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REGIONAL INEQUALITY IN DEVELOPMENT AND MIGRATION

IN GHANA

by

FRANCIS YAW OWUSU, B.A (Hons.); M.A

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

Canada

July 1992

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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the relationship between migration and regional development in Ghana. Models of migration in tropical Africa are examined and the spatial interaction model and structural-functional perspective were chosen as appropriate for explaining the Ghanaian situation. Patterns of regional development are identified and explanation of the pattern suggested. Both past and contemporary migration patterns are discussed and the new trends highlighted. The study argues that contemporary migration in Ghana has historical roots and that the complexity of the role of migration in development requires a framework which considers all aspects of the interaction between structural changes and human responses in the determination of the patterns of population movement.

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REGIONAL INEQUALITY IN DEVELOPMENT AND MIGRATION IN GHANA

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A characteristic feature of most developing countries today is unequal development. Although many of the causes, consequences, and manifestations of inequality are predominantly structural rather than spatial in nature, the origins and effects may be seen in social, economic, political and spatial terms (Coates et al., 1977). Thus no matter how varied the causes of inequality may be, it is clearly a problem with a spatial expression which manifests itself in occupational, social and demographic groups. Unfortunately geographers, unlike other social scientists, have until quite recently contributed very little to the analysis of inequality beyond indicating its presence (Riddell 1981a).

Geographers who have ventured into the subject of inequalities often concern themselves with the ever-widening gap between the advanced and developing countries to such an extent that the disparities among regions and areas within countries have received far less attention. Available evidence, however, indicates that spatial inequalities in development are as serious within countries as those between them (Horton, 1970; Taylor 1979; Adarkwa 1981; Mackenzie and

Taylor, 1989). More importantly, inequalities within countries can lead to social and political unrest or secession. The cases of rebellions in Southern Sudan, Biafra in Nigeria, Eritrea in Ethiopia, Black liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia are a few examples.

Due to the impact of colonialism and imperialism, inequality associated with underdevelopment is probably more obvious in Africa and the remainder of the Third World countries than elsewhere. The colonial space economy of many countries was oriented to external markets and transport systems were characteristically tree-like or dendritic in structure, draining and funnelling resources to Europe rather than facilitating interregional contacts. The distribution of social services, indeed the whole pattern of infrastructural modernisation, was geographically biased to reflect initial colonial locational decisions, administrative convenience, and the demands of exploitation and pacification (Soja, 1973; Slater, 1975). As result of these policies many colonies were characterised by stark inequality in development.

Taylor (1979) clearly presented the case of spatial inequality in development in Kenya, while that of Ghana was explored by Bannerman (1971) and recently re-echoed by Adarkwa (1981) and Songsore (1989). Similar disparities exist in many other countries. It is important to note that although regional inequality in development is not peculiar to underdeveloped nations, the gap is usually much larger within

these countries and, worse still, there are no signs that it has narrowed or will narrow within the foreseeable future. Migration is a key factor in understanding such regional inequality as it is a human response to such "unevenness", and it is this topic which will be the central concern of this thesis with Ghana being used as a case study.

The links between development and migration have been the subject of many studies in Africa in recent times. The increased volume of literature, however, has not led to any meaningful generalization; rather, research has produced seemingly contradictory results which reflect the differences in the approaches employed. These approaches can be broadly categorized into two types of approaches: neo-classical and marxist-structural.

According to neoclassical economic theory, labour moves from areas where it earns a relatively low return to areas where it can earn a relatively higher return. This movement of labour makes it scarcer in relation to other factors of production in the origin areas and more plentiful in the destination areas. This, according to the hypothesis, will result in equal returns to labour in all parts of the country. Internal migration is therefore regarded as normal and temporary, especially at the initial stages of economic development (Williamson, 1965).

The geographic study of population and economic development in Africa applying the neoclassical economic

theory has been limited to the application of sophisticated techniques and models to describe the patterns and relationships. The assumption is that population movements are the outcome of individually rational responses to economic disparities, population pressure, environmental stress, and the evolution of an urban system.

The neoclassical perspective to migration studies in Africa has attracted criticisms from many circles, not the least from marxists and structuralists. They argue that while the techniques are useful in identifying pattern similarity, they do not necessarily delineate causal relationships (Riddell, 1981b). Also by focusing solely on individual migrants (or upon aggregates of individuals) using a push-pull explanatory frame, we tend to neglect the fundamental causes of population mobility which most often are rooted in the historical past. They also reject totally the push-pull argument as being too simplistic and ahistorical.

Moreover, the migration situation in Africa is more complicated than suggested by such an equilibrium theory. While in some African countries, the movement of people has been directed towards more prosperous areas, especially cities, some streams are toward underdeveloped and predominantly rural agricultural areas (Addae-Mensah, 1987; Mlay, 1987). Internal migration subdivided into rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural and urban-urban components has been common throughout the continent (Gould and Prothero, 1974). In

the temporal dimension, migration in Africa may be short-term, medium-term, or long term¹ (Addo, 1975). These types have all been observed in parts of Africa depending on the colonial experience of the regions, the economic activities and resources of the area and cultural systems of the people involved in the stream.

The structuralists call for analysis which delves into the processes which produced or induced observed patterns, the argument being that population migration is a response to a set of historical and structural determinants, and such a relationship cannot be identified by any framework which depends solely on pattern analysis, no matter how sophisticated. They argue that the penetration of capitalism and colonialism which structured the socio-economic systems in West Africa are the main causes of migration (Amin, 1974; Painter, 1987).

The differences in the approaches of neoclassical and structuralist create a situation where proponents of each school are seen as speaking utterly different languages for which there is no common idiom. The result resembles what Cardoso (1977:15) describes as a dialogue between two deaf people where each has cultivated a trained incapacity to hear any other point of view (Mayhew, 1980:337; Wood, 1982:312).

¹ Short-term migration refers to seasonal, medium-term migration refers to only a few years absence from home, and long term migration refers to more permanent movement involving extended periods of absence from the home area.

The gap between the two approaches and the lack of understanding among the proponents have constrained, rather than enhanced, our understanding of the relationship between migration and development. While it is true that the emergence and expansion of the capitalist mode of production, the country's role in the international division of labour and the development path pursued are all important factors explaining migration, the need to identify the specific agents which attract or repel people at the individual level cannot be ignored. By considering these, we can assess the impacts of forces and counter-forces whose origins lie at the international, national, regional, local, as well as individual levels on inter-regional migration.

In the case of Ghana, the country is characterised by inequality in development, with the provision of basic social amenities and infrastructure concentrated in the south. The north has remained neglected and impoverished. It lacks many of the basic necessities of life and a solid economic base (Andrae, 1984). The pattern of spatial development in the country greatly influenced, and was in turn reinforced, by the process of population migration. The movement of people has been from the least developed regions in northern Ghana to the relatively more developed areas in the south. Recent evidence indicates that migration regions in the country, both source and destination areas, have undergone some changes. Migrants are now directed not only to the developed regions in the

core, but also to other previously neglected and underdeveloped areas (Ashigbie, 1988). The changing pattern of migration raises the question as to whether the relative levels of development within the various regions have also changed or why people are moving to areas which hitherto were not receiving migrants. The changing trend in migration and its relationship with regional development in Ghana presents an interesting and intriguing set of questions to be answered.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

Basically, this is a study of spatial analysis of development and interregional migration. It examines the regional patterns of development vis-à-vis trends in regional migration in Ghana. The specific objectives are:

- i) To review some of the models of migration and regional development and their applicability to the Ghanaian situation;
- ii) to trace the trends in the patterns of regional development in Ghana and examine the causes of such patterns;
- iii) to assess the trends in the migration process within the country; and
- iv) to establish the relationship between the patterns of regional migration and development.

The central argument of this thesis is that migration in Ghana plays a central role as a cause, effect and integral component in the socio-economic formation and transformation of the country. An attempt to explain migration should therefore consider the fundamental structural factors that result in migration and also perpetuate themselves through the process of migration. In addition, the factors that attract or repel migrants must be understood in order to appreciate contemporary migration trends.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Many of the studies on migration in Africa have focused on the growth of urban centres, the adjustment of migrants in the cities and the problems associated with movers to various neighbourhoods of metropolitan areas (Muwonge, 1980; Findley, 1987; Kilbourne and Berry, 1989). The relationship between migration and regional development has received far less attention. Yet the complexity of the role of migration in development requires the study of its role in the creation and perpetuation of regional imbalances in development.

The studies which has been conducted on population migration and inequalities in regional development in West Africa, do not consider both neoclassical and structuralist perspective in one study. It is important to note that, by their methodologies, neither of the views is complete without

the other. The former using basically words, cartographic or statistical inferences tends to describe the patterns of migration and their relationship with socio-economic indicators. The latter explains such patterns within a historical framework. The limitation of the Marxist approach is that it cannot adequately explain the factors that motivate individual migrants. The decision to migrate is implicitly assumed to be a rational one, but no attempt is made to conceptualize the nature of the decision making process or the various elements that enter into the calculus (Wood,1982). The present study attempts to bring these two seemingly opposing views together, by using the first to identify patterns and relationships, and to explain these with reference to the historical experiences of the regions.

There has been a dearth of research on inter-regional migration in Ghana, especially in terms of its relationship with regional development. The few studies that have been undertaken concern themselves with either migration or regional development in isolation, with little attempt made to link the issues. The present study attempts to fill this gap and also to provide a more current picture of regional development and inter-regional migration in Ghana.

A significant feature of the present study is the inclusion of agricultural-related variables among the development indicators employed. Past studies of regional development in Ghana totally ignored the agricultural sector.

This is paradoxical when one considers the fact that Ghana is predominantly agricultural². Definitely, improvements in the agricultural sector mean improvement in the quality of life of the majority of Ghanaians. Its improvement has been a major item on the development agenda of the country since independence. There is therefore no justification for ignoring this important sector.

The policy implications of the study for Ghana and other African countries at similar stages of development are most significant. Since 1983, Ghana has adopted the IMF/World Bank supported structural adjustment program (SAP) and the achievements so far have been encouraging for some (IMF,1989), although opinions vary on this issue. The policy is export-oriented and emphasises the promotion of export commodities through price incentives and the provision of infrastructure (World Bank, 1984; Haynes, 1989; Loxley, 1988; Hutchful, 1989). This is likely to have an unintended differential impact on the various regions in the country. Such disparity in development occurs because the resource endowments and economic activities are not evenly distributed in the country. The study therefore provides an indication of how policy may be employed to affect mobility in the country.

² Agriculture, including forestry, accounts for about 55 percent of Gross Domestic Product, close to 80 percent of merchandise exports and employs 55 percent of the labour force (Ministry of Agriculture,1987:3).

1.4 METHODOLOGY

1.4.1 Units of Analysis

While acknowledging the advantages of micro-level analysis of migration, available data for the study permit only macro-level analysis. The importance of the choice of appropriate spatial units for the study of migration need not be overemphasised, since large units could mask the migration picture. For example, it has been shown elsewhere that, in Ghana, different parts of a region have different and changing migration experiences (Owusu, 1990). To use the entire region as a migration unit may thus hide important details in the trends and patterns of the movement. Notwithstanding this limitation, the present study is based upon the present ten administrative regions of the country (fig.1). It must, however, be recognised that the level of detail depends on the aggregation of the original data. In the case of Ghana, although census data are available in smaller units (district council areas), it is impossible to obtain data on the independent explanatory variables at district level over a long time period in order to facilitate comparison. Thus, one is forced by data availability to employ larger units of analysis.

1.4.2 Measurement of Regional Inequality

Data on the levels of regional development are drawn from governmental and non-governmental sources. Although the most current population figures available were collected in 1984, attempts are made to provide a more current picture (as far as available data permit) of regional development levels in Ghana.

Pertinent to the measurement and description of inequality is the determination of what constitutes inequality. This will be discussed in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that equality implies equity in the distribution of socio-economic facilities. This definition facilitates the application of many statistical tools to evaluate the spatial distribution of development.

An acceptable method of determining the level of development of individual regions must take into consideration distributional issues by assessing the proportion of individual facilities to which a given sector of the population has access (Adarkwa, 1981). The relative degree of inequality experienced in any region can be measured against a yardstick of some desired or ideal level. Such an index is the level of the development indicators in the regions, and can be expressed either as the difference or the ratio between the actual level and that of the yardstick (Coates, et al., 1977). An ideal distribution is perceived as one in which a given percentage of the population has access to, or

Figure 1: **GHANA:**

13

ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS

possesses, the same proportion of the facilities or services under consideration.

Summary measures such as the Schutz coefficient of inequality and the Gini coefficient of inequality are available for the analysis of spatial inequality, although the latter is more useful (Alker, 1970). The Gini coefficient which measures dissimilarity is used to examine the trends in regional inequality. For a series of n areas, the formula is written as (Coates, et al., 1977:20):

$$G_x = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{i=n} |X_i - P_i|}{2}$$

Where,

G_x is the Gini Coefficient of inequality for facility x ,

X_i is the proportion of facility x in area i , and

P_i is the proportion of the total population resident in i .

The Coefficient has a potential range of 0 to 100, with higher values representing greater inequality (Hammond and McCullagh, 1978).

1.4.3 Estimation of Migration

The main sources of data for the estimation of migration are the 1960, 1970 and 1984 population censuses of Ghana. The primary purpose of all censuses in Ghana has been to examine patterns of population growth in the country as a whole. Consequently, no direct information relating to migration has been seriously considered. Even though questions on place of birth are included in the various censuses, questions relating to residence at specific times in the past, previous residence and duration of residence, were excluded. It is not possible therefore to estimate migration by duration-of-residence. Neither is it possible to estimate out-migration and net-migration directly. One therefore has to rely on indirect estimation techniques.

Information on place of birth aggregated by regions is available in all the three census reports. The categories of place of birth include: born in locality of enumeration; born in other locality in the same region; born in other region; and born abroad. These were used to estimate intra-regional and inter-regional migration and lifetime migration. The category enumerated in a region but born outside the region, is taken as the in-migration; this is an aggregation of all migrants from each of the nine remaining regions. Out-migration volumes are estimated as the difference between in-migrants volumes and estimated net migration volumes.

There are various indirect methods of estimating net migration which could be employed for this purpose. These include (1) the national growth rate method and (2) the residual methods. The residual method includes either (a) vital statistics method or (b) the survival ratio method (UN,1970). The vital statistics method requires virtually complete registration of both births and deaths during the intercensal period. However, the lack of an effective vital registration system in Ghana precludes the use of this method for any form of national estimation (Kpedekpo,1968, Kpedekpo et al., 1970).

There are two types of survival ratio methods: census survival ratio (CSR) and the life table survival ratio (LTSR). The LTSR requires knowledge of the mortality conditions for the intercensal period in order to facilitate the computation or selection of an appropriate lifetable. However, knowledge of mortality conditions in Ghana is inadequate and unreliable (Tawiah, 1979; Ameka, 1987). Due to these limitations, the LTSR method is not appropriate for the study.

The other method, CSR, represent the ratio of the numbers in the same national cohort at successive censuses. The basic information required is the age and sex classification of the population in each region at two successive censuses and a set of survival ratios. The survival ratios can be applied to the population at the first census in order to derive an estimate of the number of persons expected to survive to the second

census. The difference between the enumerated population at the second census and the expected population is the estimate of net migration. This method requires neither life table nor vital statistics, and has the advantage of eliminating the effects of some of the errors in the population statistics (Shryock and Siegel, 1976). The method therefore is suitable for the estimation of net migration in situations (like the present study) where the only reliable data set is population by age and sex.

The place of birth data employed in estimating migration involves some limitations since they provide only indirect information on the movement of people. The specific volume of migrants to and from a region to another region thus cannot be estimated. Consequently, the effect of distance on migration volumes (which is an important explanatory variable in many other migration studies) cannot be investigated.

Place of birth data has no time element (duration of movement); therefore, the timing of migrants can not be estimated. Intermediate migrations between the time of birth and the time of the census (for example seasonal migrations) and returned migrants which are important and significant in many African countries can not be estimated. Multiple movements by the same person cannot be detected; flows of migrants over a long period of time are lumped together and are related to explanatory variables measured at a 'point' in time.

Moreover, place of birth data are usually characterised by errors due to unintended misstatement of place of birth especially when the answers to the questions were provided by the head of household who may not know the exact place of birth of each household member. Other problems with place of birth data include uncertainties about area boundaries at the time of birth and about the reporting of birth place for babies who were not born at the usual residence of their parents.

Apart from the shortcomings of the data, the techniques used in the estimation also have limitations. The CSR method assumes that the national population is closed and therefore is not affected by external migration; that the specific mortality rates are the same for each areal unit as for the nation; and that the ratio of "completeness" of enumeration in any age-sex group in each areal unit to that of the nation is the same for the same cohort in both census (UN,1970). Moreover, using the survival rate method to estimate net migration has meant that the estimates be limited only to adults 15 years and over. The accuracy of estimates of net migration will therefore be affected by the extent to which these assumptions are met. A detailed explanation of the methods and the computation of migration is provided in appendix 3.

1.4.4 Migration -Development Relationships

The relationship between migration and regional inequality will be examined at two levels. The first will analyze migration trends within the structural functionalist framework. This approach will seek to explain the migration process within the specific historical structural context of regional inequality. Secondly, a regression-based, spatial interaction model will be employed in order to examine the relationships between migration and regional development empirically. An assessment of these models and their adoption for the present study will be focus of chapter two.

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into six chapters. This introductory chapter discusses the statement of the problem, the objectives, the rationale and the methodology of the study. The second chapter is devoted to conceptual issues, these includes a review of migration models in Tropical Africa, a definition of concepts and the discussion on the analytical framework. Chapter three addresses present patterns of regional development in Ghana within a historical perspective. It examines regional disparities in the colonial, the post-colonial and present era and indexes alteration in such patterns. Chapter four focuses on patterns and trends of

inter-regional migration in Ghana; it highlights lifetime migration, intercensal migration, inter- and intra-regional migration and age and sex selectivity in migration. Analyses of the findings are considered in chapter five. The chapter combines regional development indicators and migration rates to demonstrate the relationship between them empirically. The final chapter provides a summary, as well as indicating the recommendations and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

Among demographic factors, migration has been identified as having the largest and fastest impact on the development process through its association with factors such as employment, urbanization, fertility, mortality, age structure, distribution of population (Adepoju, 1977). Migration has also been recognised as both an important cause and effect of social and economic change.

Despite the overwhelming acceptance of the impact of migration on development, there have been divergent views on the nature of the impact. On one hand are those who argue that since it is often the developed regions which attract migrants, migration tends to widen regional disparity in development and thus to handicap the overall development process (Amin, 1974). On the other hand, there are those who contend that population migration is a movement to balance the distribution of population against the inequality in development (Tach, 1967). These views, though seemingly conflicting, explain the impact of migration under different circumstances. Depending on the resource base and the

migrants involved, migration can either widen or narrow the differences in regional development. It is therefore essential to examine the relationship between migration and regional development based on the specific experiences of areas rather than to consider it in the abstract. The object of this chapter is to place the study in a conceptual framework within which the empirical analysis will take place.

Before proceeding, a note of caution is required on the regional approach to the understanding of inequality. The approach will inevitably stress certain facts and relationships to the neglect of others. There is also a risk of overemphasising the importance of spatial variation in development. This does not, however, imply that inequality is manifested only in spatial terms; neither is it evident only at the regional level. As there are many levels of inequalities, regional or spatial inequalities are only visible forms of it. What the study seeks to show is that analysis of inequality requires the explicit recognition of the role of space in the organisation of production and of spatial elements in distributive processes and outcomes.

Secondly, it must be recognised that the use of regions as units of analysis should not be taken to imply homogeneity. The demarcation of regions in Ghana basically reflects political and administrative criteria, without any consideration of either geographical or developmental characteristics. Therefore, there may be as staggering

inequalities within the regions as exist within the country as a whole.

This chapter begins with the operational definition of concepts and continues with a review of some of the models of migration which are pertinent to the present study. The purpose is to provide an analytical framework and a model for the analysis of migration and regional development in Ghana. It will be argued that the nature, extent and character of the regions are part of the conceptualization of the social process that takes place in the regions. Migration is thus seen as an outcome of the incorporation of societies into the capitalist system. In addition, it will be shown that spatial interaction models are appropriate and they also submit themselves to empirical testing. This will be adopted to further our understanding of migration in Ghana.

2.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

(1) Migration:

There has been no unanimity over the meaning of the term "migration" and who is considered to be a migrant. Indeed there are as many definitions of the term "migration" as there are students of the discipline. Even more elusive has been the definition of "internal migration". Unlike international migration which involves the movement across clearly defined national political boundaries, internal migration involves

movement within a particular country. Such movements could be between small administrative units or cultural areas whose boundaries are sometimes not clearly defined. Under such a circumstance, there is usually a problem of which of the movements should be classified as migration and which should not. To avoid such ambiguity, it has become necessary for investigators of the subject to give a precise definition of migration with a clear specification of both temporal and spatial criteria (Willis, 1974; Jones, 1990).

The use of place of birth data for migration analysis places restrictions on the definition of migration, thereby eliminating much of the ambivalence over the term. On the basis of the answers to the place of birth questions, migrants are defined as persons who are enumerated in a place different from the place where they were born (United Nations, 1970). Since all of Ghana's censuses have been based on the de facto method³, a migrant is a person whose area of residence on the census night differed from his/her area of birth (Owusu, 1990). Place of birth is defined as the usual place of residence of the respondent's mother at the time of birth, rather than the home town or home village where the family comes from or the actual place of birth (Ghana Statistical Service, 1970). This definition has been consistent throughout all the censuses of Ghana, thus making comparison possible.

³ De facto census is a method of census count where a person is considered a resident of the place where he/she was found on census day.

Inter-regional migrants (or long distance migrants) are those who were enumerated in an administrative region other than the one in which they were born. Similarly, intra-regional migrants (or short distance migrants) are those who were enumerated in a locality other than their place of birth, but within the same administrative region. International migrants are those who were born abroad but enumerated in Ghana. Non-migrants are persons who were enumerated in the locality where they were born.

(ii) Regional Development:

The term development has been ill-defined, misconstrued and misconceived, thereby making its measurement quite difficult. Development is frequently assumed to be an economic condition. Consequently economic indicators such as Gross National Product (GNP) per capita or the GNP per capita growth rate have been the most common measures of development. However, development is more than economic growth; it also has political, social, cultural and environmental dimensions. Emphasis on economic development alone therefore does not result in development in the broader sense and such "development" could sometimes be precarious. As Dudley Seers rightly argued, "... economic growth not merely may fail to solve social and political difficulties; certain types of growth can actually cause them" (Seers, 1972:21).

The inability of economic development to generate overall development has created room for a redefinition of development objectives. There have consequently been some fundamental changes in the field of development thinking. The Social Indicators movement stressed the inadequacy of traditional economic indicators and argued for the measurement of development in terms of social variables like health care, education, nutrition.

Drewnowski (1974) rejects partial concepts in such terms as "economic" or even "social" development; rather, he emphasizes the essential unity of the development process. According to him, development is "a process of qualitative change and quantitative growth of the social and economic reality which we call either Society or Economy" (Drewnowski, 1974:95).

Baster (1972) also added the political dimension to the economic and social realms of Drewnowski's conception. This added dimension brings into focus the importance of the institutional framework in the development process. It is also a reminder that a country's political independence, external economic dependency and the general position in the international system are relevant to its degree of development.

The importance of the environment in the development process has never been so crucial as in recent times. The global environmental problems that have resulted from

conventional economic development have meant that continuously expanding economic growth is not possible because economic growth draws on the finite resources of the earth and uses the earth as its sink (Rees, 1988). As a result, recent emphasis has been on development strategies that exploit, and at the same time husband, the environment in a sustainable manner. Brundland (1987:ix) defines such development as "a process of change in which policies relating to trade, energy, agriculture, industry, and resources aim at inducing development paths that are socially, economically, politically and ecologically sustainable".

Notwithstanding these different perceptions of the concept, development must be seen "in terms of the process of improving the quality of life of an individual or group of individuals" (de Graft Johnson, 1975:79). People must be seen as the real wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development should, accordingly, be to create an enabling environment for the people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives (UNDP,1990). In addition, development should aim at enhancing distributive justice without any prejudice to location, sex, age or social status of a person. Development is a viable and sustainable process of exploiting resources with the aim of enhancing the quality of life of the people.

Regional development is defined for the purpose of this study, as development occurring in a particular region of the country. The availability of both economic and social

facilities in the regions are used as indices of development. The selection of development indicators is based on those for which data are readily available and which are closely related to the goals of Ghana's development planning, as expressed in various national development plans. Following Adarkwa's (1981) definition, regional inequality in development refers to the uneven distribution of development attributes relative to the distribution of the population. Equality is therefore used here to imply equity in the distribution of socio-economic indicators.

2.3 REGIONS AND SOCIAL PROCESSES:

Most of the works of regional theorists have tended to isolate the effects of spatial distribution from the development process. A region is seen merely as a container for social processes. The regional framework is accordingly presented as a backdrop for a discussion of regional change (Murphy, 1991, Urry, 1987). This framework has been described as spatial separatism (Sack, 1974). However, social and spatial processes are dialectically related (Soja, 1980; 1989); therefore the spatial environment within which development occurs is influenced by the process (Gore, 1984).

The relationship between social process and space becomes extremely important in situations where there is an explicit link between the social process under examination and a

particular region's experience (Murphy, 1991). For example, in the case of population movements in West Africa, certain fundamental issues relating to the development experience of the regions in question must be incorporated into the analysis; without them the study remains at the level of describing surface patterns (Riddell, 1981a). Space is therefore conceptualised in this study as an integral element of the process of change. The fundamental issues relating to the development experience of the regions and the country as a whole will provide the background conditions. To these will be added those issues of continuing relevance through the use of empirical evidence.

2.4 MODELS OF MIGRATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA

Although the scientific study of migration in tropical Africa is relatively recent, a great deal has been written on the subject. There has been considerable documentation on identification and analysis of patterns and processes of migration at various scales: from limited repetitive, short distance moves to definitive long distance migrations. The evidence shows that internal migration depicts a measure of diversity in its causes, magnitude and effects in the African society. The historical evolution of African countries, the colonial experience, post-colonial development strategies and

the current political and economic situation also are intricately linked to internal migration.

Migration studies, like many research areas within academic disciplines, have been affected by the increasing tendency to apply models originally developed elsewhere for empirical research in Africa. Masser and Gould (1974:7) identified four main types of explanatory models that have been developed in the context of the tropical African experience. These include systems models, economic models, models of spatial interaction and sequential models. To these, may be added the structural-functional/marxist approach. Each of these models is distinctive in its approach and emphasis, but they all share a common concern for the spatial analysis of population mobility and its interpretation in relation to social, economic and environmental conditions.

2.4.1 A Systems Model of Rural/Urban Migration

Mabogunje (1970) conceptualises migration within the framework of general systems theory. He distinguishes between those parts of the system that control the flow of migrants from rural areas to urban centres and those parts which influence the socio-economic transformation of the migrant who alters from a rural peasant to an urbanite. He considers rural-urban migration in Africa as a "circular,

interdependent, progressively complex, and self modifying system in which the effect of changes in one part can be traced through the whole of the system" (Mabogunje, 1970:16). The scale and direction of movement within the system is related to a dynamic environment which involves economic, technological and social development.

Although, at the conceptual level, Mabogunje's model is salutary, empirical testing is inhibited by the enormous operational problems in specifying and measuring the large number of essentially unquantifiable elements in the system. Mabogunje did not make any attempt to define the model in formal or mathematical terms, thus making it difficult for empirical testing. In addition, the theory cannot be used to explain other types of migration adequately. For instance urban-rural, urban-urban and rural-rural types of migration cannot be studied within the model without changing some of the assumptions of the model.

2.4.2 Economic Models

Economists have contributed a great deal to the understanding of migration, although the role of space is often ignored. Todaro's model is probably the most often cited economic model. The model seeks to explain the rationale for the persistence of rural-urban migration in the face of rising urban unemployment. It postulates that migration proceeds in

response to urban-rural differences in expected, rather than actual, earnings. He argues that the wide differences between urban and rural wages for each occupational and educational group, coupled with the fact that the long-run probability that a migrant could secure wage employment in the industrial sector (which is greater than zero) explain the motives behind the increase in city-ward migration (Todaro, 1969; 1976).

The major shortcoming of the model as with Mabogunje's model, is that it is confined mainly to the behaviour of a rural-urban migrant and ignores the other forms of migration, in particular, rural-rural and urban-rural migration which are equally important in Sub-Sahara Africa. Moreover, there have been considerable difficulties in defining expected incomes in quantitative terms for testing purposes⁴. In addition urban employment in the industrial sector is not the main determinant of migration as the model assumes. A substantial proportion of migrants in Africa are self-employed workers and usually move into the informal urban sector where entry barriers are minimal. Also, the role of the household in migration decision-making process in Africa makes it more complex than the model assumes. Finally, by emphasising the wage differential between urban and rural areas and the impact of the increase in urban wages on migration and unemployment, this model has not improved our understanding of the causes of non-mobility among a large proportion of the rural population.

⁴ See for example, Rempel and Todaro, 1972.

2.4.3 Spatial Interaction Model

Spatial interaction models have been widely applied in Third World countries to explain the migration phenomenon. A wide range of techniques has been employed in the formulation of spatial interaction models in early research (Olsson, 1965) but many of them have been formulated in terms of the multiple regression model (Willis, 1974). Regression analysis provides a method of testing for factors which are associated with migration - an analysis of the relations between a single dependent criterion and one or more predictor (independent) measures. Like correlation, regression analysis not only indicates whether two variables move together, but it also estimates how they do (Willis, 1974).

The flexibility of the multiple regression model is its main attraction. Several variables from other models may be adopted in multiple regression analyses. The range of possible independent variables extends extensively to embrace demographic, occupational, environmental and other measures. The flexibility is such that different sets of independent variables may be used for different sets of migration data. Beals et al. (1967) applied a regression model in their study of the economic and social determinants of migration in Ghana. They considered distance, regional differences in income, population, education and the level of urbanization as independent explanatory variables.

The application of regression techniques in migration analysis, however, has both theoretical and interpretational problems. One limitation of regression analysis is associated with multicollinearity. This occurs when there is higher correlation among the independent variables than there is between the independent and the dependent variables. The absence of multicollinearity is not one of the underlying assumptions of regression and its existence does not also invalidate the model (Freund and Minton, 1979). However, it does introduce some rather serious problems in interpreting the results and structural questions cannot be adequately answered by such an analysis (Willis, 1974; Riddell, 1975).

Several techniques have been employed to avoid multicollinearity in migration analysis. Olsson (1965) for example, used stepwise regression to solve the problem of multicollinearity. Willis (1972) on the other hand excluded all variables which showed evidence of multicollinearity. Riddell (1970) used regression to study migration in Sierra Leone. His interpretation of findings was complicated by multicollinearity which compelled him to resort to a principal component analysis of his data in order to derive independent, orthogonal variables. Riddell considered 20 variables designed to reflect levels of development, but as pointed out by Harvey (1974), the large number of independent variables reduced the predictive value of the model.

To offset the influence of multicollinearity, this study selected a limited number of independent variables and also tested for correlation among the explanatory variables and ignored highly correlated variables. In view of the above limitations of the regression model, the results are interpreted with care.

2.4.4 Sequential Models

These are extensions of spatial interaction models which also take temporal considerations into account. Mitchell's work on labour circulation in Southern Rhodesia may be considered as an example of this category (Mitchell, 1969). Another example is Riddell and Harvey's (1972) step-wise model of migration which was based on a study in Sierra Leone. The model views migration as a process of long-term population redistribution whereby individual migrants are absorbed stage by stage into the modern sector of the economy. Although this model seems quite attractive, there has been little empirical evidence to support the findings. Swindell (1974), who also worked in Sierra Leone, has indicated that mining workers in the south-eastern districts move towards and among the principal towns and work places rather than moving upward through a hierarchy of urban centres.

2.4.5 Structural-Functional/ Marxist Approaches

The historical structural perspectives in the study of migration can be found in a variety of theories, including dependency theory, the centre-periphery framework and the global accumulation perspective (Wood, 1982). Its interpretation of migration concentrates on the organisation of the society and modes of production within it. The perspective assumes that population movement can only be examined in the context of historical analysis of the broader structural transformations underway in a particular social formation. Consequently, migration is analyzed with reference to the pressures and counter pressures, both internal and external to the national economy, that lead to changes in the organisation of production. Migration is therefore conceptualised as a class phenomenon, where the unit of analysis is the stream, as opposed to the atomistic approach that treats migration as the sum of individual choices.

The proponents of such a perspective argue that the problems of migration are strongly embedded in the transformation and disruption of underdeveloped economies consequent to their integration with the colonial capitalist system (Meilink, 1978). Amin (1974) argued that the overall strategy of colonial-style of development is the root cause of migration. In the process of development, migration becomes a channel through which the surplus value of migrants' labour is driven or drawn from the periphery into the capitalist core.

It is probably necessary to highlight the subtle distinction between Marxist and the structural-functionalist views on migration as was done by Gerold-Scheepers and Van Bingeren. They explained that:

[b]oth Marxist and Structural-Functionalists reject the classic push-pull model, but for different reasons: the former because they consider the penetration of capitalism a push and pull factor, the latter because push-pull models stress the economic dimension at the expense of social, cultural, political and ideological factors. Moreover, Marxists reject the urban-rural dichotomy as superficial for capitalism, as the crucial explaining variable can also take rural forms. For structural-functional approaches to migration, on the other hand, the urban-rural dichotomy has always been an important analytical tool (Gerold-Scheepers and Van Bingeren quoted in Adepoju, 1987:117).

The structural-functional approach is an attractive conceptualization. Definitely, it is inadequate to view migration as essentially voluntary, opportunistic behaviour of the individual. Rather, the discussion must go beyond the prevailing situation at the time of migration and explore the historical structural contexts that cumulatively have impacted on creating or exacerbating social class and marginalised some. This line of thought will be pursued in this study, and to this will be added the spatial interaction model to explain the factors that motivate the individual to migrate.

2.5 SPATIAL INTERACTION MODEL OF REGIONAL MIGRATION IN GHANA

As already indicated, in addition to the explanation of migration process from the perspective of historical experience of the various regions, the relationship between migration and regional development will be examined empirically using a regression-based spatial interaction model. This section is accordingly devoted to the development of a spatial interaction model of regional migration in Ghana.

Spatial interaction models have been applied in various parts of the Third World including Ghana (Beals et al., 1967), Brazil (Sahota, 1968), Egypt (Greenwood, 1969), Jamaica (Adams, 1969) India (Greenwood, 1971), Venezuela (Levy and Wadycki, 1972), Uganda (Maser and Gould, 1975) and Malawi (Wogugu, 1987). Although there are some differences in the detailed formulations of the model as applied in these studies, the basic theoretical and methodological issues are similar and they all seem to draw heavily from Beals' initial formulation.

The model applied in this study is similar to those employed by these earlier researchers; however it has its own unique characteristics reflecting the situations in the study area and data availability. The model assumes that the probability that an individual will migrate from a specific region to another region is a function of the characteristics of the origin and destination regions and proximity to the coast. Since aggregate rather than individual data were

employed in the analysis, the model is presented without specifying individual decision functions. As an ecological model, it accounts for behaviour as a function of situational, rather than individual characteristics (Wogugu, 1987).

The migration function is of the form:

$$M_i/P_i = f\{D_i, R_i, U_i, E_i, J_i, Y_i, G_i, \text{random errors}\}$$

Where

M_i = Net migration figure in Region i ,

P_i = population of region i ,

D_i = distance from Accra,

R_i = rural population density,

U_i = proportion of population residing in urban centres,

E_i = percent of population aged 5 years or more who have ever attended school,

J_i = Proportion of the labour force employed in agriculture,

Y_i = Cocoa Production

G_i = Food crop production

2.5.1 Inter-regional migration rate (M_i/P_i)

The dependent variable was treated as an aggregate flow between two centres (M_{ij}) by Masser and Gould; while others like Beals prefer to use the migration rate with reference to the number of people born in the origin region (M_{ij}/P_i). Some also deal with only a section of the population. For example, Beals only considered migration rates among males aged 15-54

and treated males aged 15-24 and females aged 15-54 as supplementary, but concluded that the results were similar to those of adult males. Gould and Masser on the other hand, argued that since there was high correlation between the two alternative specifications of the dependent variable (M_{ij} , M_{ij}/P_i) for the total population, as well as between each of the main age and sex groups within the Ugandan population, there seems to be little point in restricting the analysis to a limited section of the population.

In the case of Ghana, the difference in the sizes of the populations of the regions requires that migration flow be standardized by a common denominator. Also instead of migration flows between centres, this study used net migration figures due to the limitations imposed by data. As a result, net migration rate for the population aged 15 years or more was used as the dependent variable.

2.5.2 Distance (D_i)

Distance is an important determinant of migration and has often been used as an index of transportation cost, differences in language, food and dietary habits, social practices and cultural differences which are likely to increase with distance. Distance is generally specified in terms of road distance between the principal centres of the two regions involved. Specification in this way assumes that

the regional centres are located near the point of maximum accessibility of each region, so that the point is a reasonable surrogate for mean physical distance between areas (Masser and Gould, 1975).

Many studies have concluded that the longer the distance from the place of origin, the greater is the number of obstacles to acquiring information about jobs and making satisfactory social adjustment in a new and remote environment. The distance variable in this study is measured in terms of proximity to Accra⁵. Distance serves as a proxy for omitted (and largely unquantifiable) variables, as well as a measure of transfer costs. It is expected that proximity to the coast will stimulate migration and the estimated coefficient is expected to be negative.

2.5.3 Education (Ei)

Data on education are usually for the total population and do not distinguish between educated and uneducated migrants. The population aged 6 years or more who have ever attended school is considered as educated. This is used as a proxy variable to measure the influence of education on the propensity to migrate.

⁵ Accra is the national capital and is located on the coast.

There have been conflicting hypotheses about the effects of education on migration. Education is treated by some as an amenity variable (Levy and Wadycki, 1972), while others see it as a motivational influence (Sahota, 1968). In the former case, education measure is seen as representing educational opportunities available in the regions; hence regions with higher levels of educational attainment may tend to attract more migrants. With reference to the latter, regions with higher levels of educational opportunities may send out more migrants because these migrants have acquired skills and knowledge which are in demand in regions other than their own. It is therefore not possible to state 'a priori' the direction any effect of education is expected to have on the propensity to migrate.

2.5.4 Urbanization (U₁)

The degree of urbanization of a region has been found to be an important determinant of migration in Ghana (Beals et al., 1967). People migrate to urban areas for a variety of reasons: more and better job opportunities, higher wage rates, better educational opportunities and certain cultural and social amenities are more likely to be found in the urban areas than elsewhere. The level of urbanization of regions is an important factor especially, if migrants are attracted to towns and therefore to regions containing large urban

populations. Also, urbanization in the out migration region is a good indicator of the degree of acclimatization to the money economy and hence of mobility.

Urbanization for the purpose of this study, is measured by the percentage of the region's population residing in towns with populations of 5000 people or more⁶. It is hypothesised that regions with higher levels of urbanization would have lower out migration.

2.5.5 Rural Population Density (R_i)

Rural population density is expected to be very important in an agricultural country like Ghana. This variable is taken as a proxy measure for population pressure on land. Rural population density in this study is measured by the rural population of the region divided by the total area of the region. In a predominantly agricultural environment, rural population density may serve as a push factor. For example, Benneh (1968) argued that since suitable virgin forest land for cocoa cultivation may be found only in low density areas, it is likely that movements of cocoa farmers in search of land may be from the areas of high density to those of low density. This assertion was based on Grove's earlier observation that

⁶ An urban centre in Ghana is defined in demographic terms to refer to any settlement with population of 5,000 or more. This is different from the conventional definition of urban centres which is based on the proportion involved in non-agricultural occupations.

"most of the districts with inward migration had relatively low density in 1960 and most of those with outward migration had relatively high densities" (Benneh, 1968:63 quoting D.J. Grove). It could therefore be assumed that in the forest regions, the higher the rural population density, the greater the number of rural out-migrants.

However, high densities do not always result in out migration. As Boserup (1965) showed, high density may result in adoption of intensive methods of cultivation and might help alleviate the pressures on land. Under such circumstances, high density may result in the introduction of new agricultural techniques and may result in lower out migration rates. If these conditions hold in the study area, then higher rural density in regions should not in themselves deter migrants. On the contrary, if high density of population per se appears to indicate greater competition among settlers for available land and other resources, migrants may not be attracted to such regions. It is therefore not possible to predict 'a priori' the effect of rural population density on migration in Ghana.

2.5.6 Proportion of labour force in Agriculture (J1)

Many of the studies on migration and regional development in typical agricultural countries exclude this variable although it indirectly shows the links between agriculture and

migration. Adams (1969) included this variable in the Jamaican study although it was significant only in the origin region where the relationship was found to be negative. This was explained to mean that the more rural agriculture population was less mobile than those segments of the population already fully absorbed in the modern, more industrialized sector.

Due to the scanty nature of evidence on the relationship between agriculture employment and migration, it will be difficult to speculate at this time the nature of the impact. It is included here with the hope that it will shed more light on the relationship between farm employment and migration.

2.5.7 Cocoa Production (Yi)

Cocoa is the main cash crop of Ghana. Its production has had tremendous influence on migration in the country since colonial times (Hill, 1963). This relationship between cocoa production and migration is due principally to two factors. Foremost, cocoa production requires more hands from the initial land preparation through to harvesting and drying. The production therefore benefits very much from migrant labour. Secondly, cultivation of new cocoa farms is done on virgin forest, which means that farmers who want to clear new farms or expand their farms have to move to uncultivated forest regions for land. The farmers usually establish cottages on

the farm and settle there permanently. Many settlements have emerged in the forest region as a result of cottages initiated by cocoa farmers. It is expected that regions with increased cocoa production will be targets of migrants. However, the influence of cocoa production on migration is likely to be felt in the forested areas, where cocoa production is a major occupation, rather than in the savanna areas.

2.5.8 Food Crop Production (G1)

By including this variable one might determine how local agricultural opportunities influence migration. Unlike cocoa production, food crops are produced in all parts of the country. Different types of food crops are produced in various areas reflecting vegetation types. This makes national comparison of production very difficult. In addition, data collection on food production is rudimentary, and production figures are usually mere estimates. Net domestic production of maize was used here as a measure of food crop production for two reasons: maize is produced in all ecological zones and is also invariably used by all Ghanaians.

Food crop producing regions, unlike cocoa producing regions, may not always attract migrants. The use of modern farm implements may limit the use of a large number of hired labourers. Also, food crop farming is mainly a family affair and is mostly done on family land. The role of migrants,

relative to the early years of cocoa production, is less critical. Moreover, since food can be produced virtually anywhere in the country, farmers usually need not migrate in order to produce food crops. The effect of this variable on migration cannot be determined at this point.

2.6 SUMMARY

The concepts of space and social processes in much of Africa have been found to be intricately linked, especially because of the colonial experiences of these countries. It is therefore superficial to describe patterns of regional development and relate them to migration without asking why certain facilities are located where they are and not at other places. A brief review of the migration models employed in Tropical Africa indicates that many of these models assume that migration is predominately rural-urban, and they tend to ignore other types of migration. Despite some objections that have been raised, spatial interaction models appear to be more flexible and can be used for studies involving all types of migration. Similarly the explanatory capacity of the structural-functionalist perspective offers more promising possibilities for understanding migration.

The framework adopted in this study is similar to other spatial interaction and structural functionalist approaches but with some modifications. Foremost, there has been an

attempt to combine the structural functionalist approach with the spatial interaction model to explain the relationship between migration and development. Also unlike many of the earlier studies employing spatial interaction models, the present one sees agriculture-related local opportunities as important determinants of migration. The selection of the dependent variables was much broader and included social indices, economic indices, availability of infrastructure, local opportunities and proximity to the national capital.

CHAPTER THREE

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The persistence of spatial inequalities in social and economic development in the Third World has led to an emphasis on regional policies within national development plans with the aim of correcting regional imbalances. Most of these policies failed to recognise that contemporary obstacles to spatial transformation policies have historical roots and often originate from capitalist penetration and colonial expansion. Moreover, the forces impinging on internal development of these countries are shaped by factors that operate at global, continental and national levels, and cannot be altered only by national development plans, without consideration of other factors.

Independent Ghana inherited from the colonial administration a spatial structure which was characterised by spatial inequality. Some regions had better socio-economic facilities and infrastructure, while others had far less. The major aim of post-independence regional policies has therefore been to alter this inherited pattern with the view to achieving more equitable spatial development. Disappointingly

however, more than three decades after independence, there is no strong evidence that inequality has been reduced. Similarly, migration which, to a large extent, responds to spatial inequality in development, has not changed significantly, with the movement of people still taking place towards more developed regions.

Development and migration are intricately linked and the pattern of spatial development influences migration. In order to help explain population mobility within a country, it is essential to identify the patterns of the spatial structure of development. This chapter therefore will provide a basis for the explanation of interregional migration in Ghana in subsequent chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to identify the key aspects of the impacts of colonialism on spatial structure, and the reasons why post-colonial policies have been impotent in altering this structure.

For the purpose of this chapter, consideration of the restructuring of the space economy of Ghana is categorised into pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods. Each of these phases is considered separately, highlighting the significant spatial transformations which took place and their impacts. This section is then followed by the analyses of the dimensions of regional inequality, and the use of socio-economic indicators to measure the levels of regional development. The final section provides an overview of the socio-economic and political forces operating at various

levels of spatial resolution which influence the patterns of internal development in Ghana.

3.2 PRE-COLONIAL SPATIAL STRUCTURE

Ghana⁷ assumed its present-day geographic structure during the colonial period. In the pre-colonial era, societies in northern Ghana were organised in village communities and their existence was almost entirely dependent on subsistence cultivation. Even in the south, the relatively large settlements were essentially rural in character (Dickson, 1969).

Crystallisation of settlements began as a result of development of overlordship⁸. The earliest form of overlordship originated from religion, but the authority of the religious overlords was weak and quite restricted. For example, the *Tindana*⁹ of northern Ghana preceded the institution of secular authority, but it had influence only on the religious life of the people. The development of secular authority in northern Ghana was largely initiated by warriors

⁷ Before independence in 1957, the country was called the Gold Coast. The name was changed to Ghana after independence. However, for the purpose of consistency, the name "Ghana" is maintained in this thesis.

⁸ Overlordship refers to the system of rule comprising of secular and political leaders with the others being subjects.

⁹ Tindana was the priest of the earth-god and as such retained some power and control over the land.

from Western Sudan¹⁰ who invaded the area in the fifteenth century. In the south, the Mandes who arrived in the early fifteenth century, were instrumental in the setting up of centralised military-type governments among some of the Akan peoples (Dickson, 1969).

The establishment of a strong, secular authority provided the necessary framework for trade. Trade gained in volume and stability as society became better organised and better regulated, and as a wider variety of goods became available. Trade also generated revenue through taxation, from which the secular authority derived its funds. The major directions of trade can be categorised as follows:

(i) The north-south trade¹¹ was between what is now Ghana, and the Western Sudan states. This trade preceded the arrival of the Portuguese in Ghana, starting in about the eighth century. It was not limited to the interior towns, but also included those on the coast. The Mande and Hausa traders were instrumental in the operation of this trade. Southern Ghana produced forest products which were in demand in the Western Sudanese Empires. Although the states in northern Ghana acted as intermediaries between southern Ghana and Sudan, trade was based on equal partnership.

¹⁰ The Western Sudan States emerged between the 8th and 15th centuries A.D. The most significant among these empires were Ancient Ghana from which present-day Ghana derives its name, Mali and Songhai.

¹¹ For a detailed account of this trade, see Wilks, (1962).

(ii) On the arrival of the Europeans on the coast of Ghana, the coast-interior trade emerged. This trade was based on the exchange of gold, ivory and slaves¹² from the interior of the country for goods such as firearms from European merchants on the coast.

(iii) Sea trade between the coastal settlements of Ghana and Nigeria, with the Portuguese acting as middlemen also emerged, but was less extensive.

It was the change in the direction of trade with the resulting dominance of the coast-interior trade which later became a major determining factor in the internal development of the country. These new trade links necessitated the restructuring of the space economy to fit the new order. The restructuring favoured the coastal and forest areas which acted as intermediaries and producers respectively in the new trade system. Coastal fishing settlements became European trading centres, where former governors, tax collectors and other government officials were stationed¹³.

By virtue of its location in the interior hinterland, the Ashanti Kingdom also assumed the role of intermediary between the coast and the other parts of the country. The Ashanti Kingdom became a vast clearing house for European and Western

¹² Slave trade had a devastating effect on the society and people of Ghana. For a detailed account of the impact of slave export see Manning (1987) and Thornton (1981).

¹³ Accra, the national capital, was one of the fishing villages converted into European settlements.

Sudan goods, including those of northern Ghana. Dickson (1969) reports that between 1702 and 1873, the Ashanti Kingdom had become the most important component of trade and politics, with all major routes radiating from Kumasi (the capital of Ashanti Kingdom) to selected ports on the coast and to certain major settlements in the north (fig.2). The Ashanti Kingdom, in fact, was a strong organisation which defied European power. For many years, the Ashantis delivered trade goods demanded by the Europeans (including slaves) to the coast, making European penetration into the hinterland unnecessary. By the time of the dissolution of the Ashanti Empire in 1874¹⁴, there was a well developed system of settlements based on the political, social and commercial development at that time.

The role played by the various regions in the trade has influenced and still influences inequality in development. The wealth that was generated from the trade was concentrated in the hands of a few people. These included, on the one hand, the merchants and people who had permanent employment in European companies. On the other hand were the broad masses of the population who were engaged in primary activities and were therefore poorly integrated into the cash economy. The interior parts of the country were constantly under the threat

¹⁴ Ashanti Empire was not totally conquered in 1874. In fact, the Ashantis fought with the British in the famous Yaa Asantewaa war in 1902 after which Ashanti Kingdom was compelled to surrender to the British.

Figure 2: Kumasi: The focus of Major trade Routes, 1850

Source: Dickson, (1969:215)

of slave raids, thus reducing their human resource base for any kind of development.

In sum, before colonization, societies that comprise present-day Ghana had several trade contacts with the outside world. This trade was not only viable along the coast, but also in the interior. Production of gold, kola and other trade items was mainly through tributary system and so agriculture played only an insignificant role in external trade. However, it should not be assumed that pre-colonial Ghana was a spatially undifferentiated territory. Not all the citizens were engaged in the large-scale operations of inter-state and international trade; rather, trade was the prerogative of the wealthy few who could provide the capital required for its organisation (Dickson, 1969).

3.3 SPATIAL STRUCTURE UNDER COLONIALISM

Colonization of Ghana began after 1850 when Britain gained control over much of southern Ghana. The Danes, who controlled much of the Southern Ghana, sold their rights to the British and left the country in 1872. The British defeated the Ashanti Empire in 1874 and annexed the Kingdom in 1902. The Germans occupied only parts of Eastern Brong Ahafo and Northern Ghana (Ward, 1958). The combined effects of the decline of northern trade, the disintegration of the Ashanti Kingdom, the consolidation of the British Colonial

Administration and the growing importance of southern trade in the 1880s recast the historical alignment of the Ghana and gave it an almost exclusively southern bias (Dickson, 1958; Szereszewski, 1965).

The objective of the British during the era of exploration did not change in the colonial era. Rather, colonization legitimized the pursuance of their primary objective, which was to integrate the colony into the economy of the United Kingdom through the extraction of resources and the creation of markets for industrial goods. The Colonial Development Act of 1929 sums up the aim of development planning in Ghana. Planning was to be:

"... for the purpose of aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the colony or territory and thereby promoting commerce with or industry in the United Kingdom" (Quoted by Ewin, 1973:3).

It was therefore not surprising that the development of the colony was assessed by its ability to produce raw materials for export to United Kingdom¹⁵. These activities which aided production for export were of great interest to the metropolitan economy and were supported through policy. Development efforts and infrastructure construction were

¹⁵ For example, in his seminal work on Ghana, Szereszewski was fascinated by the "transformations" that occurred in the economy between 1819-1911. According to him, during that period, Ghana became "the biggest exporter of cocoa in the world. The mining industry exported over 280,000 ounces of gold. A railway network was in existence..." (Szereszewski, 1965:1-2). According to the colonial criteria the colony experienced dramatic development, although nothing was said about the living standards of the people.

geared towards the production of primary products for exports and the consumption of imports¹⁶. Fig.3 clearly shows the relationship between railways and roads and the export producing areas of the country. Naturally, this physical infrastructure tended to be concentrated in the export producing areas, the administrative centres, and port towns. To facilitate trade, the government increased expenditure on harbours, wharves, culverts, road systems, railways and other public works as well as investment in administrative infrastructure, health and educational facilities at the coast and a few southern towns.

The outlying areas (especially the northern parts of the country), which did not possess the needed natural resources for export production, were simply kept as the 'reserve army of labour'. The interior and especially the northern parts, did not have railways, efficient road networks and other infrastructure. Instead, the British government responded to the demand for labour in the mines, cocoa farms and industry by a deliberate strategy which encouraged the movement of labour from the north to south. Although this point will be explored in subsequent chapters, it is important to state here that the policy of labour recruitment was begun in the colonial period.

¹⁶ The analysis by Taafe, Morrill and Gould (1963) of transport expansion in underdeveloped countries is important here. The authors explain the construction of transport links in terms of colonial objectives.

Figure 3: Economic Map of Ghana

Source: Best and de Blij, (1977:175)

Given the objectives of colonialism, concentrating facilities and infrastructure in the export producing regions was a logical thing to do, and the colonial administration never lost sight of the wisdom in this. A statement by Sir Frederic Hodgson, a one-time Governor of the Ghana, exposes the intentions of the colonial administration:

I would not at present spend on the Northern Territories, upon in fact the hinterland of the colony, a single penny more than is absolutely necessary for their suitable administration and the encouragement of transit trade. (Quoted in Kimble, 1963:533)

This type of policy statement was actually put into practice. Throughout the colonial period, the northern part and the hinterland of Ghana remained relatively undeveloped.

In conclusion, the inequalities in development initiated during the pre-colonial era became institutionalised in colonial times, but in different directions and ways. This pattern of inequality in development was the result of the colonial policy which sought to integrate the colony into the economy of the United Kingdom. The resultant spatial structure was therefore a reflection of the differential resource endowments of the regions as perceived within the colonial development objective.

3.4 POST-COLONIAL REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

At the dawn of independence, the disparate pattern of regional development had already been established. The Ghanaian space-economy was characterised by a lack of congruence between the pattern of domestic resource use and domestic demand, as well as the lop-sided spatial development of inter-sectoral and interregional linkages (Darkoh, 1976). Although there have been efforts by post-independent governments to change this inherited colonial and neo-colonial structure, very little has been achieved. To examine the impact of government policies on regional development, the post-colonial period, for the sake of convenience, is divided into three phases:

- (i) The Nkrumah era, i.e. from independence to 1966;
- (ii) Regional development policies between 1966-1983;
- (iii) Regional development in the era of structural adjustment, i.e. from 1983 to the present.

3.4.1. The Nkrumah Era

Under the Nkrumah administration, although there was the desire to ensure equitable regional development systematic spatial planning was not considered¹⁷. Development planning

¹⁷ A possible exception is the Seven-Year Development Plan (1963-70). Many critics see this plan as Ghana's integrated and comprehensive plan which considered the country's needs and resources. See, for example, Bannerman (1971); Aryeetey (1986). However, the plan which proved to be over-ambitious

was marked by the desire to create a centrally-planned, industrialized economy based on socialism. Sectoral consideration therefore gained more prominence in the planning process than regional considerations. Targets were set for the country as a whole and for the various sectors and investment, plans and policies were formulated to help reach those targets. The plans did not have explicit policies for regional or spatial development.

Development planning during Nkrumah's era was characterised by excessive centralization which exacerbated the disparate development in Ghana. The machinery for planning in the country was centralized in Accra and plan preparation was the sole responsibility of the central planning agency. As a result of this 'centre-down' approach to planning¹⁸, the pattern of development that emerged tended to concentrate development in a few cities and towns in the southern parts of the country which are closest to the coast and already had an initial advantage from the colonial policies.

Nkrumah also believed that massive industrialization was the only hope of improving the standards of living of the people (Nkrumah, 1965). His strategy of industrial development,

also had problems resulting from the unprecedented collapse of the world price of cocoa and foreign exchange constraints. The military government which took over from the government in 1966 replaced the plan with a Two-year Development Plan.

¹⁸ The limitations of 'centre-down' approach to development planning have been discussed extensively by Stohr and Taylor (1981).

based on an import substitution strategy rather than on agriculture¹⁹, had some repercussions for regional development. In order to attract foreign industries, Arthur Lewis, then economic adviser of the government, recommended the establishment of industrial complexes to attract foreign investors. Unfortunately, all the three selected cities for the industrial complexes (Accra-Tema, Sekondi-Takoradi, and Kumasi) were located in the southern section of the country (fig.4). These centres were provided with complex infrastructure, technical services and social amenities to the neglect of the other parts of the country.

Another problem of Nkrumah's industrialization policy was lack of clear and consistent policy on national spatial development. The internal dimension of investment was neglected, seriously limiting the potential of the development program. As argued by Darkoh (1974), in an attempt to modernise the rural areas, factories were located in villages that were ill-equipped in terms of transport, public utility, human resources and entrepreneurship to make

¹⁹ It is important to note that, import substitution industrialization was the orthodoxy at that time. See, for example Prebisch, (1950). Consequently, Nkrumah's conception of development was supported, at that time, by many academicians, international financial agencies and donors. See the report of the main proponent of Ghana's industrialization, Lewis, (1955).

them productive²⁰.

Although the spatial impact of the development strategies followed by the Nkrumah regime was not different from those of the colonial government, other parts of the country were not totally ignored. For instance, Nkrumah did not utterly neglect northern Ghana. Many projects were initiated in the area, including the building of schools, hospitals, water supply and many others. However most of these were concentrated in the regional capitals to the neglect of the rural areas. Also, the government provided a fee-free education for that part of the country, which the people still enjoy. Despite these modest attempts, the policies tended to exacerbate the inequalities which emerged during colonial era.

3.4.2. Regional Development Policies Between 1966 and 1983

The two governments after Nkrumah, the National Liberation Council (NLC) (1966-69) and the Busia Administration (1969-72), had regional development policies which are similar in many respects. It is therefore possible to discuss them together. The NLC government, which followed the Nkrumah government, took a more pragmatic approach to

²⁰ A typical example is the state-owned tannery complex which was located in a fishing village in the Volta Region, some 250 miles from Kumasi shoe factory and 400 miles from Bolgatanga meat factory.

regional development policy than its predecessor. Following the acceptance of Mills-Odoi Commission report and that of Albert Waterson (a World Bank Official), the NLC government provided a framework for regional planning by integrating it with national level development planning. This integration was to be achieved through:

(i) Setting up Regional Planning Committees in each of the regions of the country as part of the overall machinery for development planning.

(ii) The government also decided to decentralise development planning. Sector programming units were established in the key Ministries of the government to prepare programmes for the sectors of agriculture, forestry, industries, mining, power, transport, communications, housing, education and health. The programmes of these sectors and regions became the basis for development planning²¹.

The 1969 constitution of Ghana which brought the Busia administration to power also had specific provisions for the creation of regional and district councils to facilitate decentralised planning. The functions of the Regional Councils included:

(a) the co-ordination and supervision of development plans, programmes or other functions of the District Councils in the Region;

²¹ The Two-Year Development Plan (1968-70), Government of Ghana, (1968).

- (b) planning at the regional level; and the integration of departmental programmes in the region; and
- (c) such functions of the government as are performable at the regional level (cited in Kudiabor, 1971:2)

The Busia government was committed to the eradication of inequality in all forms. Emphasis was placed on the large disparities that existed between rural and urban living standards. Equality in development was to be achieved through greater public investment, especially in agriculture and other rural development programs²².

Assessing the impact of the policies of the two governments on regional development, Darkoh (1976) expresses dissatisfaction with their performance. As he aptly puts it,

Despite the enthusiasm shown and the projects launched by the two governments, little transformation occurred in regional development and rural production during the periods in which the two regimes lasted. And if even their regimes had lasted longer, it was still doubtful if considerable changes would have been accomplished given the narrow direction in which development efforts were being channelled (Darkoh, 1976:160).

Although the argument that the early overthrow of the government and the consequent termination of the plans had nothing to do with their failure is debatable, both governments had a rather narrow and short-term view on regional development. Consequently, undue emphasis was placed on the provision of social amenities to the exclusion of the

²² One-Year Development Plan (1970-71), Government of Ghana, (1970).

more productive or income-yielding ventures (Kudiabor, 1970; Agbozo, 1972).

Bannerman (1971) argues that the basic fault was that the regional planning committees were imposed on a system in which they had no place - a sort of ministerial system which provided for the formulation of plans by programming units in the various ministries. The status of the regional planning officer was therefore not very clear and the whole apparatus of regional planning committees was nothing more than a collection of officials and citizens who met occasionally. The committees' role in matters of policy, regional budget allocation and determination of regional priorities was minimal. Bannerman (1971) felt strongly that a new approach was required in which planning would start from the grassroots so that those for whom plans were made might participate in identifying their own needs and the making of policies.

The National Redemption Council (NRC) which came to power in January 1972 also continued with the efforts toward regional development in the country. The budget statement for 1972/73 made provision for the establishment of a Regional Development Corporation (RDC) in each region of the country. The role of the RDCs was to invest directly in **viable** projects of an industrial, commercial and agricultural nature (The Legon Observer, 1972). The statement further noted that under the direction of the regional commissioners, the regional planning committees would be playing a more positive role in

the allocation of resources for strengthening the physical infrastructural base of the regions and in laying the foundations for more vigorous economic growth of the region. The Five Year Development Plan (1975-80) also recognised regional planning as a cardinal policy of social justice in distributing the fruits of development in an equitable fashion to all sections of the population and to all regions of the nation (Government of Ghana, 1975).

Since their establishment, the RDCs have engaged in various development projects either alone or in partnership with other institutions. In all the regions, due to lack of adequate capital to initiate development and the need to operate on a sound commercial basis²³, almost all the RDCs have concentrated on distributive trade, small-scale food processing industries, and minor agricultural activities to the extent that the expected roles of these corporations in regional development has, to some extent, been disappointing (Nabila, 1987).

An important aspect of the Five-Year Development Plan is the utility and relevance of the "growth centres" as a strategy for regional development²⁴. This strategy involved the selection of areas with a high potential for growth, which

²³ The objectives of the RDCs required them to be profitable organisations.

²⁴ Growth Centres as a spatial development strategy was developed from Perroux's (1955) concept of abstract economic space.

were then provided with many necessary services and other inputs with the aim of stimulating and sustaining growth within the economies of the regions immediately surrounding them. Kudiabor (1971), the major proponent of the growth pole approach in Ghana, identified a four-tier hierarchy of growth foci for southern Ghana which included:

- (a) The growth poles at the national level;
- (b) Growth centres at regional level
- (c) Growth points at the district level; and
- (d) Service centres villages at the local level.

In northern Ghana, a three-tier hierarchy of settlements (without growth poles) was identified.

In assessing the impact of the "growth foci" on regional inequalities in Ghana, Adarkwa (1981) argued that there was little change, if any, in the pattern of development in the country as a result of the adoption of growth pole strategy. In his own words, "growth pole strategies have had limited success in reducing disparities" (Adarkwa, 1981:59). Similar conclusions abound in other parts of the world which indicate that the growth pole strategy is ineffective in reducing disparities in development²⁵.

The Limann Administration which followed the NRC came to power in 1979 and spent less than two years in office. The administration did not change the role of the Regional

²⁵ See, for example, Casetti, King and Odland, 1971; Gaile, 1974; and Xiarchos, 1978.

Development Corporations and no further institutions were created; however the tenure was short and less was achieved.

3.4.3 Regional Development in the era of Structural Adjustment

Since April 1983, Ghana has been rigorously implementing a structural adjustment program (SAP) supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other international financial donors. The objective of this program is to reverse the decline and stagnation which had characterised the Ghanaian economy since the 1970s. The ultimate goal of the programme is to create "a growth-oriented, competitive, efficient and integrated economy" (Government of Ghana, 1987:i).

Many of the reform measures of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP)²⁶ were laid down as conditions for receipt of IMF and World Bank credit. The main elements of the reforms include liberalizing the foreign exchange system; increasing cocoa producer prices; adapting fiscal measures and monetary policies; rationalizing the state-owned enterprise sector; liberalizing prices; improving the climate for private sector investments; undertaking sector rehabilitation and public investment programmes; and reducing the arrears in debts (Loxley, 1988).

²⁶ ERP is the local name of Ghana's SAP.

The results of the policy reforms have been mixed, but generally they have been claimed as satisfactory²⁷ in achieving economic growth, growth in per capita income and consumption, and a vast improvement in the quantity of real imports and exports (Green,1988; Loxley,1988; Younger,1989). Despite the so-called achievements of SAP, its limitations as a development paradigm have been recognised (Green,1988; Weissman,1990). Ghana's SAP carries with it a great retreat from distributional concerns and has proven to be detrimental to vulnerable groups²⁸ (UNICEF,1987; Weissman,1990).

As pointed out by Gore (1984), almost all policies which manipulate the aggregate economy or plan resource allocation have different spatial effects. In a similar vein, although the policies under SAP are not explicitly spatial policies, they have dissimilar impacts on different regions and localities within the country. Instead of curbing the problem of disparate development, it is alleged that the inequalities have been widened under SAP (Songsore,1989).

²⁷ The IMF and the World Bank are happy with Ghana's success so far. In fact, Ghana has been seen as a model of the success of SAPs in Sub-Saharan Africa.

²⁸ The lack of distributional concerns is the result of the shift between extremes - the IMF and World Bank argue that the state has over-concentrated on distribution resulting in gross inefficiencies in the system. SAPs are therefore supposed to ensure efficient allocation of resources, thereby increasing production. However, SAPs have tended to over-concentrate on production thus, totally neglecting distribution.

The export-oriented regions and the national industrial core have been the major areas benefitting from the export-led recovery. On the other hand, the less advantaged, non-export producing parts of the country have suffered the most. Marginalization of underdeveloped regions under SAP takes three major directions (Songsore, 1989):

- i) absence of resource flows directed at stimulating regional economic recovery;
- ii) further pauperization arising from a worsening of the interregional terms of trade;
- iii) the effect of high user charges on the utilisation of social services especially with regard to health and potable water use.

In anticipation of the increased export production in the forest region, infrastructural support in the form of trunk and feeder roads, and rail rehabilitation programmes has been undertaken under the SAP. The core region in particular has benefited from the rehabilitation of roads and the ports of Tema and Takoradi. Significant external resources have also been channelled to the industrial establishments in order to improve capacity utilization (Ewusi, 1987).

The northern part of the country, it is alleged, is neither an important producer of any major export crops nor does it have any important industrial establishments. The region has therefore benefited very little from the export-

oriented policies of SAP (Songsore, 1989)²⁹. One sympathetic writer on northern Ghana lamented that:

Almost all the loans contracted are going into the export sector with almost nothing into the sedentary sector. Thus regions that have no export base and very little linkages with the enclave export economy are unlikely to benefit from the export boom (Songsore, 1989:12, quoting Salia).

Despite the general neglect of the non-export producing regions in the policies, they are not exempted from the burden of SAP; indeed, they have been worst hit in the restructuring process. The interregional barter terms of trade have shifted against the food producers³⁰.

The government's response to this "adjustment fatigue" has been the implementation, in the late 1987, of a Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD)³¹. Although PAMSCAD represents a useful effort to address social concerns, it is rather a reluctant afterthought, resulting from the pressure from UNICEF and other concerned bilateral

²⁹ It is probably an oversimplification to argue that the northern part of the country does not produce any major export crops. The argument is due to the traditional classification of cash and food crops; in fact most of the food crops are also cash crops. For example, it is estimated that 61 percent of the country's rice production came from the region. Compared to the consumption needs, about 44 percent of the output could be considered as surplus (table 5). Some of this is exported to the southern regions, but a larger part is also sent across the border to Burkina Faso, Northern Togo and Northern Cote d' Ivoire. Thus rice as well as shea butter can be classified as cash crops produced in Northern Ghana.

³⁰ This issue will be taken up later in section 3.5.2.

³¹ For a detailed description of the program, see Government of Ghana, (1987).

donors (Loxley,1990). Indeed, PAMSCAD was originally not part of the SAP policies and even the IMF did not see fit to send a representative to the meetings in which PAMSCAD was developed (ibid). Lack of enthusiasm in PAMSCAD by the architects of Ghana's SAP has resulted in the slow down of its implementation. For instance, the IMF admitted that the program proceeded more slowly than expected "owing to donor delays in finalising commitments, as well as to domestic administration constraints" (IMF,1989:22). By January 1990, only \$32.7 million of a total of \$88.4 in pledges had been disbursed, and most of this went into assisting public sector employees who had been laid off (Loxley,1991:24). There is thus great scepticism about the expected impact of PAMSCAD on poverty alleviation.

3.4.4 Decentralization as a Development Strategy

As already indicated, Ghana's SAP per se has no clear policy for spatial development³², consequently its impacts on the different regions are mostly unintended. It is therefore essential to assess strategies set up by the national government which could neutralise some of these spatial implications of the policies. This brings into focus the

³² SAPs, by relying on the neo-classical economic theories, assume that equitable spatial development will follow from national development in the form of "trickle down effects"

government's program for decentralization. To ensure democracy and initiate development from below, the government is trying to decentralize both the political and administrative structures of the country and set up a National Decentralization Implementation Committee.

Although the PNDC government's efforts at decentralization are not the first in the country, what is significant is the government's desire for more direct participation in decision making, especially the involvement of the rural people who, hitherto, have received little benefit from development programs³³. The decentralisation program is considered as a framework to foster development from the grassroots (Government of Ghana, 1983). Planning is expected to begin from the district level where the people identify their priorities for incorporation into the national plan. At the town and village level, the participation of the local Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) is expected to be very important. As a result, district offices designated for planning, budgeting, monitoring, evaluation, statistics and training were set up in all the 110 district councils.

³³ To a large extent, the government's commitment to mass participation was a characteristic of the pre-adjustment era of its reign. When the government accepted the SAP, the role of some of the institutions which it had set up for mass mobilization was changed, making them less powerful for grassroots democracy. For a discussion of the PNDC's change in ideology and its implication for popular struggles in the country, see Hansen, (1987) and Agyeman-Dua, (1987).

For purposes of co-ordination, each District/Regional council operates through sectoral committees. The various ministries, departments and corporations fused with the District/regional Administration are not to be controlled from Accra. The finances of branches of ministries and corporations which have become integrated into one unit of administration are expected to be controlled by the district. The district is therefore adopted as the budgetary unit for which composite budgets are expected to be prepared, rather than individual ministries. As regards financing of decentralized services, district councils are supposed to generate funds for their own services. However, the government would provide funds for carrying out certain functions such as education, health, highways and other such services which are national or semi-national in character.

Despite the laudable objectives, decentralization as a strategy for local level development can have negative consequences and derail the course of development if it is haphazardly carried out. As cautioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat (1983), if decentralization programs are not carefully planned and managed, they may not only fail to make any significant impact on the problems they intend to correct, but also, make the situation worse by increasing cost and enhancing inequality in development.

In the case of decentralisation in Ghana, a critical issue which needs to be addressed is the capacity of the

various districts to generate funds to finance their own services. It is important to note that some regions or districts abound in resources and economic activities while others lack such resources. Consequently, not all the districts are starting from the same point; the momentum for growth already exists in some districts and to ask all districts to finance their own services and other development programs will amount to giving the advantaged districts an upper hand in the development process. Thus, if care is not taken to address the imbalance, the disadvantaged regions/districts will continue to lag behind their more fortunate counterparts in terms of development, thereby, perpetuating the lop-sidedness in regional development.

The implementation of the decentralisation policy also has not been as expected. Budgetary allocation has continued to be made on a sectoral basis (Government of Ghana, 1991). This creates the problem of double allegiance among the district officers of the sectoral ministries. They are torn between the district committee where they are supposed to provide inputs for the district plans and the parent ministry where their activities are directed and financed.

Already, there are signs of frustration among the district budget officers who are supposed to implement the decentralization program. Out of 100 budget officers recruited in 1989 to help in the implementation of the governments fiscal decentralization policy at the district levels, 54 are

reported to have resigned. They complained that they did not have the cooperation of District Secretaries and the Administration Officers under whom they were supposed to work (West Africa, 1991:1738).

Until these problems are tackled, it is doubtful if the government's decentralization program will be able to effect any change in the existing pattern of regional development in the country.

3.5 DIMENSIONS OF REGIONAL INEQUALITY.

A number of studies undertaken in Ghana have exposed the broad disparities among the regions in terms of socio-economic development and general quality of life³⁴. There is a general agreement among many analysts that there is an immense disparity between the north and the south. The north, it has been argued, has all the features of an underdeveloped region as compared to the south which is better developed.

Songsore (1979) went a step further and categorised the country into three economic regions namely: the core, the new periphery and the old periphery³⁵. He described the industrial-urban region of Accra-Tema, Sekondi-Takoradi and

³⁴ See Ewusi, 1976; Adarkwa, 1981; and Songsore, 1989

³⁵ Songsore (1979) argued that during the colonial era, the country was characterised by simple north-south, centre-periphery spatial structure. The pattern however has changed after independence resulting in this new pattern.

Kumasi as the core; the export cash crop producing regions were termed the new periphery; and the regions in the north of the country were termed the old periphery. In this new pattern, there has been the emergence of a new periphery made up of the export producing regions which support industrial and urban expansion in the core. Northern Ghana and the southern urban enclave continue to play the role of the old periphery and the core respectively.

Aryeetey (1987) on the other hand, calling for the need to redesign the regional development policies for Ghana, argued that widening inequality belongs to the past. According to him, regional inequality in development that has existed in the country since colonial times "has changed significantly", necessitating the need to reformulate the regional development objectives (Aryeetey, 1987:1). Aryeetey's conclusion can be contested on many grounds. Although he accepted that his study was not conclusive, it is doubtful whether there have been any "significant changes" in regional development apart from the fact that there has been a general decline in development in all the regions since the early 1970s. There is also the problem of what is an appropriate threshold where there should be a change in policy. Whatever the threshold, it is debatable whether the changes in regional development identified by him are significant enough to justify a call for reformulation of regional development objectives.

Thus there have been conflicting views on the current patterns of regional inequality in Ghana. It is therefore imperative to determine clearly the dimensions of regional development in the country to aid our understanding of the migration process.

3.5.1 Socio-Economic Development

In this section, an attempt will be made to show the magnitude of regional inequalities in the distribution of socio-economic facilities. The section will also focus on the relative distribution of the development attributes and the productive capacities of the various regions.

Table 3.1: Gini Coefficients for selected Development indicators: 1960s, 1970s and 1980s

Indicator	Gini Coefficient (%)		
	1960	1970	1984
1. Dependency ratio	2.85	2.55	4.3
2. Employment in Modern Sector	18.42	13.75	12.1
3. Urbanisation	17.45	19.85	19.5
4. School Attendance	17.8	14.45	12.9
6. Doctors (1985)	-	-	32.9
7. Hospital Beds (1985)	-	-	13.9
8. Coverage by PHC (1985)	-	-	20.15

Source: Computed from tables in Appendix 1

Table 3.1 provides a summary of selected indicators of development and their respective gini coefficients for 1960, 1970 and 1984. The table shows a wide variation in the

distribution of these indicators³⁶. Their concentration ranges from indices of 2.55 to a high of 32.9. Since some of the indicators are more sensitive than others, the results of the gini coefficients should be interpreted independently. It is clear, however, from the values of the gini coefficients that extreme cases of inequality do exist, depending on the indicator considered. Secondly, it is only inequality in employment in modern sector and school attendance which has showed a slight decline over the period, yet the inequality is still clear.

Having identified the magnitude of the inequality, it is also important to examine the relative levels of development in the regions. Table 3.2 provides comparative data for selected indicators of development. Each region's share of an indicator is indicated and depending on the indicator being considered, the highest or the lowest regional values were assumed to represent areas with highest development. To obtain relative levels of development, the most developed region with regard to a specific indicator is assigned a value of 100 percent and the percentages for the other regions are based on the developed region. A composite index of regional development was obtained by adding a region's score of each indicator.

³⁶ High values indicate wide inequality while low values indicate evenness in distribution.

Table 3.2: Levels of Regional Development in Ghana
(in percentage)

Region	Urbanization	Modern Sector Empl't	School Attendance	Dependency Ratio	Water Supply	Pop. per Doctor
Western	27.3	41.3	81.3	45.4	66.3	23.1
Central	31.7	42.2	76.7	42.6	78.8	10.2
G. Accra	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Eastern	32.0	38.3	91.1	86.2	64.2	24.8
Volta	24.8	40.5	80.4	42.3	47.4	12.1
Ashanti	38.4	44.9	89.0	43.3	71.6	31.5
B. Ahafo	31.9	24.1	73.2	41.7	58.9	17.3
Northern	29.6	44.0	21.3	37.9	28.4	9.1
U. West	12.9	28.4	24.4	44.4	41.1	10.7
U. East	10.2	42.1	23.3	40.7	41.1	10.7

Table 3.2 continue

Region	Pop. per Nurse	Pop. per Hospital Bed	PHC Coverage	Composite Index	
				Total	%
Western	53.3	49.9	41.0	428.9	(9.4)
Central	49.1	31.9	100.0	513.2	(11.3)
G. Accra	76.0	100.0	100.0	876.0	(19.2)
Eastern	92.3	74.7	65.2	568.8	(12.5)
Volta	40.0	58.5	100.0	446.0	(9.8)
Ashanti	40.7	56.7	59.0	475.1	(10.4)
B. Ahafo	21.8	47.4	33.9	350.2	(7.7)
Northern	39.4	36.0	13.1	258.8	(5.7)
U. West	100.0	66.4	45.2	373.5	(8.2)
U. East	42.2	37.5	22.7	270.5	(5.9)

NB: The figures in parenthesis refer to standardized scores of the composite index.

Source: Compiled from tables cited in this thesis and those in Appendix 1.

The results of table 3.2 show that development is concentrated in the southern regions and as one moves into the north, the level of development decreases. For almost all the indicators used, the Greater Accra region located on the coast, is the most developed. The three regions in the north -

i.e. Northern, Upper East and Upper West are among the least developed regions. Development patterns in the other regions are not very clear. These findings compare favourably with those of Adarkwa that, "as one moves from the coastal regions to the Northern and Upper regions, the rate of increase in development attributes decreases" (Adarkwa, 1981:49)³⁷.

3.5.2 Productive Capacities of the Regions

An equally important aspect of regional inequality is the relative productive capacities of the regions. It must be admitted that data on production are often erroneous due to the unrecorded activities of the informal sector.

Table 3.3: Percentage Distribution of Employed Persons by Industry and Regions, 1984

REGION	Agric. & Related	Manu- facture	Constr- uction	Wholesale & Retail	Transport, Storage & Communica.	Others
Western	65.4	8.2	1.0	11.9	3.1	13.4
Central	64.4	8.6	1.2	15.3	1.8	10.5
G. Accra	15.4	19.1	3.5	31.1	6.5	30.9
Eastern	67.6	9.1	0.8	11.4	2.1	20.3
Volta	65.7	11.0	1.2	12.5	1.6	9.6
Ashanti	62.0	9.2	1.0	14.0	2.4	13.8
B. Ahafo	79.6	5.3	0.6	16.0	0.8	7.8
Northern	62.8	14.8	0.6	16.0	0.8	5.1
U. West	76.0	13.5	0.5	5.8	0.4	3.9
U. East	64.4	12.9	0.8	16.9	0.5	4.5
TOTAL	61.1	10.8	1.2	14.6	2.3	10.0

Source: Computed from Ghana Statistical Service, Demographic and Economic Characteristics 1984 Population Census of Ghana, 1987.

³⁷ It is interesting to note that the observations were based on a study dealing with a similar time period as this study, hence the results are comparable.

Table 3.3 shows the activities undertaken in the regions in terms of employment. From this table it can be seen that, for all the regions, except Gt. Accra, agriculture and related activities take the largest proportion of employed persons. The most important activities in the Gt. Accra region include distribution (wholesale and retail), manufacturing and other activities.

Table 3.4: Manufacturing Census Value-added (in percentage) by Regions: 1982-1986

REGION	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Western	23.4	33.5	31.4	20.4	15.1
Central	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.1
G. Accra	60.2	61.8	48.8	56.9	62.0
Eastern	2.9	2.3	2.4	1.3	1.9
Volta	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.3
Ashanti	9.9	13.4	13.5	11.1	10.2
B. Ahafo	1.8	2.0	2.6	8.9	9.2
Northern	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.04
Upper ¹	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.02
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

1: Includes Upper West and Upper East Regions

Source: Industrial Reports, Various Years.

A lucid picture emerges from Table 3.4 which shows manufacturing value-added by regions. For all the years, Gt. Accra had the highest manufacturing value-added, followed by Western and Ashanti regions in that order. The value of other regions is relatively small except Brong Ahafo region which

with the movement directed to the cities in the south as well as to other agricultural regions.

This chapter discusses the patterns and trends of inter-regional migration in Ghana. The migration patterns identified here and their relationship with the country's regional development patterns over the years will be the subject of the subsequent chapter. The present chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first section provides an overview of demographic characteristics of the regions of Ghana. The second section, which discusses the historical migration patterns, serves as the background to understanding current migration patterns. The final section examines issues relating to post-1960 inter-regional migration patterns, and the profile of migrants by emphasising sex and age selectivity in migration and the role of migration in urbanization.

increased in 1985³⁸. It can therefore be said that in terms of manufacturing, Central, Eastern, Volta, Northern, Upper and until recently, Brong Ahafo regions, have played a relatively minor role.

Table 3.5: Domestic Production of some food crops compared to need ('000 metric tons) in 1987)

REGION	YAM	CASSAVA	MILLET/ SORGHUM	PADDY RICE	MAIZE
Western	-36.4	+48.0	-4.1	-8.9	-20.0
Central	-60.8	+93.7	-11.1	-10.6	-33.8
G. Accra	-84.4	-193.3	-13.8	-18.3	-70.6
Eastern	-47.0	+74.4	-16.3	-11.1	-5.7
Volta	-11.3	-49.1	-4.5	-8.6	-31.4
Ashanti	-106.8	-10.3	-20.3	-16.8	-14.6
B. Ahafo	+126.8	+292.2	-4.3	+1.6	+25.0
Northern	+104.1	-54.9	+26.1	+10.0	+25.9
U. East	-45.8	-101.5	+20.3	+0.6	-17.1
U. West	-29.0	-42.1	+25.8	+2.9	+10.8
TOTAL	-132.0	+57.1	-2.2	-59.2	-131.5

NB: (-) Indicates shortfall (+) Indicates surplus.

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, (1987) Performance of the Agriculture Sector, 1987, Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Division, Accra.

³⁸ The figures for Brong Ahafo Region, should be interpreted with caution. For example, the Brong Ahafo Regional Administration has indicated lack of manufacturing industries in the region. The only industries listed include forest-based processing industries, small-scale and indigenous industries (Brong Ahafo Regional Administration, 1987).

The summary of regional production of selected food crops compared with need is presented in Table 3.5. From the table, it is clear that except for cassava, which is produced in abundance in the southern regions of Western, Central and Eastern, consumption exceeded production for all the other food crops. Excess production of many other food crops was recorded in Brong Ahafo, Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions. Part of the surplus produced in these regions is sent to meet the shortfalls in the southern regions and the neighbouring countries. The savanna regions can thus be seen as the granary of the country. The implication of this is that the main source of income of the majority of people in these regions is from the sale of food crops. Consequently, policies affecting food prices have a direct impact on the incomes of the majority of the people in these regions.

Table 3.6: Cocoa production in Ghana by Regions*
(in metric tons)

REGION	P R O D U C T I O N			PRODUCTION AS % OF NATIONAL TOTAL		
	1960/61	1969/70	1987/88	1960/61	1969/70	1987/88
Western	21300	30600	58738	4.9	7.5	31.22
Central	49832	54400	19115	11.5	13.2	10.16
Eastern	86067	68300	29951	19.9	16.6	15.92
Volta	30612	20600	1905	7.1	5.0	0.96
Ashanti	148122	123500	49764	34.3	30.1	26.44
Brong Ahafo	96310	113600	28796	22.3	27.6	15.30
TOTAL	432243	411000	118169	100	100	100

* Cocoa producing regions only

Source: Cocoa Marketing Board, Unpublished Records, Accra.

In Table 3.6, cocoa production for 1960, 1970 and 1988 by region is provided³⁹. The data indicate that there has been decreasing cocoa output in the country since the 1960s⁴⁰. On a regional basis also, apart from Western Region which increased its cocoa production both in absolute and relative terms, all other regions have experienced a decline in production over the period.

In addition to cocoa production, the country's minerals and timber resources are concentrated in the forest region. Although these regions benefit from the exploitation of these resources, greater proportion of the rewards are external to them. Unlike cocoa, the exploitation of these resources is undertaken mainly by foreign firms, with little indigenous or migrant participation. There are few linkages with the regional or national economy. Consequently, these resources are not exploited to the benefit of the economies of the regions in which they are located. However, the environmental impacts of these activities could be more serious than the potential benefits that they provide the regions.

The regional specialization in terms of agricultural production has many implications for income distribution. The impact has become very significant in recent times as a result

³⁹ Annual production figures for the period 1975 - 1988 are provided in Appendix 2.

⁴⁰ The reasons for the decline in cocoa production and the shifts in cocoa frontiers are discussed elsewhere (Owusu, 1990).

of the policies under SAP. Cocoa is the main foreign exchange earner of the country, and therefore increasing its production has been the main objective of Ghana's export-led recovery efforts (World Bank, 1984). As a result, since 1984, cocoa farmers have generally benefited from the adjustment policies through increases in producer prices and supply of inputs. Conversely, food crop producers have been struck by massive devaluation and price de-regulation for inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides without corresponding official increases in food prices. Table 3.7 suggests that commodity terms of trade have shifted in favour of cocoa producers since 1985 as a result of producer price increases for cocoa. On the other hand, prices of food crops have remained stable over the period and in some instances fallen with good harvests. The relatively lower price of food is not due to government control, in fact food prices are allowed to find their own levels. The crux of the issue is the importation of cheaper food, especially rice, in the face of increasing cost of domestic production puts the farmers at a disadvantaged position. The result has been worsening terms of trade for food crop farmers.

Table 3.7: Relative Prices of Food: Ghana
(1977 = 100)

Terms of Trade	1977	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89
Food/Non-food consumer Items	100	96	91	112	138	86	60	57	55	57	60
Relative Price of Food/Cocoa	100	131	92	125	185	136	64	51	42	49	60

Source: Loxley (1988:29; 1991:15) calculated from Government of Ghana data.

We should, however, be cautious in using the terms of trade argument to generalize about the income distribution effects of the policies of SAP. For it has been shown that benefits of cocoa production accrue to only a small proportion of the farmers (about 6 per cent) who receive more than 94 per cent of gross cocoa income (Weissman, 1990:1625, citing Seini et al.,). This observation should be viewed against the fact that only about 18% of farming households in Ghana cultivate cocoa. The results of the Ghana Living Standards Survey carried out in 1987 also provides complex results on income distribution in the forest region. The forest region contains not only 48 percent of those in the richest quintile, but also 47 percent of those in the poorest (Anyemadu, 1990:102). Moreover, 45 percent of the farmers in this region have farms smaller than 15 acres, while only 24 percent have farms larger than 40 acres with an average size of 106 acres (Loxley, 1991,

citing Ghana Government).

Thus inequalities in farm sizes within the forest region are large and policies promoting cocoa production are likely to have complex distributional implications. Rather than creating equality among farmers, SAP has created more distinct classes of farmers - wealthy cocoa farmers, less wealthy cocoa farmers and food crop farmers evident not only between the forest and savanna regions but within the forest region as well.

In sum, the economic strategies of the post-independence governments have been neo-colonial in nature. Consequently, the genuine quest for economic development has not yet materialised. Also the spatial imbalance in development and welfare inherited from colonialism has not been altered significantly. This observation was brought out by the results of gini coefficients which showed a fairly constant level of inequality since the 1960s. Also, as shown by the composite index, the southern regions continue to be better developed than the regions in the interior. Manufacturing value-added is also high in the southern regions. Specialization in agricultural production is evident in the country, where cocoa and other exports are produced mainly in the forest while the savanna areas produce the bulk of the food crops. The regional specialization in economic activities implies that any national policy affecting any specific activity is likely to have different impacts on the regions.

3.6 FACTORS ACTING ON REGIONAL INEQUALITY: AN OVERVIEW

Much of the literature on inequality in Ghana is limited to the description of spatial development patterns. However, such identification of patterns and dimensions of regional inequality is partial and represents only incomplete analysis of the problem. The important question of why the patterns of regional development have remained virtually unchanged after decades of colonial rule should be addressed.

Explanation of inequalities in the Third World has traditionally followed two lines: neo-classical perspectives which see the local state as the main cause of inequality through its distributional role (World Bank, 1981); and the dependency group which attributes internal inequality mainly to the global influences and the forces emanating from the core of the world economy (Amin, 1972). The dependency school sees the local state playing the role of local manager. Equally important in explaining regional disparity has been the distribution of natural resources in the country. This includes the type of soil, climate, vegetation and minerals available to the regions.

A clear understanding of the factors that influence internal development is important when attempting to alter the pattern. The divergent views held by the proponents of the neo-classical and dependency perspectives do not help us in understanding the forces impinging on internal development of post-colonial states. In the case of Ghana, both perspectives

are seen as partial and incomplete, in the sense that influences emanating from within and outside the country are equally important in influencing internal spatial patterns.

Although national and sectoral planning have been blamed for the existing inequalities in Ghana, it cannot be remedied by regional planning alone. Ghana's strategy so far has been directed towards regional planning but still operating within the framework of continued capitalist domination without an attempt to withdraw from it. Such withdrawal has been impossible for both military and civilian governments that have ruled Ghana since independence, precisely because the governments need an international financial base in order to keep themselves in power. As long as the world economic system provides this financial foundation, such withdrawal will be impossible. But the continued relationship with the world system and the role played by Ghana as supplier of primary products have great implications for the country. The country's ability to earn foreign exchange is limited by the widening gap between commodity and industrial prices on the world market. Secondly, Ghana's ability to re-orient the economy continues to be limited by its reliance on multinational investors (Agyeman-Dua, 1987; Hansen, 1987; Howard, 1978). Thus Ghana, like most third world countries, is not all-powerful in ensuring the success of its development, which is determined both from within and outside the country.

The inability of the post-colonial state to effect any structural change in the pattern of development is evidence of the impotence of the local government and domestic inertia in ensuring balanced internal development. The distribution of development benefits within the country is dictated by this external relation as well as by other domestic forces operating at various spatial levels.

The framework proposed by Riddell (1985) in the study of Sierra Leone best summarizes the operation of these forces (fig.5). The framework identifies four levels of spatial resolution where forces that influence internal development of Ghana operate. These are global, continental, national and intra-national (local). The external forces are global and continental in nature; while internal influences originate from the state through its development plans and other policies; with the resolutions of class, residence, gender and regional divisions at the intra-national levels. The forces operate not only at the different levels, but they also act in concert to influence the spatial pattern of development.

Riddell's model, however, did not recognise the interrelationship between the levels and therefore tended to underestimate the importance of the relationships between the state and international bourgeoisie in maintaining the status quo. As Kitching (1985) has shown in the case of Kenya, the links between the African bourgeoisie and their international allies are equally important in explaining the country's

development. Articulation of modes of production as an explanation of development in Africa is based on this criticism and is useful for capturing the impact of such relationships which are evident in Ghana⁴¹.

Also the model does not include the distribution of natural resources, which are crucial in determining the economic activity of the region and general socio-economic development. The disparity in development in most African countries, to some extent, is a reflection of the underlying physical environmental and natural resource endowments of the regions. The physical attractiveness of the various regions is reinforced by the cumulative effects of deliberate policies of the colonial administration.

During the colonial era, internal development in the colony was a response to each region's ability to produce exports and to act as a market for imports. This laid the basis for disparate development which still exists. In recent times, the influences have taken various forms including the activities of multinational corporations, financial institutions, foreign aid programs and the fluctuations in the world demand and prices for primary products which constitute the main exports of the country. The activities of the IMF and the World Bank are probably more pervasive in the sense that

⁴¹ Mikell, (1989) provides evidence of how the introduction of cocoa production in Ghana resulted in social differentiation. Also see Klein (1985) for a discussion of articulation of modes of production as an explanation of development.

their impacts are not limited to a specific region, sector or to specific group of people, but to the entire country. The current restructuring of the Ghanaian economy under SAP has had a significant impact on development throughout the country.

At the continental level, the impact is less severe. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) and other regional groupings of which Ghana is a member have not been able to achieve their objectives fully. However, if the objectives of these groups, especially ECOWAS, fully materialise they will definitely have a tremendous impact on regional development in Ghana.

The State on its part has many instruments through which it redistributes development - through moving resources from one segment of the population or area of the country to another. Post-independent Ghana has assumed the role of mercantilist extractor through the activities of marketing boards (for example, the Cocoa Marketing Board) and retail (for example Ghana National Trading Corporation) which enable the government to extract surplus mainly from the peasants (Howard, 1978). Also, through activities such as price control mechanisms, subsidies and taxation, the government influences income distribution in the country. The government also plays a direct role in the distribution of socio-economic facilities through development plans and other projects.

Figure 5:

LEVELS OF SPATIAL RESOLUTIONS

SOURCE: Adapted from Riddell (1985:391)

At the intra-national level, there are forces which cause and influence disparities and inequalities. These are internal cleavages between urban-rural dwellers, class, gender and region. Some of the state policies tend to reinforce these inequalities. For instance, one of the greatest visible distinctions in the country exists between urban and rural areas. Government policies have also tended to exacerbate the inequality by concentrating development in the urban centres⁴². The relative resource endowments such as soils, climate, vegetation and minerals are very important in explaining inequality in regional development in Ghana. The soils, climate and vegetation in the southern part of the country are suitable to a variety of crops which has increased the government's attention to the region. The mineral deposits in the south of the country are crucial in explaining disparity in development in the country⁴³.

The class cleavages between the workers and the elite are also visible. The massive support by the workers and the underprivileged for the June 4th, 1979 and early part 31st December, 1982 revolutions which targeted the elite is evidence of the discontentment among the masses (Agyeman-Dua, 1987; Hansen, 1987). Gender inequality can also be observed

⁴² For a discussion on the urban bias nature of government policies and attempts at rural development in Ghana, see Ewusi, (1983) and Brown, (1986).

⁴³ The importance of these resources in the country's development will be discussed in Chapter 5.

at many levels, including school enrolments and the types of economic activities undertaken by men and women. Inequality resulting from regional cleavages, which is the main focus of this study, has already been discussed. It must be noted that the regional analysis does not imply that the other forms of cleavages are less important; rather regional analysis is only a single perspective.

CHAPTER FOUR

REGIONAL MIGRATION IN GHANA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration in Ghana, as it is in most West African countries, is not a recent phenomenon. Although movement across the country predates colonialism, migration in the late twentieth century is quite different from the pre-colonial movements. Pre-colonial population movement was not all directed towards the coastal settlements; this only happened when goods available at the coast were in demand in the interior. More important was the movement in the hinterland across the Sahara desert for the purpose of trade.

The general direction of migration in recent times has, however, been towards the capital city and other urban centres which are often along the coast. Evidence from Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Gambia and Senegal indicates similar trends⁴⁴. In addition, population movements in certain cases have been directed towards agricultural frontiers, far away from the capital city⁴⁵. Migration in Ghana is no exception,

⁴⁴ Zachariah and Conde, (1981)

⁴⁵ Hill, (1970) and Addae-Mensah, (1987) provide examples in Ghana where migration was directed to rural cocoa producing areas. Also see Udo (1975) for another example from Nigeria.

with the movement directed to the cities in the south as well as to other agricultural regions.

This chapter discusses the patterns and trends of inter-regional migration in Ghana. The migration patterns identified here and their relationship with the country's regional development patterns over the years will be the subject of the subsequent chapter. The present chapter is divided into three broad sections. The first section provides an overview of demographic characteristics of the regions of Ghana. The second section, which discusses the historical migration patterns, serves as the background to understanding current migration patterns. The final section examines issues relating to post-1960 inter regional migration patterns, and the profile of migrants by emphasising sex and age selectivity in migration and the role of migration in urbanization.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REGIONS

The population of Ghana increased from 6.7 million in 1960 to 8.6 million in 1970, an increase of 27.2 percent and a growth rate of 2.4 percent per annum. By 1984⁴⁶, the country's population had reached 12.2 million indicating an increase of 42.6 percent with an annual growth rate of 2.6 percent (table 4.1). Projections by the World Bank put the country's population at about 15 million in 1990 (World Bank, cited in Health Statistics, 1989).

A breakdown of the country's population into regional distribution shows great deviations from the national growth rates. Table 4.1 shows the regional growth rates and percentage increase in population for the three census years. Clearly, Gt. Accra recorded the highest growth rates for both intercensal periods. Other regions with growth rates higher than the national average for the 1960-70 period included Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Northern. During the 1970-84 period Brong Ahafo and Northern regions, in addition to Western Region had growth rates higher than the national rate. An interesting observation about the regional growth rates is that, apart from the Gt. Accra and Ashanti regions, the growth of all the other regions increased during the 1970-1984 intercensal period.

⁴⁶ The most recent population census in Ghana was undertaken in 1984.

Table 4.1: Population Distribution, Density, Average Annual Growth Rate and Percent Increase by Regions - Ghana 1960-1984

REGION	AREA (SQ.KM)	POPULATION ('000s)			DENSITY (Person per sq km)		
		1960	1970	1984	1960	1970	1984
Western	23,921	626.2	770.1	1116.9	26	32	47
Central	9,826	751.4	890.1	1145.5	76	88	117
G. Accra	3,245	541.9	903.4	1420.1	167	278	438
Eastern	19,323	1044.1	1209.8	1679.5	54	63	87
Volta	20,570	777.3	947.3	1201.1	38	46	58
Ashanti	24,389	1109.1	1481.7	2089.7	45	61	86
B. Ahafo	39,557	567.9	766.5	1179.4	15	19	30
Northern	70,384	531.6	727.5	1162.6	8	10	17
U. West	18,476	288.7	319.9	439.2	16	17	24
U. East	8,842	468.6	542.9	771.6	53	61	87
Country	238,533	6726.8	8559.3	12205.6	28	36	51

Table 4.1 continue.

REGION	GROWTH RATE (%)		% INCREASE	
	1960-70	1970-84	1960-70	1970-84
Western	2.1	2.7	23.0	45.0
Central	1.7	1.8	18.0	28.7
G. Accra	5.2	3.3	66.7	57.2
Eastern	1.4	1.7	15.9	26.8
Volta	2.0	2.4	21.9	38.8
Ashanti	2.9	2.5	33.6	41.0
B. Ahafo	2.7	3.1	30.4	53.9
Northern	3.2	3.4	36.9	59.8
U. West	1.0	2.3	10.8	37.3
U. East	1.5	2.5	15.9	42.1
Country	2.4	2.6	27.2	42.6

Source: Ghana Statistical Service. Preliminary Report, 1984 Census. Census Office Accra

Population density in the country also grew from 28 persons per square kilometre in 1960 to 36 persons per square kilometre in 1970 and to 51 persons per square kilometre in 1984 (table 4.1). Again, regional distribution of population densities shows population concentration in some regions (fig.6). While the Gt.Accra Region has less than 1.5 percent of the total land area of the country, it has 11.6 percent of the total population, giving it a high population density of 438 persons per square kilometre in 1984. At the same time, the region with the largest area, the Northern region, occupying 29.5 percent of the land area of the country has only 9.5 percent of the total population, and a density of 17 persons per square kilometre in 1984.

Figure 6:

POPULATION DENSITY OF GHANA

Another feature of Ghana's population is rapid urbanisation. The proportion of the population residing in urban settlements has increased to 31.3 percent in 1984 from 23 percent in 1960 (table 4.2). At the regional level, the most urbanised region, Gt Accra, has 83.5 percent of its population residing in urban centres. This rapid urbanisation implies that many Ghanaians are shifting to existing urban centres both through migration and (or) more urban centres are emerging. The role of emerging urban centres in the urbanisation is indicated by the increase in the number of urban centres over the years (table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Percentage Urban and Rural and distribution of Urban Centres by Region 1960, 1970 and 1984

REGION	PERCENT URBAN			PERCENT RURAL			URBAN CENTRES ⁴⁷		
	1960	1970	1984	1960	1970	1984	1960	1970	1984
Western	24.7	27.6	22.8	75.3	72.4	77.2	10	14	15
Central	28.0	28.5	26.5	72.0	71.5	73.5	19	21	25
G. Accra	78.8	85.3	83.5	21.2	14.7	16.5	6	8	11
Eastern	20.2	24.6	26.7	79.8	75.4	73.3	19	29	38
Volta	13.2	16.0	20.7	86.8	84.0	79.3	10	14	24
Ashanti	25.0	29.7	32.1	75.0	70.3	67.9	12	17	26
B. Ahafo	15.6	22.1	26.6	84.4	77.9	73.4	14	20	29
Northern	13.0	21.2	24.7	87.0	78.8	75.3	4	8	16
U. West	5.0	6.7	10.8	95.0	93.3	89.2	1	1	3
U. East	3.9	5.8	8.5	96.1	94.2	91.5	2	2	2
TOTAL	23.0	28.9	31.3	77.0	71.1	68.7	97	134	189

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Preliminary Report 1984 Census Census Office, Accra.

⁴⁷ As already indicated, any settlement with population of 5,000 or more is considered an urban.

In 1960, there were 98 urban localities in the country. This number increased to 135 in 1970 and by 1984 it had reached 189. The number of urban settlements within the regions in 1984 also varied between 2 in the Upper East region and 38 in the Eastern Region. The large variation implies that, despite the increased urban proportion, a substantial part of the country is still rural. Alternatively, the evidence also indicates a concentration of urban centres in certain regions of the country. The role of migration in the growth of urban populations will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

One main characteristic of the country's fast growing population is that the proportion of children is mounting faster than is true of any other age group. The youthful population of the country (i.e. population under 15 years of age) has been between 47 and 48 percent of the total population since the early 1950s. The economically productive age group (those between age 15 and 64)⁴⁸ has been under 50 percent of the total population for the same period (Benneh, nd:4).

The proportion of females in the population has increased in recent years. There were altogether 6,210,926 females in the country in 1984 compared with 5,994,648 males. This gives

⁴⁸ It is debatable whether the Western concept of productivity limited to this age bracket, is appropriate for Africa. In fact many "children" in Africa are making significant contributions to productivity.

a lower sex ratio⁴⁹ of 96.5 in 1984 compared with 98.5 in 1970 and 102.2 in 1960. Thus, since 1960, there has been substantial lowering in the proportion of males in Ghana. This trend could be attributed to the large scale emigration of Ghanaians (especially males) to the more prosperous countries in West Africa and beyond as a result of the decline in Ghana's economy.

At the regional level, Brong Ahafo region's sex ratio of 103.5 was the highest among all the regions in 1984. Similarly, the region had the highest sex ratio both in 1960 and 1970. The region's high sex ratio may be due to the availability of job opportunities in timber and cocoa farming which employ more males than females (Owusu,1990). Upper West Region which had the lowest sex ratio in 1984, also had the lowest sex ratios in 1960 as well as in 1970.

4.3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF MIGRATION

A review of studies on pre-colonial trade and the history of West Africa indicates that population movement was quite widespread and common (Addo,1975). Oral traditions in many ethnic groups provide evidence which shows that kin groups left the parent stock to explore and occupy more fertile

⁴⁹ This is calculated as the number of males as a percentage of number of females.

lands; cattle herders moved about or travelled in transhumance cycles to find better pastures; and warrior groups left and went off to conquer and rule neighbouring populations⁵⁰ (Dickson, 1969). Amin refuses to call such population movements a "migration" arguing that such movements are an "occupational necessity" (Amin, 1974:113). There is, however, no convincing evidence to indicate that any systematic and meaningful type of individual migration took place in what is now Ghana, before the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Addo, 1975). There were numerous hindrances to population movement before that period. A large part of the country was sparsely populated, with a highly illiterate and immobile population, sometimes faced with threats of tribal wars, high mortality and with food shortages in many of its settlements (Addo, 1968:103). These conditions, in addition to a lack of an efficient transportation system, made long distance travelling very difficult. Despite these problems, there was extensive international trade involving the Western Sudan States, and Ghana was drawn into this trade as an important producer of forest products. The trade encouraged long distance travel by the traders in the country (Amin, 1972).

The motivation for migration in Ghana began to emerge towards the end of the nineteenth century with changes in the

⁵⁰ Examples include the Mossi-Dagomba states believed to have migrated from the present Burkina Faso and the Ga and Ewe-speaking people also came from various parts of Nigeria (Bourret, 1960).

economy. Migrants started to move to areas of greater social and economic development. They moved to work in the mines and on the cocoa farms; to open up new land for agriculture; to enter commerce, government service and the new industries in the towns and to places with educational facilities. These opportunities were mostly located in the southern parts of the country. Thus a north-south migration stream emerged during the early twentieth century. A more detailed discussion of the factors responsible for the emergence of this migration pattern will be made in the next chapter.

Between 1921 and 1931, Western, Central, Eastern and Gt. Accra regions together recorded net in-migration of 20,000; Ashanti (including Brong Ahafo Region) made a net gain of approximately 27,000; Northern Ghana lost over 41,000; and Togoland (present Volta Region) lost 5,500 in migration (Engmann, 1972:173). Similarly in 1948 southern Ghana and Ashanti-Brong Ahafo Region gained 125,600 and 76,500 people respectively; by contrast the north and Togoland lost a total of 155,500 and 46,600 respectively to the southern Ghana and Ashanti-Brong Ahafo region (Engmann, 1972:173).

4.4 POST-1960 REGIONAL MIGRATION

The selection of 1960 as the beginning of modern migration is justified for two reasons. Foremost, the 1960 census provides the earliest reliable data for estimating

migration. Although regional boundaries have changed since 1960, the regions are fairly comparable with those of 1970 and 1984. Secondly, as already indicated, Ghana attained independence in 1957, therefore migration patterns after 1960 represent post-colonial migration. It must be emphasised once again that due to possible errors in the data and the limitations of the indirect methods of estimating migration⁵¹, the analysis should be interpreted with caution, and should be viewed only as preliminary.

4.4.1 Lifetime Migration

In 1960, a total of about 41.6 percent of Ghanaians were living in a locality different from their locality of birth; that is, they had migrated from their locality of birth to another locality either within the same region or outside the region (table 4.3). Intra-regional migrants made up of 20.9 percent of the population and 12.4 were inter-regional migrants. The remaining 8.3 percent were international migrants.

The migrant proportion increased slightly to 42.9 in 1970. The breakdown of the migrant population brings into focus some significant changes which occurred during the decade. Although the percentage of intra-regional migrants remained the same, that of the inter-regional increased to

⁵¹ Refer to section 1.4.3.

17.9 percent. Another change in the migrant population was the drop by more than half in the international migrant proportion to 4.1 percent in 1970. This decline was due partly to the economic problems which occurred during the first half of the decade in Ghana, accompanied by better economic opportunities in the other countries in West Africa, especially Nigeria. An important factor responsible for this sudden turn was the enforcement of the Aliens Compliance Order, issued by the Government in November 1969. The order required all foreign workers without a valid residence permit to obtain one, and failing that, to leave the country within a period of two weeks from the publication date of the order (Addo, 1972). This order resulted in a mass exodus of foreigners in 1969 thus affecting the 1970 population census.

By 1984, the total migrant population declined to 37.8 percent of the total population. The decline occurred in all types of migration (table 4.3). However, the decline was more spectacular in the international migrant proportion which dropped further to 0.5 percent. Again the decline in the economy which continued till the early 1980s is the main reason for this scenario.

Classification of the migrant population by sex indicates that for all the census years, while there were not significant differences in the total migration by sex, females tended to predominate in short distance migration, while males predominated in long distance migration (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by sex, 1960, 1970 and 1984.

Category	Both Sexes			Males			Female		
	1960	1970	1984	1960	1970	1984	1960	1970	1984
Non-Migrants	58.4	57.1	62.2	58.0	57.5	63.9	58.8	56.7	60.6
Intra-Regional	20.9	20.9	19.6	17.8	18.0	16.8	24.0	23.8	22.2
Inter-Regional	12.4	17.9	17.7	13.8	19.6	18.8	10.9	16.3	16.7
Immigrants	8.3	4.1	0.5	10.4	4.9	0.5	6.3	3.2	0.5

Source: Computed from Census Reports, various years.

Table 4.4 shows that there are considerable differences in migrant population in the regions (also see fig.7a, b, c). At one extreme are regions with high proportions of migrants for all the census years, including Western, Greater Accra and Eastern regions. On the other hand, Upper and Central regions have had a lower proportion of migrants. A high proportion of migrants in a region does not necessarily imply that the region is receiving migrants. For instance in regions where there is a high rate of intra-regional migration, the migrant population could be higher although the region as a whole might be sending out migrants. Analysis on a time scale indicates that the proportion of migrants in Western, Eastern, Ashanti and Northern regions has been declining since 1960. The remaining regions recorded increases in the migrant population during the decade of 1960-70, and a decline thereafter (Table 4.4 and fig.7a, b, & c).

Table 4.4: Percentage Distribution of Migrants and Non-Migrants by Region, 1960, 1970 and 1984

REGION	1960 ²		1970 ³		1984 ⁴	
	NON MIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	NON MIGRANTS	MIGRANTS	NON MIGRANTS	MIGRANTS
Western	47.7	52.3	48.3	51.7	54.1	45.9
Central	69.0	31.0	65.4	34.6	70.4	29.6
G. Accra	48.4	51.6	46.0	54.0	55.3	44.7
Eastern	49.7	50.3	51.4	48.6	57.4	42.6
Volta	65.1	34.9	63.1	36.9	66.0	34.0
Ashanti	53.2	46.8	54.4	45.6	63.7	36.3
B. Ahafo	59.2	40.8	53.0	47.0	57.2	42.8
Northern	63.6	36.4	64.2	35.8	67.2	32.8
Upper*	72.0	28.0	70.8	29.2	72.1	27.9
TOTAL	58.4	41.6	57.1	42.9	62.2	37.8

Notes: * Includes Upper West and Upper East regions.

Sources: Computed from the following:

1. 1960 data; Census Office (1962) 1961 Statistical Yearbook Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra.
2. 1970 data; Census Office (1972) 1971 Statistical Yearbook Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra.
3. 1984 data; 1984 Ghana Population Census Reports, Unpublished.

4.4.2 Intra-regional Migration

Data in table 4.5 indicate that the regions differ with regard to intra-regional migration. A striking observation from the table is that a relatively small percentage of people born in Gt. Accra Region migrate within the region (see fig.7a, b, & c). The region therefore has the lowest proportion of intra-regional migrants compared to the other regions in the country. This is probably due to the small geographical size of the region (fig.1), the number of residential localities, and their spatial distribution. The only large settlements in the region, Accra and Tema, have

Figure 7a:

GHANA

REGIONAL POPULATION BY MIGRATION STATUS IN 1960

Figure 7b:

GHANA

REGIONAL POPULATION BY MIGRATION STATUS IN 1970

Figure 7c:

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GHANA

REGIONAL POPULATION BY MIGRATION STATUS IN 1984

almost formed a conurbation; therefore people born in this region tend to remain in this primate city rather than migrate to other rural areas. It is interesting to note that for all the regions, the percent of intra-regional migrants declined between 1970 and 1984, except in Gt. Accra Region. The relative distribution of intra-regional migrants also remained virtually the same during the period under review. For instance Eastern, Northern, Upper and Volta Regions remained in the lead in short distance migration for all the census years. On the other hand, Gt. Accra and Brong Ahafo regions consistently lagged behind during this period.

Table 4.5: Intra- and Inter- Regional Migration by Region, Ghana 1960-84 (Percentages*)

REGION	Intra-Regional Migration			Inter-Regional Migration		
	1960	1970	1984	1960	1970	1984
Western	29.6	20.3	16.9	13.5	27.4	28.6
Central	19.8	20.3	19.5	7.2	12.7	12.1
G. Accra	5.9	4.8	7.9	30.3	42.2	36.1
Eastern	27.3	29.1	25.3	14.4	16.3	17.0
Volta	19.9	23.3	24.1	5.4	7.5	5.1
Ashanti	19.5	21.7	19.7	18.5	19.2	16.4
B. Ahafo	12.7	17.9	17.5	18.6	23.9	24.6
Northern	26.4	24.1	23.7	3.8	9.5	8.6
Upper	21.0	22.4	21.6	1.6	4.4	5.9
TOTAL	20.9	20.9	19.6	12.4	17.9	17.7

*Based on total population of each region.

Source: Computed from Census Reports for the various years.

4.4.3 Inter-regional Migration

Unlike short distance migration, long distance migration is not equal among the regions. The primacy of Accra city is confirmed by the number of migrants directed to that region since 1960. Although its percentage of long distance migrants declined between 1970 and 1984, Gt Accra still has the highest proportion of people in this stream (Table 4.5). Other regions with large flows of inter-regional migrants include Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and, until recently the Western region. Upper, Volta, Northern and, to some extent, Central regions have a lower proportion of long distance migrants (fig.7a, b, & c). In addition, the proportion of inter-regional migrants for Western, Eastern, Brong Ahafo and Upper Regions has persistently increased since 1960. The remaining regions, although increasing their proportions between 1960 and 1970, recorded a decline in the later period (Table 4.5). Generally therefore, inter-regional migration is prominent in Gt. Accra, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and Western regions. However, the proportion in Ashanti Region has been decreasing since 1970, while the proportion in Western Region has been increasing since 1960.

4.4.4 Intercensal Migration

Inter-regional migration for 1960 and 1970 is presented in Table 4.6. The number of persons living in a region other than their region of birth increased from about 834,000 in 1960 to 1,402,000 in 1970, an increase of 68 percent. Put in another way, in 1960, 12 percent of the population were inter-regional migrants, but this figure increased to 17 percent in 1970.

At the regional level, there are stark differences among the regions with regard to in-migration, out-migration and net-migration. Gt. Accra, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions had net gains in migration for both 1960 and 1970, while all other regions had net losses. Western Region, which had been an out-migration region, joined the in-migration regions in 1970 and became second only to Gt. Accra Region in volume of net-migration (Table 4.6). During 1960, the largest gain occurred in Gt. Accra and the largest loss in the Northern Region. Again in 1970, Gt. Accra had the largest gain, with the largest loss, this time occurring in Volta Region. It is worth noting that although Ashanti Region gained in migration for both 1960 and 1970, the gain in the latter period was relatively smaller in volume. The fall in the volume of net-migrants is an indication that the Region's attractiveness to migrants had started to fade away.

Table 4.6.: Lifetime in-migrants, out-migrants and net-migration, Ghana. 1960 and 1970

REGION	1 9 6 0			1 9 7 0		
	In Migrants	Out Migrants	Net Migrat	In Migrants	Out Migrants	Net Migrat
Western	138722	140288	-1566	210971	87055	123916
Central ¹	-	-	-	112719	244005	-131286
Gt. Accra	149025	58916	90109	359621	36813	272808
Eastern	157574	176093	-18519	205364	305008	-99645
Volta	42043	136495	-94452	70757	239846	-169089
Ashanti	205066	108503	96563	283978	211576	72402
B.Ahafo	109300	24381	84919	182813	65522	117291
Northern ²	32106	189161	-157055	68782	102501	-33719
Upper ³	-	-	-	38242	186949	-148707
TOTAL	833836	833836	-	1401862	1401862	-

NOTES: 1. Included in Western Region for 1960.

2. Covered Upper Region in 1960.

3. Includes Upper West and East regions

Source: Zachariah and Nair, (1980:35)

The estimates for 1984 inter-regional migration are presented in Table 4.7⁵². Comparison of data in table 4.7 with the estimates for the other years (table 4.6) should be done in relative terms since the base populations are different⁵³. The general pattern of inter-regional migration in 1984 was not very different from that of 1960 and 1970, although there are some important changes in the patterns. The extreme cases

⁵² See appendix 3 for the explanation of the census survival ratio method used in the computation of net migration.

⁵³ The estimation of inter-regional migrants for 1960 and 1970 is based on the entire population while that of 1984 is based on the population aged 15 or more years. The indirect method used in the estimation of 1984 population cannot give an estimate for the population aged less than the number of years between the two census - in this case the inter-censal period was fourteen years.

occurred in Gt. Accra Region (largest gainer) and Volta Region (largest loser). Brong Ahafo and Western regions maintained their position as net gainers in the migration process.

A significant feature of table 4.7 is that the Northern Region, which had been a net loser in the migration stream since 1921, became a net gainer in 1984. The gain, although modest, is very significant because it shows a situation where a previous out migration area in a savanna environment was now receiving migrants. Again the data show that, by 1984, the attractiveness of Ashanti Region to migrants had completely faded away and that the region had become a net loser, about 28,000 of its population having migrated to other regions.

Table 4.7: Lifetime in-migrants, out-migrants and net-migration, Ghana: 1984.

REGION	1 9 8 4		
	In Migrants	Out Migrants	Net Migration
Western	259706	213019	46687
Central	92411	170285	-77874
Gt. Accra	394266	241112	153154
Eastern	189986	268122	-78136
Volta	64871	162063	-97192
Ashanti	252042	280369	-28327
B.Ahafo	211728	159536	-52192
Northern	76234	65518	10716
Upper W.	9689	30451	-20762
Upper E.	22272	25355	-3083
TOTAL	1573205	1573205	-

Notes: The estimates includes Emigrants Estimates are for Adults 15 years and over

Source: Computed from the 1984 Population Census Reports.
See appendix 3 for processes involved in the computations.

The changes in the positions of Western, Ashanti and Northern regions in migration over the period present a set of challenging and intriguing questions regarding inequality in the regional development and migration process. Does the present role of Northern Region as a net gainer imply increased development in the region compared to others? Alternatively, does the role of Ashanti Region as a net loser mean the region's development has come to a stand still? What have been the attractions of the Western Region to migrants? If there have not been significant changes in development, as argued in the previous chapter, how do we explain the emerging trends? How adequate is present migration theory in explaining such changes in migration patterns? Considering the history of changing migration frontiers in the country, how long will Western Region continue to attract migrants? If the focus changes, which region is more likely to be a potential new frontier? Why has Brong Ahafo continued to maintain its dominance in migration for such a long period? These questions, among other, will be addressed in the next chapter.

4.4.5 Age and Sex Selectivity in Migration

Population movement as a demographic phenomenon is selective, that is, certain categories of people are more likely to migrate than others. The profile of the migrant population, however, depends on the type of migration and the

main reason for departure. The profile can also vary according to the country and its level of development. Many variables combine to make one mobile; therefore, no one factor can fully determine an individual's propensity to migrate. This section will aggregate migrants by age and sex. Other characteristics of migrants, for example income and socio-economic status, are equally important in determining an individual propensity to migrate but data limitations will not permit such analyses.

Table 4.8 shows the distribution of migrants by age for 1984. Children and elderly people are less likely to migrate while young adults are more likely to migrate. The population less than 10 years of age dominated the non-migrant population making up 26.3 percent of the total population. Alternatively, the population aged 20-29 years predominated in both short and long distance migration. Of the short and long distance migrants the 10-39 age group formed 55.9 percent and 63.2 percent respectively.

A study by Zachariah and Nair (1980) conducted with 1960 and 1970 data indicated that migration into urban centres in Ghana had a greater concentration in the ages 15-34 years than those who moved into rural areas. This pattern was explained with reference to economic factors: a movement to take a new job or look for employment in the urban centres. Although the 1984 data for migration by age categorized into rural and urban destinations were not available, it is likely that the earlier pattern may not have changed significantly. If this

observation is true, then one can conclude that the migration of the youth component of Ghana's population is directed towards urban centres. This is especially important considering that rural migration is predominant in Ghana⁴.

It is also interesting to note that there are differences in migration rates for children less than 10 years in both short and long distance migration (Table 4.8). Children participate more in short distance migration than in long distance migration. Thus, the age structure of migrants varies according to the distance between place of departure and arrival. Therefore the age structure of short distance migrants are similar to that of the non-migrants. The reason for this pattern is that short distance migrants usually move with their families whereas long distance migrants travel alone, and if they are successful, are then joined by their family.

Table 4.8: Percentage¹ Distribution of Migrants by Age, 1984

Age Group	NON-MIGRANTS	SDM	LDM
< 10	26.3	3.6	2.6
10-19	14.6	3.9	3.9
20-29	8.3	4.0	4.0
30-39	4.6	3.0	3.1
40-49	3.1	2.1	1.9
50-59	2.2	1.3	1.0
60+	2.7	1.6	0.9

Notes:

1 Percentages based on total population of Ghanaian residents.
SDM refers to short distance migrants.
LDM refers to long distance migrants.

⁴ See section 4.4.6

Source: 1984 Population Census of Ghana.

The general sex structure of migration in Africa has been identified as one in which males predominate giving a sex ratio always exceeding 100, which is higher than that of residents and non-migrants (Conde, 1987). The actual pattern in Ghana may not conform exactly to this general pattern⁵⁵, but the difference becomes more obvious when the analysis is done on a regional basis. There is a wide range of variation in population mobility by sex throughout Ghana as a whole (see appendix 4, Tables A, B, and C). Among the non-migrant populations, the female percentages are higher for most of the regions for both 1960 and 1970. The exceptions were in Volta, Northern and Upper regions where male non-migrants formed a greater percentage. These same regions were recorded as having a low percentage of their populations in the long distance migration stream and a higher percentage in the short distance migration stream (Table 4.5 and sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). Since females predominate in the short distance migration, it is not surprising that they are seen as more mobile than men in these regions.

The situation changed in 1984 with females predominating in the overall migration streams in many of the regions. The new trend can partly be attributed to the dominance of intra-regional migration - a stream which is dominated by women in

⁵⁵ The exception is more obvious especially in the 1984; refer to Table 4.3.

Ghana and as well as elsewhere in Africa (Caldwell,1969; Zachariah and Nair, 1980; Conde,1987). For all the regions during the period under review, females were in the majority in intra-regional migration. The highest differences for all the census years were recorded in the Upper and Northern Regions. On the other hand, inter-regional migration as well as international migration have been male-dominated (see appendix 4, tables A, B, and C). However, female participation in long distance migration has increased in recent years.

The difference between short and long distance migration is especially important when assessing the rationale for the movement. Intra-regional or inter-community movements include movements between villages in the same region which may not necessarily involve labour migration. Such movements may involve marital arrangements, redistribution of settlements or actual change of residence as against the usual temporary or long-term change of residence with regard to many patterns of inter-regional mobility (Nabila,1986). The increased participation of females in long distance migration is a manifestation of the accelerating participation of women in paid employment outside their regions of origin. It also signifies the weakening of the emotional pressure which was exerted on girls to remain in the village (Caldwell,1969).

4.4.6 Migration and Urbanisation

The role of migration in urban growth in Ghana is not as clear as it is in other West African countries. A study by Zachariah and Conde comprising eight West African states, showed that during the 1960s and 1970s migration in the other seven countries contributed more than 40 percent to the urbanisation process, while in Ghana it was only 28 percent (Zachariah and Conde, 1981:82). Again Ghana was noted as having the lowest average annual percentage increase in urban population from migration (ibid). Similarly, it has been estimated that about 70 percent of all migrants in Ghana end up in a rural area (Nabila, 1986:78). Thus rural areas, either as destination or source areas, are very important in the migration process in Ghana. A possible explanation of the migrants' attraction to the rural areas of Ghana is that most are motivated by agricultural prospects usually found in these rural areas.

This does not, however, presuppose that migration is not an important factor in explaining urbanisation; rather, it points to the decreasing role of migration in urbanisation. The overall contribution of migration to urban growth has been declining since 1948. Between 1948 and 1960 almost the entire urban growth was caused by migration; however, for the period 1960 - 1970, it accounted for only about half. The contribution of migration fell further to 18 percent during 1970-1984 (Nabila,nd:2). The declining role of migration in

urban growth can be explained with reference to the inability of the urban centres to provide employment. After the ambitious attempt by the government to create cities and jobs immediately after independence no such attempt has been made⁵⁶. The jobs created attracted migrants from the rural areas. Since that time there has been no such incentives for people to migrate to the urban centres.

Analysis of lifetime migrants residing in urban centres also provides an indication of the role of migration in the growth of urban populations. About a third of the lifetime migrants (both intra- and inter-regional migrants) in 1970 were enumerated in urban centres. In 1984, 4.8 percent and 7.8 percent of the population were enumerated as intra and inter regional migrants respectively residing in urban centres (Table 4.9). For almost all the regions, a larger proportion of long distance migrants reside in urban centres than do short distance migrants (except in Brong Ahafo Region where an opposite situation was observed). Generally therefore, short distance migration can be described as rural-bound, while long distance migration is urban-bound. Two main exceptions, however, can be identified in the trend:

⁵⁶ Tema, was created as an industrial and harbour city by the government after independence. As a result of the flooding of the city by migrants, the population increased by 684.2 percent between 1948 and 1960.

(i) The cocoa producing areas of Western and Brong Ahafo Regions⁵⁷ have quite significant proportions of inter-regional migrants in the rural areas. This means that migrants from the other regions to the cocoa producing areas settle in rural areas close to their farms.

(ii) In Gt. Accra Region, the majority of the population is either non-migrant or long distance migrant residing in urban centres. Both rural population and short distance migration are less significant in this region. The unique situation in Gt. Accra could be attributed to the fact that the region has two major cities (Accra and Tema) with substantial industrial and commercial activities⁵⁸ which provide employment in the formal sector and opportunity for jobs in the informal sector. The region therefore retains much of the native population and also attracts people from the other regions.

⁵⁷ Refer to Section 3.5.2 on the productive capacities of the various regions and also table 6.

⁵⁸ See Section 3.5.2. and table 3.

Table 4.9: Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Region and Residence, 1984.

REGION	NON-MIGRANTS		SDM		LDM	
	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
Western	41.9	12.2	13.5	3.4	21.8	6.8
Central	38.8	17.4	12.9	3.2	6.8	3.2
G. Accra	9.9	45.4	3.2	4.7	3.6	32.5
Eastern	41.0	16.4	19.2	6.2	11.6	5.4
Volta	54.1	11.8	18.2	5.9	6.4	2.6
Ashanti	43.6	20.1	13.6	6.1	9.9	6.4
B. Ahafo	40.3	17.4	13.5	4.0	19.0	5.6
Northern	50.1	17.0	18.5	5.2	5.5	3.0
Upper W.	61.6	7.1	21.4	2.3	4.7	1.4
Upper E.	66.3	7.8	17.0	2.4	3.2	2.3
TOTAL	43.0	19.2	14.8	4.8	9.9	7.8

SDM refers to short distance migrants.

LDM refers to long distance migrants.

Source: Computed from 1984 Population Census Report.

Although a full discussion of migration sources and destinations by rural and urban residence would have aided our comprehension of the role of migration in urban growth, data limitations will not permit such an analysis. Available studies, using 1960 and 1970 data will be employed here for that purpose, although they cannot present the current picture. Table 4.10 classifies lifetime migration by rural and urban residence by destination and source areas. For the decade 1960-1970, the increase in urban to rural migration was quite phenomenal. Nabila (1986) explained this increased urban-rural migration trend with reference to returned-migration. It is possible that rural areas during this period attracted urban dwellers. It must be noted, however, that estimation of lifetime migration is affected by a host of

other factors including urban reclassification, returned-migration and misreporting of place of birth which can distort such findings.

Despite the declining role of migration in urbanization, urban growth has been a major characteristic of Ghana's population⁹⁹. Thus one must look beyond migration to find the cause of rapid urbanization in Ghana. Natural increase in population has been identified as the principal component of urban growth in Ghana, accounting for 72 percent of the total urban growth during the period 1960 and 1970 (Zachariah and Nair, 1980). This evidence seems to signify that the migrants from the rural areas maintained the pro-natalist tendencies in the urban environment thereby increasing the urban population through natural processes.

Table 4.10: Adult Lifetime Migrants by Rural-Urban Origins and Destinations, 1960-1970

Types	Migrants among persons 15 years or more.	
	1960	1970
Rural-Rural	59.8	51.7
Rural-Urban	17.6	16.6
Urban-Rural	11.5	16.7
Urban-Urban	11.1	15.0
Total	100	100

Source: Computed from Zachariah and Nair (1980:60), Table 34

⁹⁹ Refer to Nabila, (nd). Also see section 4.2 of this thesis.

4.5 SUMMARY

Before formal contact with Europe, Ghana experienced some population movements although the rationale, direction and magnitude was different from those that emerged later. A north-south migration emerged during the colonial era, which is still observed in the country with some important changes in the status of some regions. Ashanti Region is no longer attractive to migrants. Western Region began attracting migrants in 1970 and now it is second only to Accra in terms of volumes of migrants. Similarly, Northern Region, which acted as part of the "reserve army of labour" during colonialism has started to attract migrants. The two long-standing in migration regions, Gt. Accra and Brong Ahafo regions, have very little short-distance migration.

The profile of the migrants showed that the youth (10-29 years old) predominate in the migration stream, while children under 10 years are less likely to be involved in long distance migration. Contrary to the popular notion that females are less migratory in Africa, the situation in Ghana is changing rapidly and relatively more women are in the migration stream. The changes in the economy and the society in general, which have placed more responsibility on women, have made them mobile in order to participate in paid employment which is often not available in the home area. However, much of the female movement is limited to inter-community and intra-regional - the rationale for which seems to be more social

than economic. The importance of migration in urban growth in Ghana has been declining. At the moment, it contributes less than a third to all urban growth. On the other hand, rural areas as both source and destination areas are gaining prominence.

CHAPTER FIVE

MIGRATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Thus far, the paper has dealt with disparities in regional development in Ghana and the trends in migration patterns. It was shown that the country's inequality in development has its roots in colonial policies. Post-independence governments have also not succeeded in altering the pattern of development in any significant way. With regard to migration however, there have been some changes away from the colonial pattern. In recent times, movement of population has not been only to the developed core regions; rather, some undeveloped regions, like Northern and Western regions, are also receiving migrants.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the relationship between regional development and migration in Ghana. As already indicated, the discussion is at two levels: first within a structural-functionalist framework and; second with a regression-based spatial interaction model. This two-staged approach is adopted to highlight the strengths and limitations of both approaches in explaining migration in Ghana. It must be reiterated that it is not the objective of

the current thesis to develop an alternative theory of migration; its purpose is to provide an example of how the two approaches could be combined to explain contemporary Ghanaian migration and then drawing on that, to argue for the need to combine the two approaches into comprehensive African migration theory.

This chapter focuses on the complex interrelationships between development and migration. The chapter argues that migration has been a cause and effect, as well as an integral part, of regional development in Ghana since pre-colonial times. By first employing the structural-functionalist framework, and later the spatial interaction model, the next section of this chapter will supply and analyze information on migration and development in Ghana. This is followed by an examination of the differences and similarities between past and contemporary migration patterns. The final section discusses the present and possible future migration trends, taking into consideration the current economic policies of the country.

5.2 CAPITALIST PENETRATION, COLONISATION AND MIGRATION

Pre-colonial population movement was significantly different from what Amin (1974) describes as modern migration in terms of the magnitude, direction and rationale for movement. During the former period, there were few socio-

economic or even demographic incentives to migrate. In addition, the numerous obstacles to mobility reduced the volume of migrants. Factors which influence migration in contemporary times were mostly less effective in the pre-colonial times. Distance, for example, placed a considerable strain on migration, since transportation was slow, roads were few. The lack of a common language in West Africa also meant that pre-colonial migrants could operate in a more constrained environment (Riddell, 1981b).

Notwithstanding these difficulties, there was substantial movement across West Africa during the pre-colonial era, which had significant impact on the area which is now Ghana. The movements were basically for the purpose of commerce and occupation of vacant land. Such movements in the past led to the gradual transformation of significantly large areas, permitting whole cultures and societies to diffuse (Dickson, 1969). Similarly, agricultural systems were dramatically altered and political frameworks changed. Such movements significantly altered the nature and density of population distribution. In West Africa, migration led to the introduction of new crops, and the spread of technologies, institutions, values, behaviour patterns and attitudes (Mabogunje, 1972). One can therefore conclude that although its impact was less pervasive because of the obstacles to movement, pre-colonial migration played a significant role in the transformations of the societies.

The role of migration in the development in Ghana and, the forces influencing it, began to change with the advent of formal colonial rule. It is important to reiterate what Riddell (1981b) has argued, that these transformations were gradual since the forces inducing alterations in population mobility preceded formal colonial rule. Also associated with the introduction of colonial rule was the gradual process of capitalist penetration which took place over hundreds of years in divergent forms and at different paces. Some of the ways in which capitalist penetration affected traditional societies included slavery and labour recruitment.

In the case of Ghana, labour recruitment during late nineteenth century and colonial era occurred mostly in northern Ghana⁶⁰. The recruits were sent to the southern part Ghana to work in the mines and on other government projects. Plange (1979a) has classified the labour conscription in northern Ghana into two main stages. The first stage, which according to Plange, took place between the 1870s and the early years of the twentieth century, witnessed the initial penetration and establishment of the colonial apparatus. The second stage, covering the years 1910 - 1946, was marked by the intensification of labour recruitment for the mines, cocoa, public projects and other expatriate businesses. Cordell, Gregory and Piche (1987) have also identified two

⁶⁰ Northern Ghana, as used in this thesis covers the present Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions.

main stages of capitalist labour recruitment. The first was based on forced mobility; and the second, which grew out of the first, was the creation of a reserve army of labour. Within Cordell et al.'s framework therefore, the two phases identified by Plange fall within the forced mobility phase. The creation of the "reserve army" followed later as a result of restructuring of the economy in accordance with the priorities of capitalism which made north-south migration appear natural.

The discussion will proceed along similar lines by identifying the stages of labour recruitment, the strategies adopted, the main agents of recruitment, the resistance and the impact.

5.2.1 Forced Mobility: 1880-1910

The initial demand for labour was mainly for the formation of "carrier corps" for the transportation of equipment, building of roads and bungalows, and other paraphernalia of *Pax Britannica* (Plange, 1979a:656). The quest of the colonial Administration to "open up" the country for the exploitation of exportable resources through the building of the basic infrastructure in the areas endowed with these exportable resources initiated the demand for labour. The construction of railway networks connecting the various mining

centres to the port at Sekondi and to Kumasi between 1898 and 1904 relied mostly on labour from northern part of the country.

Although the railways, roads and the other infrastructure were constructed in the forest and coastal areas, the colonial government found it expedient to "import" labour from northern Ghana. Figures of recruitment are fragmentary, and at times contradictory, but the efforts by Thomas (1973), who relied mostly on colonial records available at Ghana National Archives is quite impressive. He presents a detailed account of the large number of people recruited from various parts of northern Ghana, with some indications of desertion and death rates among the migrants. The colonial administration explained that attempts to recruit labour in the coastal areas yielded next to nothing and the inhabitants of the forest zone also were unwilling to accept unskilled manual jobs and flatly refused to become porters. Faced with such resistance, the Administration found the only alternative to meet the labour demands in northern Ghana (Plange, 1979a:662; Thomas, 1973:84).

This explanation is obfuscatory and tends to hide the economic logic behind the recruitment exercise. Does the argument imply that there was no resistance to labour recruitment in northern Ghana? The literature abounds with examples of resistance to government calls and demand for labour in the northern Ghana (Nabila, 1974; Thomas, 1973; Plange, 1979a; Anafu, 1973; Cleveland, 1991). However the

Colonial Administration reacted differently to the resistance in northern Ghana through the use of brute force. The Government launched a large-scale labour recruitment programme in the North, in which the military played an important role. This programme could not meet the escalating demand for labour partly because the desertion rate was high - itself a manifestation of another way by which the powerless people resisted forced conscription. The Administration resorted to the use of indirect pressure through the local chiefs who were asked to conscript their own subjects, sometimes for head-money. Some of the chiefs did not support the policy and the Administration made sure that those who refused to co-operate in the scheme were severely punished, sometimes by having their offices taken away⁶¹.

The government also lured young men⁶² from northern Ghana to migrate to the cocoa and mining centres in the south. This strategy began in 1906 after a carefully selected group of young men from northern Ghana was taken on a conducted tour of the gold mines where they became highly impressed by the decent and high standards of living enjoyed by the mining employees (Dickson, 1968:690). In addition, there was a region-

⁶¹ Brimah and Goody (1967:62) describe a situation in Salaga where a chief was made to sit in the sun until the required number of men had been achieved.

⁶² Men were often recruited to work in the mines, cocoa farms and other types of construction activities which were seen as "men's work". The male migrants seldom went with their wives.

wide campaign to recruit labour which included an exhibition of 'before' and 'after' pictures of a group of mine workers (Plange,1979a:668) .

The government enacted a compulsory recruitment law known as the Master and Servant Ordinance which was introduced in 1893 for the provision of porters and unskilled labour. Under this law, desertion or refusal to work became a legal offence punishable by fines, commitment to labour gangs or both (Plange,1979a:663) .

5.2.2 Forced Mobility: 1910-1940

The second phase of labour recruitment was marked by intensification of conscriptions. Greenstreet (1972:45) estimated that labour primarily from northern Ghana to the southern mines increased 330 percent during the 1930s. The increase was the result of the high demand for labour created by the increase in the distribution of mining concessions by the government. As a result, between 1912 and 1916, the mining companies were literally competing with the government for labour which had become a scarce resource. The mines therefore recruited in northern Ghana without government assistance. Three developments which intensified the demand for more wage-earners between 1916 and 1919 were:

1. The discovery of manganese deposits in the area geographically close to the Northern Territory.

2. The Administration's recruitment for the Gold Coast Regiment as a result of the outbreak of World War I.

3. The increase in the production of cocoa as a cash crop.

The government became more interested in labour recruitment for mining purposes in 1916 as a result of the discovery of manganese deposits in the colony, a metal which was of considerable importance to the war. During this time, the recruitment was done by political officers, acting through local chiefs. The demand for labour for mining manganese was presented to the people as a patriotic duty resulting in favourable response from some of the chiefs who were interested in seeing Germany defeated. For example, the Dagomba state had been split between British Gold Coast and German Togo and the British promised them of reunion. Consequently the Dagomba chiefs sent a total of 529 men to mine manganese (Thomas, 1973:89-90).

The phenomenal spread and growth of the cocoa industry in the forest zone had (and still has) a tremendous effect on migration in Ghana. Cultivation of cocoa as an export crop opened a new phase in the country's economy. The commercialization of cocoa production replaced the mainly agrarian, subsistence economy which was formerly characteristic. Cash income from cocoa production changed the economic behaviour of the farmers and provided the government with income and foreign exchange. Cocoa farmers and those

involved in its production came to assume a rural capitalist attitude (Hill, 1963). Hill's study demonstrates the extensive use of Northern labour in cocoa-growing areas by the emergent petite bourgeoisie who were often absentee farmers.

The northerners were particularly interested in the cocoa farms due mainly to their acquaintance with farm work, and the different social arrangements of production⁶³. Some Northerners voluntarily found their way into the cocoa farms in order to avoid conscriptions to the mines. Escape to the cocoa farms increased to such a magnitude that the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories reported in 1915 as follows:

Our natives are leaving the country yearly in increasing numbers to find work in Ashanti and the colony, and this is not to be wondered when their services on the cocoa farms are in demand at a higher rate per diem (Plange 1979a:665, citing Ghana National Archives ADM 56/1/84).

The period between 1919 and 1924 saw the most concentrated activity by the government in recruiting labour for its own needs. The Guggisberg ten-year development plan (1919-1929)⁶⁴ designed to transform the economy by extending the railways and road networks, expanding the harbour and providing other facilities, such as schools and hospitals resulted in an increase in labour demanded for manual work.

⁶³ The cocoa farmers paid relatively high wages, and part of the income in the form of a lump sum payment was given to the migrants in advance, thus facilitating the transfer of money back home while the migrant was still new.

⁶⁴ Greenstreet (1964) provides a useful introduction to the Guggisberg period.

Governor Guggisberg estimated that a total of 27,000 labourers would be needed immediately and suggested, among others, organising a special recruiting scheme in northern Ghana (Thomas, 1973:91). Although the government stated that, as far as possible, labour should be drawn from the areas where work was being executed, it was doubtful whether local labour in the form of "communal labour" was adequate for the huge construction works that took place in the forest and coastal areas without labour input from northern Ghana and even outside the country.

From these facts, one can prioritize the options for the labourers recruited with regard to the preferred work. Left to themselves, the men of northern Ghana may not have migrated in such large numbers to the south so as to disintegrate the productive capacity of their own region - not even under the attraction of economic incentives. However, given the pressure and coercion applied to them to migrate by the colonial administration, those who had their own way migrated to the cocoa farms in the south (Hill, 1963). Those who were conscripted and given the option, preferred government work to mine work, especially underground work which the people compared with going to their graves (Thomas, 1973:93).

5.2.3 Reserve Army of Labour

This phase is characterised by the free movement of labour without the coercion of the early conscription. According to Cordell et al., (1987), the initial strategy of forced labour mobility later opened the way for the creation of a reserve army readily available for wage employment without the necessity of institutionalized force. The reserve army is created through the progressive erosion of the autonomy of pre-capitalist logic of development (Dupre, cited in Cordell et al., 1987). During this stage, institutionally induced mobility is no longer necessary, precisely because it has been replaced by structurally induced mobility. In the case of Ghana, the general underdevelopment in northern Ghana and the growth of large urban centres in southern Ghana which resulted from mining and cocoa activities, development of road and rail transport and the provision of general infrastructure resulted in continued migration from the north to the south without the use of force to recruit labour.

The beginning of modern gold mining was responsible for the rapid development of many villages in Western, Ashanti and Eastern regions into towns. In certain cases, new settlements emerged which were, for all intents and purposes, the creation of gold mining⁶⁵. Although cocoa cultivation did not necessarily lead to the growth of towns, its demand for labour led to the emergence of smaller settlements and the opening up

⁶⁵ Examples of such settlements include Nsuta and Bondai. Darko (1963) discusses the effects of modern mining on urban growth. Also see Dickson, (1969:249-252).

of the forest region. Also the wealth accumulated by farmers was invested mostly in the southern regions. The siphoning of able-bodied men from northern Ghana stifled the growth of important urban centres in the area. The growth of these towns was an important change for the country; for it was precisely in these areas where most of the development projects took place and where migrants later flooded in to take advantage of new economic openings.

The development of road and rail transportation in Ghana was also a catalyst for increased migration by reducing travel time and cost, and closely knitting together peoples and areas which were formerly isolated from one another. The development of transportation provided the needed impetus for the expansion of cocoa farming, timber and mining. The transportation network was initially built through areas of relatively high or potentially high economic opportunities (which included most parts of the forest regions where cash crops such as cocoa and timber, and mining activity had begun to develop) thus linking them to the ports at the coast. By 1911 most of the important roads in southern Ghana had already been constructed. In addition, between 1912 and 1936, the government initiated an extensive program of road building in southern Ghana, including Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions which further improved road transport in the area. According to a colonial document, by 1926 there were about 7,617 total kilometres of roads in Ghana of which 5,525 kilometres had

been constructed since 1920 mostly in the Eastern Province and the Southern Ashanti region (Kay, 1972). The construction of railway lines which also began in 1898, had by 1903, linked all the mining centres and Kumasi, its northern-most limit. (Dickson, 1969).

In the case of northern Ghana, it was not until 1904⁶⁶ that the British administration saw the need for development of transportation networks. By 1912 the distribution of the transport facilities left too many areas isolated, and the 1912 - 1936 road rehabilitation program did very little to change the situation (Dickson, 1969). The development of major roads in northern Ghana around the late 1920s made the southward migration of labour easier.

In addition to removing some traditional restraints on migration and imposing new ones, colonial administration created new pressures in favour of migration, both direct and indirect. One such pressure that is often overlooked is the educational system which stimulated rural-urban migration on a more permanent basis. The introduction of taxation in northern Ghana also induced the young men to migrate to the mines to work for money. Unlike the French in other West African colonies, the British in Ghana did not impose a head tax until 1936.

⁶⁶ The British established their rule throughout northern Ghana after agreeing on common frontier with German Togoland in 1902 and with the northern Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso in 1904.

Apart from these factors, high population on a limited land resource base in some parts of northern Ghana helped to sustain southward migration. For instance, Hunter (1967) found the problem of overcrowding to be most acute in the Nangodi traditional area (located in northern Ghana) where densities ranged from 2,500 to 3,200 persons per square kilometre. In a similar way, Nabila (1975) has argued that Frafra and the neighbouring areas (also in northern Ghana) had high densities resulting in serious land shortages, with concomitant problems of soil erosion and periodic hunger. By 1930, the average land cultivated per person was found to be about 1 hectare in the more densely populated areas and 2 hectares in the more sparsely populated areas (Lynn, 1937 cited in Nabila, 1975:75).

In sum, as societies in Ghana changed under the impact of European institutions and values, migration, which formerly had been imposed upon them, has become an important part of their own socio-cultural systems. This socio-economic transformation, coupled with an increase in population pressure in some parts of northern Ghana regulated the direction and increased the magnitude of migration. Colonial administration removed some restraints on migration and created new pressures on the people to migrate. Today, Ghana is free from European rule, but migration continues. While people from northern Ghana were initially forced to migrate to work in southern Ghana, they later migrated voluntarily

because only by so doing can they satisfy many of the new needs (such as imported cloths) that they have acquired over the years.

5.2.4 The Politics of North-South Migration

Evidence presented so far indicates that labour in northern Ghana was compelled in many circumstances by direct and indirect mechanisms to migrate to the south. Thus, the British used force in their early labour conscription efforts in the northern Ghana, without which the people may not have migrated in such numbers. For a fuller understanding of the logic of labour recruitment in northern Ghana, it is important to ask why, despite resistance in northern Ghana, the colonial Government went ahead with its conscription efforts in the area. For all intents and purposes, labour from the north could not have been the cheapest labour available in the country at the time; neither was it the only alternative.

Three reasons support this view. Foremost, the distance between the labour source and the work site was long, making it difficult and expensive to bring the workers to the south, resulting in a high death rates en route. Secondly, the northerners were not used to the weather and the food in their new environment, and also since they lost contact with their families, the desertion rate was extremely high. Finally, although the British fought with some of the kingdoms in the

south, if equal force was later employed in the coastal and the forest regions, the Administration would have succeeded in labour recruitment in those areas. Given these reasons, it is obvious that the best option open to the colonial administration was labour from the south and coastal regions, and not from the north as the administration argued.

The key to understanding this seemingly irrational choice is contained in the Administration's objective for the colony, that is to integrate the colonial economy into the metropolitan economy of the United Kingdom⁶⁷. The administration saw northern Ghana as "poor and possessing no resources" (Bourret, 1960) and to this Yakuba-Saaka (cited in Plange, 1979:6) added that the "only resources in the region was its manpower" (human labour power). Ladouceur (quoted in Plange, 1979b:6) concluded that, the colonial government was concerned "with the exploitation of the region's sole resource - its manpower". Thus by its inclusion in the world economy, the available resources (labour) in northern Ghana had to be exploited. Plange (1979b) calls such an explanation and justification for labour conscription a "naturalistic fallacy" and argued for the distinction between natural and colonial resources. He saw the latter as only a subset of the former, in that a given colonial power, on the basis of its own economic and trading priorities, decides to exploit

⁶⁷ Refer to Chapter 3 on the colonial development objective of the British Administration.

certain items.

Thus, it is erroneous to argue that the savanna ecology of northern Ghana had no natural resources. The crux of the matter is that the resources in the area which the people have been exploiting for centuries were of trivial importance to colonial interests. It was of little wonder that labour was not recruited from southern Ghana which had abundant resources in the form of rubber, palm oil and cocoa which the colonial power desired. Since these were produced by the local people of the south themselves, large-scale labour recruitment would have affected production levels, against the interest of the colonial administration. On the other hand, cattle and other food crops produced in the north were disregarded by the Administration which had nothing to lose by their disintegration.

Due to the interest in recruiting labour from the north, avenues through which the savanna ecology could have been put into better use were not explored and even those that existed were discouraged. For instance, Dickson (1968) argues that after a successful introduction of cotton production in the north, it had to be abandoned partly because its cultivation conflicted with the demand for labour in the south. The savanna environment is suitable for the cultivation of shea butter and groundnuts which were never encouraged as commercial crops. Clearly, therefore, the position of northern Ghana as a zone of out migration or labour reservoir could be

justified in terms of lack of colonial resources but not natural resources.

An extension of the naturalistic fallacy is the "intellectual incapacity" argument⁶⁸ which has been made in relation to Northerners' ignorance of, and their inability to, use whatever resources were available for their advancement. Such views were not merely academic assertions, but were strongly supported by the colonial administration and had a tremendous impact on development of infrastructure and labour conscription. The perspective toward the Northerners is summed up in the Report of the Northern Territory of the Gold Coast, 1937-38:

They [The Northerners] were regarded as an amiable but backward people, useful as soldiers, policemen and labourers in the mines and cocoa farms; in short, fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for their brothers in the colony of Ashanti (cited in Hymer 1971:162-163).

The inadequacy of this explanation and ideological biases of argument has been discussed extensively in the literature (Plange, 1979b). Here, the concern is with the implications of such thinking on labour conscription, - the type of jobs northerners were required to do and the general development of northern Ghana. This argument indirectly justifies their exploitation as unskilled labour. It explains why, despite the

⁶⁸ See Bourret (1960) for the details of this argument. She argues that the Northerners lacked intellectual capacity and thus took no interest in commercial possibilities which could have helped developed their region but rather preferred to maintain their primitive habits.

resistance, the administration pursued its recruitment efforts. It justifies their employment in the low paid jobs as casual labours in the mines and in construction work. It also explains why the region was deliberately ignored in the distribution of infrastructure, especially schools, by the same administration. But beyond the immediate interest of the administration, such attitudes incited and reinforced ethnic antagonism in Ghana, by creating the perception of superiority in some ethnic groups and inferiority in others (Boakye-Yiadom, 1991).

5.2.5 Northern Ghana's Underdevelopment: The Role of Migration

It is probably important here to discuss the relationship between migration from Northern Ghana during the colonial period and the region's underdevelopment. Using a cost-benefit approach, migration has been found to have positive impacts on the sending areas in many societies through remittances and innovation by returned migrants⁶⁹. Nabila (1972) argued that overpopulation on a limited land resource base in Northern Ghana made it advantageous for the people to migrate. He argues further that "with such a situation, out migration provided an escape-valve from the stringent survival system"

⁶⁹ See for example Adepoju (1986) and Gwebu (1987).

(Nabila, 1975:75)

For others like Berg, the seasonal nature of migration which alternates with the slack and busy seasons between northern Ghana and southern Ghana makes north-south migration appear as a "natural adaptation" (Berg, 1965:164). These interpretations, though laudable⁷⁰, should not blind us to ignore other realities of the situation. The conditions under which the North-South migration took place limited any potential advantage that the process could have brought to the region. In this connection, the huge number of people involved, the age and gender selectivity and the low wages paid to the labourers is crucial in assessing the role of migration in the region's development.

Through the process of migration, many young able-bodied men were siphoned out of the region. This process soon affected not only the demographic balance of certain areas, but also the social division of labour, with attendant changes in the roles of men and women in production. Communities gradually were depopulated, leading to diminishing returns. The absence of large numbers of men from the area seriously affected the sex ratio. Hilton (1968) has estimated that in 1931, there were 95 males to 100 females within the active productive age range of 15-45, but in 1948, the ratio was 89 males per 100 females and by 1960 it had dropped further to

⁷⁰ Amin (1974:98-110) has discussed in detail, the limitations of such a cost-benefit approach in assessing the effects of migration.

75. The high sex ratios in the 1948 and earlier censuses has been attributed to the migration of men to northern Ghana from the French-ruled territory of what is now Burkina Faso to the north of Ghana to escape the head tax and harsher conditions of forced labour (Cleveland,1991).

The contribution of remittances by migrants to the development of the area has been questioned elsewhere (Cleveland,1991). If one considers the low wages that the migrants received and the fact that they were responsible for their own upkeep, the contribution becomes more dubious. The low wages paid to the mine labourers appear to be a deliberate policy to prevent the functioning of the economic laws of demand and supply of labour. The scarcity of labour did not result in increased wages as contained in the orthodox laws of demand and supply; rather it led to increased use of force in recruitment. Although the colonial administration tried numerous ways to coerce labour to migrate, it never considered wage increase as an option until the 1940s (Plange,1979a).

The policy to keep wages down was justified by the "backward-sloping labour supply function" (Berg,1961:469). This theory argues that because of the limited horizons of indigenous population, the supply of labour was highly inelastic and probably negatively, rather than positively, sloping. An outward shift of demand could therefore cause both a rise in wages and a decline in the amount of labour available. Put differently, if the migrants were well paid,

5.3 RESULTS OF THE SPATIAL INTERACTION MODEL

This section is based primarily on data from the most recent Ghana population census conducted in March 1984. The results therefore describe the situation in the country before the adoption of the economic reform policy. The dependent variable used in the spatial interaction model is rate of net migration, thus net in-migration regions have positive rates while net out-migration regions have negative rates. The independent variables include distance (D_i), rural population density (R_i), urbanization (U_i), education (E_i), employment in agriculture (J_i), cassava production (G_i) and cocoa production (Y_i). It is expected that proximity to the coast will deter migration, therefore a negative coefficient is expected of this variable. Also regions with higher levels of urbanization are expected to attract migrants. Although education was recognised as an important determinant of migration, the direction of the effect could not be stated "a priori". Similarly, it was not possible to state "a priori" the directions of the effects of rural population density, employment in agriculture and agricultural production on migration.

Table 5.1 shows the zero order correlation coefficient between the independent variables after they have been standardized by log transformation. There are a few problems of multicollinearity among the independent variables as indicated by the table. Employment in agriculture seems to be correlated with both rural population density and urbanization. In the same vein, rural population density and urbanisation, and education and distance show some correlation.

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Table 5.1: ZERO ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF COEFFICIENTS

	log Di	log Ri	log Ui	log Ei	log Ji	log Yi	log Gi
log Di	1.0000						
log Ri	0.2908	1.0000					
log Ui	0.3636	0.8308	1.0000				
log Ei	0.6727	0.0689	0.1256	1.0000			
log Ji	-0.1234	0.6274	0.7116	0.1955	1.0000		
log Yi	-0.5440	-0.3998	-0.4602	-0.8880	-0.5742	1.0000	
log Gi	-0.1853	-0.4291	-0.5784	0.2078	-0.2991	-0.0874	1.0000

Linear and linear-log transformations were considered¹¹. The linear-log functions fit the data best and are here reported; the models have been estimated by ordinary least squares regression. In table 5.2 the multiple regression coefficients and t-ratios are presented. According to regression 1 in the table, about 87 percent of the variation in the interregional migration rates is "explained" by the independent variables. Measures of rural population density, employment in agriculture and cocoa production are significant at 90 percent level of confidence, while urbanisation, education and food crop production are significant at 80 percent level of confidence. The distance measure is not significant. Urbanization and distance measures did not have

¹¹ Since the dependent variable has some negative rates, log functions were not applied to it.

the expected sign of the coefficient.

TABLE 5.2: LOGARITHMIC REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND T-RATIOS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	COEFFICIENTS AND T-RATIOS			
	1	2	3	4
log Di	0.0057 (0.0590)		0.0447 (0.7037)	
log Ri	-0.1824 (-1.8393)*	-0.1841 (-2.3743)*	-0.1783 (-2.0329)*	-0.1988 (-2.5690)*
log Ui	-0.3006 (-1.3276)	-0.3055 (-1.7721)	-0.2836 (-1.4239)	-0.3369 (-1.9566)
log Ei	-0.1941 (-0.5985)	-0.2070 (-1.0555)		
log Ji	-0.9400 (-2.4482)*	0.3114 (-3.0099)*	-0.8951 (-2.6810)*	-0.8126 (-2.7809)*
log Yi	0.0533 (1.3555)	0.0546 (2.0236)*	0.0324 (2.0211)*	0.0306 (2.069)*
log Gi	0.0314 (0.7330)	0.0319 (0.9263)	0.0367 (0.9886)	0.0485 (1.5622)
R ²	0.8730	0.8728	0.8503	0.8256
Constant	5.7414	5.8183	4.6835	4.7798

NOTE: T-Values in brackets.

* Indicates that the estimate are significantly different from zero at 90 percent level of confidence.

Distance from the coast plays a trivial role in interregional migration, thus it is not a barrier for in- or out-migration. The removal of the distance variable from equation 3 and 4 did not produce any significant changes in the R². Distance emerged as a strong deterrent to interregional migration in a study in Ghana using 1960 data (Beals, et al., 1967). Two reasons explain the reduced role of distance in the present study. First, the distance measure in Beals' study was between the capital cities of region of birth

and region of enumeration, while the present study used the distance from the coast. Secondly, Beals' study was conducted at a time when north-south migration was dominant. The current pattern of interregional migration, which is directed not only to some coastal regions but also to some of the interior regions, has reduced the importance of distance as a measure of transfer costs and other omitted variables.

The impact of the education variable also did not emerge clearly from the study. The negative sign of the coefficient supports Beals' findings that if more people were educated, all other things being equal, there would be less interregional migration. However, the removal of this variable in regression 3 and 4 showed only a slight drop in the R^2 . This observation lends support to the claim that the overall effect of the education variable in spatial interaction models at the aggregate level is negligible (Masser and Gould, 1975).

The negative sign of the coefficient of the urbanization variable contradicts most of the earlier findings, all of which had positive coefficients (Beals, et al., 1967; Masser and Gould, 1975; Wogugu, 1987). The negative coefficient means that interregional migrations is not directed to the most urbanised regions. This seems to confirm an earlier point that the role of migration in urban growth in Ghana is minimal⁷². One can therefore argue that most of the migrants in Ghana are

⁷² See section 4.4.6.

farmers moving to rural areas for agricultural purposes.

Agricultural prospects are important in the migrants' decision-making process. Generally, migrants ignore areas with higher competition for agricultural resources but are attracted to areas of high agricultural potential. Rural areas with high population densities are ignored by the migrants. According to the results of the regression, a one per cent increase in rural density deters migration by 0.18 per cent, holding all other factors constant. Similarly, migrants are not generally attracted to areas where there is already a large number of people employed in agriculture. The results of the regression suggest that for every one per cent increase in employment in agriculture, *ceteris paribus*, there will be a drop in the migration rate of about 0.8 per cent.

On the other hand, regions with higher agricultural production levels (especially in cocoa production) have higher proportions of migrants. Interpretation of this finding requires a clear distinction between cause and the effect. Often it is the migrants who increase agricultural production in such regions. Thus, the movement of migrants into regions has led to increased cocoa production.

The results of rural population density supports Benneh's claim that migrants in search of virgin land for cocoa production usually move to less dense rural areas⁷³. A similar study in the Brong Ahafo region indicated that migrants

⁷³ Refer to section 2.5.8 of this thesis.

usually move to sparsely populated areas to find vacant land (Owusu,1990). These findings do not necessarily contradict Boserup's assertion that high density areas may not repel migrants (Boserup,1965). The point made by Boserup will be applicable under situations where there is no vacant land easily accessible to farmers. So far, as land shortage in Ghana has not reached a level which will compel farmers to adopt more intensive production methods (especially for cocoa), farmers will continue to search for vacant land suitable for cocoa production in less densely populated areas.

In sum, the results of this analysis give more weight to the importance of agricultural consideration in migrants' decision-making process. Distance from the coast is not important in interregional migration, while education plays virtually no role in migrants' decision-making. The results of the education variable is counter-intuitive. Education definitely plays an important role in migration; however, such an impact could better be felt in rural-urban migration than in interregional migration. Urban centres do not necessarily attract migrants, thus putting into question the applicability of the so called "bright lights" hypothesis⁷⁴ in Ghana. Perhaps economic opportunities would have played an important role in the model; however the paucity of data did not permit the inclusion of such variables. This notwithstanding, the

⁷⁴ See Findley, (1987) for details of the "bright lights theory".

findings reflect the emerging reality in Ghana with regard to migration.

5.4 CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION: A CONTINUITY OR DISCONTINUITY ?

The purpose of this section is to examine the differences and similarities between colonial and post independence migration, paying particular attention to the reasons for the changes. Changes in some of the characteristics of migrants over the period have already been identified. The increasing importance of women in both intra- and inter-regional migration as opposed to the male-dominated migration in the colonial era has already been noted⁷⁵. Also the importance of rural areas as migrant destination areas in contemporary times represents a departure from the colonial pattern. What remains to be done here is the identification of changes relating to the status of regions, that is, either as in- or out-migration areas, and the reasons for such changes. Some of the questions raised in the preceding chapter will be addressed here.

As already indicated, the colonial pattern of migration had generally been from north to south. Among the southern regions, Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Greater Accra regions were net in-migration regions. However, the examination of migration trends between 1960 and 1984 showed some changes in the status of certain regions. These changes will be treated

⁷⁵ See section 4.4.5 of this thesis

as special cases for in-depth analysis of the factors explaining such changes and the overall implications.

5.4.1 Brong Ahafo Region:

This region has been the only agricultural region in Ghana that has persistently received migrants since the 1930s⁷⁶. The region forms part of the ecotone between the forest in the south and savanna in the north. It therefore has a unique characteristic of producing both "northern" and "southern" crops, giving it an advantage in the production of a wide range of both industrial and food crops. This advantage explains why the region has continued to attract migrants over such a long period of time.

During the 1960s and early 1970s there were vast stretches of virgin forests in the south western parts of the region. Consequently, farmers from other cocoa-growing regions and farm labourers from northern Ghana were attracted to cocoa producing areas of the region (Hill, 1972; Owusu, 1990). Zachariah and Nair (1980:106) have estimated that out of the 84,919 net lifetime migrants in Brong Ahafo region in 1960, 40.9 per cent were from Northern Ghana and 27.7 per cent were from Ashanti Region. About 12.8 per cent of them were from

⁷⁶ The region was part of Ashanti Region until 1959 when it was created as part of Nkrumah's policy of decentralization. Others created include Gt. Accra, Central and Upper regions.

Eastern Region. As the virgin forests in the region became depleted in the late 1970s and 1980s, coupled with unattractive prices for cocoa and lack of incentives for the cultivation of the crop, food production became the main economic activity in the region. The destination of migrants this time was to the sparse guinea savanna parts of the region where vacant land suitable for maize cultivation was abundant (Owusu, 1990). Thus, although the region as a whole is classified as an in-migration region, movements have been shifting from one ecological zone to the other.

5.4.2 Ashanti Region:

This region which lies in the forest zone forms part of the industrial core with fairly well-developed infrastructure. Kumasi, the regional capital, is a commercial centre and is the second largest city in Ghana. One of the mining towns of the region, Obuasi, is the sixth largest (Nabila, nd:4). The main economic activities of the region include food crop production, cocoa, logging and mining. The region has been the leading cocoa producer until 1983 when that position was lost to Western Region. The petite bourgeoisie cocoa farmers were mostly located in this region. Labour productivity in cocoa production in the region (which at the time included Brong Ahafo) as far as 1960 was estimated to be nearly twice as high as in the Western Region (Killick, 1966:244).

The region has long been recognised as an in-migration region until 1984 when it became an out-migration region. Colonial migration of northerners and other cocoa farmers from Eastern and Western regions were all directed to the region. For instance, out of 96,563 net lifetime migrants in Ashanti Region in 1960, 61.7 per cent and 32 per cent were from Northern Ghana and Eastern regions respectively (Zachariah and Nair 1980:105).

One is therefore faced with a situation where a core region is losing population through migration possibly to other more peripheral regions. The situation can be explained with reference to the practice of cocoa cultivation in Ghana. The spread of swollen shoot disease in 1879 in Eastern Region where cocoa was first introduced led to the migration of cocoa farmers in search of new suitable land. This situation initiated the migration of farmers into Ashanti region where there was suitable vacant land. As a result, a new frontier was created in Ashanti Region and migrant cocoa farmers from Eastern region and farm labourers from Northern Ghana were all attracted to the region. However, as the land became depleted, farmers started looking elsewhere for new forest. It is interesting to note that the region lost both its position as the leading producer of cocoa and its status as an in-migration region roughly around the same time period.

5.4.3 Western Region:

The Western region is part of the forest belt where most of the exportable natural wealth of the country, both agricultural and mineral, are located. Although the capital of the region, Sekondi-Takoradi, forms part of the core, large stretches of the region still remain underdeveloped. The main economic activities include logging-related enterprises, agricultural production and mining.

Before 1970 the region was experiencing an increasing rate of out-migration (table 4.6), losing population to Ashanti, Gt.Accra and Brong Ahafo regions. However as indicated in the previous chapter, the region became a net in-migration region in 1984. Table 4.2 also indicates that between 1970 and 1984, the percentage of the population living in urban centres decreased from 27.6 to 22.8 per cent. Further, there were two local council areas in the Region (Dompin with population of 57,591 and Juabeso-Bia with a population of 129,101) which recorded impressive growth during the 1970/84 intercensal period; however they did not have any urban settlements⁷⁷. In addition, parts of the region are about 120 kilometres from the nearest urban settlement with no access road (Aryeetey, 1989:23). The picture that emerges is one of increasing numbers of rural settlements springing up in

⁷⁷ Juabeso Bia Local Council area recorded the second highest percentage increase in population (140.3 per cent) in the country, followed by Aowin Local Council area with an increase of 131.4 percent.

the region.

Western Region's cocoa production has been increasing since 1970s, becoming the leading producer in the 1984\85 farming season, the year which marked the beginning of the recovery of the country's cocoa production as a result of the price incentives (appendix 2). I believe that the Western Region could have been the leading cocoa producing region in the country but for the massive amount of the products which were exported to neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire⁷⁸ prior to the introduction of price incentives which partly accounted for the increased cocoa production.

One can conclude that between 1970 and 1984, Western Region became a net in-migration region with many of the migrants settling in the villages rather than urban centres. The migrants were generally involved in cocoa production. Consequently cocoa output from the region increased tremendously. However, this new cocoa frontier represents the last strip of the closed-forest zone. The availability of suitable land and the price incentive of the government was mainly responsible for the attraction of migrant farmers; this process has led to the emergence of many farming

⁷⁸ Western Region shares a common boundary with Cote d'Ivoire and some of the farms are within walking distance from the Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire border. Thus, smuggling was more likely to take place in this region than in other cocoa producing regions further away from the border.

settlements⁷⁹. A much more vivid picture would emerge from a detailed study which considers the origin and the occupations of the migrants into the region. A case study by Addae Mensah (1987) on cocoa migrants in the Wassa-Amenfi District of Western is quite educative. It shows that most of the migrants came from the old cocoa producing regions of Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Eastern regions.

The increased migration to the Western Region has created problems of land shortage. Already individual and groups of farmers have begun to infiltrate legally reserved forests. Such practices compelled the government to appoint a fact finding survey team in June 1990, to assess the extent of illegal forest encroachment by farmers (West Africa June 11-17, 1990). The team's report led to the ejection of farmers and the destruction of cocoa plantations in order to reclaim about 13.6 square kilometres of forest reserve encroached upon and devastated by over two thousand farmers in the Bibiani district of the Western region (People's Daily Graphic, August 20, 1990).

⁷⁹ The proximity of the region to Cote d'Ivoire means that the farmers can guarantee their income through smuggling to Cote d'Ivoire where they can obtain higher prices.

5.4.4 Northern Region:

The Northern Region is part of Ghana's savanna and forms part of the old periphery. Food crop production is the main economic activity in the region. Prior to 1984, this region together with the other regions that formed northern Ghana was tied to the southern export economy mainly by its supply of labourers to the towns and the cocoa producing areas. However, a major reversal has occurred in contemporary times with Northern Region now attracting migrants.

Further analysis of the demographics of the region indicates that the highest percentage increase in population between 1970 and 1984 in the country occurred in the region (Table 4.1). Further, the urban proportion of the population increased from 21.2 to 24.7 between 1970 and 1984 (Table 4.2). Tamale, the regional capital, experienced a growth rate of 63 per cent between 1970 and 1984 which is higher than the regional average. The growth in urban population was not limited to Tamale. Five of the region's seven urban settlements had growth rates far in excess of the regional average (Ghana Statistical Services, 1986). In addition, eight settlements in the region "graduated" to urban status in 1984.

If the evidence presented above is compared with the information in table 4.9, which itself indicates that 5.5 and 3 per cent of the region's inter-regional migrants were in rural and urban areas respectively, then the destination of the migrants remains inconclusive. However there is a greater

inclination toward urban centres as migrant destinations. It needs to be emphasised that the urban destination of the migrants could not have been to the regional capital alone, but also to the other urban centres in the region as has been argued above.

The situation in the Northern Region is, therefore, one in which a former out-migration region has become a net in-migration region. Further analysis may be needed to identify the part played by the natural increase⁸⁰ and the possible effects of under-enumeration in the previous census before definitive claims can be made. Despite these reservations, the attraction of Northern Region to migrants as a result of new developments cannot be ignored.

Clearly, the emergence of cash and food cropping in the region has considerably slowed down out migration from the region. Table 3.5 shows that with the exception of cassava, the Northern Region produced more than its consumption needs of all the selected food crops. As argued earlier, the food crops are in fact cash crops precisely because some of the products are exported to neighbouring countries. Rice and maize cultivation are of importance here because of the

⁸⁰ Although the 1988 Demographic and Health Survey indicated that Northern Ghana had the highest total fertility rate (6.80), it was not very different from the national average (6.43). In fact, for the mean number of children ever born to women aged 40-49, the figure for the region (6.88) was lower than the national average of 6.92 (Ghana Statistical Services, 1989). This evidence does indicate that natural increase may not have greatly distorted the current findings.

massive scale of the farms and the relatively higher prices for maize and rice especially during off-season periods.

The dispersed urban growth of the region's population is consistent with the practice of rice and maize farming in the region. The size of the farms and the modest level of modernisation require the existence of a service centre and the availability of other equipment which may be rented by the farmers, thus the farmers may reside in an urban centre and commute to the farm. In addition, despite a minimal level of mechanisation of the farm, labour requirements are immense (Bequele, 1983) and this could attract migrants to the region.

Another activity which is likely to retain and attract people to the region is the shea-nut industry. The export-value of this crop has been recognised by the government; consequently it is actively promoting this crop in production and marketing. The Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board is in-charge of the buying the products from growers and gatherers who are guaranteed reasonable prices.

Also in recent years some of the urban centres in the region have had increased infrastructural development making the region more attractive to migrants. The expanded administrative functions of Tamale as a result of increased activities by government and other foreign non-governmental organisations attract people to the region.

In sum, new opportunities which emerged in Northern Ghana as a result of higher prices of food crops during the early

1980s and the interest in the shea-nut industry, combined with the expanded administrative functions are the main attractions. The migrants may have come from the Upper East and Upper West Regions which are closer to Northern Region, but which have less favourable environmental conditions for food crop production.

5.5 MIGRATION IN THE ERA OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

The discussion of migration and development in Ghana needs to be updated in view of the country's massive economic reforms currently taking place, the impact of which has been discussed earlier⁸¹. SAP has been examined extensively in the literature on development in Africa; yet its links with migration have remained fertile but unexplored ground. The importance of such studies cannot be over-emphasised if we consider the fact that SAP has replaced national development planning in as many as 36 African countries (Young and Loxley, 1990). The pervasive nature and differential impact of SAP policies give an indication of the possible effects on the direction of migration and the type of people likely to be involved because of differential effects.

As already indicated, Ghana adopted SAP in 1983, a year before the most current census was taken, consequently the

⁸¹ See chapter 3.

effects of the policies are not likely to be reflected in the data. Recent data from field work would have been more suitable for such a study, but unfortunately such data are simply not available. We are therefore compelled to look at some rather sketchy data and, on this basis, draw some tentative conclusions.

Ghana's SAP has focused mainly on the management of the external sector imbalance, increasing exports, and controlling government expenditure. The policy is basically export-oriented, emphasising the production of cocoa, exploitation of mineral and timber for export. One important shortcoming of the policy is the neglect of food production⁸². For the purpose of understanding the relations between SAP and migration in Ghana, emphasis will be placed on agriculture and the informal sectors' response, in terms of population movement, to SAP policies. This does not imply that SAP could influence migration only through these sectors; rather, it indicates that these activities are crucial in Ghana's case. The influence of the other sectors which are priorities of SAP (mining and logging) are not likely to be felt in the locality in terms of labour requirements. The required inputs are basically technology and capital, and not labour.

The increasing volume of cocoa production and neglect of food production are some indications of transformations taking

⁸² The impact of SAP on cocoa and food production has already been discussed in chapter three.

place among the farmers. Similarly the retrenchment of government workers and the persistent erosion of the subsistence bases of many households also create avenues for the vibrant operation of the informal sector activities. In what follows, attempts will be made to show the possible response of population mobility to agriculture policies and expansion of the informal sector.

5.5.1 Cocoa and Food Crop Production

In chapter three, the place of cocoa and food crop production within Ghana's adjustment policies was outlined, the expected labour response through migration will be the subject here. As a result of the price incentives given to the cocoa sector, there has been increased cocoa output. In addition to the favourable weather, the short run response to the policy in the form of increased output may be the result of redirection to the official channels of previously smuggled cocoa.

Also the efforts at maintaining and replanting old cocoa farms, especially those burnt during the bush fires of 1983, has led to increased production. Thus the demand for labour in the short run may be less severe and not likely to increase migration to the forest region. However, it may be reasonable to assume that the incentives are encouraging the cultivation

of new cocoa farms in order to guarantee long term increases in output. It is in this latter context that the role of migrant cocoa farmers becomes crucial. This option depends on the availability of virgin forest suitable for cocoa cultivation. Some background information is essential for a clear understanding of the relationship between migration and cocoa production.

The history of cocoa cultivation in Ghana, since it was introduced into the Eastern Region in 1879, indicates that cocoa growing zones have been shifting from one region to another. Cocoa cultivation started in the Eastern Region, then it moved to Ashanti and parts of Brong Ahafo and Volta regions. Western Region is the current focal point. These shifts have always coincided with migration; new agricultural frontiers become destinations of migrants. The migrant farmers search for virgin land to grow cocoa has currently reached the frontiers of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire, that is the western end of the closed forest zone of Ghana (Addae-Mensah, 1987). At the moment there is virtually no virgin forest; rather the reserved forest are being encroached upon.

This is the basis for the speculation that increasing cocoa production will attract migrants from other regions to the rural areas of Western Region which has the last stretch of land suitable for cocoa cultivation. Despite the shift by enterprising farmers to take advantage of price incentives, the depleting forest land poses serious threat to the

sustainability of cocoa-led development.

The neglect of food production may likely reverse the increasing urban-rural migration trends of the last two decades. Current food prices may not provide the needed impetus, as was the case in the pre-adjustment era (Bequele, 1983). Rather, the decline in terms of trade against food producers and the increased need for money to pay for the other services which were hitherto free may compel people to look for other sources of income in the urban centres; it is to these additional sources of income that we now turn.

5.5.2 Informal Activities and Urban Growth

The increasing inability of families to provide adequate livelihood in the era of SAP has resulted in the adoption of diverse survival strategies. Perhaps the most important of them is the mushrooming of activities such as vending, hawking, food preparation, soap-making, small-scale repair activities, and others which have resulted in the phenomenal growth in the informal sector. Although these activities are not new in many parts of Africa, recent expansion of the informal sector has widely been reported as a response to the economic crisis in Africa (Evans, 1989; Green, 1988; Loxley, 1988; Clark and Manu, 1991; Taylor and Mackenzie, 1992). Individuals with or without wage or salaried employment frequently have three or more "jobs". The growth in petty

trading among women and children has been particularly rapid (Mackenzie, 1992). The impact of informal activities on development is beyond the scope of this paper, what will be examined next is how population mobility responds to such activities.

The inability of the formal sector to provide employment for the rapidly expanding population has led to explosive growth in informal activities. In assessing the impact of policy reforms on the urban sector in Africa, Becker, Hamer and Morrison have argued that "major policy reforms.... will narrow or eliminate wage differentials between urban and rural areas" (Becker et al., 1990:22). They further maintain that with the restructuring of production there will be a shift toward labour intensive, urban agro-processing activities and a shift away from import-intensive and capital-intensive outputs. This, they claim, should encourage the growth of jobs in secondary urban centres, whose links with agriculture will increase. Based on this assertion they conclude that

[I]t is thus possible to foresee an economic basis for demographic projection which forecast a continuing growth of the urban sector at rates that exceed natural population growth, despite the decline in real wages experienced by workers (Becker et al., 1990:22).

While the conclusions from the general situation, that is increased urban growth under SAP, may be applicable to the Ghanaian situation, it does so on different premises. Cocoa production has very little, if any, linkage in terms of agro-processing. The restructuring of production towards agro-

processing activities is not likely to be the major attraction to urban centres. The informal sector in Ghana is dominated by petty trading and small scale manufacturing and repairs. Due to the nature of these activities, women are more likely to predominate in the sector. Consequently, rural-urban migration is likely to be an important determinant of urban growth, with females predominating in the stream.

The point made by Clark and Manu (1991) that planners seem to take for granted the ability of the displaced urban population to find minimum subsistence in the informal sector without any additional resources should be taken seriously. It will be naive to assume that the informal sector can provide employment for the potential growth in urban population in the face of the numerous constraints, not the least being falling demand, lack of capital and the general adverse economic conditions (Clark and Manu, 1991).

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 SUMMARY

The study has examined the relationship between migration and regional development in Ghana. Attention was focused on the historical aspects of migration, the development of forces within the country which stimulate migration, and the relationship of migration to other factors that affect the development of the country. These processes were considered crucial to the understanding of the enormous variations between regions with regard to the volume of migration, factors attracting migrants, characteristics of migrants and the development process which accompanies these movements. The main argument is that migration in Ghana has historical roots and it also plays a central role in the development process.

Various approaches and explanations may be used in the analysis of the relationships between migration and development. Chapter two was devoted to the appraisal of migration models relevant to the study. A regression-based spatial interaction model developed along the lines of Beals et al., (1967) and the structural-functionalist approach were identified as suitable for the study. A combination of these two approaches was used to provide a clearer understanding of

the various factors which influence migrants' decision making at macro and the individual levels.

The country's regional development experience, which was the subject of the third chapter provided the basis for the explanation of migration. The study provided evidence that indicated a declining concentration of development indicators for regions further in the interior. It was shown that although inequality in development had characterised the country since pre-colonial times, colonial and post-colonial development policies (including the policies of the present government) greatly modified and entrenched the gap in development. Specifically, the current economic reform program and the decentralization program have not succeeded in eliminating the inequalities. On the contrary, the policies run the risk of exacerbating the existing inequality in development.

With regard to economic activities, the study has also illustrated that regional specialization of production exists, with the forest regions producing the bulk of the country's exports, while the savanna regions produce basically for the domestic market. The pattern of regional development observed was explained with reference to factors operating at the global, continental, national and intra-national levels of spatial resolution. The importance of both external and internal factors in the development pattern means that attempts to solve regional development problems with national

development planning alone may not be effective. Rather, internal and external factors and forces acting on the country's internal development should be addressed to bring about fundamental changes.

The analysis of migration patterns and characteristics of migrants discussed in chapter four highlighted important alterations that have taken place since 1960. The Ashanti Region has, since 1970, changed from being an in-migration region to a region of out-migration. The Northern Region has now become an in-migration region. Similarly, Western Region has been receiving migrants since 1974. The Brong Ahafo and Gt. Accra regions have maintained their positions as in-migration regions. Similarly, Volta, Eastern, Central, Upper East and Upper West regions have remained out-migration regions since colonial times.

Another observation worth mentioning is the declining importance of international migrants in Ghana since 1970. The proportion of the population which were foreign born declined from 8.3 percent in 1960 to 4.1 percent in 1970 and further to only 0.5 percent in 1984. The Aliens Compliance Order of 1969 and the decline in the Ghanaian economy are the main reasons for this significant reduction of the international migrant proportion in the population.

Perhaps a more significant change in the characteristics of migrants as indicated by the 1984 population census is the relatively higher number of women in the migration stream. In

1960, 42 percent of males and 41.2 percent of females were classified as migrants. By 1984, the proportion of male migrants had fallen to 36.1 percent, while that of females was 39.4 percent. The higher female participation rate in the migration stream reflects changes in the economy and society in general which have encouraged women to join the labour market. Another feature of migration in Ghana is the importance of rural areas as both source and destination. The urban centres were found to be declining in importance as migrants' destinations. Lack of employment opportunities in the urban centres has given prominence to agricultural prospects in the decision to migrate.

Chapter five has shown that migration in Ghana is strongly influenced by socio-economic and political changes such as penetration of capitalism, European colonisation and post-independence development strategies. These changes also create and sustain regional disparities in development and thereby perpetuate inter-regional migration. Migration from the northern parts of the country to the south began as a result of colonial policies, which tended to compel people to migrate. Later, there was no need to conscript labour since the people migrated voluntarily - as the result of colonial policies whose objective was not to develop northern Ghana and also the fact that the northerners could satisfy some of their new tastes and lifestyles only by migrating to work in the south. However, the volume of migrants, their age and sex

selectivity and the meagre wages paid to them did not result in significant development in the northern part of the country. Consequently, while migrants from northern Ghana contributed immensely to the development of southern Ghana, the northern part remained underdeveloped. Herein lies the basis of the country's unequal development.

The results of the spatial interaction model also confirmed the conclusion that at the individual levels, migrants are attracted to more developed regions. The model also brought to light the importance of agricultural production (food and cash crops) in determining migrant destinations.

The policies of the country's economic reforms provided the basis for the projection. It is anticipated that more migrants will be directed to the cocoa producing areas as a result of the relatively high price for the crop. However, the lack of virgin forest in the country for cultivation of new cocoa farms means that the forest cannot absorb the potential migrants. The lack of incentives for food production, the increasing cost of living and the cuts in the formal sector activities may push many people to informal activities in the urban centres. As a result of the declining income of food producers which could make the rural areas less attractive, rural-urban migration is likely to increase.

6.2 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The importance of the penetration of peripheral capitalism and the imposition of colonial administration in explaining migration in Ghana was highlighted by the study. However, an exclusive analysis of these factors⁸³ runs the risk of ignoring the importance of the forces associated with present population movements which are captured by the push-pull framework. Although the push-pull framework is an idealization; such a characterisation is necessary in order to appreciate fully the influence of the conditioning forces associated with capitalism and colonialism (Riddell, 1981).

Wood (1982) recognised the shortcomings of the separation of the two approaches and argued that "an understanding of population movements must encompass both the determinants of the parameters of behaviour and the factors that motivate individual actors" (Wood, 1982:312). However, given the different assumptions of neoclassical and structural/functionalist approaches to explaining migration, it is conceptually not possible to combine them into one migration theory, although such an approach could aid our understanding of the subject. Better conceptualization of all these factors should provide the basis for future research on the relationship between migration and development.

⁸³ Amin's (1972) analysis of migration in West Africa is one such example.

Alternative frameworks that integrate individual and structural approaches by shifting the units of analysis to the household have been suggested by some analysts (Wood, 1982; Schmink, 1984; Bossen, 1981). However, the definition of household as a unit of analysis in these frameworks is not clear, and consequently there is no unanimity about its meaning. Also the decision to migrate may not always be a household decision, as assumed in some of these frameworks⁴. Indeed, migration may improve migrants' fortunes, but compromise those of the household and the community in general. It is in this sense that this thesis supports the need for a framework which provides a more holistic approach which potentially identifies the complex interactions between structural changes and human responses in the determination of the patterns of population movement.

The findings of the study challenge some of the widely held generalizations about migration, and especially their applicability to the Ghanaian situation. The expected urban migration in the era of economic reform is quite different, in that a greater percentage of the migrants will flow not into the labour markets, but into the informal economy. Such a scenario questions the models which are based largely on the dynamics of labour markets, such as that of Todaro (1969). In a similar vein, the increased importance of rural areas as

⁴ Wood's (1982) framework views migration as a "sustenance strategy" and implicitly assumes that the decision to migrate is taken by the household.

migrant destinations brings into question the validity of models that are premised on the predominance of rural-urban migration.

Female migration in Ghana will become a theme of considerable interest as the results of this study indicate. However, there is the need to concentrate on females as autonomous migrants and not as merely accompanying or joining their husbands. Also among non-migrants their critical role as non-salaried producers of value, which sustains households reproduction and from which migrant workers are recruited by capital, needs re-examination (Kearney, 1986). Women as migrants have increased because of gender-linked characteristics that give them some advantages over men, especially in the informal sector. In this sense, research must focus on the impact of labour migration on family structure, migration decision making process in the household, the structure and rates of male versus female migration, the extent of and variations in urban-rural migration by age and sex and in relation to the sectors of the economy.

6.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In the country's present economic and financial situation, population redistribution programs such as resettlement schemes and the construction of new townships which require huge financial and high level manpower resources cannot be considered realistic options. Even in situations

where resources were available, resettlement schemes in Ghana have not been very successful (Nabila, 1987). However migration policies, if well monitored and understood, could be an effective tool for population redistribution. It is in this context that the following suggestions are seen as important if Ghana as a whole is to benefit from migration.

An important issue which could be of concern to policy makers is the country's population distribution. Over 20 years ago, population distribution was identified by the Ghana Population Policy as one of the major areas where government attention was necessary⁸⁵. The document listed many strategies which the then government employed to alter migration patterns. These included urban and suburban settlement programs and location of industries outside Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area. These measures were proposed at a time when the main trend of migration in the country was rural-urban. However, evidence from other studies⁸⁶, which are also supported by this thesis, show that urban-rural migration is equally important. There is thus the need for a more comprehensive approach to solving the country's population distribution problems; for, it is not only reflected in urban squalor, it also involves the emergence of many unplanned settlements which lack basic amenities. Such an increased

⁸⁵ See sections 5.21 to 5.27 of the Ghana Population Policy (Government of Ghana, 1969).

⁸⁶ See for example Ewusi, (1977) and Nabila, (1986).

spreading of rural settlements poses a major challenge to planners with regard to the provision of amenities. Resource constraints make such a provision of adequate amenities by government to villages extremely difficult; however it is socially imperative that they should be provided with basic amenities. To solve these problems, it is necessary to plan well in advance before settlements (including farming villages) emerge. Such a policy should be an integral and parcel of a comprehensive rural development package which could regulate rural-urban migration.

Urban centres which have been the major concern of the government for decades are still unprepared by this "moderate" influx of people⁸⁷. It can therefore be expected that the anticipated increase in rural-urban migration in the era of SAP may aggravate the situation. More pragmatic measures in the form of urban renewal programs aimed at expanding the economic base of towns to enable them to absorb the influx of migrants are necessary to address the problem. In addition, the policies should aim at making jobs more labour intensive and at improving infrastructure in towns. Such urban development policies should be implemented simultaneously with rural development policies in order not to exacerbate rural-urban migration

⁸⁷ For example the Executive Chairman of the Accra City Council said in interview that "the rapid influx of population into Accra easily put out of gear any careful planning" (Population Impact Project, 1988:19).

The role of migrants in agricultural production in general, and cocoa production in particular, cannot be overemphasised. The observation that the lack of virgin forest may limit farmers' ability to increase cocoa production indefinitely raises a very fundamental question about the country's overdependence on cocoa. The long term implications of cocoa as the main export of Ghana have been discussed mainly within the context of demand and supply in the international market, while the capacity of domestic production to increase in response to producer price increases is taken for granted. Current land shortages which have compelled some farmers to infiltrate forest reserves illegally, call for re-evaluation of the ability of farmers to increase production. The current practice, under which after the lifespan of the cocoa trees the farms are used for cultivation of other crops, while cocoa farms are cultivated only on new plots, should be discouraged if Ghana is to regain its position as the world's leading producer of cocoa. The possibility of prolonging the lifespan of cocoa trees and the ability to cultivate new cocoa trees on an old plot are areas in which more research and farmer education is important. Also, the need to diversify exports by exploring other non-traditional export commodities, especially in the savanna region could reduce the country's dependence on cocoa and help redirect migration from the forest to the savanna regions. In this respect, the attempt by the government to encourage

sheanut export is a step in the right direction. However, there is more to be done in that area in order to affect migration patterns significantly.

Before the above suggestions can be effectively implemented however, the influence of both external and internal factors on national development needs to be examined. While implementation of domestic policies with the aim of promoting national development is necessary, efforts should be made to reduce the negative influence of external factors on internal development of the country.

Further research is necessary to shed more light on some of the findings of this study so as to aid regional policies. For example, the discovery that the Northern Region has now become an in-migration region needs further research in order to fully explain the "migration turnaround". A major research project in the region is required to identify the origin of migrants, their occupations, the main attractions, age, sex and residence in the region (urban or rural); this information is necessary for planning in the region. Similarly, there is a need to explore further the old cocoa frontiers of Ashanti and Eastern regions to discover the kind of activities that have displaced cocoa production and whether it is the same farmers who migrated to the new cocoa producing areas. The findings of such a study could serve as the basis for discussing the long term prospects of cocoa production in the current frontiers in the Western Region.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The role of migration in Ghana's development cannot be overemphasised. Many of the problems associated with the country's regional, urban and rural areas are attributable or linked to migration. Consequently, migration is often seen as detrimental. Although it is true that migration may actually cause some problems, it merely exacerbates others. In many cases migration is just a manifestation of more deeply rooted structural problems. It is therefore essential to understand the role of population migration in the development process. Identification of the root causes of migration are of primary importance if they are to promote, rather than be a bottleneck to, development. Unless the root causes of such problems (to which migration is only a human response) are identified and dealt with, the potential of migration policies to redistribute population cannot materialize. It is in this process of identifying the root causes that the importance of an informed theory in presenting the realities of migration to policy makers becomes imperative.

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APPENDIX 1

Table A: Distribution of selected Health indicators by Region

Region	Population per Bed (1985)	Population per Nurse (1987)	Population per Doctor (1987)	% of Pop. Covered by PHC (1985)	Life Expectancy (1968/69)		Infant Mortality Rate ¹	
					Male	Female	1968	1988
Western	846	1624.2	24980	41.0	42.9	46.3	111	76.9
Central	515	1763.8	56682	100.0	42.3	45.7	141	138.3
G. Accra	422	1139.0	5764	100.0	63.4	65.7	56	57.7
Eastern	565	938.7	23250	65.2	45.2	50.3	124	70.1
Volta	722	2167.8	47692	100.0	52.4	56.4	130	73.5
Ashanti	744	2127.3	18291	59.0	50.2	53.9	124	69.8
B. Ahafo	891	3973.2	33375	33.9	44.6	49.2	142	65.0
Northern	1173	2201.0	63095	13.1	35.9	38.7	168	103.1
U. West	636	866.1	53889	45.2	34.3	38.3	192	*
U. East	1157	2055.0	53688	22.7	*	*	*	*
TOTAL	684	1669.4	20450	63.3	45.6	48.3	133	81.3

Sources:

1. Ghana Statistical Service, (1988) Ghana Demographic and Health Survey, 1988 Ghana Statistical Service, Accra

All others from, Ministry of Health, (1989) Health Statistics of Ghana, May Accra, Ghana

Table B: Percent Employment in The Modern Sector by Regions:
1960, 1970 and 1984

REGION	1960	1970	1984
Western	41.7	44.7	34.9
Central	*	35.7	35.7
Gt. Accra	87.4	90.4	84.6
Eastern	41.1	43.3	32.4
Volta	37.8	39.8	34.3
Ashanti	38.3	41.5	38.0
Brong Ahafo	19.2	22.8	20.4
Northern	14.5	27.8	37.2
Upper West	*	30.9	24.0
Upper East	*	*	35.6
Total Country	38.2	42.8	38.9

Source: Compiled from Census data for the various years.

Table C: Percentage of Persons aged 6 years or more who have ever attended School by Regions: 1960, 1970 and 1984

REGION	1960	1970	1984
Western	29.5	48.0	61.9
Central	26.9	43.7	58.4
Gt. Accra	47.5	64.5	76.1
Eastern	35.0	53.4	69.3
Volta	33.7	35.1	61.2
Ashanti	32.6	51.5	67.7
Brong Ahafo	19.6	38.8	55.7
Northern	5.9	11.2	16.2
Upper West	5.1	12.1	18.6
Upper East	*	*	17.7
Total Country	27.0	43.2	48.2

Source: Compiled from the various Census Reports

Table D: Dependency Ratio by Region

REGION	1960	1970	1984
Western	80.5	94.5	92.5
Central	101.3	108.8	98.5
Gt. Accra	72.7	78.8	42.0
Eastern	104.1	108.8	48.7
Volta	99.3	109.6	99.2
Ashanti	95.4	105.5	96.9
Brong Ahafo	94.7	108.8	100.7
Northern	89.9	101.9	110.8
Upper West	122.5	95.1	105.7
Upper East	*	*	97.0
Total Country	91.3	102.3	79.8

Source: Compiled from various Census Reports.

APPENDIX 2

Cocoa Purchases by Region (in '000 tonnes)

REGION	1960/61	61/62	62/63	63/64	64/65	65/66	66/67	67/68
Western	38.7	20.8	22.9	21.5	34.2	23.4	24.4	31.8
Central	46.0	60.8	63.9	56.5	74.4	40.9	49.3	52.0
Eastern	74.1	79.8	84.5	75.7	106.1	71.0	68.5	70.2
Volta	30.3	28.5	20.7	24.2	27.3	20.3	18.4	23.9
Ashanti	150.8	148.7	147.5	154.1	201.2	153.4	128.2	138.7
Brong A.	92.3	70.0	81.8	89.0	128.1	100.2	86.3	107.3
Total	432.2	408.6	421.3	421.0	571.3	409.2	375.1	423.9

Appendix 2 Continued

REGION	1968/69	69/70	75/76	76/77	77/78	78/79	79/80
Western	22.6	30.6	55.6	41.0	42.0	45.9	52.3
Central	43.9	54.4	49.7	39.1	21.5	25.7	19.0
Eastern	63.1	68.3	68.6	54.2	41.3	50.2	45.0
Volta	15.6	20.6	14.2	9.4	7.4	6.0	4.8
Ashanti	111.5	123.5	124.3	105.8	89.6	86.9	100.4
Brong A.	93.5	113.6	88.6	79.5	69.5	50.4	74.9
Total	350.5	411.0	401.0	329.0	271.3	265.1	296.4

Appendix. 2 Continued

REGION	1980/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88
Western	45.1	43.7	35.5	40.2	52.5	64.7	76.0	58.7
Central	25.6	22.1	17.6	13.8	19.1	27.6	26.9	19.1
Eastern	46.6	36.9	31.3	25.5	28.5	34.6	33.4	29.9
Volta	1.5	1.7	3.8	2.7	1.0	1.1	1.9	1.8
Ashanti	91.5	70.8	55.3	47.1	44.9	54.5	56.9	49.8
Brong Ahafo	47.6	49.7	35.2	29.7	28.8	36.5	32.6	28.8
Total	258.0	224.0	178.6	159.0	174.8	219.0	227.8	188.2

* Production figures for 1970/71 - 1974/75 are not available
Source: Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board

APPENDIX 3

CENSUS SURVIVAL RATIOS (CSR)"

A census survival ratio is simply the ratio of population aged $X+n$ at a given census to the population aged X at the census n years earlier. Computed for a nation as a whole, for a "closed" population the ratio is then multiplied by the population aged X in each region at the first census; the expected survivors are subtracted from the corresponding population enumerated at the second census to yield estimates of net migration. This is called the forward survival rate method. Another way of estimation is called reverse survival rate method. Here the survival rates are divided into the number in the age group at the end of the intercensal period. The forward survival rate method is used to estimate net migration in this study. The following steps were followed in the estimation process.

STEP I : Adjusting the 1984 population backwards to 1980

The population of 1984 is projected backwards to 1980, making the intercensal period 10 years. Using the national intercensal population growth rate of 0.026 per 1000, the 1980 population can be calculated as:

$$\text{pop.1984}(1+r)^{-n} = \text{pop.1980}$$

" A detailed discussion of the CSR method and other methods of indirect estimation of internal migration is presented in UN Manual VI, (1970).

Where,

r = national intercensal growth rate (0.026),

n = number of years, ie 4,

This provides the 1980 total female and male populations. The totals were then distributed among the regions and age groups by simple proportion method.

Example: Region i males₂₀₋₂₄ =

$$\frac{\text{pop1984}_{20-24}}{\text{Total pop.1984}} \times \text{Adjusted pop for males 1980}$$

STEP II: To obtain 1980 Expected Populations by forward survival ratio method.

The calculated age distribution for 1980 were used with the age distribution of 1970 population to obtain 10-year survival ratios by age and sex for the nation. These ratios were multiplied by the age distribution of the 1970 population census to obtain the 1980 expected population for all the regions.

Example

Male Survival ratio (SR)₂₀₋₂₄ =

$$\frac{\text{Male pop.}_{20-24} (1980)}{\text{male pop.}_{20-24} (1970)}$$

Female Survival ratio (SR)₂₀₋₂₄ =

$$\frac{\text{Female pop.}_{20-24} (1980)}{\text{female pop.}_{20-24} (1970)}$$

The 1980 expected population census can be obtained by:

Expected 1980 female pop.₂₀₋₂₄ =

Female SR₂₀₋₂₄ x pop.₂₀₋₂₄(1970)

The same process is repeated for males.

STEP III

1. Expected Population (1984)

The expected population was multiplied by the ratio of the 1984 enumerated population to the 1980 adjusted population to obtain the expected population in 1984.

Ratio of 1984 pop. to 1980 adjusted pop. =

$$\frac{\text{Total pop. (1984)}}{\text{Total pop. (1980)}}$$

So the expected male pop.₂₀₋₂₄ for region i in 1984 =
male pop. in region x ratio calculated above.

2. Lifetime Net migration in 1984

The expected population in 1984 was subtracted from the enumerated population in 1984.

The estimates for 1984 lifetime net migration by age and sex for all the regions are provided in the following tables.

APPENDIX 4

Table A: Percentage Distribution of Non-migrants, Lifetime Intra-regional and Inter-regional migrants, and Immigrants by Region, 1960

REGION	NON-MIGRANTS		SDM		LDM		IMMIGRANTS	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Western	45.5	50.1	26.9	32.6	15.5	11.2	12.1	6.1
Central	68.0	70.0	18.5	20.9	8.5	6.0	5.0	3.1
G. Accra	44.5	53.0	5.1	6.8	31.4	29.0	19.0	11.2
Eastern	48.4	51.1	25.2	29.4	15.5	13.3	10.9	6.2
Volta	65.3	65.0	18.0	21.6	5.8	5.0	10.9	8.4
Ashanti	49.1	57.5	18.7	20.4	20.4	16.5	11.5	5.6
B. Ahafo	55.6	63.3	11.2	14.3	20.6	16.4	12.6	6.0
Northern	66.6	60.6	22.4	30.6	4.2	3.4	6.7	5.4
Upper ¹	85.4	59.7	7.5	33.5	1.8	1.3	5.3	5.5
TOTAL	58.0	58.8	17.8	24.0	13.8	10.9	10.4	6.3

1. Includes Upper West and Upper East Regions.
Source: Computed from 1961 Statistical Yearbook

Table B: Percentage Distribution of Non-migrants, Lifetime Intra-regional and Inter-regional migrants, and Immigrants by Region, 1970

REGION	NON-MIGRANTS		SDM		LDM		IMMIGRANTS	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Western	46.6	50.2	17.9	22.8	30.1	24.5	5.4	2.6
Central	64.4	66.3	19.2	21.5	14.3	11.1	3.3	1.1
G. Accra	43.4	48.8	4.4	5.3	43.6	40.8	8.6	5.1
Eastern	50.8	52.0	27.5	30.6	17.5	15.1	4.2	2.3
Volta	63.8	62.8	21.7	24.7	7.9	7.1	6.6	5.7
Ashanti	52.0	56.9	21.0	22.4	21.1	17.3	6.0	3.4
B. Ahafo	50.7	55.5	16.3	19.6	26.5	21.1	6.6	3.8
Northern	68.2	60.0	19.2	29.1	10.1	8.8	2.5	2.1
Upper ¹	85.2	57.8	8.1	35.4	4.8	4.1	1.9	2.8
TOTAL	57.5	56.7	18.0	23.8	19.6	16.3	4.9	3.2

1. Includes Upper West and Upper East Regions.
Source: Computed from 1971 Statistical Yearbook

Table C: Percentage Distribution of Non-migrants, Lifetime Intra-regional and Inter-regional migrants, and Immigrants by Region, 1984

REGION	NON-MIGRANTS		SDM		LDM		IMMIGRANTS	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Western	53.5	54.7	15.2	18.6	30.8	26.4	0.4	0.4
Central	67.4	68.7	19.2	19.7	13.0	11.2	0.4	0.4
G. Accra	55.3	55.2	7.3	8.4	36.6	35.6	0.8	0.7
Eastern	58.0	56.8	24.0	26.7	17.7	16.2	0.3	0.2
Volta	67.3	64.6	22.4	25.7	9.4	8.6	1.0	1.1
Ashanti	62.9	64.4	19.2	20.2	17.6	15.1	0.3	0.2
B. Ahafo	56.6	58.8	16.2	18.8	26.9	22.2	0.3	0.3
Northern	72.6	61.7	18.0	29.2	8.2	8.0	0.6	0.7
Upper E.	88.7	60.9	5.1	32.5	5.8	5.4	0.4	1.3
Upper W.	80.9	57.7	11.2	34.9	6.6	5.7	1.3	1.6
TOTAL	63.9	60.6	16.8	22.2	18.8	16.7	0.5	0.5

Source: Computed from 1984 Population Census Reports

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