## Contents

*Figures*  
*Tables*  
*Acknowledgments*

### 1 Introduction

1. Urban Politics in a Trap  
   1.1 The Puzzle  
   1.2 The Argument  
   1.3 Contributions  
   1.4 The Case and Empirical Strategy  
   1.5 Plan of the Book  

2. Urban Ghana in Context  
   2.1 The Growth of Greater Accra  
   2.2 The Explanatory Variables  
   2.3 Spatial Geography of Greater Accra  
   2.4 Comparison to Urban Growth Elsewhere in Africa  
   2.5 Ghana’s Political System  
   2.6 Extensions to Other Political Systems  
   2.7 Summary  

### 2 The Middle Class and Programmatic Politics

3. Class and Preferences  
   3.1 Particularistic versus Universalistic Preferences  
   3.2 Effects of Class on Preferences  
   3.3 The Survey Data  
   3.4 Measuring Demands
### Contents

3.5 Differences by Class and Location 100
3.6 Summary 104

4 Credibility, Patronage, and Participation 105
4.1 The Credibility Problem 107
4.2 Data Sources 117
4.3 Evidence 118
4.4 Summary 144

III Neighborhoods and Ethnic Competition

5 Ethnic Competition across Neighborhoods 149
5.1 A Puzzle: Neighborhood-level Variation in Greater Accra 152
5.2 Where Is There Ethnic Favoritism in Cities? 157
5.3 Patterns of Ethnic Voting 168
5.4 Extensions 173
5.5 Summary 178

6 Distributive Politics in Urban Areas 180
6.1 Mixed Targeting of Particularistic Goods 181
6.2 The Roots of Favoritism 188
6.3 Neighborhood Characteristics and Particularistic goods Distribution 193
6.4 Comparison to Rural Areas 203
6.5 Summary 209

7 Neighborhood Context, Expectations of Favoritism, and Voting 210
7.1 Vote Choice in Presidential Elections 213
7.2 The Mechanism: Favoritism Expectations 226
7.3 Alternative Explanations 230
7.4 The Ga: An Exception that Proves the Rule? 236
7.5 Summary 241

IV Implications for Urban Governance

8 Turnout Inequality and Capture in Municipal Elections 245
8.1 Ghana’s Local Government System 247
8.2 Low Turnout and Its Consequences 251
8.3 Favoritism in District Assemblies 255
8.4 Quantitative Data Sources 258
8.5 Analysis 259
8.6 Summary 275

9 Paths out of the Trap? 277
9.1 External Cases: The US and Latin America 280
### Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.2 What Could Break the Trap in Urban Ghana? The Cases Applied</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3 Conclusion</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Data Appendix</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.1 Urban Survey Sampling Procedure</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2 Rural Survey Sampling Procedure</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.3 Calculation of Neighborhood Characteristics</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.4 Calculation of the Neighborhood Wealth Index</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.5 Summary Statistics for the Urban Survey</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.6 Interviews and Focus Groups in Greater Accra</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.7 Coding Rules for Manifestos</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.8 Survey Experiment Prompts and Conditions</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.9 Coding Ethnicity of Assembly Candidates</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.10 Polling Station Survey Sample</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bibliography</strong></td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Index</strong></td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>