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DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL INEQUALITIES IN GHANA: 1960-1970

BY

■ Josiah Alfred Mills Cobbah

A thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Canada

1979

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of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis

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IN GHANA, 1960-1970".

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ABSTRACT

Like several other Third World countries Ghana on becoming independent adopted a growth-oriented industrial approach to development. The major aim was to move away from an economy dominated by primary production. It was thought then, that a nation could rely on a leading industrial sector to spread development to benefit all citizens. In line with the changing perception of development needs of the Third World this thesis examines the impact of this approach on development in Ghana and tests whether regional disparities have in fact decreased over time.

Questioning the usual absolute use of per capita incomes to measure development the author joins the "Social Indicators Movement" in emphasising the measurement of "basic needs". To set the background for the analysis of modern Ghana a historical review of pre-colonial and colonial spatial organization is given.

Disparities in Ghana, especially between the northern parts and the south come out quite clearly in the analyses so that the need for a real commitment to the eradication of poverty and to the achievement of equitable development is asked for in conclusion. This thesis in fact constitutes an illustration of the problems of Third World development - a genuine quest for progress and prosperity misfiring into the creation of a dual economy and the concomitant spatial imbalance in development and welfare.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1957, the British Colony known as the 'Gold Coast' gained political independence and became Ghana. The country occupies an area of about 238,500 km² stretching from the coast of the Gulf of Guinea at latitude 4°44' North to latitude 11°10' North (see figure 1). The extreme western and eastern points stretch as far as longitudes 3°15' West and 1°12' East.¹ Since the early 1900's the country has been dependent on cocoa which is the major foreign exchange earner.² The population of Ghana stood at 8.6 million in 1970 and is estimated to be increasing at a rate of about 3.0 per cent per annum.³ Figure 2 shows the country's division into administrative regions..

-
1. Dickson, K.B., Benneh G. (1970) A New Geography of Ghana (Longman Group Limited, London). p. 7.
 2. Kay, G.B. (1972) The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana: A Correction of Documents and Statistics. (Cambridge University Press, London) p. 328.
 3. Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T. (1976) The Population of Ghana (CICRED Series No. 147-1976) p. 6.

Fig. 1 Ghana in West Africa

Table 1
Regional Distribution of Towns with Populations of
5,000 or more, and Change Over Time

REGION	1931 (1)	1948 (2)	1960 (3)	1970 (4)
Western	2	7	10	14
Central	8	7	17	22
Greater Accra	3	3	3	8
Eastern	4	7	27	29
Volta	2	3	11	15
Ashanti	2	3	10	17
Brong-Ahefo	1	1	13	19
Northern	1	3	4	8
Upper	1	2	3	3
TOTAL	24	36	98	135
Percentage of total population represented in such towns	9.4%	13%	23%	29%

Sources: 1. Dickson, K.B. (1974) Generation and Transmission of Regional Growth Impulses: The Case of Ghana in Helleiner F. and Stohr, W (ed) Spatial Aspects of the Development Process, Proceedings of the Commission on Regional Aspects of Development of the International Geographical Union, Vol. 2.

2. 1960 Population Census of Ghana

3. 1970 Population Census of Ghana

The 1970 census report estimated that 80 per cent of Ghana's landmass was rural in character. 71 per cent of the population live in rural areas with only 29 per cent in areas considered urbanized. A total of 48 per cent of Ghanians live in villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants.⁴ Upper and Northern regions together contribute roughly half of the surface area of the country but had in 1960 only 19 per cent of the country's total population and 7 per cent of the 98 settlements recognized officially as urban (18.8% and 8.1% in 1970). Table 1 shows that urbanization generally proceeded at a faster rate in the southern portion of the country than in northern Ghana. In a country like Ghana where the majority live in rural areas one would expect that any talk of development should be evidenced in changes in the livelihood of the rural population.

The need for broad-based development and spatial planning was realized even before independence. Speaking in 1955, Kwame Nkrumah who was later to become Prime Minister is quoted as saying that:

"Democracy as against imperialism, despotism and autocracy in the Gold Coast, must have its roots in rural reconstruction."⁵

After twenty-two years of independence, five successive governments, and the experience of eight development plans, one author asserts that:

4. Ghana 1970 Population Census, Vol. II (Accra, Census Office)

5. Nkrumah, Kwame (1955) Address to the Annual Delegates Conference of the Conventions Peoples' Party.

~ "... national and regional planning in Ghana has unfortunately not been very successful in contributing to any significant changes and ... is still faced with the uneasy task of finding a way out of the planning woods." 6

The newly independent country inherited a colonial spatial structure which to a large extent suited the colonial administration. It was a system very dependent on the export-import trade with the United Kingdom and which was very unbalanced internally. The problem since independence has been to alter these inherited patterns in an attempt to achieve equitable development which is not lopsided spatially and which could be seen as serving the interest of the broad-masses, particularly the rural poor. The 1960's and 70's have witnessed a great surge of interest in the problems of Third World countries. It is increasingly becoming clear from recent appraisals of the development performance of many Third World countries that strategies of development adopted in these countries largely fail to satisfy the requirement of improving the livelihood of the majority of their populations. Many of these countries, although they have attempted strategies aimed at closing both inter-regional and intra-regional gaps, have tended to end up with increasing disparities.

This thesis constitutes an attempt to examine spatial disparities in Ghana in the context of the policies of successive governments. The central aim will be to establish the nature of these disparities and attempt an explanation. To serve as a background to the entire study there will be a brief discussion of development theory as it applies to Third World regional

6. Darkoh, M.B.K. (1976) "An outline of Post-1966 Regional Planning and Rural Development in Ghana" in Pan African Journal Vol. IX, No. 2 pp. 153-167.

planning. To set the stage for an examination of contemporary Ghana, aspects of pre-colonial and colonial spatial structures will be touched on. Having done this an attempt will be made to arrive statistically at a representation of the pattern and trends of regional disparity in Ghana. This analysis will lead to conclusions about what's happening in the area of rural and regional development in Ghana and what the future appears to hold given the present Five-year Development Plan.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GROWTH CENTRE DOCTRINE AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

This chapter will discuss changes in regional planning views and how these have evolved from the changes in development concepts.

The Roots of the Centre-Down Paradigm: Balanced and Unbalanced Growth

The idea of development being concentrated in a few spots or areas and later spreading over time to the rest of the spatial system can be traced to the debate over balanced and unbalanced growth.⁷

The balanced growth theory was advanced in the 1950's by authors like Rosenstein-Rodan and Nurkse. Proponents of this theory argued that given the low level of productivity in underdeveloped countries and the subsequent lack of effective demand, a balanced growth policy was needed for development. This strategy called for diversified investments over a broad range of industries. These industries will then generate demand for each other through factor payments, so that investment projects that might

7. A good summary of this debate is offered in S. Schiavo-Campo and H.W. Singer (1970) Perspectives of Economic Development, (Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston) pp. 45-52.

be individually not profitable would, taken together, be profitable.⁸

Opposed to this view of development were people like Fleming, Enke and Singer. Fleming, for example, believed that the theory over-emphasized demand. Developing countries, he argued, do not have adequate supplies of factors of production, especially capital and skilled labour, and therefore diversification may only increase cost of production as various industries compete for limited supply of factors.⁹ Enke addressed the question of how such a strategy of balanced growth closes the national economy. He argued that no country will be able to supply all her needs. There was the argument of comparative advantage. The contention was that a country may be very efficient at producing what other countries need. Given such a situation, therefore balanced growth becomes unrealistic and impracticable.¹⁰ Another criticism levelled against the theory centres on the cost such a strategy will involve. Singer argued that underdeveloped countries are poor and cannot be expected to be able to foot the bill for such "balanced" development programme.¹¹ It is pertinent to note here that

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8. Rosenstein-Rodan, P.N. (1943) "Problems of Industrialization of Eastern and Southern Europe", Economic Journal 53, pp. 202-211, and Nurkse, R. (1952) "Some International Aspects of the Problem of Economic Development", American Economic Review 42, pp. 571-583.
 9. Fleming, M. (1955) "External Economies and the Doctrine of Balanced Growth", Economic Journal 65, pp. 241-256.
 10. Enke, S. (1963) Economics for Development (Prentice-Hall), and Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries, (Oxford University Press)
 11. Singer, H.W. (1949) "Economic Progress in Underdeveloped Countries", Social Research, March 1949, pp. 1-11.

both sides of the debate relied very much on the Rostovian idea of development - the idea of development being reliant on economic growth and taking place in stages along a linear path.¹² This emphasis on growth resulted in a concentration on areas of the economy which were termed leading sectors (usually industries). The idea was that the economy could rely on the linkage effects between these sectors and the other sectors to achieve overall development. In spatial terms this meant that development became concentrated in a few places:

The Growth Centre Strategy

The transformation of the unbalanced growth strategy of development into a spatial planning concept and the resulting growth pole strategy can be attributed to the works of Perroux, Myrdal, and Hirschman.

Perroux's Abstract Economic Space

In his "La Notion de Pole de Croissance"¹³ Perroux discussed an abstract economic space which he visualized as a field of forces. Within this field, Perroux stated that there exist poles or foci from which centrifugal forces emanate and to which centripetal forces are attracted.¹⁴ Perroux

12. Rostow, W.W. (1960) The Stages of Economic Growth (New York, N.Y., Cambridge University Press)

13. Perroux, F. (1955) "Note sur la Notion de Pole de Croissance" L'economie du XX'eme siecle (Presses Universitaires de France) pp. 142-154.

14. Perroux, F. (1955)

11

introduced the notions of propulsive industry (*industrie motrice*) and key industry (*industrie clef*). Such industries give substance to the growth pole. A propulsive industry, he argued has linkages with other industries throughout a region. When such an industry raises its output it induces expansion in the outputs of linked industries. Where the induced growth in outputs is much greater than the initial growth of the propulsive industry's output, such a propulsive industry is termed a key industry. Following Perroux, Boudeville held that given agglomeration, the expansion of places where such agglomeration occur and the contraction of other places without such activities, spatial planning becomes a problem of urban growth strategy.¹⁵ His main contribution therefore was to give an explicit geographical dimension to Perroux's abstract economic space. Evident in this thinking is the centre-down development strategy which prescribes concentrating on a few dynamic sectoral clusters as the key to more generalized regional development.

Hirschman's Contribution

In his book The Strategy of Economic Development Hirschman states that:

"there can be no doubt that an economy, to lift itself to higher income levels, must and will first develop within itself one or several regional centres of economic strength. This need for the emergence of 'growing points' or growth poles in the course of the development process means that international and inter-regional inequality of growth is an inevitable concomitant and condition of growth itself".¹⁶

15. Boudeville (1966) Problems of Regional Economic Planning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

16. Hirschman, A. (1958) The Strategy of Economic Development (Yale University Press) pp. 183-184.

In Hirschman's view therefore, in a geographical sense, growth is necessarily unbalanced. However, he did not expect this imbalance to be permanent. Of major importance was Hirschman's opposing "trickling down effects" and "polarization effects". Using the terms "North" and "South" he argued that the dichotomy between the pole and its periphery will have certain favourable effects.¹⁷ Prominent among these effects will be the increase of Northern purchases and investments in the South. In effect progress trickles down from the North to the South. Directly opposed to the trickling down effects are the polarization effects. Among these will be the draining of southern resources to the North, capital migration and possible loss of qualified people by the South to the North. Hirschman however, concluded confidently on the optimistic note that in the long run the trickling down effects would gain the upper hand over the polarization effects. To bring this about Hirschman relies on arguments of the need for equity and national unity. In the long run government funds will be used in poor regions and regional differences will disappear.

Myrdal's Contribution

Myrdal introduced the terms "backwash effects" and "spread effects" which correspond closely to Hirschman's polarization effects and trickling down effects.¹⁹ More important, however, he used in his analysis the idea

17. Hirschman, A. (1958) pp. 187-190.

18. Hirschman, A. (1958 p. 190.

19. Myrdal, G. (1957) Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions (Gerald Duckworth & Co., London) pp. 26 & 27.

of the circular and cumulative causation principle. Attacking notions of self-sustaining processes of development, he argued that "nothing succeeds like success". Myrdal's view was that the system actually creates a situation of imbalance in development.²⁰ He thus argued that whatever the reason for the initial expansion of a growth centre, thereafter cumulatively expanding internal and external economies will aid its entrenchment and make it grow at the expense of its peripheral areas.

Later Growth Pole Literature

The early 1960's saw a surge of interest in the growth pole strategy by regional planners interested in the Third World. Studying Venezuelan regional development policy Friedmann formulated his core-periphery model for spatial planning and regional development.²¹ Also drawing on the Venezuelan experience Rodwin concluded that induced urban growth should be the basis for regional development policy.²² The concept of growth poles had come a long way to become a spatial planning strategy. It became largely accepted that development should originate in a relatively small number of centres located at appropriate points. Innovations will then diffuse from these centres down a hierarchy of places to the lowest centres

20. Myrdal, G. (1957) Chps. 2 and 3.

21. Friedmann, J. (1966) Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela (M.I.T. Press, Cambridge) pp. 10-38.

22. Rodwin, L. (1963) "Choosing Regions for Development", Public Policy 12, pp. 14-162.

in the periphery. Berry sums this up:

"One would conclude from this that if a metropolitan development is sustained at high levels, differences between centre and periphery should be eliminated and the space economy should be integrated by outward flows of growth impulses through the urban hierarchy and inward migration of labour to cities. Troughs of economic backwardness at the metropolitan periphery should, thereby, be eroded, and each area should find itself within the influence fields of a variety of urban centres of a variety of sizes. Continued urban-industrial expansion in major central cities should lend to catalytic impacts on surrounding regions. Growth impulses and economic advancement should "trickle down" to smaller places and ultimately infuse dynamism into even the most tradition-bound peripheries."²³

Growth Poles in Regional Development Theory

Perhaps the best attempt to incorporate the growth pole concept into a holistic regional development theory has been by Hermansen who sought to inter-relate the fundamentals of growth pole theory, central place theory, and innovation diffusion theory. Hermansen asserts that:

"Central place theory may be viewed not as some sort of static version of the dynamic development theory in which all movement comes to an end, but as the mechanisms through which development planning in functional space can be projected into geographical space." ²⁴

-
23. Berry, B.J.L. (1970) "The Geography of the United States in the Year 2000" Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 51 pp. 21-53.
 24. Hermansen, T. (1972) "Development Poles and Related Theories: A Synoptic Review" in N.M. Nansen (ed.) Growth Centres in Regional Economic Development. (The Free Press, New York) p. 180.

Drawing from the original growth pole theory (Perroux, Hirschman and Myrdal type), Christaller and Losch's central place theory and Hagerstrand's innovation diffusion theory, regional planners arrived at what seemed like a comprehensive regional development theory. Hermansen's synopsis of this integrated theory is presented in Tables 2a and 2b. The Central Place theory in particular has been used as a framework for regional planning in the Third World. The study by Grove and Huszar in Ghana is an example of such a policy oriented application of the central place concepts.²⁵ This method was widely adopted by the planning authorities and became policy in the National Physical Development Plan.²⁶

The Concept of Development

To what extent had the evolution of regional planning theory outlined above been influenced by or been a reaction to changing perception of development as a national goal since Rostow? Dudley Seers has recently advocated a redefinition of the term 'development'. He argued that the neo-classical development paradigm has lost credibility especially for Third World countries caught in the international economic system of the twentieth century.²⁷ Traditionally development has been thought of in terms of achieving the "respectable status achieved by advanced industrial countries". This idea of development conforms to the Rostovian concept of

25. Grove, D. and Huszar, L. (1964) The Towns of Ghana: The Role of Service Centres in Regional Planning (Ghana Universities Press, Accra)

26. Government of Ghana (1965) National Physical Development Plan (State Publishing Corporation, Accra)

27. Seers, D. (1977) "The New Meaning of Development" International Development Review, Vol. 3, pp. 2-7.

Table 2a

Growth Pole Strategy: A Table of Synopsis (a)

Approach Space	STATIC and/or Comparative Static		
	Descriptive	Positive/explanatory	Planning/control
Industrial	Interindustry relations. Input-Output tables	Forward and backward linkage effects. Multiplier effects. Pecuniary external economies. Domination effects.	Input-output models. Inter-related industrial complexes.
Geographical	Urban hierarchy versus rank-size relations	Central place theory. General theories of spatial organization. Traditional theories of industrial location.	Optimum city size and optimum spatial organization. Network theory. Service centre policy. New towns.
Interplay between industrial and geographical space	Urban industrial patterns. Resource frontiers. Centre periphery relations	Inertia due to inter-temporal relation and locational complexities. Localized development poles based on industrial complexes.	Optimum location of industrial complexes within the urban systems. Urban system planning.

Source: Hermansen, T. (1972) "Development and Related Theories: A Synoptic Review in Hansen, N.M. (ed.) Growth Centres in Regional Economic Development (The Free Press, New York, 1972) p. 196.

Table 2b

Growth Pole Strategy: A Table of Synopsis (b)

Space \ Approach	DYNAMIC		
	Descriptive	Positive/explanatory	Planning/control
Industrial	Trends in industrial changes. Emergence of innovation sets in techniques and products.	Sector theory. Leading industries. Propulsive and strategic industries. Functional development poles. Diffusion of innovation among industries.	Dynamic industrial complex planning. Extension and diffusion policies. Establishment of propulsive or strategic industries.
Geographical	Trends of urbanization. Identification of spatial growth centres. Mapping of polarized (nodal) regional systems.	Role of the City. Hypothesis of urban growth patterns. Regional external localized development poles. Urbanization economics. Spatial diffusion of innovation.	Planning of urban systems based on location of propulsive industries and localized poles of growth. Extension and diffusion service.
Interplay between industrial and geographical space	The urban realm and the shift to services. Development stages.	Diffusion of innovations in industrial space conditioned by locational interrelations. Accumulation of advantages. The role of the city. Development stage theory.	Comprehensive urban regional development planning based on central place, development poles, and diffusion theory.

Source: Hermansen, T. (1972) "Development Poles and Related Theories: A synoptic Review" in Hansen, N.M. (ed.) Growth Centres in Regional Economic Development (The Free Press, New York, 1972) p. 197

the development process being linear with all countries treading a similar path.²⁸ Development has been measured mainly by G.N.P.

Little or nothing at all was said about the distribution of the state "development". The aim was just to achieve growth in the national economy. Many growth-minded economic planners and development experts prescribed the growth pole strategy. More especially the industrial content of such a strategy appealed to Third World countries who were anxious to achieve import-substitution. The Rostovian notion of development and especially its heavy reliance on growth has not stood the test of time. In 1974 the United Nations General Assembly's International Development Strategy stated that:

"The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits to all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustices persist, then development fails in its essential purpose." ²⁹

This view of development runs counter to what Arthur Lewis wrote in his Theory of Economic Growth:

"First it should be noted that our subject matter is growth and not distribution." ³⁰

In Latin America where the growth pole strategy was widely applied, per capita incomes kept rising fast while inequalities increased. It was here that the term "internal colonialism" had its roots.³¹

28. Rostow, W.W. (1960)

29. UNRISD, (1974) International Development Strategy, p. 6

30. Lewis, W. Arthur (1955) Theory of Economic Growth (George Allan and Unwin Ltd., London) p. 9

31. Sunkel, O. (1973) "Trans-National Capitalism and National Disintegration in Latin America" Social and Economic Studies No. 22, 1973 pp. 132-176, and

Frank, A.G. (1967) Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Monthly Review Press, N.Y.)

Increasing awareness of the inequalities associated with the centralized growth pole strategy led to widespread decentralization policies. In spatial terms this meant a proliferation of growth centres. But this was still not acceptable. Development thinking has come to a stage where man is being seen as the maker as well as the target of development. Not only distribution but also indices such as human quality and levels of life and self-reliance are now considered important. Goulet really hits the point when he says that:

"Authentic development aims at the full realization of human capabilities: men and women become makers of their own histories, personal and societal. They free themselves from every servitude imposed by nature or by oppressive systems, they achieve wisdom in their mastery over nature and over their own wants, they create new webs of solidarity based not on domination but on reciprocity among themselves, they achieve a rich symbiosis between contemplation and transforming action, between efficiency and free expression. This total concept of development can perhaps best be expressed as the "human ascent" - the ascent of all men in their integral humanity, including the economic, biological psychological, social, cultural, ideological, spiritual, mystical and transcendent dimensions". 32

Development then should be a process involving a whole population aiming at not only the growth of the national economy, but broadly at the elimination of poverty and inequality, poverty here referring to the lack of basic needs of a cross-section of the population across a country. Even further development theorists are looking at issues of national political and economic independence and the need for self-reliance as well as the idea

32. Goulet, D. (1978) "The Challenge of Development Economics" in Communications and Development Review, Vol. 2, No. 1

of mass involvement in the development process.³³

Growth Pole theorists offered the concept as a means for achieving development in the Rostovian sense. The concept was later seen as being workable as a method of decentralization to accommodate the problem of spatial inequality. The paradigm is again changing and this time doubts are being cast on the applicability of the entire strategy of growth poles. Two decades of experimentation with the strategy seems to have yielded evidence that it is not effective as a method for spreading out the benefits of development away from the "poles". Gaile reviewed seventeen different studies of attempts at implementing the growth pole strategy and concluded that the trend was one of "backwash effects" overcoming the "spread effects" which were themselves limited in geographical extent.³⁴ Studies by Moseley³⁵ and Pred³⁶ also confirm this finding. The usefulness of the strategy becomes even more questionable considering that most of the studies discrediting it have been well within the growth paradigm in development. Growth pole critics have been on the increase. Friedman and Weaver represent a growing

33. For example, Stohr, W. and Todling, F., "Spatial Equity-Some Anti-theses to Current Economic Development Doctrine" paper read to the I.G.U. Commission on Regional Aspects of Development, Dushambe, USSR, 1976.

34. Gaile, G.L. (1973) "Notes on the Concept of Spread," unpublished paper, Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles.

35. Moseley, M.J. (1973) "The Impact of Growth Centres in Rural Regions in Regional Studies, 7 pp. 80-120.

36. Pred, A. (1976) The Interurban Transmission of Growth in Advanced Economies: Empirical Findings Versus Planning Assumptions (International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis, Laxenburg, Austria).

dissatisfaction when they state that:

"the growth center doctrine has always been in a conceptual muddle". 37

It has not always been clear whether the term "growth pole" referred descriptively to centres that were about to be set up or to places already doing well in terms of development. More and more attention is being paid to the actual processes of intra and inter-regional interaction and the hazy notion of "spread effects" is gradually being thrown overboard. Assumptions about the diffusion of innovations from the centre to the periphery have been questioned especially with regards to the types of innovations that actually spread and how these are related to the production and provision of the basic needs of the peripheral population. Even more important is the fundamental question of growth. Do the inputs that "development centres" get pumped into them generate the desired development impulses? It has been rightly argued for example, that in a Third World setting development and growth are not necessarily synonymous.³⁸

If the central aim of regional planning is to bring the benefits of development to all then how long do the masses in the peripheries of growth poles have to wait for the "spread effects" to overcome the backwash effects and have their lives improved? Given these pertinent questions it may in fact be a blessing that the bulk of Africa is yet to become really involved

38. Seers, D. (1977) "The New Meaning of Development" in International Development Review, Vol. 3, pp. 1-7.

37. Friedman, J. Weaver, C. (1979) Territory and Function: The Evolution of Regional Planning (Edward Arnold, London and University of California Press, Berkeley) p. 137

in spatial planning as a means of redistributing their development efforts. The few countries which have attempted to do so (Ghana included) will have useful lessons for the late-comers into the spatial planning scene.³⁹

39. Taylor, D.R.F. (1975) "Growth Centres and Rural Development in Africa in Kuklinski, A. (ed.) Regional Development and Planning: International Perspectives (Sijthoff, Leyden) pp. 207-319

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Pre-Colonial Spatial Structure

Urban places in Ghana emerged in different ways over time and space. In parts of Northern Ghana the concept of "town" was practically unknown. Society in this part of the country was organized in the form of small village communities whose existence was almost entirely reliant on subsistence cultivation. Political organization conformed to Meyer's observation:

"The starting point of the State-organizations of Western Sudan is the village and not the tribe... Everywhere one sees the tribe degenerate into village-states which live apathetically along side each other ..."40

This was true of ethnic groups like the Lakhama, Achilong, Isala, Tiansi, and the Talensi. Among the Akans in the south, however, large settlements existed, although these were essentially rural in character and not at all urban in a modern sense. Accordingly to Villault, there were several kingdoms on the coast before 1600.⁴¹ Urbanism, according to Dickson,

40. Meyer, P.C. "Account of the Origin and Organization of the States of the Western Sudan" Public Record Office Co. 889/50 African (West) No. 54 translated by Major E. Agar pp. 129-130.

41. Villault, N. A Relation of the Coasts of Africk called Guinea (London cited by Dickson (1969) p. 40

emerged in the northern parts of the country as a result of the introduction of a system of overlordship by warriors from the Western Sudan who invaded the area in the late 15th century and founded states.⁴² One could not talk of central leadership in the modern sense and political leadership was weak. Village communities had clan leaders but the overall head, the Tindana, had his authority narrowly restricted to religious matters. It is interesting to note that despite the introduction of political overlordship by the early empire builders of West Africa, and later the processes of colonial administration, only slight changes occurred in the social organization of some of these communities. The new settlements that these invaders founded and the existing ones they adopted became embryonic towns. The overlords in these newly important places endeavoured to maintain their grip over their territories and these places grew in size, accommodating large groups of people who were needed to run efficient government, and others who were interested in trade. In these parts therefore, towns acquired what may be termed urban status owing mainly to the fact that they were the seats of important chiefs. In the South where overlordship developed much earlier on important settlements were usually the seats of paramount chiefs. As Dickson illustrates, the Akan word for town, kurow, traditionally refers to the seat of a chief, while ahenkurow literally meaning chief's town, refers to the capital of a collection of settlements forming a state.⁴³ One could

42. Dickson, K.B. (1971) The Ghanian Town, its Nature and Functions, (Ghana Universities Press, Accra) p. 1

43. Dickson, K.B. (1971) p. 3

therefore speak of spatial dominance in the relationship that existed among some settlements based primarily upon administrative and cultural functions.

Early connections between people in this part of West Africa and the ancient empires of Mali, Songhai and Ghana have been considered possible by various authors. It appears however, that most historians find the year 1200 a convenient starting point when dealing with the history of modern Ghana.

From about 1200 onwards then, one would expect that some amount of trade, even if based on a barter system, took place between settlements, although the settlements remained largely self-sufficient as regards their economy and rather self-reliant. The situation, however, changed considerably with the introduction of long distance caravan trade by the itinerant Mande traders. These traders roamed around the country even before the Portuguese arrived on the coast towards the close of the 15th century.⁴⁴

There is ample evidence that from the end of the 17th century Mande communities could be found in some areas in the Ashanti kingdom. In the 19th century the Hausa traders were important on the West Coast and places like Salaga became important market places. Early European merchants also traded on the coast, offering the opportunity to these itinerant African traders to act as middlemen in a north-south trade.⁴⁵

44. Dickson, K.B. (1969) *A Historical Geography of Ghana* (Cambridge University Press) p. 42

45. Wilks, I. (1962) "A Medieval Trade Route from the Niger to the Gulf of Guinea" *Journal of African History* III 2 (1962)

Fig.3b Kumasi: The Focus of Major Trade Routes in 1850
 from Dickson K.B. (1969) A Historical Geography of Ghana
 (Cambridge University Press) p.215

The establishment of strong secular authority did provide the framework for trade. It was important to encourage trade to generate taxes. Trade based on slaves, gold and ivory flourished in the country. Middlemen bought firearms from European merchants on the coast and sold them in the interior. Between 1702 and 1873 Ashanti became the most important factor in trade and politics. The growing Ashanti kingdom had an impact on the spatial structure that existed, principally by causing a re-orientation of trade routes (mainly north-south routes on which Kumasi was just a node to centre on Kumasi.⁴⁶ (See Figures 3a and 3b. Control from Kumasi defined a new trade route network and a new system of trade flows. The regularity with which commodities flowed along the routes depended very much on the policies of the Ashanti court in Kumasi. The effect of this was that places favoured by the court developed markets and grew in size while less favoured settlements lost their market functions.⁴⁷

The colonial era which succeeded the fall of Asante therefore, started with a reasonably well developed system of settlements based on the political, social and commercial development at the time. One fact, however, should be borne in mind. Traditionally, although one could differentiate between settlements on the basis of political overlordship, religious authority and commerce, it is important to note that the organization of society was based on an economy which was largely subsistent. Settlements

46. Dickson, K.B. (1969) p. 214

47. Dickson, K.B. (1969) p. 107

kept essentially to themselves and were inward-looking, very much concerned about their security in an era in which firearms purchased from white traders made conquest and slavery easy. A farmer from a village near Salaga might travel to the town on a market day to trade his surplus from his farm, but would return to his village as soon as the market was over. It is a well-known fact that big market towns like Salaga appeared deserted after market days and that it was mainly the itinerant traders that one found around after the market period. In most cases, political subordination of one settlement to another became apparent only in the event of a revolt, for example to resist the payment of tribute as was the case between the Akim-Abuakwa revolt against the Asantehene⁴⁸ or at the time of festivals organized occasionally to re-affirm the paramount chief's authority over his subjects. An example of such a festival is Adae Kese (meaning the Great Day) which is celebrated by certain Akan groups.

The Colonial Era

After the 1850's Britain started to consolidate the Empire's authority in the country. In 1850 control was acquired over much of Southern Ghana by buying out the Danes. In 1872 the Danes left. The troublesome Ashanti Kingdom was subdued decisively in 1874 and annexed in 1902. Only the Germans were left to be dealt with in certain portions of Eastern Brong-Afofo and Northern Ghana.⁴⁹ The stage was then set for implementing a development

48. Ward, W.E.F., (1958) A History of Ghana (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.) p. 221.

49. Ward, W.E.F., (1958) pp. 235-241.

policy in the country.

The Colonial Development Act of 1929 summed up the aim of Development planning in the Gold Coast. Planning was to be:

"... for the purposes of aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the colony or territory and thereby promoting commerce with or industry in the United Kingdom." 50

This statement really guided development in the Gold Coast. To a large extent development in the Gold Coast emphasized sectors of the economy which tied in with the needs of the economy of the United Kingdom. For many years after 1850 no significant changes occurred in the existing loose network of important trade routes. Trade routes and politics were so closely interwoven that so long as Ashanti remained the economic and political heart of the country all major routes led from Kumasi to selected ports on the coast and to settlements in the north.

General confusion and political unrest was evident after the dissolution of Ashanti power in 1874 and this resulted in the closing of many trade routes and a serious dislocation of trade.⁵¹ The British were therefore faced with the task of reorganizing trade and this meant establishing a viable administration and providing the necessary infrastructure. After the Ashanti defeat in 1874, the British administration plunged into plans to diversify the economy away from trade and commerce and to exploit the resources available for export. A reliable and cheap means of transportation was

51. Dickson, K.B. (1969) p. 214

50. Quoted from K. Ewin (1973) Economic Development Planning in Ghana (Exposition Press, New York). p. 3.

Fig. 4 Changing fortunes of ports in Ghana : 1900 - 1925.

from Gould, P.R. (1960) The Development of the Transportation Pattern in Ghana (Northwestern Univ. Studies in Geography No.5, Evanston, Illinois) p.45

Table 3

Value of Cocoa Exports 1900 to 1920 (£000's)

Year	Value
1900	27
1901	43
1902	95
1903	86
1904	200
1905	187
1906	336
1907	515
1908	541
1909	755
1910	866
1911	1,613
1912	1,643
1913	2,489
1914	2,194
1915	3,657
1916	3,848
1917	3,147
1918	1,797
1919	8,278
1920	10,056

Source: Kay, G.B. (1972) The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana: A Collection of Documents and Statistics 1900 to 1960 (Cambridge University Press) p. 334.

essential to the success of this plan, thus the commitment of the British administration to the building and maintenance of railways in the country.

Trade increased dramatically in volume although its organization remained the same. British firms first appointed agents mainly on the coast but later on, as the demand for imported goods increased and spread into the interior, some sub-coastal towns became important. The export list grew with time. After the abolition of the slave trade palm oil and rubber became the major export trade commodities in addition to alluvial gold dust which was declining in importance. Cocoa was first exported from Ghana in 1891 and from this time exports increased steadily (see Table 3).

The export trades began to determine the fortunes of settlements. The growth of many coastal towns fluctuated depending on how open their adjacent interiors were at any time. It was how much cocoa, gold, manganese and other commodities that a town's hinterland produced that determined its position in the system of trade centres, ports and communication lines (see Figure 4). To control and monitor trade effectively the most important government officials and functions were based at coastal towns. Cape Coast, for example, lost its position as the centre of the colonial administration to Accra mainly because mineral resource areas and areas of cocoa production were not located within its hinterland.⁵² The town soon lost its port functions because it was by-passed by the administration and an interior route selected for the railway. Instead of a proposed Central Province line the

52. Hinderink, J. & Sterkenburg, J. (1975) Anatomy of an African Town: A Socio-Economic Study of Cape Coast, Ghana (Dept. of Geography of Developing Countries, Geographical Institute, Univ. of Utrecht).

Table 4

Growth Rates of Four Cities

(Percentages)

City	1921 - 1931	1931 - 1948
Accra	4.0	4.7
Kumasi	4.6	3.0
Sekondi/Takoradi	6.0	5.7
Cape Coast	1.7	1.6

Sources: 1. A.W. Cardinal, The Gold Coast, (1931) (Accra n.d.) p. 158
2. The Gold Coast Census of Population, 1948 (London, 1950)
pp. 26-32

Table 5

Estimated and Actual Government Expenditure 1920-1930 (£000's)

	Estimates	Expenditures
Agriculture	216	151
Public buildings	1,100	1,512
Town Improvements	1,850	465
Surface Drainage	--	--
Roads	1,000	1,223
Railways	14,581	5,821
Ports and Harbours	2,000	2,264
Posts and Telegraphs	90	276
Electricity	2,000	188
Water Supplies	1,790	204
Takoradi Townships	690	189
Maps and Surveys	200	178
Miscellaneous	440	156
TOTAL	25,936	12,627

Source: Kay, G.B. (1972) The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana: A Collection of Documents and Statistics 1900-1960, Cambridge University Press) p. 323

colonial administration opted for the interior Kade-Tarkwa route.⁵³ Formerly important coastal towns which were traditional political centres lost their status. Many sub-coastal settlements dwindled into tiny villages as people moved out to seek wage employment. The ports, the new rising towns, and the administrative and commercial centres were the main targets. The newly selected important townships experienced fast growth. Table 4 shows the rate at which Accra, Kumasi, and Sekondi-Takoradi grew between 1921 and 1948 as compared to Cape Coast.⁵⁴ Town improvement programmes in such towns became a popular feature of the colony's budget allocations.⁵⁵ (Table 5). These centres became synonymous with good education, good jobs and prosperity. Accra, which had become the new seat of the administration in 1877, had a population increase from 16,267 to 60,726 between 1891 and 1931. As Dickson puts it, this was the beginning of urban parasitism in Ghana.⁵⁶ The only settlements in the interior which experienced growth were the selected government administrative centres and the important rising towns. The colonial era succeeding the fall of Ashanti therefore witnessed a rapid development of urban characteristics embracing a range of economic and administrative activities. Dickson offers the example of Bawku which in

53. Kay, G.B. (1972) The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana (Cambridge Univ. Press), p. 150.

54. Hinderink, J. Sterkenburg, J. (1975) p. 46

55. Kay, G.B. (1972) p. 59

56. Dickson, K.B. (1971) p. 8

Fig. 5 Ideal - typical sequence of transport development.
 from Taaffe, E.J. et al. "Transport Expansion in Under-
 developed Countries: A Comparative Analysis" in Hoyle, B.S. ed.
 (1973) Transport and Development (Macmillan Press, London) p.33

1909 was only a small "village". Its growth was mainly due to the use made of it by the administration with the opening of a police post there.⁵⁷

The town's market functions followed the establishment of the colonial administration there. Tamale which was originally a small "village" subordinated to Savelugu was selected to be an administrative centre whose sphere of influence gradually came to cover the whole of northern Ghana.⁵⁸

Apart from places like Tarkwa and Prestea which grew solely because of mining the selected administrative centres acquired schools, hospitals, departmental stores, etc., from both the British administration and private investors.

Taaffe, Morrill and Gould's model (see figure 5), presents a useful interpretation of the growth in urbanism, urban parasitism and the resulting intra and inter-regional disparities in Ghana.⁵⁹ The model, although primarily concerned with transportation, gives an insight into how a colonial experience first disorients and later alters existing spatial systems and the space economy. Starting with scattered ports on the coast, railroad linkages were provided with mining centres in the interior and with administrative centres. These mining settlements experienced rapid population growth drawing labour from surrounding areas and especially from the northern parts of the country.⁶⁰ The manner in which the proposed railway line from Kumasi to the North was

57. Dickson, K.B. (1971) p. 5

58. Dickson, K.B. (1971) p. 5

59. Taaffe, E.J., Morrill, R.L., Gould, P.R. (1963) "Transport Expansion in Underdeveloped Countries" Geographical Review 53

60. Dickson, K.B. (1974) "Towards a Development Programme for Northern Ghana" Proceedings of the Commission on Regional Aspects of Development of the I.G.U. Vol. I, Methodology and Case Studies, pp. 605-621.

abandoned demonstrates clearly how regional development at the time was very much tied to administration and resources - both very important to peaceful and profitable pursuance of trade with Britain. The railway scheme which had been deemed very important for bringing the colony together and for the establishment of a shea-butter industry was put aside because it was felt that the chances of rapid development of an export industry in shea-butter seemed slight.⁶¹ Northern Ghana was generally ignored because the area did not appear to offer good prospects for quick returns to investments. In fact, from 1906, young men were actively encouraged to leave the north and seek employment in gold mines and cocoa farms in the south.⁶²

Conscious efforts were made, sometimes through deliberate neglect to make the north function as a labour reservoir for the development of the export trade between the colony and Britain.

Between 1898 and 1920, therefore, 40 per cent of all Government expenditure was on administration and 24 per cent on railways. The number of persons employed by the administration (mainly in the administrative centres) grew rapidly from 826 in 1900 to 3,324 in 1921 with the southern portions of the colony having a great share of this employment.⁶³ By this time the Accra district, the mining regions of the west and the Kumasi area were standing out as the most prosperous areas. This pattern of development

61. Kay, C.G. (1972) p. 165

62. Dickson, K.B. (1974)

63. Kay, C.B. (1972) p. 41

did not change even under the governorship of the very development-conscious Guggisberg between 1919 and 1927.

It was such a spatial structure that the new African government inherited in 1957 - a system dominated by a few urban places and fraught with serious regional imbalances in development.⁶⁴ The response was and has been continued migration from rural to urban areas and from region to region. Writing in 1976, Darkoh asserts that:

"Eighteen years after independence and some nine years after Nkrumah's overthrow, the Ghanaian space economy still suffers from the handicaps of ...-lopsided development, weak development of inter-sectoral and inter-regional linkages - and there has been no significant change away from this inherited colonial and neo-colonial structure despite well-meant efforts by four successive governments." ⁶⁵

Lop-sided spatial development in Ghana is very much confirmed by intercensal migration figures. Using 1960 regional boundaries to permit comparability Gaisie found out that between 1960 and 1970 three regions made gains: Greater Accra (+169,017), Brong-Ahafo (+24772) and Ashanti (+6611). The other regions registered losses: Northern (-55855), Volta (-61423), Eastern (-71306) and Western (-11091).⁶⁶ Evidence from the same source suggests that disregarding migration to rural cocoa farms for wage employment, migration is mainly rural to urban with the bulk of the migrants leaving for the Greater Accra region or to other urban places in the

64. Darkoh, M.B.K. (1976) "An Outline of Post-1966-Regional Planning and Rural Development in Ghana" Pan-African Journal Vol. IX No. 2, 1976.

65. Darkoh, M.B.K. (1976)

66. Gaisie, S.K., de-Grap-Johnson, K.T. (1976) pp. 62-75.

Southern regions.⁶⁷ Since independence there has been some concern for regional planning and development by Ghanaian governments.⁶⁸ What has been happening since 1960? The question is: Have successive governments translated rhetorics and elaborate expressions of concern into action or have they opted for policies inimical to the achievement of balanced development throughout the country?

67. Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T. (1976) p. 69

68. See National Physical Development Plan (1965) that accompanied the 7-year Development Plan. (Government of Ghana, Town and Country Planning Division, Accra).

CHAPTER FOUR

REGIONAL INEQUALITIES BETWEEN 1960 AND 1970

Social Indicators and Development

The idea that certain indicators directly express living conditions becomes very relevant when one begins to look at how development satisfies the basic needs of a people. The contention as expressed in an earlier chapter, in effect is that when we talk about development it is in fact the final output which can only meaningfully be expressed in the people's well-being which we should be looking at. There are those who argue that economic indicators of development should in fact be replaced entirely by social indicators of some sort. Many agree, however, that a well-developed set of social indicators can complement purely economic indicators when monitoring development progress.⁶⁹ As de Graft-Johnson rightly points out, there is hardly any social indicator which does not have its economic implication and vice-versa. The use of such indicators

69. Smith, D.M. (1973) The Geography of Social Well Being (McGraw Hill) p. 3

70. de Graft-Johnson, K.T. (1975) "Some Economic and Social Indicators to Measure Development in West Africa" International Social Science Journal Vol. 27, No. 1

should be very guarded. The term "territorial social indicators" as used by Smith brings out the importance of the researcher choosing indicators that are relevant to the "well-being of the society under study."⁷¹ de Graft-Johnson suggests a set of such relevant social indicators for West Africa. In most African countries the National Statistics Office and day-to-day administrative records remain the main source for data on which such indicators can be based. Given the state of data collection agencies in Ghana as in many Third World countries, it also becomes very necessary to exercise extreme caution in terms of the sophistication of analysis available data is subjected to. As to whether the social indicators arrived at after data manipulation represent a "true package of development and welfare", the answer will depend not only on what specific development goals have been stated by planners, whether or not these goals have any relevance to the individual citizen's welfare, and especially for the researcher, what is readily measurable. Selection of socio-economic variables for this study then has been guided as much by the need to reflect the basic needs of the entire population as by the availability of continuous data which allow some comparisons over time.

Drawing partly from de Graft-Johnson's list of possible data, the following have been used in the analysis for Ghana:

71. Smith, D.M. (1973) p. 63

1. Primary School Enrollment
2. Water Supply
3. Electricity Supply
4. Health Services
5. Demographic data
6. Statistics on the Modern Sector of the economy

Although for a country like Ghana data on the traditional agricultural sector would have been very instructive such data is largely non-existent on a regional basis. Table 6 presents information on the estimated proportions of the kinds of agricultural holdings in Ghana and brings out the problems involved with collecting data on traditional agricultural production.

Even when these figures are available they tend to be unreliable. 72 Moreover as later analysis will bring out this sector (traditional agriculture) has been generally neglected so much in the past in development planning that it may not really hurt so much to look elsewhere for indications of regional inequalities within the country.

Two types of analyses were carried out using variables derived from the data already mentioned. First an analysis of the relative levels of socio-economic development was carried out using Smith's Standard Score Additive model. By the use of this method rankings of "levels of development" for the various regions are arrived at for four years from 1960 to 1970. A second analysis involves the use of Williamson's

72. Asamoah-Darko, S. (1976) "Difference in Regional Growth in Ghana" Paper presented at Seminar on Urbanization and Rural Development, University of Ghana, July 11-17, 1976.

Table 6

Agricultural Holdings by Type by Regions

Region	Subsistence Only (Percentage)	Mainly Subsistence (Percentage)	Mainly Sale (Percentage)
Western	5	24	71
Central	7	25	68
Greater Accra	-	-	-
Eastern	2	23	75
Volta	9	60	31
Ashanti	6	19	75
Brong-Ahafo	5	43	52
Northern	22	77	1
Upper	54	41	5

NOTE: 1. Subsistence Only: No cash cultivation and little or no sale of food crops.

Mainly Subsistence: More than 50% of the produce intended for home consumption.

Mainly Sale: More than 50% of the produce intended for sale.

2. No figures available for Greater Accra Region

Source: Republic of Ghana: Report on Ghana Sample Census of Agriculture (1970), Vol. 1, p. 46.

method of measuring the extent of regional disparity to examine trends in regional inequality for various variables.

Smith's Standard Score Additive Model

The model is used by David Smith in an ~~inter~~-state analysis of "social well-being" in the United States.⁷³ Using this additive model Smith was able to group 47 variables into what he saw as six appropriate indicators of social well-being.

The Model

The method involves first of all a derivation of composite social indicators through a transformation of original regional figures for various variables. By the use of Z-score analysis the variables are transformed linearly such that the mean becomes zero and the standard deviation unity. For observation i on any variables the standard score (Z_i) is given by:

$$Z_i = \frac{X_i - \bar{X}}{S}$$

where X_i is the original value of observation i

$\bar{X}$ is the mean for the variable i

S is the standard deviation ⁷⁴

73. Smith, D.M. (1973) pp. 79-103

74. Smith, D.M. (1973) p. 85

This transformation eliminates the problem of different measurement units and equalizes two parameters of the respective distributions of the observations - the mean and standard deviation. This enables scores of different variables to be combined by simple addition. Signs on variables having negative connotations are reversed. Second and third transformations involve the development of composite social indicators from the scores obtained and the further creation of general indicators including all composite indicators as calculated from the standardized variables. Thus:

$$I_j = \sum_{i=1}^k Z_{ij}$$

where I_j is the magnitude of the indicator for region j

Z_{ij} is the standard score on variables in region j

K is the number of variables measuring the criterion in question, being a subset of the total m variables

The overall general indicator development (D) for any region j will be:

$$D_j = \sum_{i=1}^m Z_{ij}$$

Having gone through these stages the indicators derived for various regions can be directly compared.⁷⁵

The model has limitations arising from the subjective selection of variables. This limitation falls under the general consideration of development and what it should mean to the citizens of any particular section. This has been discussed already. As Smith points out, implicit in the model

75. Smith, D.M. (1973) p. 86

is the assumption that selected variables sum up to equal desired development. For Ghana in particular, this is a real problem given the general lack of data of the sort needed for such analysis. Very little data exists in the desired regional form in Ghana. There is also the problem of inadequate coverage even when regional figures are available. Interest in trends further made it necessary to eliminate data which is not complete over time.

Another limitation is the problem of weighting. The model standardizes the scores assuming equal weighting of all variables. Goulet's discussion of development contents and development goals is relevant here.⁷⁶ It is clear that it is almost impossible if not impossible altogether for any researcher attempting to measure levels or states of development to capture the full "picture" in any real terms.

The Model Applied to Ghana

The variables selected were grouped together as follows to achieve regional social indicator scores for the years 1960, 1964, 1968 and 1970.

Economic Indicator

- i) Employment in industry per 1000 population between 15 & 64
- ii) Employment in Commerce per 1000 population between 15 & 64
- iii) Industrial output per capita

76. Goulet, D. (1978)

Social Amenities Indicator

- i) Electricity consumers per 1000 population
- ii) Percentage of population served with pipe-bourne water

Social Service Indicator

- i) Number of hospital beds per 1000 population
- ii) Enrollment in Primary School per 1000 children between 6 and 14
- iii) Number of doctors per 1000 population

Demographic Indicator

- i) crude death rates
- ii) infant mortality rates per 1000 live births
- iii) life expectancy at birth (males)
- iv) life expectancy at birth (females)

A full list of data sources can be found in the appendix.

Not all the variables were available for all four years considered. This however does not disturb the "picture" of the levels as presented for particular years. Standardizing the scores each year for the given available variables permits useful regional comparisons of development levels.

Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10 list the indicators as calculated for the years 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1970. Table 11 gives a list of the regions and their general performance - with all the various indicator scores added up. Figures 6 to 9 illustrate the general level of development for these

Table 7

Development Indicator Scores for Regions: 1960

Region	Economic	Social Amenities	Social Services
Western	0.75	0.36	-0.27
Central	0.26	-0.18	0.17
Greater Accra	1.97	2.62	1.67
Eastern	0.62	-0.71	1.06
Volta	-0.49	-0.58	0.13
Ashanti	0.24	-0.11	0.76
Brong-Ahafo	-0.88	0.08	-1.23
Northern	-1.11	-0.61	-0.77
Upper	-1.35		-1.51

Table 8

Development Indicator Scores for Regions: 1964

Region	Economic	Social Amenities	Social Services
Western	1.93	0.22	0.84
Central	-0.61	-0.33	0.43
Greater Accra	1.67	2.70	-0.03
Eastern	-0.41	-0.61	0.87
Volta	-0.75	-0.73	0.77
Ashanti	0.17	-0.22	0.57
Brong-Ahafo	-0.52	-0.55	0.12
Northern	-0.72	0.04	-1.94
Upper	-0.76	-0.56	-1.63

Table 9

Development Indicator Scores for Regions: 1968

Region	Economic	Social Amenities	Social Services	Demographic
Western	1.59	0.39	0.56	0.12
Central	-0.61	-0.20	0.04	-0.30
Greater Accra	2.01	2.64	1.92	2.16
Eastern	-0.27	-0.54	0.62	0.05
Volta	-0.75	-0.49	-0.08	0.48
Ashanti	0.08	-0.33	0.30	0.38
Brong Ahafo	-0.61	-0.52	-0.39	-0.13
Northern	-0.73	0.01	-1.45	-1.20
Upper	-0.72	-0.96	-1.52	-1.55

Table 10

Development Indicator Scores for Regions: 1970

Region	Economic	Social Amenities	Social Services
Western	1.28	0.24	0.87
Central	-0.62	-0.15	-0.43
Greater Accra	2.23	2.70	2.47
Eastern	-0.14	-0.50	-0.35
Volta	-0.71	-0.53	-0.32
Ashanti	0.06	-0.25	0.04
Brong-Ahafo	-0.62	-0.52	-0.78
Northern	-0.78	-0.10	-0.79
Upper	-0.70	-0.89	-0.71

Table 11

General Performance of Regions

Region	1960	1964	1968	1970
Western	0.84	2.93	2.66	2.39
Central	0.25	0.51	-1.07	-1.32
Greater Accra	6.26	4.34	8.73	7.4
Eastern	0.97	-0.15	-0.14	-0.99
Volta	-0.94	-0.71	-0.84	-1.56
Ashanti	0.89	0.52	0.43	-0.15
Brong-Ahafo	-2.97	-0.91	-1.66	-1.92
Northern	-1.80	-2.62	-3.28	-1.67
Upper	-3.47	-2.95	-4.75	-2.30

Fig.6

Fig.7

Fig.8

Fig.9

years. Table 12 and Figure 10 show the regions with their performance in terms of ranks from 1 to 9. On the maps, however, six levels are used to group the regions from High (1) to low (6).

Close association between the various indicators and the General Indicator score is illustrated by correlation analysis performed on scores for 1960 and 1968. The same close association was observed between the indicators themselves. The lowest correlation coefficient (r) between any individual indicator and the general score is 0.82 for 1960 and 0.90 for 1968. Between the contributing social indicators the lowest coefficient (r) is 0.58 for 1960 and 0.72 for 1968. Table 13 gives the full list of the correlation co-efficients. These associations may lead us to conclude quite safely that the variables selected for the analysis do in fact give a fairly good illustration of the levels of development in Ghana.

Trends of Regional Disparity in Ghana: Testing Williamson's Hypothesis

Theoretical considerations of what happens to inequalities within the borders of a nation as development proceeds goes back to Myrdal's "backwash" effects, Hirschman's equivalent polarization effects and their opposing "spread effects" and "trickling down effects." These ideas have already been touched on.

Williamson's Hypothesis

Williamson's famous paper entitled "Regional Inequalities and the Process of National Development: A Description of the Patterns" appeared

Table 12

General Performance of Regions Ranked

Region	R A N K			
	1960	1964	1968	1970
Western	4	2	2	2
Central	5	4	4	7
Greater Accra	1	1	1	1
Eastern	2	5	5	4
Volta	6	6	6	5
Ashanti	3	3	3	3
Brong-Ahafo	8	7	7	8
Northern	7	8	8	6
Upper	9	9	9	9

Fig.10 Ranks of "levels of development" of nine regions
1960,1964,1968,1970.

Table 13.

Correlation Between Indicators

	<u>1960</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>D</u>
I	Economic Indicator	1.00			
II	Social Amenities Indicator	0.74	1.00		
III	Social Service Indicator	0.88	0.58	1.00	
D	General Indicator	0.82	0.86	0.90	1.00

	<u>1968</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>D</u>
I	Economic Indicator	1.00				
II	Social Amenities Indicator	0.84	1.00			
III	Social Service Indicator	0.78	0.72	1.00		
IV	Demographic Indicator	0.72	0.77	0.94	1.00	
D	General Indicator	0.90	0.91	0.93	0.93	1.00

in 1965.⁷⁷ In this paper he reviewed the neo-classical theories of equilibrating factor flows in national development. Williamson dwelt like Myrdal and Hirschman at length on the disequilibrating effects of labour migration, capital migration, and inter-regional linkages and came to the conclusion that inter-regional divergence in development was based on the following considerations:

1. "Southern" progress will eventually slow down below migration to the North with the south retaining its skilled labour. Occupational wage differentials between skilled and unskilled are likely to diminish in the North relative to the South.
2. Capital markets will develop in the South with time, helping to deter capital outflow. Meanwhile external economies eventually become exhausted in the margin in the North while they begin to assert themselves in the poorer regions.
3. Most important of all, Government policy "will increasingly provide an excellent opportunity to alter the geographic composition of public investment in favour of the less developed areas." ⁷⁸

Based on these theoretical arguments, an empirical international cross-sectional analysis of 24 countries and an examination of data from the United States, Williamson proposed that within the boundaries of a nation, relative regional disparities first diverge and then converge as development proceeds over time. Williamson's conclusion was that "a statistic describing regional inequality will trace out an inverted "U" over the national growth path..."⁷⁹ (Fig.11)

77. Williamson, J.G. (1965) "Regional inequality and the process of national Development: A description of the Patterns" Economic Development and Cultural Change 13, No. 4 3-43.

78. Williamson, J.G. (1965 p. 9

79. Williamson, J.G. (1965) p. 10

Fig.11
Relationship between regional income inequality and national development.

after Williamson J.G. (1965) "Regional Income Inequality and the Process of National Development: a Description of the Patterns." Economic Development and Cultural Change Vol.13, No.4 pp.3-47

To arrive at coefficients indicative of the extent of regional inequality at any given time Williamson used various Analysis of Variance equations, the basic ones being the statistic V_W and the statistic VuW . To arrive at these two coefficients,

$$V_W = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_i (y_i - \bar{y})^2 \frac{f_i}{n}}{\bar{y}}}$$

Where f_i = population of the i^{th} region

n = national population

y_i = "income per capita" of the i^{th} region

$\bar{y}$ = national income per capita

and

$$VuW = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_i (y_i - \bar{y})^2}{N}} \cdot \bar{y}$$

where N = number of regions⁸⁰

80. Williamson, J.G. (1965) p. 11

V_w represents in the equation, "a weighted coefficient of variation" which measures the dispersion of the regional income per capita levels relative to the national average while each regional deviation is weighted by its share in the national population. Higher V_w 's depict greater geographic income differentials. V_{uw} , however, differs from V_w because it is affected by the "arbitrary political definition of regional units" making it less useful than the V_w coefficient.⁸¹ To aid the analysis for certain countries Williamson introduced another equation based on the theme of agricultural workers in the total labour force by regions, obtaining a "rough index of regional inequality by using the square of the differences between regional shares of agricultural employment in the labour force and that of the nation as a whole".⁸²

$$\Delta w = \sqrt{\sum_i [(A/L)_i - (A/L)]^2 \cdot \frac{f_i}{n}} \times 100$$

where $(A/L)_i$ = share of agricultural labour in total labour force of i th region,
 (A/L) = share for the nation as a whole,
 f_i = population of the i th region
 n = national population

All these three equations are utilized to analyse trends in regional disparities in Ghana using the selected variables.

This use of analysis of variance is commendable. Given a

81. Williamson, J.G. (1965)

82. Williamson, J.G. (1965) p. 32

distribution of incomes in a nation, Williamson's coefficients are sensitive to income transfers at all levels in the distribution. The method attaches equal weights to transfers at different levels of the distribution.⁸³ Furthermore by weighting the coefficient with population the equation takes account of the differential importance of regions with widely different populations. As a measure of the extent of regional disparity, therefore, the method is statistically satisfactory.

The hypothesis has, however, been hotly debated since it was advanced by Williamson. Friedmann, using data for Canada contested the inverted U shape trend and proposed that at best the evidence is inconclusive and that convergence like Williamson suggests, if it happens at all will be an extremely drawn-out process.⁸⁴ More recently Gilbert and Goodman have disputed the validity of the hypothesis using data for Brazil and more recent data for some developing countries.⁸⁵ They especially pointed out the seriousness of neglecting intra-regional and inter-personal disparities in such an analysis - something Williamson assumed away. Williamson's hypothesis however, still receives considerable following from researchers like Mera who has supported it with evidence from Japan.⁸⁶

83. Sen, A. (1973) On Economic Inequality (Oxford University Press) pp. 27-28.

84. Friedmann, J. (1973) Urbanization, Planning, and National Development (Sage) pp. 76-77.

85. Gilbert, A.G. and Goodman, D.E. (1976) "Regional Income Disparities and Economic Development: A Critique" in Gilbert, A. (ed.) Development Planning and Spatial Structure (John Wiley & Sons)

86. Mera, K. (1976) "The Changing Pattern of Population Distribution in Japan and its Implication for Developing Countries" in Growth Pole Strategy and Regional Development in Asia, (United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan) 242-277.

THE GHANAIAN CASE

Given the recent shifts in development thinking and the increasing importance being accorded socio-economic indicators in the measurement of development, Williamson's hypothesis was tested for Ghana using the following variables:

1. Primary school enrolment
2. Water Supply
3. Employment in the Modern Sector of the Economy
4. Industrial Output

This is a departure from the use of incomes as a surrogate for development. The interest in social indicators and their relevance to basic needs as a development goal has been discussed earlier. Considering the above variables at least two of them, (primary school enrolment and water supply) can be said to be basic needs and development surrogates in Ghana.

At the time of independence Nkrumah said in a radio broadcast:

"We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of the people; by the number of children in school, and by the quality of their education; by the availability of water and electricity in our towns and villages, and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs. The welfare of our people is our chief pride and it is by this my Government will ask to be judged." 87

Given this expressed commitment of the government and the policies that followed (mainly infra-structural development and industrialization), the selected indicators adequately represent the government's interpretation of development needs and offer an insight into the relative levels of development in the various regions at the time. Table 14 lists the coefficients calculated for the variables between 1960 and 1970.

87. Nkrumah, Kwame (1957) Broadcast to nation, 24th December.

Table 14

Calculated Disparity Coefficients

Year	Water Supply		Primary School Enrollment	Modern Sector Employment	Industrial Output	
	Vw	Vuw	Δ W	Δ W	Vw	Vuw
1960			7.3	6.9		
1961			6.5	7.5		
1962			6.6	7.1		
1963	1.684	1.949	7.8	8.9		
1964	1.588	1.810	8.7	6.8	1.426	1.634
1965	1.684	1.886	9.0	7.1	1.377	1.521
1966	1.775	1.973	8.3	6.3	1.292	1.424
1967	1.697	1.862	8.2	6.5	1.412	1.547
1968	1.625	1.759	7.4	7.1	1.398	1.519
1969	1.660	1.769	7.6	6.5	1.069	1.129
1970	1.717	1.806	7.6	6.0	1.296	1.379

The trends are illustrated by use of graphs (Figures 12 to 15). Figures 16 and 17 respectively illustrate the disparity coefficients plotted against water supply for capita (national) figures and primary school enrollment per 1,000 children between 6 and 14 (national). Figures 18 and 19 show coefficients plotted against corresponding industrial output per capita (national) and national employment in the modern sector per 1,000 population between 15 and 64. General trends in national development are illustrated by Figures 20 to 23.

An examination of the disparity coefficients for these variables suggests that given Williamson's expectation of an inverted U-shaped curve one cannot discern any identifiable pattern. One would expect that the points on the disparity graph will present a curve which will at least form part of the general picture of the inverted U curve. This is not the case here. What we can say however is that given the average disparity coefficient that Williamson calculated (0.299 for V_w and 0.309 for V_{uw}) the magnitudes of the disparities in the supply of water and in regional industrial outputs are quite large. Coefficients (V_w range from 1.759 to 1.949) for industrial output they range from V_w : 1.069 to 1.462 and V_{uw} : 1.129 to 1.634. These observations clearly fall in line with the unbalanced policies of modernization pursued by successive governments in the country. They in fact give credence to the results of the Z-score analysis performed earlier on in the chapter.

In this chapter attempts have been made to bring across the nature and extent of regional inequalities in Ghana. It is the author's contention however, that the analyses may have seriously underplayed the real extent of disparities. Goodman and Gilbert rightly point out that large rural-urban

Fig. 13 PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT : DISPARITY TRENDS

Fig. 14 EMPLOYMENT IN MODERN SECTOR : DISPARITY TRENDS

Fig. 18 PLOT OF NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT PER CAPITA AGAINST DISPARITY

Fig. 19

PLOT OF EMPLOYMENT IN MODERN SECTOR AGAINST DISPARITY

Fig. 21 1960 - 1970 : NATIONAL PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATES

EMPLOYMENT IN MODERN SECTOR/1000
POPULATION BETWEEN 15 & 64

disparities in the country are usually hidden by the inclusion of urban centres within administrative areas containing large rural populations. Furthermore even within rural areas themselves and within urban areas large disparities exist. Correlating the general development indicator scores (from the standard score model) for 1960 and 1970 with the percentages of regional population in areas with population of more than 5,000, correlation coefficients(r) of 0.93 and 0.92 were obtained for the two years. This shows a close association between urbanization and a high level of development. The extent of rural poverty will be appreciated more if we realize that 48 percent of Ghanaians live in villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants.⁸⁸

88. Ghana Population Census, Vol. II (Accra, Census Office)

CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND REGIONAL IMBALANCES IN DEVELOPMENT

Why did such regional disparities persist in Ghana up to 1970? One must turn to the development policies of the past governments, and in particular to that of the Nkrumah regime which was overthrown in 1966.

Development planning under Nkrumah was marked by a desire to create a centrally-planned, industrialized economy based on socialism.⁸⁹ The strategy of development planning was therefore an unbalanced one, seeking to emphasize industrialization at the expense of agriculture.⁹⁰ In Nkrumah's 7-year Development Plan especially, plans for agriculture were largely limited to the needs of a new modernized agricultural sector, which was deemed necessary for feeding the new industries with raw materials and also for feeding the growing population on the road to modernization. In any case agriculture was of minor importance with the emphasis being put

89. Republic of Ghana (1963) The 7-Year Development Plan, p. 2

90. "Killick, A. (1978) Development Economics in Action: A Study of Economic Policies in Ghana. (Heinemann, London).

on industrialization and the building of the necessary infrastructure for such industrialization. The implication of Nkrumah's development policy has been extensively discussed by various authors. Killick suggests that development planning after Nkrumah's regime has not been characterized by any departure from the Nkrumah-type planning.⁹¹ Between 1960 and 1970 especially, emphasis was on growth in the economy based on industrialization. As pointed out earlier on in chapter 2 such Rostovian approach to development in an underdeveloped economy like Ghana's tend to be manifested in the adoption of growth pole strategies for achieving the total development of a nation. Ghana's case is no exception. The strategy of spatial restructuring was to encourage some smaller settlements to become urban by infusing into them services and facilities which will bring about the assumption of "new industrial and commercial functions, thus reducing the intensity of their traditional rural functions in agriculture, fishing or hunting."⁹² These settlements were then expected to offer the lead in development to areas within their determined spheres of influence. (See Figure 24).

INDUSTRIALIZATION UNDER NKRUMAH

Under Nkrumah development was identified with industrialization. Killick in fact suggests that industrialization was deemed equivalent to

91. Killick, A. (1978) p. 300

92. Republic of Ghana (1965) National Physical Development Plan, 1963-1970 p. 15.

Fig.24 Service Centres envisaged for the 1963-70 Plan period. from Govt. of Ghana(1965) National Physical Development Plan (State Publishing Corporation.Accra).

development. That agriculture was deemed an inferior form of activity is brought out in this statement made by Nkrumah:

"Industry rather than agriculture is the means by which rapid improvement in Africa's living standards is possible. There are, however, imperial specialists and apologists who urge the less developed countries to concentrate on agriculture and save industrialization for some later time when their populations are well fed. The world's economic development, however, shows that it is only with advanced industrialization that it is possible to raise the nutritional level of the people by raising their levels of income." 93

Following this conviction more attention was paid to industry. Industrialization was carried over even to the agricultural sector in an attempt to eradicate as fast as possible the dominant traditional agriculture. (See Table 15).

Professor Arthur Lewis, advising the government, recommended the establishment of 3 industrial estates at the national level (the national growth poles of Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi).⁹⁴ To attract industries to these national centres huge amounts of money were spent to provide a complex of infra-structural facilities, technical services and social amenities⁹⁵ (see expenditure on electricity, communication, housing, health sanitation and water supplies for the 1959-1964 Second Development Plan: Table 16). The Second Development Plan, aborted after 1962 and

93. Nkrumah, Kwame (1965) Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (International Publishers, New York) p. 26.

94. Lewis, W.A. (1955) Report on Industrialization In The Gold Coast (Government Printers, Accra)

95. Ewusi, K. (1973) Economic Development Planning in Ghana (Exposition Press, N.Y.) p. 27

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Table 15

Planned and Projected Structure of Investments 1963 to 1970

Sector	Investments (£G Million)
Agriculture	176.6
Industry	206.4
Mining	41.7
Transport	62.9
Housing	76.2
Infrastructure	109.4
Social Services	127.9
Other	75.2
Depreciation	140.2
TOTAL	1,016.5

Source: Seven-Year Development Plan, p. 271.

Table 16

The Second Development Plan 1959-1964

Sector	For Immediate Implementation (£ 000's)	Total Plan (£ 000's)
Agriculture and Natural Resources	10,425	24,668
Industry and Trade	15,418	25,331
Electricity	7,000	8,765
Communications	28,679	53,010
Local and Regional Government	9,220	18,852
Education	14,150	27,852
Broadcasting and Information	1,693	2,677
Housing	7,093	17,000
Health, Sanitation and Water Supplies	19,675	43,650
Police and Prisons	4,786	7,677
Miscellaneous	7,718	13,684
Contingencies	6,143	6,834
TOTAL	132,000	250,000

Source: Second Development Plan pp. 2, 63

replaced with the Seven-Year Development Plan was to lay the basis for industrialization. The Seven-Year Plan was the actual industrial plan. A target of 600 factories producing a variety of about 100 different products were envisaged to achieve import substitution.⁹⁶ By 1964 there were 37 government-owned industries, 9 part-state and part-private enterprises and about a hundred odd privately owned factories in the country.⁹⁷ A number of these industries were established in smaller urban areas and some rural areas with the hope of having the newly-established state farms feed them with raw materials. The basis for a growth-centre strategy had been established.

THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Agricultural policy under the Nkrumah regime was aimed at a "... revolution... -- a total break with primitive methods and organizations and with the colonial past."⁹⁸ To achieve these aims large-scale mechanized farms were set up to the neglect of the peasants in the traditional sector. A State Farms Corporation was created and placed in charge of these farms. By 1965 the Corporation managed 105 farms about half of which were new. The new Young Farmer's League and the Workers' Brigade both owned farms. All these farms were mechanized. The United Ghana Farmers' Council was

96. Darkoh, M.B.K. (1972) "The Need for Planned Restructuring and Redistribution of Manufacturing in Ghana", African Urban Notes Vol. 6, No. 3.

97. Harland, F. (1968) Economic Development in Ghana (unpublished M.A. Research Essay, School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa, p. 60.

98. Nkrumah, Kwame (1962) Africa Needs Her Farmers, (Government Printer, Accra)

established to organize the traditional peasant farmers into co-operatives and help them expand the sizes of farms.⁹⁹ This political wing of the party was charged with the duty of providing extension services to the farmers. Agricultural extension officers were withdrawn from the Ministry of Agriculture and placed under the State Farms Corporations. The government imported great quantities of farm machinery.¹⁰⁰

In both industry and agriculture then the government had a choice: to build on what already existed to achieve improvements in living standards, helping the traditional sector gradually to improve its methods and productivity or to break with the past and introduce ready-made technology from abroad. The first African government of Ghana chose the latter option. It is a known fact that even cocoa, the life-blood of the Ghanaian export economy was neglected.¹⁰¹ It is the author's feeling here that Nkrumah's anxiety to modernize the economy and break away from the vulnerability of a one-crop economy was well-founded. More so was his concern for rural reconstruction and total national development. However, the implementation of these laudable aims were not only ambitious but sometimes even unrealistic. Investment policies in most parts widened rather than narrowed regional and inter-regional disparities.

99. Killick, A. (1978) p. 192

100. Killick, A. (1978) p. 193

101. Rourke, B.E. (1973) "Relative Profitability of Cocoa and Alternative Crops: some Provisional Estimates for the Eastern Region, Ghana" Paper presented to Cocoa Economics Research Conference, mimeo University of Ghana, April 1973.

Most of the industries established were concentrated in three regions and in the three most urbanized areas (the three national growth poles). Secondly the industries were characterized by weak intersectoral and inter-regional linkages (see Table 17).¹⁰² Thirdly industries established were largely capital-intensive providing very little in the form of jobs. Not only this, importing the machinery led the country into serious external debts (see Table 18). The location of industries was most times a decision left to politicians with the result that factories were located without any previous studies done of the resources available. Outside the three metropolitan areas most places were ill-equipped in terms of basic infrastructure to make these factories productive. Most of the industries as pointed out earlier made use of no local raw materials at all. Many of the industries in rural areas had no linkages in real terms with the established traditional economy of these areas.¹⁰³ It is not surprising therefore that the whole industrialization plan has been branded a failure. In 1968 an Economic Commission for Africa report indicated that between January 1965 and June 1966 the country lost 16 million new cedis (about \$16 Million) on State Enterprises.¹⁰⁴

102. Szerezewski, R. (1966) "The Sectoral Structure of the Economy, 1960" in W. Birmingham et al., eds. A Study of Contemporary Ghana. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

103. Darkoh, M.B.K. (1972) p. 89

104. E.C.A. Document No. 070-996 (Addis Ababa, November 1970)

Table 17

Linkages of Manufacturing Sector With Rest of Economy,
1960 and 1968

		1960	1968
1.	Purchases from other sectors as percentage of total material inputs	65	46
2.	Sales to other sectors as percentage of total sales	25	14

Sources: 1. Szereszewski, R. (1966) "The Sectoral Structure of the Economy, 1960" in W. Birmingham et al (eds.) A Study of Contemporary Ghana (Evanston, Northwestern University Press) pp. 62-88.

2. Killick, A. (1978) Development Economics in Action (Heinemann, London) p. 202.

Table 18

Balance of Visible Trade 1956-1965

Year	Exports (Thousand Cedis)	Imports (Thousand Cedis)	Balance of Visible Trade (Thousand Cedis)
1956	207838	213407	-5569
1957	219844	232044	-12200
1958	250940	203023	47917
1959	272062	271259	803
1960	278375	311082	-32707
1961	274777	344191	-69414
1962	276117	282101	-5984
1963	261143	312930	-51787
1964	275135	291821	-16686
1965	272259	384061	-111862

Source: Republic of Ghana, Economic Survey 1965, Bureau of Statistics

In the agricultural field results were equally disastrous. Most of the State farms continued to operate at a loss. The United Ghana Farmers' Council lacked the expertise and administrative capacity to operate extension services to farmers. Officials were known to cheat farmers openly and the Council, banned in 1966, has been blamed for the continued failure of the co-operative idea among the country's traditional peasant farmers.¹⁰⁵ Although recent comparative analysis of the State Farms and traditional agriculture shows that the peasant continued to be more productive than his counterpart on the state farm, Nkrumah's policies really did much harm to the rural areas. The rural economy became stagnant. The building and maintenance of necessary feeder roads were neglected.¹⁰⁶ Vehicles to cart the farmers' produce were in short supply. It is not surprising that a World Bank Mission to Ghana observed that the whole idea of State Farms and the Workers Brigade

"has had success in achieving neither its aim of significantly improving agricultural production or of attaining financial self-sufficiency. Indications are that workers of both agencies produce little more if as much, as they and their families consume, and that if it engaged in traditional agriculture they would produce significantly greater quantities of farm produce at a much lower cost." ¹⁰⁷

The National Liberation Council government (NLC) which followed Nkrumah in 1966 took a more pragmatic approach to development policy than Nkrumah's government. It was however, essentially a transition government

105. The de Graft-Johnson Report (1966) (Govt. Printers, Accra)

106. Natan Associates, (1970) Transportation Development in Ghana, p. 48.

107. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (1966) Public Sector Development Problems and Programs in Ghana.

and handed over to the government of Dr. Busia after just over two years in office. The soldiers, determined to ease inflationary pressure and improve the performance of the public sector cut down on public sector investments, closing down many state farms and selling off some of the state enterprises. The Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation was formed to take over the industries that remained in government hands. However, little was done to stimulate the rural economy and stem rural-urban migration. The bases of intra-regional and inter-regional disparities have been firmly entrenched in Ghana and it was going to involve a radical restructuring of the space-economy to correct the imbalances. Following the reports of the Mills-Odoi Commission and that of Albert Waterson, a World Bank official, the NLC government established Regional Planning Committees all over the country, a step which seemed to be in the direction of decentralizing the planning process which since independence had been in the hands of the National Planning Commission (the former State Planning Commission before 1964).¹⁰⁸ Membership of the Committees included influential private citizens and heads of government agencies in the regions. The secretary was a trained regional planner. The Committees were supposed to:

"co-ordinate development planning for key sectors of the regional economy, to provide surveillance on the implementation of all private projects in the region in order to detect the possible bottlenecks which might retard the execution of development projects and promptly find solutions for speeding up the implementation of these projects." ¹⁰⁹

108. Public Service Structure and Salaries Commission (Mills-Odoi Commission), 1967 and Waterson, A. (1966) "A Practical Programme Planning for Ghana", a report, both published by Ghana Govt. Printer, Accra.

109. Omaboe, E.N., Commissioner of Economic Affairs: address at the inauguration of the Eastern Regional Planning Committee, Jan. 1968.

At the intra-regional level district and local planning committees were set up to provide a link between the centre and the rural communities. Busia's government even went further in 1971, committing the government to rural development introducing among other programmes the Development Levy. Power over agriculture was returned to the Ministry of Agriculture but extension services remained weak. The lifetime of the government was, however, short. In January 1972 it was ousted by the military.

Despite all the changes and particularly the NLC-Busia decentralization drive there was not much change in development policy in Ghana. The status of the regional planning officer is 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 over matters of policy, regional budget allocation and determination of regional priorities was nominal.¹¹⁰

By the early 1970's therefore, Ghana's space economy was still characterized by a Growth Centre approach with a hierarchy of urban centres down to the relatively undeveloped villages. As shown in this analysis the rural economy was largely stagnant due to neglect and large investments had been pumped into few urban centres mainly in Greater Accra, Western Region and Ashanti Region. All these were regions which were relatively better developed than the rest of the country at the time of independence. A dual economy existed - a capital intensive industrial sector mainly in the southern part dwarfed by a highly stifled traditional agricultural

110. Bannerman, J.E. (1971) "Problems and Policies of Regional Planning in Ghana" in Dunham D.M. & Hilhorst, J.A.M. (eds.) Issues in Regional Planning (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.)

sector. Given the large industrial and infrastructural investments pumped into these "urbanized" regions the migration pattern has not changed from 1960. Commercial activity in the form of retail trading is known to be very important in the Ghanaian urban place. Analysis by Dickson shows that commerce, government and community services engage about 59 percent of the population of 33 towns with population of 10,000 or more. Retail trading constitutes 94.3 percent of those in commerce alone. In a country where shortages of consumer goods are rampant, the attractiveness of trading coupled with the generally better living standard in terms of social services and amenities drive people from the rural areas.¹¹¹ Poor regions - Northern and Upper Regions and to some extent Volta region and Central region continue to be depressed relative to Greater Accra, Ashanti and Western region.¹¹²

111. Dickson, K.B. (1971) p. 8

112. Gaisie, S.K. de Graft Johnson, K.T. (1976) p. 66.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The study has been an attempt to examine how Ghana's attempt at economic growth has been unsuccessful at changing the space-economy "away from inherited colonial and neo-colonial structures"¹¹³. The study has also attempted to approximate a representation of regional levels of development in Ghana and analyse the trends in regional inequalities.

Nine years after 1970, and twenty-two years after independence, there is no indication yet that this imbalance in national development will be redressed. The Five-Year Development Plan launched in 1975 by the erstwhile National Redemption Council continues to emphasize the 'age-old centre-down strategy' with a reliance on "growth foci"¹¹⁴ to achieve regional development. At a time when the country is again examining itself politically, it becomes difficult to forecast what the future holds for the country. One fact however is clear. Ultimately the problem of spatial organization of economic and social development cannot

113. Darkoh, M.B.K. (1976)

114. Republic of Ghana (1975) Guidelines for the Five Year Development Plan 1975-80 (Accra, Ghana Publishing Corporation) p. 46.

be effectively arrested without taking a hard look at the real strength of the forces created from the past and without a full commitment (largely political) to overturn events. Even more basic is the fact that any developing country in the world now is forging ahead in a world in which the economic order tends to make development progress an uphill task for most countries - the oil crisis and constantly fluctuating prices of primary commodities. Whatever the situation, however, Ghana must forge ahead in development.

For the future the problem of ensuring minimum essential standard of living for the entire Ghanaian population will remain a real problem for any new government. The paradigm in development has changed; economic growth itself is no more sufficient, although still essential as a driving force. Planning, therefore, will have to satisfy social as well as economic goals based on "qualitative judgements as much as quantitative techniques, and its style will have to be transactive."¹¹⁵ Developing economies like Ghana will sooner or later have to appreciate the urgency of the development problem. The question is: what are the options? As suggested earlier, for Ghana the author will join Friedmann and Douglass in their suggestion for "a heightened political commitment to an inward-looking and rurally based strategy of national development" - "a strategy deeply immersed in the particulars of the local settings."¹¹⁶ The future of the country

115. Friedman, J. and Douglass, M. (1976) "Agropolitan Development: Towards a New Strategy for Regional Planning in Asia" in UNCRD Growth Pole Strategy and Regional Planning in Asia Nagoya Japan pp. 333-4

116. Friedman, J. and Douglass, M. (1976) p. 335

continues to lie in the rural areas and it is from here that development should emanate. Williamson's contention is that regional disparities such as present in Ghana will be dealt with within the "natural" on-going process of national development. Even if we are to accept that such an equalization mechanism exists, the question is how long does the whole process take to reach the equalization stage? Migration trends in Ghana do indicate a great desire for better life by all Ghanaians. It seems to the author that Ghana like many other Third World countries needs to take another look at the socio-economic situation in the country and move away from the centre-down paradigm in development. As pointed out by Taylor in the case of Kenya, however, the ideological content of such an approach is taxing and demands a deep political commitment¹¹⁷ -- and Ghana still waits for this!

117. Taylor, D.R.F. (1979) "Regional Studies, Social Systems and Regional Policy in Africa: An Appraisal" in Kuklinski, A. Kulthahti, O. and Koskiahio, B. eds. Regional Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change (Finn Publishers, Tampere, Finland).

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Table a Percentage of Population Served by Water Supply

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana			29.5	30.2	32.4	35.6	42.0	42.5	42.4	46.9	44.4
Western	32.7	35.1	36.5	37.0	37.4	52.7	52.8	52.9	53.1	54.4	49.9
Central	30.4	27.4	26.9	27.0	27.0	30.1	41.7	41.8	42.5	45.9	44.5
Greater Accra	83.5	83.5	83.4	83.4	84.6	84.8	86.2	86.8	86.8	88.3	88.3
Eastern	14.0	14.3	16.8	16.8	19.7	21.3	31.5	31.6	33.6	37.2	35.9
Volta	23.2	17.0	17.1	17.2	19.5	19.5	36.6	39.2	39.3	40.9	38.2
Ashanti	30.8	21.3	21.3	21.5	29.5	34.8	34.9	34.9	34.9	39.2	37.8
Brong-Ahfo	14.7	23.2	25.7	25.9	29.0	33.6	39.4	39.5	39.5	43.4	39.4
Northern	46.8	46.7	46.1	46.3	46.6	46.8	54.2	54.2	54.2	56.5	50.9
Upper	24.0	24.5	25.6	27.2	27.9	27.9	30.0	29.4	26.0	27.1	28.8

Sources: 1. Ghana Statistical Yearbooks: 1960 to 1970
 2. Ghana Economic Survey: 1969

Table b
Primary School Enrollment (1960 to 1970)

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	627511	641770	788088	928638	1066516	1137495	1026843	1072723	1015457	975629	947502
Western	3017	43843	84286	99805	115066	126238	115549	111082	103768	96543	90888
Central	75577	76469	89937	107445	125728	135352	130933	118312	115661	109848	105598
Greater Accra	39750	40310	56759	66206	77695	88630	93050	92186	93447	93984	92878
Eastern	147257	148759	151141	175348	205197	216294	216331	208944	197350	194586	187269
Volta	91058	92151	110629	131432	147063	150008	141929	133733	124457	121726	117884
Asanti	129746	13142	161012	191227	214226	225126	226791	227805	216757	207342	206995
Brong-Ahfo	57032	57716	69541	84281	97831	106632	100048	97648	88136	85373	85875
Northern	18622	1885	23606	26654	32168	36161	41299	36469	34120	30934	26590
Upper	25452	32325	41177	46240	51542	53054	50913	46544	41761	35293	33525

Source: Ghana Education Statistics 1970 - 1971, Ministry of Education, Accra. pp. 110-111.

Table c Regional Consumption of Electricity
(Consumers as a percentage of population)

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	0.75	0.8	0.83	0.87	0.91	0.96	1.00	1.05	1.09	1.13	1.16
Western	1.74	1.73	1.53	1.55	1.50	1.55	1.59	1.63	1.64	1.62	1.54
Central	0.63	0.66	0.69	0.73	0.74	0.78	0.79	0.84	0.84	0.83	0.84
Greater Accra	3.94	4.37	4.58	4.73	4.87	4.95	5.02	5.21	5.31	5.42	5.47
Eastern	0.37	0.41	0.46	0.49	0.52	0.58	0.57	0.60	0.62	0.68	0.63
Volta	0.14	0.16	0.17	0.18	0.19	0.21	0.23	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.30
Ashanti	0.77	0.78	0.80	0.91	0.88	0.95	1.02	1.08	1.13	1.17	1.20
Brong-Ahfo	0	0.02	0.05	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.14	0.16
Northern	0.26	0.28	0.28	0.27	0.30	0.32	0.33	0.35	0.39	0.40	0.41
Upper	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06

Source: 1. Ghana Statistical Yearbooks, 1960 to 1971

2. Annual Reports, Electricity Corporation of Ghana, 1967-1971

Table d Value of Industrial Output per Capita by Region (Cedis)

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana					21.7	23.5	26.8	30.0	36.5	56.0	47.6
Western					72.9	78.6	85.1	103.6	106.2	94.3	116.5
Central					3.5	3.7	4.5	4.1	3.9	16.5	5.5
Greater Accra					102.7	101.3	107.7	129.6	166.2	161.5	205.8
Eastern					9.6	15.1	28.4	21.5	27.5	4.0	47.7
Volta					0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	1.9	3.7	7.2
Ashanti					24.7	26.2	25.8	27.9	34.9	40.0	40.3
Brong- Ahafo					4.8	3.9	3.2	3.1	4.9	7.1	10.7
Northern					0.4	0.7	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.9	2.5
Upper					0.02	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.8	1.08

Source: 1. Industrial Statistics of Ghana 1964 to 1970
 2. Economic Survey 1969

Table e

Regional Population 1960-1970

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	6726815	6888258	7053576	7222862	7396211	7573720	775489	7941621	8132220	8327393	8559313
Western	626000	639146	652568	666272	680264	694549	709135	724027	739232	754756	770087
Central	751000	763767	776751	789956	803385	817043	830933	845059	859425	874035	890135
Greater Accra	491817	519359	548443	579156	611589	645838	662005	720197	760528	803118	851614
Eastern	1094196	1109515	1125048	1140799	1156770	1172965	1189387	1206038	1222928	1240044	1261661
Volta	777285	792831	808688	824862	841359	858186	875350	892857	910714	928928	947268
Ashanti	1109133	1142407	1176679	1211979	1248338	1285788	1324362	1364093	1405016	1448431	1481698
Brong-Ahfo	587920	603794	620096	636839	654034	671693	689829	708454	727582	747227	766509
Northern	532000	549024	566593	584724	603435	622745	642673	663239	684436	706366	727618
Upper	757000	767598	778344	789241	800290	811494	822855	834375	846056	857901	862723

Sources: 1. Ghana Population Census, 1960

2. Ghana Population Census, 1970

NOTE: Figures for 1961 to 1969 calculated based on estimated Regional growth rates in Ghana

Table f

Regional Population Under 15 Years Old (1960-1970)

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	3005328	3214808	3291910	3371240	3452880	3536909	3623415	3712483	3979136	4004827	4019241
Western	278570	289533	295613	301821	308160	314631	321238	327984	340786	345678	350390
Central	334195	356679	362743	368909	375181	381559	388046	394643	420259	422596	423704
Greater Accra	192792	224623	237202	250485	264512	279325	294967	311485	359730	358592	357678
Eastern	497859	523691	531023	538457	545995	553639	561391	569250	589012	599561	603074
Volta	354442	377784	385340	393047	400908	408926	417104	425446	452625	451923	450900
Ashanti	515747	563207	580103	597506	615431	633893	652910	672498	732013	733630	728995
Brong-Ahrafo	271031	294048	301987	310141	318515	327114	335947	345017	373250	373614	373290
Northern	227696	247884	255817	264003	272451	281170	290167	299452	325120	334464	343436
Upper	323996	337359	342082	346871	351727	356652	361645	366708	377341	384769	387774

Sources: 1. Ghana Population Census, 1960

2. Ghana Population Census, 1970

NOTE: Figures for 1961 to 1969 calculated based on estimates from Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T.,
The Population of Ghana (CICRED Series, 1976) p. 36.

Regional Population Between 15 and 64 Years Old (1960-1970)

Table 9

Regional	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	3514293	3453955	3537611	3623744	3712442	3803802	3897927	3994908	3920940	4090719	4234251
Western	326772	328201	335094	342131	349316	356651	364141	371788	375530	388699	396595
Central	392022	381884	388376	394978	401693	408521	415467	422530	410805	418663	427265
Greater Accra	285254	281233	296982	313613	331175	349721	369306	389987	382546	426456	476052
Eastern	559134	539224	546773	554428	562190	570060	578042	586134	563770	582821	604336
Volta	389420	384528	392214	400058	408059	416220	424545	433036	427125	450530	451847
Ashanti	563440	551211	567748	584780	602323	620393	639005	658175	642092	677141	708251
Brong-Ahfo	302191	292236	300126	308230	316552	325099	333877	342892	330322	348581	367158
Northern	287280	284394	293495	302887	312579	322582	332905	343558	339494	350004	360171
Upper	408780	411049	416803	422639	428555	434555	440639	446808	449256	447824	442576

Sources: 1. Ghana Population Census, 1960

2. Ghana Population Census, 1970

NOTE: Figures for 1961 to 1969 calculated based on estimates from Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T., The Population of Ghana (C.I.C.R.E.D. Series 1976) p. 36

Table h

Number of Persons Employed in Modern Sector

Region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	332898	349932	356215	374086	386860	395811	361502	361351	391261	400814	397968
Western	67565	71174	68159	73689	63260	65284	64138	66478	67342	68639	65830
Central	21939	22173	22856	23805	26878	30527	27834	25991	31063	32461	28345
Eastern	147729	159856	161377	164574	174655	188058	168258	172904	189485	188118	187781
Volta	11066	11496	13826	15481	15913	16613	14476	13894	13926	15595	16126
Asanti	60393	56426	59739	61760	72075	60845	53244	55036	59708	62962	64130
Brong-Ahafo	7329	7967	9250	13319	12259	12896	11363	9888	10118	11120	11902
Northern	9208	11870	12657	12293	12993	12138	12141	9914	11617	11540	13287
Upper	7669	8970	8351	9165	8827	9450	10048	7246	8002	10397	10567

Source: Annual Statistical Yearbooks

NOTE: Eastern Region includes Greater Accra Region

1968: Estimated Crude Death Rates (per 1000)

Table i

Region	Urban-Rural	Urban	Rural
All Regions	19-20	14.0	21.1
Western	15-17	12.0	22.3
Central	19-20	15.0	21.3
Greater Accra	8-10	7.4	14.5
Eastern	17-20	17.7	20.2
Volta	18-19	16.5	20.4
Ashanti	18-19	12.5	20.0
Brong-Ahfo	19-20	16.3	22.0
Northern	24-25	15.6	29.4
Upper	27	15.1	29.5

Source: Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T. (1976)
The Population of Ghana (C.I.C.R.E.D. Series No. 147-1976)

1968: Estimated Infant Mortality Rates (per 1000)

Table j

Region	Urban-Rural	Urban	Rural
All Regions	133	98	135
Western	111	87	107
Central	141	126	143
Greater Accra	56	53	96
Eastern	124	120	123
Volta	130	104	127
Ashanti	124	87	121
Brong-Ahfo	142	126	140
Northern	168	129	188
Upper	192	111	189

Source: Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T. (1976)
The Population of Ghana (C.I.C.R.E.D. Series No. 147-1976)

1968: Estimated Life Expectancy at Birth

Table k

Region	Urban-Rural	
	Male	Female
All Regions	45.6	48.3
Western	42.9	46.3
Central	42.3	45.7
Greater Accra	63.4	65.7
Eastern	45.2	50.3
Volta	52.4	56.4
Ashanti	50.2	53.9
Brong-Ahfo	44.6	49.2
Northern	35.9	38.7
Upper	34.3	38.3

Source: Gaisie, S.K., de Graft-Johnson, K.T. (1976),
The Population of Ghana (C.I.C.R.E.D. Series No. 147 p.23)

Number of Hospital Beds: 1960 and 1970

Table 1

Region	1960	1970
Ghana	3,596	9,958
Western	369	970
Central	376	867
Greater-Accra	496	2,667
Eastern	605	1,102
Volta	307	1,201
Ashanti	662	1,526
Brong-Ahafo	78	431
Northern	353	493
Upper	350	701

Source: 1. Government of Ghana (1965) National Development Plan 1963-1970 (Town and Country Division, Accra)
Parts B - Tables

2. Statistical Handbook: 1970

Number of Doctors in Regions: 1968

Table m

Region	Number of Doctors
Ghana	507
Western	57
Central	24
Greater Accra	229
Eastern	47
Volta	24
Ashanti	73
Brong-Ahfo	20
Northern	21
Upper	12

Source: M.J. Sharpston (1972) Uneven Geographical Distribution of Medical Care: A Ghanaian Case Study The Journal of Development Studies Vol. 8, No. 2. p. 206

Number of People Employed in Commerce: 1960

Table n

Region	Employment
Ghana	371131
Western	39809
Central	51411
Greater Accra	69397
Eastern	69600
Volta	52019
Ashanti	59066
Brong-Ahfo	11460
Northern	10423
Upper	7946

Source: Government of Ghana, (1965) National Physical Development Plan 1963-1970 (Town and Country Division, Accra)

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