Russell Ferguson and Martha Gever (1990): 341.

spatial hierarchies for Cape Coast and the Zongo. Though the Colony constructed new roads and rails connecting valuable resources to its important cities and ports, Cape Coast did not benefit from this new infrastructure and was relegated to the margins. At the same time, Cape Coast's Town Council initiated surgical procedures to demolish, segregate and reconstruct the city. The Muslim-Northerners however, were not part of this urban vision and reassigned to the margins at Kotokuraba. This period demonstrates the corresponding marginalization of Cape Coast and Zongo settlement.

The next period, beginning in 1927, illustrates Cape Coast's further decline in its economic demotion as agricultural producer because of its geographical positioning at the center to feed the Colony's more prosperous cities of Accra, Sekondi, and Kumasi. In parallel, the Zongo also shifted to the geographical center of the city with the construction of a market at Kotokuraba. However economically advantageous for Cape Coast and the Zongo, their positioning remained subservient to, and dependent upon, the seat of government and town council authorities respectively.

With independence in 1957, the nation-state, Cape Coast, and Zongo became increasingly bounded and marginalized. Echoing the Government's new policy for a national economy, spatial boundaries thickened and became increasingly defined – not only between Ghana and other regions, but also at the edges of Cape Coast and the Zongo. Rather than allow competition with other more successful industrial centers, the nation-state designated Cape Coast the "schoolmaster of the nation" and erected modern institutions at its perimeter. At the scale of the settlement, similar spatial modifications took place. Because there was little space to expand, economic pressures to open shops, and feelings of insecurity due to military rule, the Zongo constructed its own commercial perimeters protecting its swelling interior. Furthermore, echoing the nation-state's agenda for a collective national identity, Zongos simultaneously evolved into their own nation state. Whereas before Zongos operated independently from one another, now the settlements identified with each other on political and spatial terms.

Finally, the last historical period beginning with Ghana's fourth and current democratic Republic, demonstrates historical and geographic contingency as manifested in Ghana's collective identity defined by the mutual presence of modernity and tradition. Whereas the nation-state charged Accra with advancing its modern image, it assigned Cape Coast with preserving its traditions. Cape Coast came to be viewed as not just an old city, but also a commodity for consumption – a past to which a tourist could return and in which NGOs could invest. The buildings chosen to tell this historical narrative were those of the colonial legacy – the castle, forts, and estates hugging the Gulf of Guinea. Following a similar pattern, former Zongo residents who had decided to leave the settlement for "a

Figure 3 Comparison Between Two Cities in close Geographical Proximity, but of different size. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 4 Ghana's North-South Axis. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 5 King of Zongo Avenue

Figure 6 "Welcome to Zongo," http://rogergaisie.blogspot.com/2012/09/sala-re-mix-eid-ul-fitr-at-sabon-zongo.html

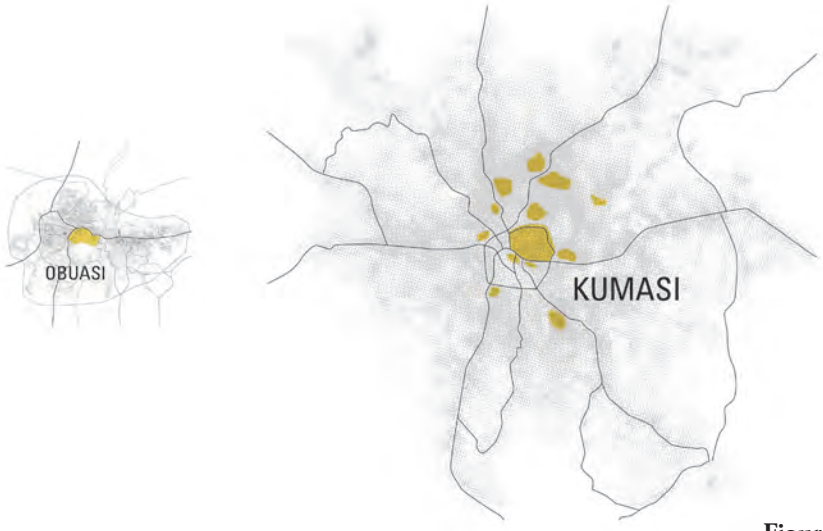

Figure 3

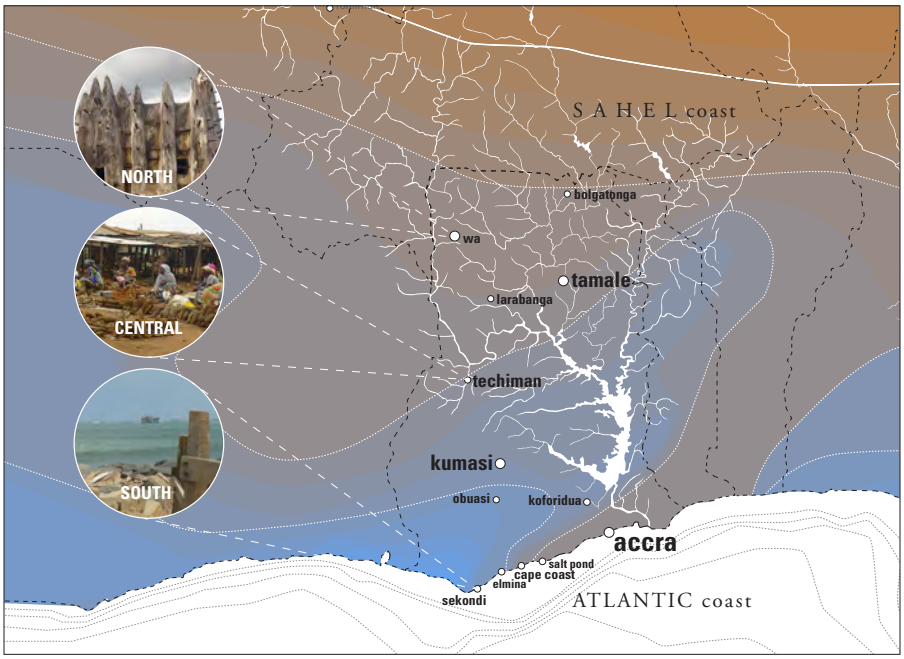

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

modern way of life" outside sponsored the preservation of a traditional settlement inside so as have the ability to "return to tradition, religion, and their forefathers." Whereas Cape Coast's national and international investors chose to preserve the country's colonial monuments, the Zongo chose its religious institutions – its Madrasas, mosques, and collective space for religious ceremonies.

Understanding the Zongo's historical and geographic transformations and how these are contingent upon and echo larger socio-spatial transformations, provides us with a means by which to not only make sense of how and why the settlement changed, but also to predict how the Zongo might evolve in the future. Furthermore, it provides a platform upon which to initiate further research regarding to what extent and why other settlements in West Africa follow or deviate from the Zongo's pattern of historical and geographic contingency.

Socio-Spatial Complexity

Closely linked to contingency is that of the Zongo's socio-spatial complexity. Though viewed from outsiders as a cohesive network, Zongos vary widely depending upon their geographical position, size of the city within which they operate, and the city's political and economic stability.

In terms of geographical position, Zongos in the north have a more fluid boundary condition because the inhabitants living outside the Zongo also practice Islam. In Wa for example, one resident explained that the "Zongo is the town". In addition, these northern territories are closer to the homes from where most of the Zongo inhabitants had once migrated. Furthermore, these areas are located the furthest from Accra - once the seat of the Gold Coast Colony and now the seat of National Government. The further south one travels therefore, the more rigid the religious, cultural, and political boundaries become (Figure 3).

Besides the north-south axis however, a Zongo settlement's prosperity is also linked to the size of the city: most often, the larger the city, the larger the Zongo settlement. In addition, as Zongo's increase in size, they tend to become less bounded and dispersed across the city (Figure 4). Thus, without the pressures of a singular, bounded location, Zongos have more capacity to grow with, rather than against the city. Furthermore, a Zongo's relative degree of prosperity or marginalization is a function of the nation-state and city within which it resides. All of this being said, the local particularities of a city - its localized authoritative, religious, and economic pressures – have the capacity to radically alter the Zongo's socio-spatial conditions.

In addition to the complex set of social and historical factors contributing to the Zongo's capacity to thrive at the regional and city levels, the Zongo settlement itself is equally diverse and rarely

Figure 7 Margins and Centers, Cape Coast - 1902-1926. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 8 Margins and Centers, Cape Coast - 1926-1956. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

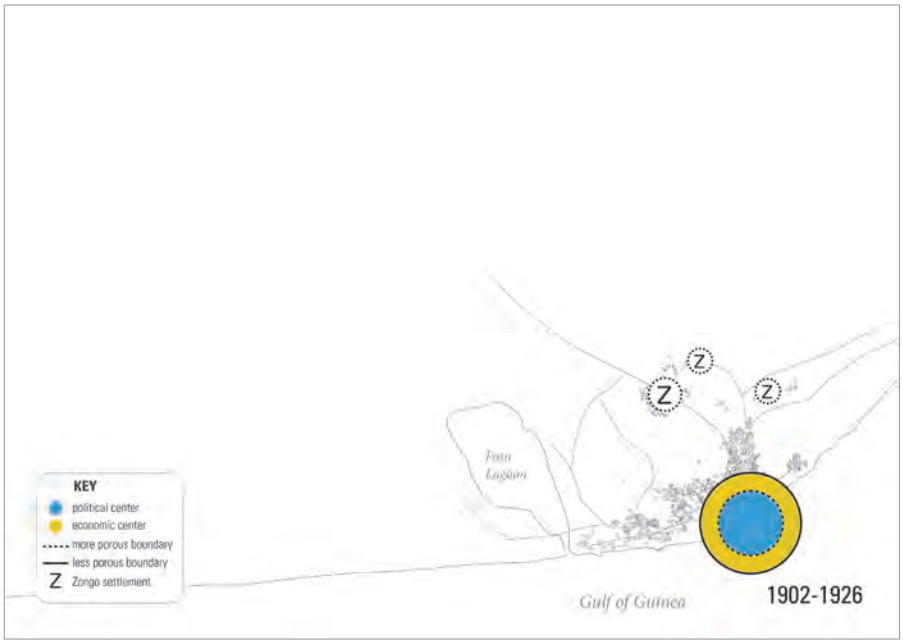

Figure 7

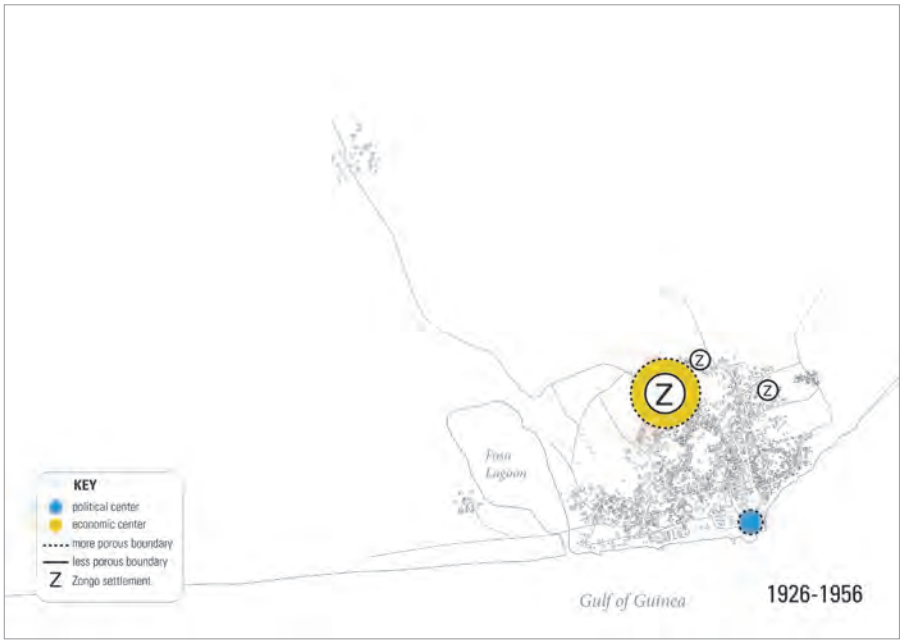

Figure 8

distinguishable from its context. Despite both scholars' and even some residents' insistence that the Zongo is spatially distinct, in most cases (except for the Cape Coast Zongo in which there are clear boundary conditions) one cannot tell where the Zongo starts or ends. While in some instances there are signage markers for orientation such as "Zongo Street" in Kumasi or spray painted concrete walls directing one towards "King of Zongo Avenue" in Cape Coast, most residents explained that it is the Muslim dress and mosque that demarcates a Zongo (Figures 5-6). Within the settlements, architecture ranges from "modern" two-storey concrete block structures to those built of wattle and daub. In some cases a neglected mud structure might have a satellite dish poking up from its roof and in others a substantial concrete structure might only contain a contorted, rusty bed frame. Despite terse and uniform descriptors applied to the Zongo such as "traditional", "backwards", and "poor", the phenomenon is far too complex and variegated to translate into a single, complete image. It requires a multi-scalar approach - one that mutually examines spatial positioning and social forces at the regional, urban, settlement, and architectural scales. Furthermore, the complexity of the Zongo (and other settlements in West Africa) requires the dismantling and questioning of labels fixed to particular coordinates by relying more on observations of place and local voice.

Between Margin and Center

Finally, just as the Zongo is a religious colonial invention, historically contingent, and socio-spatially complex, it has commanded a vast range of spatial positions in the city – from center to margin and back to center again (Figures 7-10). Rather than always relegating the settlement to the periphery or worse yet erasing its presence entirely, authorities have required the Zongo's presence to meet its goals or have relinquished control because of other more pressing needs. The ways and degrees to which the Zongo has been severed from (or fused to) Cape Coast's center, has created both advantages and disadvantages for the settlement. For example, the Zongo's position at the margins in the early twentieth century provided the settlement with spatial autonomy and the ability to construct their settlement according to their own cultural and religious needs. At the same time however, this same positioning decreased their opportunity to socially integrate with the native Fante. Similarly, while their central location at the market a couple decades later bolstered both trading opportunities and real estate values, it also hardened socio-spatial difference between what was Zongo and what was not. With the construction of educational institutions at the perimeter of town after independence, the Zongo was once again relegated to the margins. At the same time however, this peripheral positioning permitted the construction of mosques, shops, and house renovations that would have otherwise been prohibited. Today, with the Chinese Government's investment in a new and "ultra modern" market at Kotokuraba, the Zongo is at the center of the city's global economy, yet financially not able to participate.

Figure 9 Margins and Centers, Cape Coast - 1957-1992. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

Figure 10 Margins and Centers, Cape Coast - 1993-2014. Drawing by Emily Williamson.

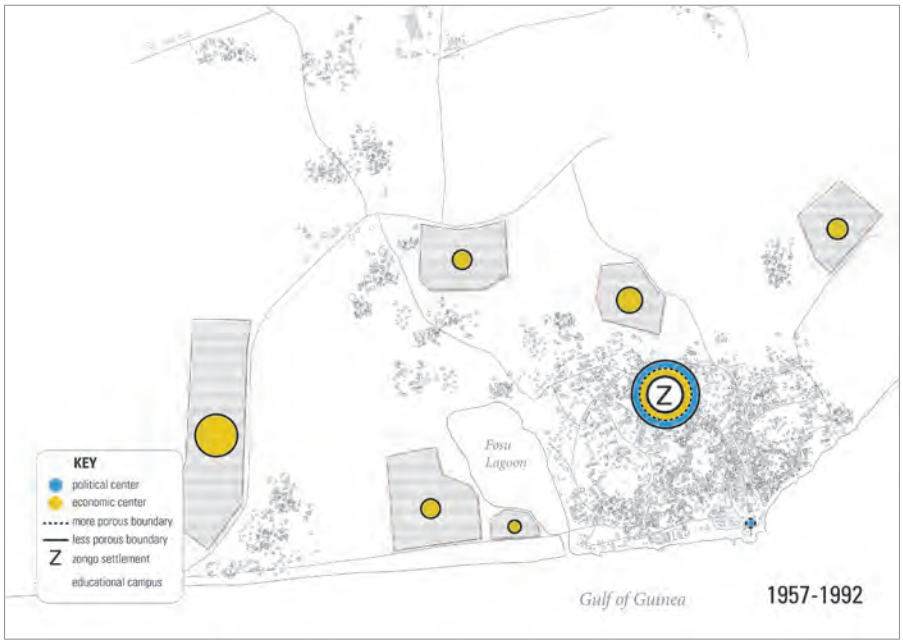

Figure 9

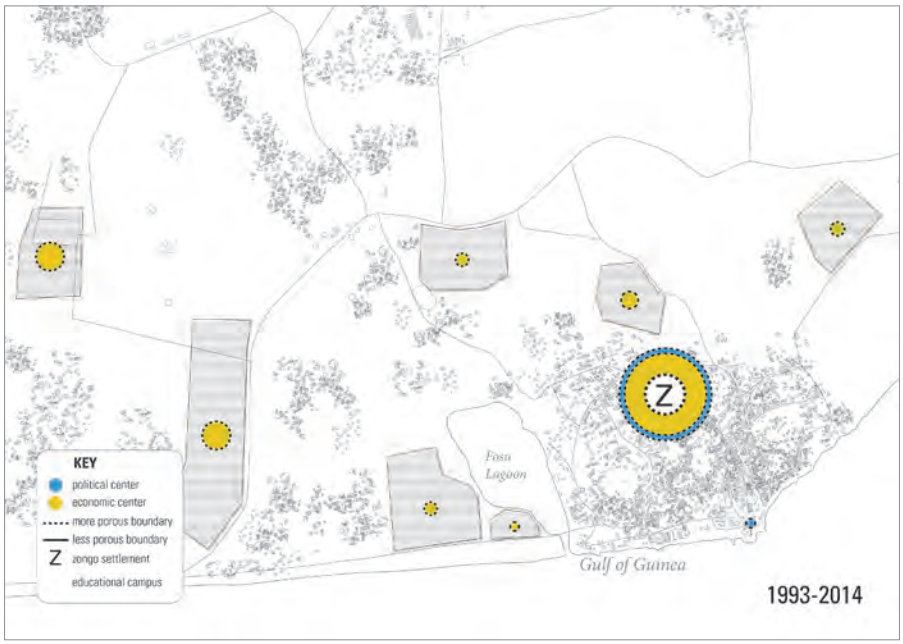

Figure 10

Despite insistent intimidations from authorities, history has demonstrated the Zongo's capacity to negotiate between center and margin. Rather than a singular fixed location, the Zongo ought to be conceived as a plural, complex, and variegated network. To some extent on-line platforms are providing the inception of a second, virtual Zongo – one that is neither fixed geographically nor socially. Though not yet visibly apparent, there is the potential that these cyber-spaces will loosen and reconfigure the ghettoized structure on the ground.

Even with the increasingly global significance of Zongo, the settlements remain in a spatially concentrated yet socially de-centered and ambiguous position. Let us for a moment revisit the resident's re-definition of Zongo from earlier in which he states,

> *It means transit, to travel, to not always stay in one place. It is actually not a Hausa word. 'Zon' means to come in Hausa and 'Go' means 'I go' in English. It means we come and go as we please.*[6]

Just as this quote demonstrates, Zongo residents struggle to re-invent themselves and their future without employing tropes from the past. . This thesis has endeavored to understand this complex history of the Zongo - from marginalization to development - to reveal the uneven socio-spatial structures of power in hopes of sponsoring agency and alternative future trajectories. This is just the beginning however, and calls for the collaboration of scholars from a range of disciplines and local community voices to carry out focused comparisons in both Ghana's northern settlements and its rapidly globalizing capital. How might these localized studies contribute to more fully conveying the variation of Zongo? And, when taken together, how does understanding the Zongo's socio-spatial network help us in the research and analysis of other West African settlements grappling with paralleling colonial histories?

* * *

6 Interview with an anonymous Cape Coast Zongo resident on January 18, 2014.

Appendix I: Chronology of Events

1823	British Explorations to Hausaland
1822-1824	First Ashanti War
1833	Slavery Abolition Act
1837	Wesley Chapel built
1837-1901	Rule of Queen Victoria
1835	Wesley Methodist Church Built in Cape Coast
1867	British Gold Coast formed
1872	British purchased the Dutch Gold Coast
1873-1874	Second Ashanti War – British sacked Kumasi
1876	Mfantsipim School established
1876	Wesley Girl's High School and Training School built
1877	Accra becomes the new Seat of Government for the British Colony
1879	Hausa Gold Coast Regiment formed
1885	Treaty of Berlin
1888	Sekondi Harbor built
1893-1894	Third Ashanti War
1895-1896	Fourth Ashanti War – Ashantis lost their independence. Asante became a Protectorate of the British Crown
1895-1912	Development of Western rail
1896	Crown Land's Bill
1897	Lands Bill
1897	Ashanti Goldfields Operation begun
1900	Ashanti Uprising – British captured Kumasi (The War of the Golden Stool)
1901	All of Gold Coast became a British Colony
1902	Northern Territories became part of the Protectorate
1902	Sanitation Committee in Cape Coast established
1903	Railroad to Kumasi built
1904-18	Development of Eastern Rail
1905	Mfantsipim School moved to present location at Kotokuraba
1908-1910	Outbreaks in Yellow Fever and Malaria
1913	New European segregation areas and new cemetery built in Cape Coast
1914-1918	WWI, Alhaji Grunshi fired the first British shot of WW1
1919	Treaty of Versailles

1927	Native Administration Ordinance
1931	Kotokuraba Market built
1936	Adisadel College built
1939-1945	WWII
1944	Public Land Ordinance
1945	Town Planning Ordinance and Schemes
1945	Town and Country Planning Office Established
1948	Ghana National College built
1953	Muslim Association Party founded
1954	New Municipal Office Proposed at Kotokuraba
1957	Independence; Kwame Nkrumah elected Prime Minister
1957	Ghana Nationality and Citizen Act
1957	Deportation Act Against Zongo
1958	Rise of industrialization
1960-1966	First Republic
1960	Kwame Nkrumah elected president
1962	University of Cape Coast founded
1963	Cape Coast port closed
1966	Nkrumah overthrown in military coup
1966-1972	Second Republic
1969	New Constitution and transfer of power to civilian government led by Kofi Busia.
1969	The Compliance Order
1972	Busia ousted in military coup led by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong.
1978	Acheampong forced to resign; General Frederick Akuffo takes over.
1979	Akuffo deposed in coup led by Jerry John Rawlings. Acheampong and Akuffo executed.
1979-1981	Third Republic
1981	Rawlings becomes Head of State.
1983	Introduction of Liberalization Policies
1993	Fourth Republic. Referendum approves new democratic constitution. Rawlings elected president
2001	John Agyekum Kufuor elected President
2009	John Evans Atta Mills elected President
2012	John Dramani Mahama elected President

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