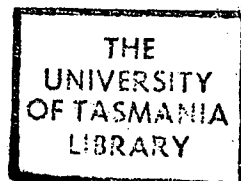THE IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL LEGACY ON DEVELOPMENT IN THE

THIRD WORLD STATES.   THE CASE OF GHANA.

by

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This dissertation has been submitted to
the Department of Political Science and
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DECLARATION

This thesis contains my original search. Except
for inadvertent omission all borrowed sources in
the preparation of the work have been duly acknowledged.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Context

Ghana, like most of the third world countries, is in
transition from a traditional society with a colonial heritage
to an independent developed society; a society where all
available resources could be harnessed to achieve the objectives
and goals of national development. Twenty-seven years after
independence however, this objective has not been realized.
The task of achieving the goals of national development has
been painfully slow. There is still a high degree of under-
development, poverty, disease and deprivation. The economy
has deteriorated over the years.

Traditionally, many reasons have been given for this
state of affairs. Among them are; bad economic planning, world
recession, rising oil bills and lack of ideological direction.
In finding solutions to these problems economists have played
a leading role with various economic models and theories of
development. The problem however remains unresolved. These
explanations do not offer adequate analysis of the basis of
our underdevelopment. The problem relates to the institutional
structures of colonialism.

Key Issues and Themes

This thesis challenges some of the traditional ways of
looking at Ghana's problem of underdevelopment and offers an
alternative method by identifying the problem in relation to

Ghana's 'colonial legacy'.

The 'colonial legacy' refers to the social, cultural
and institutional arrangements developed by the colonialists.
In specific terms these are ;

(1)   the bureaucratic organisation and

(ii) the educational system.

These institutions were superimposed on the traditional social
organisation.   Before them, the people of the Gold Coast set-
tled in tribes with local bureaucracy and social organisation.
The economy was non-monetary, rural-based, mainly founded on
subsistence agriculture and some degree of trade among the
tribes.

In bypassing the local bureaucratic structure the British
changed effectively the phase of traditional authority, and
instituted a system that served best the interest and goals
of colonialism.   In this connection, the commonly held view
that "the real interest of the British was gradually to train
Africans in government until they are capable of protecting
themselves and managing their own affairs"[1] should be seen in
the light of the objectives of colonialism.   The training was
to provide collaborating groups who could be trusted to up-
hold British interest.   Thus the chiefs under indirect rule
were compelled by their position within the system to uphold
this interest.   Later, the educated Africans or the "local
elites" by the very nature of their training and socializa-
tion became the main vanguards of this interest.

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1.   Earl Grey, The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's
      Administration, London, (1853) II, 286-7 (3-5).

In brief, the new colonial bureaucratic structure was
made up of two divisions:-

(a) a central secretariat involved in policy issues,personnel
and financial matters as well as exercising over all super-
visory powers over technical departments,

(b) a field organisation made up of resident administrators
and technical officers charged with the implementation
of government policies at the districts and the provincials.

These tasks were simple and rudimentary, mainly con-
cerned with the administration of law and order, as well as
revenue collection. It was a highly centralized system with
the Governor in absolute control of the colony.

The educational system in its basic form was academically
oriented, tailored towards the production of personnel for
the management of the colonial infra-structure.

These two main structures were inherited by Ghana after
independence. The decolonization process involved a series
of changes and transformation in the new states. In the case
of Ghana however, it is argued in this thesis, that since the
colonial structure served colonial objectives, the priorities
after independence should have been the adaptation of the pre-
independence institutions to the goals and purposes of the
country. Since national development was and still is the most
vital aspect of government policy, it should have been the

focus upon which the need to restructure and re-orient
colonial institutions be directed.

Unfortunately, this was not done. The vestiges of
colonial administration have survived and played a dominant
role in the political and administrative life of the country,
and the effects of Western acculturation have contributed to
a large extent,to obliterate all efforts at national develop-
ment. Priorities have been misplaced. Instead, there is
"internal colonization" by the elites who took over from the
British. This class of people see, largely, all
problems of the country in terms of their limited interest.
Thus the survival of the essential framework of the colonial
system was directly or indirectly a necessary condition for
elite survival.

Consequently, even though the public bureaucracies ex-
panded immediately after independence, they lagged behind in
terms of the fulfilment of the objectives of national develop-
ment. Most of the features of colonial administration which
survived colonialism include the following:

(1) centralization and authoritarian styles of leadership,

(2) delays and cumbersome procedures,

(3) lack of administrative enterpreneurship capable of
     infusing change and innovation,

(4) lack of popular participation in national decision making
     and unrresponsive local government administration.

These practices were supported by the educational structure which promoted elitism and served as a means of social selection and mobility. As a result, agriculture, which forms the backbone of the country's wealth, was neglected. The traditional sector was left unattended at the expense of the less productive urban sector. In the process, the advantages that could be derived from the traditional social organisation in terms of popular participation is also lost. The chiefs are now mere ceremonial heads.

Thus the inability of Ghana to identify her priorities within the framework of her colonial past, has contributed greatly to her present state of underdevelopment. Until the country identifies her priorities in this respect, governments will come and go and the poverty of the people will remain largely unchanged.

Thesis Plan

Chapter One traces the evolution of Ghana from pre-colonial society to independence and the effect the institution of colonialism had on traditional society. The emphasis is on the traditional social organisation and the role of the chief as a pivot for political organisation.

The second chapter examines the development of education and educational policies of the colonial era in relation to the objectives of colonialism. The effects of

education on traditional society in relation to social life, mode of production, occupational patterns and its general impact on traditional society. How these policies survived colonialism and the roles they are playing

in the task of national development.

Chapter Three discusses the colonial bureaucratic organisation in terms of the objectives and goals of colonialism and how successfully they promoted these objectives. It will also examine the changes that occured after independence and assess whether they were enough to facilitate rapid economic development. In this regard, the structure of the civil service and civil service conventions as legacies of colonial adminstrative service will be discussed in relation to various attempts at restructuring the Ghanaian Civil Service.

This chapter examines the evolution of the indirect rule system as the nucleus for the post independence local government administration. It will also find out how it operated under colonial rule, within the framework of the roles of traditional rulers and colonial administrators. It will also find out the changes that occurred after independence in relation to the mobilization of the people for popular participation in local government at the grass-roots level and its contributions to national development. It also discusses possible advantages to be derived by adopting certain features of the traditional social organisation for popular participation.

The conclusion discusses the overall consequences of colonialism and its legacy in terms of the contemporary issues of concentration of elitist control and interest, political and ideological differences and political instability. All these have contributed to endanger national unity and thus national development.

In finding solutions to these problems, a new approach has been tried by the government of the Provincial National Defence Council (P.N.D.C.) since 1981. It is therefore necessary to discuss the outlines of these policies in relation to issues raised in this thesis.

CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION OF GHANAIAN SOCIETY

Section I

The present boundaries of Ghana, before its contact with the Europeans, was made up of one hundred and nine different and politically autonomous native states. In spite of their ethnic differences, it is reasonably safe to offer a broad generalization about these heterogeneous peoples.

They lived in large number of isolated self-contained communities, isolated by communication difficulties, fear of tribal warfare, a relatively self-sufficient economy, and a tightly-knit sense of community and kinship. The unit of social organisation varied from community to community, but the underlying ethics were the same.

The basis of the social organisation is the family. Family here meaning a group of people tracing descent from a common ancestor. Depending on the community, the tracing of descent could be patrilineal or matrilineal. The concept of the family is so important that it is almost regarded as a corporation. R.S. Rattery observed that the centre of the social system in Ashanti is not the chief or the clan or the tribe or even the individual; it is the family.[1] M.J. Field, in her pioneering work on the Ga people, described the family as corporate in nature, the lynchpin of social organisation and the chief mechanism of social control. She underscores the significance of the family when she observes:

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1. R.S. Rattery, Ashanti Law and Constitution, London: Oxford University Press, 1941, p.2.

> Always until European influence was felt,
> responsibility was collective, not individual
> ... The solidarity of the family and helpless-
> ness and destitution of an individual at variance
> with his family was beyond all else what kept the
> individual law abiding. 2

J.B. Danquah, writing on the Akans reinforces this view
when he wrote that the Akan above all else held the family
to be the supreme good, and that, to them the worst vice
was to bring dishonour or indignity or disgrace to the
family.[3]

The generality of the family concept among the peoples
was stressed by a Ghanaian eminent jurist who said that the
basic unit of Ghanaian society is the family, not the
individual.[4]

The concept of the family as an agent of social cohesion
in traditional life is strengthened by the belief that the
ancestors are the guardians of the community. Family ances-
tors are therefore held in high esteem and awe. Thus in
traditional life, that which is legitimate was what has been
enshrined in the past. The way the ancestors ordained is
the proper way of life. Consequently, in essence, tradition-
al religion is ancestral worship. This is what kept the
people together and gave authority to the seemingly over-
riding position of the chiefs and the elders.

2. M.J. Field, Social Organisation of the Ga People,
    London, Crown Publication, 1940, p.109.
3. J.B. Danquah, The Akan Doctrine of God, London and
    Redhill Lutterworth Library Vol. XVI, 1944, p.xxviii.
4. N.A. Ollenu, Aspects of Land Tenure: Some Aspects of
    Social Structure in Ghana, Vol.II, Northwestern
    University Press, 1967, p.254.

In addition to this social arrangement, is a comprehensive structure of traditional political authority which begins from the village, with the village head or elder and ends up with the chief as the overlord of the community as a whole.

There are elaborate traditional processes of appointing and installing both the elder and the chief. In the election and installing of a chief, the Queen-mother, regarded as a monarch and in real life, more often the sister or sister of the chief's maternal uncle, plays an important role of nominating the most eligible person for the position. She is also regarded as the chief adviser of the chief. The elders and the citizens in the society also play an important part in the final confirmation, installation and the removal of the chief.[5]

FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEF: The chiefs and their elders performed military duties. They were military leaders. The elders led the different sections of the army with the chief as the overall commander.

The chief and his elders were responsible for the administration of justice, law and order. In this respect, the elders and the Queen-mother act as advisers to the chief and the chief was bonded by oath to adhere to their advice.

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5. C.F. Rattery and K.A. Busia, <u>The Position of the Chief in Political System of Ashanti</u>, Oxford University Press,, 1951.

The chief and his elders also perform religious functions. The position of the chief is considered as the mediator between the people and the ancestors. In this connection, the chief performed ceremonies by which people expressed their sense of dependence on the ancestors. The chief also held the highest interest in land in trust for his people. He could be referred to as the Chief-Justice in the sense that his court is the final stage in the judicial process. In short, the chief was the commander-in-chief of the army, religious head, head of the judiciary, administrative and political head.

The chief was therefore the axis of the general relations of the different elders and their subjects. There was no link between one elder and another except their common allegiance to the chief. Without the chief, the elders, lineages and villages were isolated units. This arrangement has features of decentralization in which the chief communicated with the elders directly, the elders with their headmen and their subjects. The system was essentially aristocratic, though apparently democratic. The people participated in major decision-making processes affecting the community including appointment and removal of an elder or a chief.

Before the introduction of European culture in Ghana, these features formed the coagulating elements of the relationship between the chief and the people. They were the

main sources from which authority, discipline, law and order between the monarchy and the subjects were derived.[6]

TRADITIONAL TRAINING: The notion of training in the traditional sense was to a large extent different from the European idea introduced during the colonial era. The first important difference was that it was not formal in the sense of classroom, student and teacher relationship. Secondly, it was basically vocational often taking the form of family vocation. Qualification is acquired after a long period of childhood apprenticeship, under parents or other family members. No certification is awarded and the only means of recognition is the skill acquired. As an educated African chief once commented, it was geared towards practical training and preparation for life in general.[7]

Perhaps this statement aptly sums up the pre-colonial training concept.

> The curriculum in Africa South of the Sahara
> before the advent of the Europeans consisted
> of the following essentials: Moral instructions
> and civics, on-the-job training, trading, hunting,
> farming, fishing, etc, for boys and domestic
> science for girls and sanitation ... The idea
> that elementary education does not fit a child
> for anything is of European origin and there is
> no conceivable reason why Nigeria or any other
> under-developed country, should accept it as a
> gospel truth. 8

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6. C.R. Busia and Rattery, See also Danquah.
7. Nana Annor Adjame, Nzima Land, London, 1931, Chapter 4.
8. Quoted in Richard Symonds, The British and Their Successors, Evanston, 1966, p.146. From Dr. Babs Fafunya, Unpublished paper at Nigerian Seminar on Manpower Problems, 1964.

In conclusion, the nature and structure of traditional society generated a sense of collectivity, communalism and a common goal of survival. The society was simple and operated on the principle of each being his brother's keeper. In addition to this, the system of upbringing made it possible for everyone to be secured with a useful role in the society. Within the context of traditional society, therefore, there **was a reasonable degree of self sufficiency and a situation** of almost full employment in a society where contentment and survival basically meant food shelter and clothing in simple non monetary terms.[9]

Section II

EMERGENCE OF COLONIAL SOCIETY: As early as 1471 the people of the Gold Coast had contacts with the Europeans, the Portuguese being the first. The relationship at this time was basically commercial, trading in items such as gold, spices and slaves.

In 1750, however, when the African Company of Merchants was formed in Britain, the relationship, especially with the British took a more official outlook. The company was sub-sidized by the British government to the tune of £13,000. In return for this support, the company was expected to protect British interest generally in the Gold Coast. These included maintaining forts under the British flag, maintaining armed

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9.   See also, M.J. Field,'Towards a Tribalized Literacy',
      in Overseas Education, Vol.XII, Oct. 1940, pp.1-4.

forces and carrying out necessary diplomatic negotiations with the natives. The objective was still commercial and they built their forts and settlements along the coastal areas. They also signed agreements with the coastal people for their protection in return for peaceful commercial relations.

By the middle of the 19th century British protection and jurisdiction had extended beyond the immediate vicinity of the forts and settlements. This was largely due to the success of Captain George Maclean who took over the administration of the forts and settlements in 1843. Under Maclean's jurisdiction, the first real social and political impact of British influence manifested itself in the Gold Coast. Judicial function was given formal recognition and Maclean was appointed judicial assessor. An office in which he sat upon cases involving Africans under customary law and the principles of British equity.

The mutual agreement for British protection was eventually documented in what has come to be known as the Bond of 1844[10]. This was to become the watershed of British colonization objectives. The keynote could be found in the last sentence of the third paragraph, which reads, "moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British law". This brought into perspective British political efforts

10. See Appendix I.

since Maclean; that is, setting the dominant tone of political
institutional transfer by, in effect, holding such transfer
to be possible and desirable.[11]

By August 1874, the Gold Coast comprising of a stretch
of coastal towns was effectively a British colony. Further
inland, the Ashanti Confederacy was conquered and separately
annexed by an imperial order-in-council in September 1901,
under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Gold Coast.
To the north of Ashanti, rights of protection had been acquired
by voluntary negotiations with the chiefs.

The "Gold Coast" in 1st January 1902, consisted of three
separate but related territories: the Gold Coast Colony in
the south, Ashanti in the hinterland and the northern terri-
tories. Although the Governor of the Gold Coast remained
responsible for all two territories, covered by the budget
of the colony, the legislative and judicial systems were quite
distinct. Until 1934, all ordinaces were enacted separately
for each territory. The present geographical boundaries of
Ghana were finally reached in 1921, when the eastern part
was defined by the incorporation of those portions of the
former German Togoland. This colony had been administered
by the British under a league of nations mandate.

OBJECTIVES OF COLONIZATION: From the historical point of view,
it was the industrial revolution and its aftermath that

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11. David Apter, The Gold Coast in Transition, Princeton,
1955, p.34.

triggered quest for colonies outside Europe. For Britain,
as frontrunner in the industrial revolution, it meant the
movement of manufactured goods, raw materials, men and money
to and from Britain on a grand scale. For Africa, it offered
a lucrative ground for this objective. In this regard, Lord
Lugard gave this explanation:

> The tropics on the other hand consist for
> the most part of regions populated by backward
> races. Both for this reason and on account
> for their climate, they offer no inducement
> for permanent settlement by white races. The
> backward condition of the people and their
> preference for agricultural pursuits, offer
> the prospects of continued markets for manufactured
> goods. The tropics produce in abundance a class
> of raw materials and of food stuffs which cannot
> be grown in temperate zones, and are so vital to
> the needs of civilized man that they have in
> very truth become essential to civilization. It
> were the realization of this fact which led the
> nations of Europe to compete for the control of
> the African tropics. 12

Consequently, the British embarked upon a process of
developing the resources of the Gold Coast to suit their
objectives. This included; constitutional and legal provisions,
free trade and technology manipulated by a centralized admin-
istrative structure to ensure smooth operations, education
and Christianity to serve the institutions, to transform the
natives to appreciate European values, life styles, and demand
European goods. It was also meant to create collaborating
groups among the natives, who could be trusted to uphold

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12. Lord Lugard, <u>Dual Mandate for Tropical Africa</u>, London,
    (1923), p.43.

British interest.[13]

By the end of the colonial era, the impact of colonial society and its policies had to a very large extent affected the very basis of traditional society. A complex system of culture was superimposed on the simple traditional culture. The traditional village life gave way to urbanization, communalism to individualism and a subsistence, non-monetary economy gave way to a cash crop monetary economy. A more elaborate educational and religious system replaced the traditional order. Most importantly, a new political and administrative system became the source of power and authority. The position of the chiefs as natural rulers became ceremonial, without their former authority and political roles . Colonial society in short, debased traditional life in general. All these were made possible because the forces which once held traditional society together, disintegrated in the face of the social and monetary opportunities offered by colonial civilization.

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13. Renald Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914, London, 1976, p.35.
    See also:
    Lucy Mair, Native Policies in Africa, London, Routledge and Sons, (1936).
    C.K. Webster, Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston, 1830-41, (1951).
    C.W. Newbury, British Policy Towards West Africa, Select Documents 1796-1874, Oxford Clarendon Press, (1965).
    Henry George Grey, The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, London, Bentley, (1853).

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Section I Evolution, Aims and Effects of Colonial Policies

The evolution of education in the Gold Coast could be divided into three phases. The first phase lasted until about 1924. During this period, the policy was basically shaped by the missionaries. The emphasis was on literacy, reading, writing, and character formation. The products of this system were recruited by the missionaries, Government and merchants, as catechists, teachers, interpreters, and clerks. Education at this time was essentially secondary.[1]

The second phase started from 1925 to 1935. During this period government participation was dominant. The general policy was to,

> raise the standard alike of character and
> efficiency of the bulk of the people. As
> resources permit, the door of advancement
> through higher education in Africa must be
> increasingly opened for those who by character,
> ability and temperament show themselves fitted
> to profit by such education. The greatest
> importance must be attached to religious
> teaching and moral instruction. Field games,
> social relations and intercourse are influences
> at least as important as class-room instructions.[2]

The ultimate goal of this policy was again to produce the necessary manpower requirement to service the colonial institutions. The mode of training was generally literacy and secondary in nature.

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1. Philip Foster, <u>Education and Social Change in Ghana</u>, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, (1965), Chapt. 2.
2. "Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Colonies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa", Command Papers, 2374, 1925, p.4.

The third phase started from about 1945 and lasted till
self-government. The policy of this period did not change
the existing policies. Instead, it moved a step forward
towards the creation of higher education institutions,
modelled on those of England. Such institutions were based
on the view that:

> the curricula in West African universities
> are drawn up on the assumption that the
> African has no indigenous culture worth
> studying and no organisation or society worth
> the attention of undergraduates. 3

In spite of the recommendations of the Asquith Commission
on Higher Education in the colonies and the Elliot Commission
on Higher Education in West Africa, which stated the principle
that the immediate development of university education was
an inescapable corollary of a policy which aimed at colonial
self-government. This thesis, however, argues that with self
government in mind, this policy should have been designed to
respond more to the values and the peculiar circumstances of
the Gold Coast. Instead, when the universities were established,
University of Ghana in 1948, it established a special relation-
ship with London University. Their students took London
external degrees; their staff were approved by London and
external examiners were provided by London. Richard Symonds
for instance found it strange that the English System which

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3.   Sir Eric Ashby, "The Function of West African Universities
      in the West African Intellectual Community", Saunders
      and Dowuona, Eds.), Ibadan University Press, (1962),p.52.

was elitist in outlook should be adopted at the time when it was being abandoned in England.[4] Sir Eric Ashby however expresses the view that "the desire to emulate even the fashions of British academic life was irresistable".[5]

In theory, the policy of the educational system with regards to recruitment was supposed to be open. However, the main beneficiaries were the members of the chiefs' courts, children of mixed marriages that is Europeans and Africans and the children of successful farmers and merchants. These were the people who could afford the various expenses involved in education. Progression to higher levels of the system depended on academic performance and scholarship. The system was not linked to the indirect rule system per se in the sense that literacy did not affect the role of chiefs in the indirect rule system: though the products of the school system worked in the chiefs' courts in various roles, including interpreting, legal advice and clerical duties. These classes of people therefore formed the nucleus of patronage to the colonial educational system.

EFFECTS OF THE POLICIES: The first identifiable effect of the educational system is that the emphasis on literacy and academic training, meant that products of the educational system were prepared essentially for the institutions provided by the

4. Richard Symonds, The British and Their Successors: A Study in the Development of Government Services in the New States, London, Faber, 1966, p.143.
5. Eric Ashby, Africa Universities and Western Traditions, London, Oxford University Press, (1964), p.32.

colonial system. It implies that the educational system was directly linked with the career patterns of colonial society. This therefore divided the society into two, the educated for the colonial society and uneducated for traditional society.[6]

The second effect was that the opportunities colonial society offered were so rewarding and attractive that the aspirations of the African were essentially oriented to clerical occupations in commerce or government. Consequently, the educated Africans were not willing to pursue any "industrious manual occupations while commerce alone was therefore regarded as an eligible road to a position in society".[7] To the native therefore, education was conceived in practise for its cash returns and "by what appeared most advantageous for his temporal advancement".[8]

For this reason, academic education has, in the event, proved to be the most useful vocational education the schools could have given. As a result trade and technical schools became unpopular to the extent that the few people who were trained in this field during the 1920s could not find employment. The expansion of technical education could hardly be expected to be popular.[9] Writing on this issue, A.L. Adu

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6. M.J. Field, "Towards Tribalized Literacy. A Suggestion", Journal of Educational Experiment and Research in Tropical and Sub-Tropical Africa, Vol.XII, (1940),p.1.
7. Brodie Cruikshank, 18 Years on the Gold Coast, London, Hurst and Blackett, (1853), Vol.II, p.65.
8. Cruikshank, 1853, Vol.II, p.61.
9. Birmingham, Neustadt and Omaboe, The Study of Contemporary Ghana, Vol.II, London, George Allen and Unwin, (1967),p.22.

commented that "skilled tradesmen were obtained by recruiting and training illiterates and the preponderance of uneducated Africans in these grades acquired for the technical class an unsavoury reputation, and made soiling of one's fingers taboo with men who had been to school".[10]

Thirdly, the educated Africans found it increasingly difficult to adjust into the traditional order, where religious and secular authority rested with the chief, social hierarchy descended in clearly defined stages and where status depended on birth and lineage. The result was a conflict of interest between the chiefs and traditional society on one hand and the education Africans on the other. This led to the alienation of the educated Africans from traditional society. Politically, the ambitious of the educated Africans staked a claim to leadership on a national scale, transcending the local authority of the chiefs, leading to the birth of the nationalist movemement.[11]

Finally, the educational system functioned as an instrument in the process of socialization and acculturation Socialization means the process by which a society transmits its values to the next generation through multiple influences on the young. It could also be exercised on adults as a

10. A.L. Adu, Civil Service in Commonwealth Africa, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., (1969), p.22.
11. David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928, Oxford, Glarendon Press, (1963), p.63.

process of modifying or transforming the intellectual orientations acquired in younger days. Acculturation is however, the process by which an individual or a group acquires the cultural characteristics of another through direct contact or interaction. Socialization can and often is within a single culture whilst acculturation is a trans-cultural phenomenon.[12]

The structure, function and effects of the educational system during the colonial era provided the basic foundation upon which the post independence policy was developed. The adoption of this framework is what is referred to as the "colonial legacy". In the next section, this paper would examine this legacy in contemporary situation and its approp-riateness to the society. However, in terms of the colonial institutions, the educational system appeared to have been very successful as source of supply of lower level manpower in particular, clerks, interpreters, teachers, catechists and religious ministers. This conclusion is based on the comparatively sound nature of the colonial economy[13], the relatively peaceful manner in which the colony was ruled through to independence and the success of the spread of Christianity in the colony. Furthermore, the orientation

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12. Ali Mazuri, "Churches and Multinationals in the Spread of Modern Education , A 3rd World Perspective", Third World Quarterly, (January 1979), Vol.I, pp.32-33.
13. Kimble, 1963, Chapt. 1.

and preference of the educated Africans towards European

life-styles and values is also an indicator. [14]

Section II Post Colonial Policies

OBJECTIVES AND GOALS: The main objective of post independence

governments in Ghana is to facilitate and service national

development. For the purposes of this thesis, national dev-

elopment is defined as:

> A continuous and sustained increase in
> the capability of the political system
> to deal effectively with existing and em-
> ergent needs and demands of society, to
> resolve attendant conflict both horizontal
> and vertical, and to adapt itself to
> continuous change both internal and external
> to itself. [15]

In the case of Ghana, this includes in specific terms:

(1) modernization which implies industrialization, (11) up-

lifting the economic and social levels of the peoples by

means of a welfare economy, which entails a growth of the

public sector in the overall total of both consumption and prod-

uction in the economy, (111) full employment and (1V) main-

tenance of law and order which creates a conducive atmosphere

for the realization of these objectives. [16]

14. Birmingham, Neustadt, Omaboe, Study of Contemporary Ghana, Vol.II, London, George Allen and Unwin (1967), Chapts. 6 and 7.
15. Taketsugu Tsurutani, The Politics of National Development Political Leadership in Transitional Societies, New York, Chandler Publishing Company, (1973), p.18.
16. Birmingham, (1966), Vol.I, Chapt. 17.

These specific objectives are to a large extent more varied and involved than the simple law and order goals of colonial administration. Consequently manpower requirement becomes the most important prerequisite. It involves above all educational policies which take into consideration the various productive sectors of the economy and with an output of ensuring even distribution of appropriate manpower supply to all the sectors of the economy. This, it is hoped, would ensure maximum utilization of natural and human resources as well as ensuring an appreciable and sustainable rate of economic growth, which forms the bedrock for the achievement of these various objectives.

This thesis, therefore, argues that the overall success of these objectives depends largely on the responsiveness of the educational system and policies and the orientation of the personnel towards the attainment of these goals.

EVOLUTION OF POST COLONIAL POLICIES: The post colonial policies evolved within the immediate context of the need to Africanize personnel. This policy was ambitious and radical in its attempt to replace Europeans with Ghanaian citizens in the various colonial institutions within the shortest possible time, especially appointments to the senior civil service.[17]

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17. "A Statement on the Policy of the Africanization of the Public Service", Government Printing Department, Accra, (1954), para. 4.

Within this purview, the restructuring of the educational system was commenced in 1951 when Ghana attained internal self-government.[18] The most important development in this regard was the abolition of the payment of school fees in all primary schools. The ability to pay was no longer a barrier to education but in terms of structural changes, there was no marked departure from the existing colonial structures. The former senior primary schools were renamed middle schools and offered a four year course after completion of six year primary instruction. The new middle schools were to perform dual functions of providing a technical course for the bulk of the pupils whilst supplying recruits for the highly selective five-year secondary schools.

The massive changes in the extent of educational provision were not paralleled by any immediate proposals to radically restructure curricula. On the contrary, deviations from the colonial curriculum were regarded often with suspicion. For example, the establishment of a West African Examinations Council in 1951 to administer school certificate examinations in the English speaking colonies was strongly resisted in the Gold Coast legislative assembly. As Foster later observed, "apart from this innovation in nomenclature, such a policy was a continuation of that carried out in the colonial period."[19]

The next important development was the declaration of free compulsory education. This was regulated by the Educa-

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18. "Gold Coast: Accelerated Development Plan for Education", Accra, Government Printing Department, (1951).
19. Philip Foster, (1965), Chapter 6 (p.185).

tion Act of 1961.   It called for the creation of more elementary, secondary and teacher training facilities, as well as technical and trade schools. Also two new universities were established.   Despite these developments the policy was still embodied in the 1951 accelerated development plan.

In summary, the restructuring of the middle school course in the direction of practical activities proved to be almost impossible to achieve. For, the 1951 plan did not embark upon a campaign against status consciousness, prestige and monetary gains for white collar jobs. As a result, increase in enrolment at the lower levels of educational structure generated direct pressure on higher institutions. This reduced the middle schools to the status of feeder institutions to the secondary schools. Emphasis was placed therefore on academic subjects namely English language, Arithmetic and General Studies which are the main subjects presented at the common entrance examinations for entry into secondary schools.

The secondary school system offered basically academic curricula aimed at preparing students for the universities entailing a   five-year school certificate "ordinary" level and two year "Advanced" level courses. Students not selected for the universities could however opt for post-secondary institutions such as teacher training colleges and

technical and trade schools of which in particular, the
latter are not well patronized because of the past view that
they did not generate the same social and monetary recognition
as the white collar jobs.

The universities on the other hand produced a wide spread
of disciplines for senior management and executive positions
in all fields of national institutions. Naturally, this
offered the ultimate incentive and recognition. Failure to
acquire a university education meant loss of
prestige, social status and monetary gains.

It is reasonably safe to conclude that in spite
of numerous lip services paid to the restructuring of the
curricula, to respond more to changing social and economic
needs of the country, no practical attempt has been directed
at this issue by subsequent governments after independence.
A major reason was that the 1951 plan concentrated its focus
more on the Africanization issue to the extent that it failed
to grapple with the overall long term effects of the colonial
policies towards its imbalanced social and economic development
and the attitude of the people towards education in general.
Another reason was that perhaps since the policy makers were
themselves beneficiaries of the pre independence system, they
were blinded by partisanship to identify the uneven distri-
bution of manpower within the colonial structure. Consequently
the policies directly or indirectly entrenched the social
effect and orientation of the colonial educational system;

it created "elitism" and operated "as a mechanism of social
selection and as a means of determining which individual
became socially mobile".[20]

Education in post independence Ghana, therefore,
operated more as a means of self actualization and personal
success, rather than contributing effectively to the goals of
national development.

IMPACT ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: The productive aspect of
education was narrowed to the training of "white collar" job
personnel, instead of building the system within a broader
and long range perspective of maximum utilization of the
abundant natural resources of Ghana.* Thus inadequate prov-
isions were made to educate as well as to preserve the labour
force within the rural sector. This happened in a country
that remains predominantly agricultural with cocoa and timber
providing over seventy per cent of her export earnings.[21]
This resulted in the following:

(1) Rural/urban migration: As this thesis has often stated,
the educational system alienated the beneficiaries from trad-
itional life. It meant that school leavers, irrespective of
their level of education, moved out of the rural areas in
search of jobs which,in contemporary times,hardly exist .
It could therefore be safely implied that for every person
educated within the existing structure and orientation,

20. Birmingham, et al., (1967), Vol.II, p.229.
21. Birmingham, et.al., Vol.I., (1966), Chapt. 9.
 *   Appendix II.

there is a loss of potential rural labour. For instance, it
was estimated that between 1961 and 1965 nearly 200,000 students
would be leaving the elementary schools and some 20,000
finishing secondary education. This would almost double
the existing number of unskilled workers and increase by a
third the administrative, managerial, professional and skilled
workers in the modern sector.[22] This naturally created
unemployment in this sector, whilst the rural sector remained
unattended. This problem was further intensified when the
output of the educational system was tied to the seven years
development plan, which emphasised industrialization as
against agriculture. Thus, between 1965 and 1970, 752,850
middle school leavers were expected to enter the labour force
and a further 110,000 would enter from other educational
institutions. However the plan failed and was further dis-
rupted by the 1966 coup d'eta t.[23]

This contributed to some extent to Ghana's leading role in
cocoa production being overtaken by the Ivory Coast. Furthermore,
the country now imports food items such as grains, vegetables,
cattle, sheep, lamp and fish in which before independence the
country used to be self sufficient.[24] Also, the high rate of
annual urban migration has created a problem in providing facil-
ities to accommodate the migrants. Thus instead of investing in

22. Dennis Austin, Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960, London
    Oxford University Press, (1970), p.420.
23. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.231-234.
24. United Nations StatisticalYear Book, (1979), and (1981),
    New York. 1979 page 108 and 98, 1981 page 486 and 61.

the largely untapped natural resources of the country, the scarce resources are being used to sustain non-capital generating urban life.

The high rate of unemployment means that the country is not making the right educational investment, or the stage of Ghana's development no longer requires the current type of output of the educational system. All these have contributed to the unexpanding and depreciating nature of Ghana's economy and the painfully slow progress of social and economic development.

(II) Brain Drain: The fragile nature of the economy makes it increasingly difficult for the educated to realize their goals of social recognition and monetary rewards. Consequently there is an exodus of educated Ghanaians leaving Ghana to countries which offer these recognitions and rewards. In Africa in particular, the more economically viable countries like Nigeria and Libia where the nature of their training is still in demand.

This prompted the Chairman of the Provincial National Defence Council to comment that Ghana has invested in education to create her own poverty because the trainees scatter abroad for personal comfort and contribute nothing to the improvement of the country. He further questioned the rationale of free education if its beneficiaries only see it as an

avenue of personal enrichment.[25]

To conclude, it seems that the educational structure in its present form as a colonial legacy is unsuitable to the goals of national development. However, subsequent governments after independence have made little or no attempt to redress this unfavourable situation. Perhaps the statement made by the Gambian delegate to the 31st annual conference of the West African examinations council in Accra on 23rd March 1983, aptly explains the seemingly timid approach towards the irresponsiveness of governments to the educational needs and demands of the country. It reads:

> An inherent fear within us has prevented
> us from facing the unknown and therefore
> we rather like to take what has been handed
> down by the colonialists.

By that, it it submitted that the full impact of western socialization and acculturation has taken its toll on Ghanaian society.[26]

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25. Daily Graphic, January 6, 1982, No.9697, Accra.
26. Ghanian Times, March 23, 1983, NO.7850, Accra.

CHAPTER III

BUREAUCRATIC ORGANISATION

The goals and objectives of British colonization largely dictated the type of institutions and bureaucracy created. In the case of Ghana, colonial society was to a large extent geared towards the exploitation of natural and human resources. To achieve these goals, the colonial bureaucracy was superimposed on the traditional organisation. Like the superseded traditional structure, the colonial bureaucracy demanded quite a simple and rudimentary task, mainly concerned with the administration of maintenance of law and order and revenue collection. Financial administration involved basic accounting of revenue and expenditure and the balancing of the budget. In brief, the central bureaucratic organisation had two main divisions:

(I) A central Secretariat responsible for policy issues, personnel and financial matters, as well as exercising overall supervisory powers over technical departments, and

(II) A field organisation made up of resident administrators and technical officers charged with the implementation of government policies at the provincial and district levels.

To assist the colonial administration in reaching the people at th rural or grass-roots level and to ensure the cooperation of the chiefs and their people, the authority and role of traditional chiefs were employed in what came to be known as the "indirect rule" system. This system also operated as a

cost saving device of organising the colony so as to make the best use with a minimum effort and expense.

The structure was highly centralized and at the top was the Governor. He was the representative of the Crown and wielded enormous legislative and executive powers. He was responsible for the colony as a whole and all aspects of control and administration emanated from him. In this regard, the role of the Governor could be likened to the seemingly authoritative position of the chiefs within the traditional set up.

To assist the Governor in discharging his duties effectively and efficiently, the Gold Coast was divided into provinces and districts. Each province was headed by a provincial commissioner and the districts with district or assistant district commissioners. There were two chief commissioners for Ashanti and the Northern territories both responsible to the Governor in Accra. The table below illustrates the administrative divisions within the colony.

PROVINCES

GOLD COAST PROPER	NO. OF DISTRICTS
Western Province	6
Central "	4
Eastern "	8

ASHANTI

Eastern Province	4
Western "	4

NORTHERN TERRITORIES

Northern Province	4
Southern "	5

The establishment in the Gold Coast called for 89 officers of whom 44 were assigned to the Gold Coast proper, 23 to Ashanti and 21 to the Northern territories. With a population of about 2,229,400 at the time, it meant there was an average of one officer to every 25,800 people.[1] With the level of stability within the colony one could fairly claim that the system worked reasonably well.

The functions of the officers involved administration of political and general activities within the provinces and the districts. A.W. Cardinall, for instance, remarked that the colonial office pamphlet issued to him on enrolment into the colonial service in 1914 described the duties of an administrative officer in a varied character. In short it ranged from general functions of an "archeologist" to a "zoologist".[2] This prompted the select committee of the legislative council on Africanization of the public service in the Gold Coast to report that: "The duties of an administrative officer are so wide and varied that they cannot be set out in detail".[3]

This elastic definition of the function of the administrative officer was what enhanced centralization and the firm control of the colonial bureaucracy over the colony.

1. Raymond Buell, Native Problem in Africa, Vol.I, London, MacMillan (1928), p.779.
2. A.W. Cardinall, In Ashanti and Beyond, London, (1927), pp.70-71.
3. "Select Committee of Legislative Council on Africanization of the Public Service Report", (1950), Accra. Government Printing Department.

Another institution built to facilitate colonial goals was the legislative and the executive councils. Initially, the legislative council in particular was of little practical importance, however, it acted in theory as a check on the absolute powers of the Governor and perhaps as a symbolic reflection of British parliamentary tradition. The legislative council was expected to function in two ways; the first was advisory and the second was representation. Though the former favoured the assent of the Governor of the day, the latter seems to have been nearer to the intentions of Lord Grey when he established the council. He said:

> It was my object ... without relinquishing
> the power possessed by the Crown, gradually
> to bring these legislative bodies more under
> the influence of the opinion of the intelligent
> and educated inhabitants of the colonies. 4

This pronouncement perhaps forms the basis of the often animosity and suspicion between the chiefs and educated Africans throughout the colonial period. The educated Africans believed or were made to believe that they have been trained to lead and manage the country whilst the chiefs felt that by their position as natural rulers and their relationship with the colonial government within the indirect rule system they possessed the automatic right of representing their peoples. This relationship reached its climax in 1925 when the new constitution doubled the number of chiefs on the

4. Henry George Grey, Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration I, London, Bentley, 1853, p.30.

legislative council as against municipal members. The

educated Africans objected vehemently on these terms:

> The issue is one of life and death to us,
> for if you perpetuate the possibility of
> the return of dummies to the legislature
> our national independence is gone forever.
> Probably that is what has been aimed at all
> the time, to so gag the people that while
> they have a machinery ostensibly of an
> advanced type, yet to be truly and really
> voiceless in the affairs of their own country.[5]

Indeed, throughout the existence of the legislative

council in the colonial era, especially from its foundation

in 1850 until 1925, it was represented on a very limited sense

since all its members were appointed by the Governor. Even

after the constitutional developments of 1938 and the sub-

sequent application of the principle of elective representa-

tion, the over-riding position of the Governor remained intact.

His special powers included power to veto decisions of the

legislative assembly, legislate without reference to the

assembly, and in addition was responsible for external affairs

defense and the police. He was also president of the executive

council. The table below illustrates a graphic description

of some of the constitutional developments made during the

period 1938 to 1954, vis-a-vis the powers of the Governor

stated above.[6]

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5.   Raymond L. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, New
      York, (1928), p.839.
6.   Source: The Making of Ghana, London, Central Office
      of Information Reference Pamphlet, (1957), p.44.

ITEM	EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (NOW CABINET)				LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (PARLIAMENT)			
	1938	1948	1951	1954	1938	1948	1951	1954
OFFICIALS	7	8	3	nil	16	6	3	nil
UNOFFICIALS	nil	3	8*	unspecified no. all drawn from legislature by Prime Minister	14	24	81*	104
					11	18	75	104

* Six of whom were in charge of departments

+ Four of these had no vote

Since independence, these institutions, like the colonial society, have been the framework on which the axis of Ghanaian social and political life hinges. They are the executive which work with the civil service, formerly the colonial administrative service, as its medium through which it functions, a legislature which operates from a legislative assembly or parliament and a judiciary which works within the court system.

Section I

APPROPRIATENESS TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS: The focus of this section will be limited to some aspects of the structure and conventions of the civil service. However, the immediate problem of manpower and personnel orientation will first be examined.

The immediate problem the independence administration faced was to Africanize personnel of inherited institutions. This was necessitated by various reasons which included the following:

(I) During the days of the nationalist movement, the peoples of Ghana had been encouraged to believe that the removal of Europeans and their replacement by Ghanians would inevitably solve Ghana's problems. Hence Kwama Nkrumah in 1949 said: "If we get self government, we'll transform the Gold Coast into a paradise in ten years".[7]

(II) During the colonial era, Africans were excluded from senior positions within the colonial administration. Consequently, there was a concentration of a sizeable number of disgruntled African personnel in the junior positions who were eager to realize the full benefits of their education and

(III) As a result of massive resignation of European officers and the expansion of administrative and other governmental institutions after independence, there was an acute personnel problem in almost all institutions. This for instance led to the perpetuation of the colonial educational structure without reference to its suitability to the goals of independence.

Thus as an independent country, Ghana started with a manpower problem, with a system which had operated efficiently

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7. Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, Ghana: End of An Illusion, New York, Monthly Review Press, (1966), p.25.

and effectively as well as produce favourable results if it had h

dedicated,qualified and experienced personnel. In relation

to this, Tony Killick observes that the Africanization policy

> tells us more about the iniquities of
> colonialism than it does about the human
> wealth of Ghana, for it is only by the
> standards of colonized Africa that she
> would have been said to be in favourable
> position.8

A.L. Adu enforces this assertion when he wrote that:

> the expatriateshad all along occupied the
> more responsible positions and their knowledge,
> skill and experience were not readily replaceable
> from local sources.9

Africanization policy also created a new problem for

national development. The racial divisions in personnel

relationship during the colonial era also meant separate

housing and social arrangements such as hospitals, schools

and clubs. When the door for advancement into senior posi-

tions was opened to Africans, it became natural that they

should adopt and expect from government these status symbols

in these facilities. In this way class consciousness in the

service was introduced in a "traditionally egalitarian

society".

> This status consciousness is so strongly
> entrenched that even when new service structures
> have abolished the distinction between the
> senior service and junior service, officers
> have by convention drawn the line where it
> previously was.

Sociologically, the senior officers kept themselves aloof

from both the junior staff and the African populace.[10]

8. Tony Killick, <u>Development Economics in Action,</u> London,
   Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., (1978), p.4.
9. A.L. Adu, <u>Civil Service in Commonwealth Africa</u>, London,
   George Allen and Unwin Ltd., (1969) pp.21-22.
10. Geraint Parry, <u>Participation in Politics</u>, Manchester
    University Press, (1972), Chapter 1.

Thus after independence one could fairly suggest that the difference between the African and European personnel especially senior grades, was the colour. Consequently, the rural people or the underprivileged accorded them the same attitude as that given the Europeans; that is, suspicion and apathy. Government was still considered as an alien body. Thus despite for instance, Kwame Knrumah's ability to organise grass-roots support for the Convention People's Party, mass participation in the sense of actually involving or making the majority of the people feel they are part of government and hence decision making in the quest for national development, has not succeeded since independence.[11]

Furthermore, national goals and priorities have favoured the provision of goods and services to sustain the acquired European lifestyles of the minority urban elites at the expense of the majority rural people who unfortunately produce the bulk of the country's wealth.

In a sense, there is much to suggest that Ghana embarked upon a sectional development approach. Instead of redressing the social stratification and its subsequent one sided urban development engineered by colonial society, the attitude and orientation of the educated Africans after independence promoted and fostered it. This endorsed the apathy and distrust,

11. Geraint Parry, <u>Participation in Politics</u>: Manchester University Press (1972), Chapter 1.

on the part of the uneducated to the urban elites, hence
the lack of universal commitment to national goals and the
slow and patchy rate of development.

STRUCTURE OF THE GHANA CIVIL SERVICE: Aş a legacy of the
colonial administrative service, the Ghana Civil Service
owes its general features to the Northcote-Trevelyan report[12]
and in particular the Lidbury Commission Report of 1951.[13]
Since then two commissions, first in 1967[14] and 1974 have
made various enquiries into the structure and procedures of
the Ghana Civil Service. Their reports have made a series
of recommendations aimed at bringing the service more in line
with the demands of development oriented administration.
However, much as these reports address themselves to the
objectives of development administration, it is the view of
this thesis that not many inroads have been made to tackle
effectively the attainment of these goals.

Generally the guiding principles of the service are that
a proper division of labour depended on the clear separation
of intellectual from routine work and on the separate recruit-
ment and deployment of staff for each. Recruitment has

12. "Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil
     Service"(The Northcote-Trevelyan Report), (1853),
     Appendix B of Fulton Report.
13. "Commission into Civil Service 1950-51", (Lidbury
     Commission), 1950-51. Accra Government Printing Office,
     (1951).
14. "Report of the Commission on the Structure and Renumer-
     ation of the Public Services in Ghana", Accra, Ministry
     of Information, (1967).

therefore been linked directly to the output of the educ-
ational system; graduates were recruited for intellectual
work and non-graduates for the rest. Thus the division of
the service into upper and lower classes in the same broad
area of work. The administrative, executive and clerical
classes offer a good example of these divisions. Graduates
enter into the administrative class, "advanced" level second-
ary school leavers into the executive class and "ordinary"
level holders into the clerical class. With the expansion in
the tasks of government, departmental grades have been created
for personnel with specialist and professional qualifications.

To belong to a class, members must be involved in jobs
which are commonly performed in more than one ministry or
department. A member of a class can therefore be moved from
one ministry or department to another. Each class has its own
distinct scheme of service which describes often imprecisely
the nature of the work of the class and its career prospects
in terms of its gradings and salary structures. There is also
a separate head for each class. Although there is a provision
for individuals subsequently to move from one class to another,
the processes are formal and restrictive. The Lidbury Report
for instance, recommended that twenty per cent of vacancies
in the administrative class should be reserved for successful
candidates within the executive class. However, the 1976
commission report doubted whether in practice this recommenda-

tion has been adopted. Thus, whether civil servants move
between ministries, departments or remain in one, they do
not normally think in terms of a career in the service, but
a career in a class.

For a developing country like Ghana, this system func-
tions to endanger assiduous response to the goals of national
development. Instead of pursuing national goals in a unified
manner, more time is spent campaigning for sectional well-being.

These conclusions have been drawn on the grounds that the
occupational divisions between separate disciplines and special-
isms are under strain. This is because they are not at present
constructed on any uniform principle. The tendency for class
or occupational groups to seek, promote and protect their
interest through associations such as Technical Officers',
Nurses', Secretaries associations, meant that the interest
groups use their unique disciplines to coerce governments,
sometimes by strikes or protracted negotiations to seek for
better conditions of service. Thus sectional interests com-
pete with each other for government favours and conditions of
service for all civil servants are examined only by ad hoc
committees or commissions usually appointed on the initiative
of the government of the day. For instance, between 1972 and
1979, such sectional manoeuvres led to the establishment of
the Salary Review Commission, Tripartite Committee on Salaries
and the Salary Negotiation machinery in addition to the Prices

and Incomes Board, the national wage and price fixation
organisation. All these worked on salary modalities and
remuneration of civil and public servants at the same time.
Apart from the problem of waste and duplication such estab-
lishments inevitably produced,their conflicting reports
further strained the class relationships.

The career opportunities that are defined for the diff-
erent classes vary greatly in their attractiveness and scope
even for people with similar educational background. For
instance, two graduate entries, one into the administrative
class and the other into the technical class, would eventually
experience this problem. The technical officer would end up
organisationally, serving under his administrative officer
colleague. The chart below illustrates this assertion.

TECHNICAL INTEGRATED MINISTRY

MINISTER
|
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY
|
| PRIVATE SECRETARY
|

PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT	CHIEF TECHNICAL	CHIEF TECHNICAL
SECRETARY	OFFICER (1)	OFFICER (11)
ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF
EXECUTIVE, PERSONNEL,
ACCOUNTING, SECRETARIAL,
CLERICAL STAFF
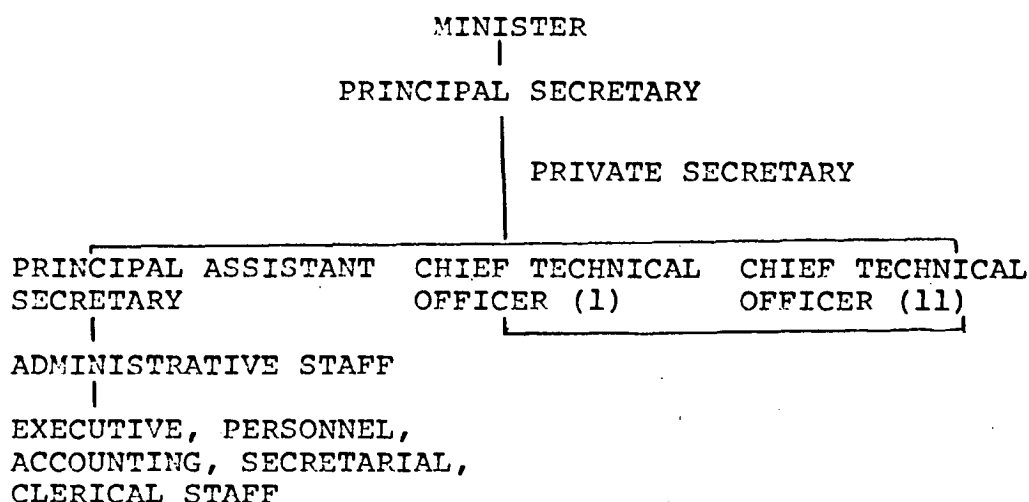
Furthermore, the administrative class have relatively,
the best promotion opportunities, due mainly to the attrition
rate of officers and the continuing expansion of the civil

service. Thus there can be as many as twenty or more
Principal Secretary openings for a hopeful Principal Assistant
Secretary; but the chances for the Economists, for instance,
becoming Chief Economist are one in as many as there are
Economists.

Classification therefore does not seem to encourage the
idea of equal opportunity, an idea justified to the extent
that technical officers cannot easily move into appropriate
middle and higher management posts except through the relativ-
ely rigid process involved in moving from one class to another.
This entrenches further the class differences and to some
extent results in important national issues being settled
with class interest dominating decision making, in an organ-
isation with a common goal. The system also prevents the
best deployment and use of individual talent. The formal and
relatively rigid procedures involved in moving from one class
to another place unnecessary barriers in the way of the move-
ment of individuals, both upwards to the posts of higher res-
ponsibility and sideways between different kinds of related
work. It also impedes development and promotion of young
people with outstanding potential.

A very important feature of the system is that policy-
making and general managerial jobs in the service are normally
reserved for the members of the Administrative class. They
were to be supported by the Executive class created by the

Lidbury Commission report of 1950 to "take over the less
responsible duties falling to the Administrative class".[16]

The concept of the "Generalist" or "all rounder"
administrator, has its origins in the development of the
Colonial Service. The calibre of personnel needed for the
diverse tasks within the colony and the background of the
Home Service policy-makers, dictated a "non utilitarian
subject like the 'Greats' - a hybrid of philosophy and clas-
sics."[17] It was believed that such instructions were sup-
erior to any programme of specialized vocational education.
This type of training was restricted to the British upper
class.[18] Therefore even in 1950 it was hoped that the African
recruits to the colonial service would style themselves on
the British upper class model, taking degrees at Oxford or
Cambridge universities in some general subject.[19] This
explains the blanket definition of the functions of the Ad-
ministrative Officer during the colonial era; and also the
evident dominance of the Administrative class within the
Civil Service.

The Administrative class since independence has main-
tained its generalist character, moving frequently from

16. Okoh Report, 1976, p.56.
17. Henrika Kuklick, The Imperial Bureaucrat. The Colonial
    Administrative Service in the Gold Coast 1920-1939,
    Stanford (1979), p.21.
18. Sir Ralph Furse, Accuparius, Recollection of A Recruiting
    Officer, London, Oxford University Press, (1962), p.142.
19. "Select Committee of the Legislative Council on African-
    ization of the Public Service Report", 1951, Accra,
    Government Printing Department.

different assignments within the service irrespective of
the subject matter and by virtue of its knowledge and ex-
perience of the governmental machine. Within the environment
of colonial society, this concept fulfilled the goals of
colonialism to a large extent. However, with reference to
the goals of national development, this concept is obsolete.

The demands of national development, as well as rapid
technological and intellectual advancement have necessitated
the need for a great deal of specialization and professional-
ism in the Civil Service. This calls for both new recruitment
and selection procedure and training and deployment formula.
The task of national development could be broken down into
the following areas; namely, social, economic, financial,
agricultural and industrial. For an administrative officer
to be posted to any of these units, he must show competence
and familiarity with the principles, techniques and trends
of development in the subject matter of the field in which
he is to perform; just as foreign service officers are limited
to their specialized area of international relations. This
should be in addition to their early years training in the
skills of administration.

This system would have a number of advantages over the
old practice. It would reduce over-reliance on incrementalism.*
The widespread generalist tradition of having to study old
files for precedents on every issue would be greatly reduced.

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*   Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of 'muddling through'
in A Reader in Planning Theory, Andreas Faludi (ed.),
Oxford (1973), pp.151-169.

Initiative and innovation on the other hand would be broad-
ened. This is because a specialist would be more confident
in making decisions without reference to precedents. They
would also be in a position of providing a great deal of
explanatory information, especially in extempore situations
for the politicians. This is not meant to dislodge the role
of specialists in the ministries. It would however play a
complementary role, enhance co-ordination and mutual respect
among them. It would also facilitate the call for the "open"
structure of the administrative class. Senior positions within
the class would be open more to competition to officers both
in and outside the class. This it is presumed would promote
hard work and efficiency.

As a panacea to the class problem in the civil service,
the 1976 report recommended a good job evaluation exercise,
taking into consideration the sensitivities and interests of
various occupational groups.[20] This recommendation was made
about eleven years after the Fulton report was published.
Yet the Fulton report made far reaching and radical recommend-
ations on this issue.[21] It recommended that the divisions
between higher and lower classes should be abolished. That
a continuous grading system from bottom to top should be sub-
stituted in each occupational group. For instance, it proposed
a merger of administrative, executive and clerical classes. It
                                                          except
also proposed that no post should be the preserve of any group,/

20. Okoh Report, 1976, p.65.
21. "The Civil Service Vol.I, Report of the Committee 1966-
    68. Chairman Lord Fulton, London (1970), Command Papers
    3638, Chapter 6 (Fulton Report).

insofar as the individuals comprising the group may be uniquely qualified for them. For example, lawyers for judicial posts.

Section II:Conventions

SECURITY OF TENURE, ANONYMITY AND THE NON-POLITICIZATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE:

The fact that the origin of the Ghana Civil Service could be traced from the period of British colonial administration ensures that

> ... the Ghana civil service today retains some of
> the basic conventions of the British Civil Service
> namely, loyalty to the Head of State and Government
> of the day, permanence and impartiality".

After independence these conventions were given a national character in the Civil Service charter of 1960 when Ghana became a Republic. The charter categorically states the role of the Ghana Civil Service:

> The principle of loyalty to the State and the
> Government does not imply participation in party
> politics. Perhaps the most important feature
> of the Civil Service is its non-political character.
> The Civil Service is a permanent Service and members
> of it would not normally expect to take up or quit
> office on a change of Government. Civil Servants
> must therefore be in a position to serve all govern-
> ments of whatever complexion with equal loyalty and
> to obtain the confidence of ministers irrespective
> of their political party. This can only come about
> if Civil Servants, particularly those in higher
> grades, exercise special restraints in political
> matters. 22

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22. Okoh Report, 1976, p.112.

The Okoh report of 1976 quoted this statement with approval and suggested that the Civil Service charter should be reprinted and distributed widely within the Ghana Civil Service.

The concept of the security of tenure of office was therefore based on the idea of the permanence and neutrality of the civil servants. In reference to this concept, the Okoh report made these observations:

> First the civil servant must be seen to be impartial in serving his commission. In practise, however, this is not easy for the civil servant. The civil servant is exposed to many pressures from the public groups with a common interest, the press and even irate citizens - each arguing for some change of policy. They do so in the expectation that the civil servant will be persuaded to their particular point of view as in fact he may well be, since it is part of his job to develop an appreciation of the social and economic trends as they affect the policies of his department.[23]

This observation, gives credence to the view that the nature of the social organisation of the Ghanaian society makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for a person to be neutral. In his pioneering work on society and bureaucracy in contemporary Ghana, Robert Price noted that:

> Public bureaucracy, like all other formal organisations, depends for its effective operation on the individual role performance of each constituent member. The ability of members to so perform requires the social

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23. Okoh Report, 1976, p.113.

> compartmentalisation of official roles
> from all other roles, so that only the
> requirements of organisational role-set
> need be attended to and conflict with
> the member's other social roles can be
> avoided. ... In Ghana social environment
> such role compartmentalization is generally
> not permitted by a basic unit within the
> social system, the kinship group, ... It was not
> surprising therefore that a large proportion
> of respondents felt that under the circumstances
> Ghanaian civil servants would conform to the
> expectations of their kinship group. 24

This observation, as an honest assessment of the socio-political environment of Ghana, undermines the concept of impartiality to a large extent and increases the risk of partisanship. More so, when in most cases, political parties are reputed to have strong tribal or sectional affiliations.

The question of the non-partisan civil servant could be traced to the government of the first Republic under Kwame Nkrumah. With the adoption of one party state in 1960 the Conventions Peoples Party (C.P.P.) became the "vanguard" for political and ideological development. The exact role of the party was summed up by Nkrumah when he said:

> The C.P.P. is a powerful force, more powerful,
> indeed, than anything that has yet appeared
> in the history of Ghana. It is the uniting
> force that guides and pilots the nation. Its
> supremacy cannot be challenged. The C.P.P.
> is Ghana and Ghana is the C.P.P. 25

24. Robert Price, Society and Bureaucracy in Contemporary Ghana, Berkeley, University of California (1975), p.83.
25. Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, London Heinemann (1961), p.209.

For this reason it was assumed that every institution including the civil service was subject to the party. However the civil service was maintained supposedly as a non partisan institution. In furtherance of the philosophy of the supremacy of the party, Nkrumah created, a party machinery which ran concurrently with the old traditional institutions. For example, C.P.P. activists were appointed as district commissioners (D.Cs), who were charged with the responsibility of explaining government policies to the people and for mobilizing popular support. The D.Cs were therefore the main link between the government and the people. This role extensively overlapped with the traditional assignments of the District Administrative officers (D.A.O) who were civil servants. Whenever there was conflict of functions the position of the D.C. prevailed in line with the doctrine of party supremacy. The pre-emptory role of the D.C. in the administration of the country was underscored in Nkrumah's statement that: "for efficient administration traditional areas will remain as they are; but each district will be administered exclusively by a D.C."[26]

At the central administration level, the office of the president was expanded and its functions subordinated the traditional roles of policy-making ministries. As a result, the traditional civil service played a subordinate role in the

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26. Quoted in Benjamin Amamoo, Ghana: 1957-1966, Politics of Institutional Dualism, London, George Allen and Unwin (1981), p.101.

administration of the country. Consequently, the career civil servants became disaffected because they lost some of their prestige and most of their dominant roles to party functionaries. To the extent that they developed anti-government sentiments, in their disaffection, it could be argued that the civil servants became politicized "negatively".

While the majority would have been politicized in a negative sense, it needs to be pointed out that there was a definite minority who in their bid to secure favours identified themselves with the government.

In summary, even though the Nkrumah regime did not interfere directly with the civil service, the institution was nevertheless politicized because of its peripheral role.

The National Liberation Council (N.L.C.) regime in 1966 abolished the party structure created by Nkrumah. The N.L.C. government therefore needed the support of the civil servants to run the country. The civil service emerged as the sole basis of administration in the country. The N.L.C. government for one thing, needed the civil servants and on the other hand the civil servants themselves welcomed the political changes because it restored their lost prestige and their dominant role in the administration.

In this regime, the civil servants were actively involved in the policy making process. For instance, the N.L.C. passed a decree in March 1966 transfering the functions previously

performed by ministers to the Principal Secretaries or
heads of ministries, subject to the direction of the N.L.C.[27]
To assist in the formulation of new policies, four advisory
committees were set up to deal with issues involving economics,
administration, foreign affairs and publicity. Of the twenty
nine members of these committees, twenty six were civil
servants.[28] Policy making was carried out by officials often
through the newly created committees and only rarely did the
government make radical modifications to their recommendations.[29]

The N.L.C. regime in a large measure was a government
of civil servants. To the extent that they were actively
involved in decision making, it could be inferred that civil
servants became politicized "positively" as opposed to their
negative stance during the Nkrumah regime.

The question of politicization of the civil service
surfaced again during the rule of the Progress Party (P.P.)
government of the Second Republic. In 1970 the P.P. govern-
ment dismissed five hundred and sixty eight public and civil
servants. The government's action was based on a constitu-
tional provision found in section 9(1) of the transitional

27. N.L.C. Decree 11, 12th March 1966.
28. Ministry of Information, New Era in Ghana, Accra,
State Publishing Corporation (1966), pp.21-3.
29. Robert Pinkney, Ghana Under Military Rule, 1966-1969,
London, Methuen, (1972), p.53.

provisions contained in schedule I of the 1969 constitution.
No official reason was given for this action though recomm-
endations contained in the constitutional proposals laid
before the constituent assembly must have been deemed to have
been the -- basis of the government's action.[30] It
suggested implicitly the dismissal of certain categories of
officers whose performance had been found to be unresponsive
to the goals of national development. Thus for the first
time civil servants were held accountable publicly for their
acts.

Nevertheless, it is common knowledge in civil service
circles that these officers were dismissed for their political
affiliations. The government's relationship with the civil
servants was further strained when its economic policies of
cutting down government expenditure affected civil servants
most. This was one reason why the civil servants readily
accepted the military take-over of 1972.[31]

In 1979 the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C.)
retired all senior Principal Secretaries by abolishing the
post. The official reason was that the post was no longer
relevant for the purposes of the government. However it is
believed that they were retired at the instigation of the
President-elect who was himself a civil servant of a lower

30. S.O. Gyandoh Jnr. and J. Griffiths, A Source Book of
    Constitutional Law of Ghana, Vol.II Part II, Accra,
    University of Ghana, (1972), p.501.
31. David Goldsworthy, "Ghana's Second Republic: A Post-
    Mortem", African Affairs, Vol.2 72 No. 286, (January 1973).

rank. Though there has not been official confirmation of
this view, it gained currency among civil servants to the extent/tha
it is hard to ignore its import in any analysis of the
situation.

The provisional National Defence Council (P.N.D.C.) has
also dismissed civil servants ostensibly for corruption and
inefficiency. While these grounds, perhaps, may have been
valid in some cases, none of the allegations against the
affected civil servants were ever proved in any properly
constituted administrative or judicial tribunal. This lends
credence to the belief that the dismissals were politically
motivated. Particularly given the government's determina-
tion to purge the civil service of anti-revolutionaries and
other civil servants whose affiliations with the previous
regime, it is believed, went beyond their non-partisan roles.

To conclude, the concept of non-partisan civil service
has not been achieved over the years. This is mainly due to
the social and political arrangements of the country. Civil
servants have taken sides; there has been politicization,
officially or unofficially, negatively or positively; and above all
there have been politically motivated dismissals. One cannot
speak of security of tenure because its basis has been shattered. It
seems hypocritical to continue stressing the non-politicization
of the civil service in the face of the practicalities of the
Ghana civil service.

ANONYMITY: The concept of anonymity of the civil servant operates under the principle that the minister is responsible for acts and omissions under his ministry. Hence the civil servant is never called upon in public to answer for his actions. The civil servant is presumed to operate in the shadow of his minister. The Okoh commission found nothing inconsistent with this convention with regard to the non-partisan advisory role of the civil servant in the process of policy formulation. It observed however that some civil servants have appeared on the media to defend policy issues or have had important policy statements attributed to them. This in effect makes them policy makers. To preserve their anonymity the commission considered it as a general rule that

> Civil servants should not be called upon
> to defend government policies in public ...
> Civil servants should not be involved
> publicly in controversy over the merits or
> demerits of government policy. 32

Anonymity of the civil servant was based on the assumption that the doctrine of ministerial responsibility means that a minister has full detailed knowledge and control of all the activities of his ministry. With the expansion of scope and functions of government, especially after independence, this assumption is no longer tenable. The minister cannot know everything in his ministry, nor can he be present at every forum where legitimate questions are raised about the activities of a ministry, resulting in some questions going unanswered.[33]

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32. Okoh Report, 1976, p.114.
33. Fulton Report, p.93.

The Australian academician Professor Emy, adds this view:

> Ministerial responsibility is the overriding
> constitutional convention which regulates the
> (civil) service (Jennings). However changing
> political reality has qualified the concept
> as a comprehensive principle of **accountability.**
> Ministers do not accept culpability for anything
> other than the most serious and personal errors.
> They do not accept a blanket responsibility for
> the activities of their officials. Insofar as
> officials are supposed to be anonymous, there is
> a gap in the system of public accountability.
> Because it is clear that a minister does not
> have a detailed knowledge of what goes on in
> his department, an official may escape control
> altogether. This is unsatisfactory from the
> point of view of performance. It is also unsat-
> isfactory for officials who may find themselves
> in a major case exposed to personal scrutiny in
> public with very little protection. 34

One effect of strict adherence to convention is that it could lead to lack of total commitment on the part of the civil servant. Civil servants must therefore be answerable to certain issues within their jurisdiction. This is because there is the need to ensure a balance between efficiency, commitment and experience. It would also bring into reality the on going process of political and administrative changes which render this convention weightless.

The Fulton report in this regard recommended

> In our view therefore the convention of
> anonymity should be modified and civil servants
> as professional administrators should be able
> to go further than now in explaining what their
> departments are doing at any rate so far as
> concerns managing existing policies and imple-
> menting legislation. 35

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34. The Commission on the Royal Australian Government
    Administration Report, Appendix 1b, Canberra, (1975),
    pp.26-27.
35. Fulton Report 1968, p.93.

It may seem contradictory to cite the Fulton report
as a basis for argument, in view of the general theme that
Ghana's underdevelopment is due in part to the imitation of
British colonial practices. It needs to be emphasised that
the thesis is not aimed at discrediting British institutions
which are now part of Ghana's national life. The basis of
this work is to highlight the relevance of British colonial
administrative institutions to the objectives of post inde-
pendence Ghana. The reference to the Fulton report is con-
sidered appropriate because it has an inherent utility which
is applicable to Ghana.

The recommendations of the Fulton report bring to light
the influence of the social trends in the United Kingdom and
later colonialism to some extent in the formative years of
the British civil service. These characteristics were later
implanted in the colonies including Ghana. In breaking new
grounds in its recommendations the Fulton report was compre-
hending   the ever growing social, political and adminis-
trative demands of the century. The radical breakthrough of
the report only shows that there are necessary and sufficient
reasons for a break with the past to be abreast with the
realities of modern society.

It is in respect of this that Ghana has failed and until
a real effort is made to bring the Ghana civil service to
terms with these demands, the goals of national development
will continue to elude us.

CHAPTER IV

INDIRECT RULE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PARTICIPATION

Indirect rule was introduced in the Gold Coast as part
of the process of organising the colony so as to make the
best use of human and material resources with a minimum effort
and expense.[1]

In Africa it was first introduced in Northern Nigeria
by Lord Lugard. The objective was to utilize the services
of traditional social and political organization within the
colonial set up. Lugard visualized indirect rule as a system
of colonial administration which not only relied on the in-
digenous authorities for local government but as a stimulus
for improvement. The operative policy was that:

> Chiefs should govern their people not as
> independent but as dependent rulers. The
> orders of government are not conveyed to
> the people through them but emanate from
> them in accordance, where necessary, with
> instructions received through the Resident.
> While they themselves are controlled by
> government in policy and matters of import-
> ance, their people are controlled in accord-
> ance with that policy by themselves. A
> political officer would consider it irregular
> to issue direct orders to an individual native
> or even a village head, as a general commanding
> a division would to a private soldier. [2]

Lugard explains that the Resident acts as a sympathetic
adviser to the native chief, being careful not to interfere

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1. Ronald Hyam, _British Imperial Century 1815-1914, A Study
   of Empire and Expansion,_ London, R.T.Batsford, (1976),p.32.
2. Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on The Amalgamation of Northern
   and Southern Administration 1912-19, (1919), Command
   Papers pp.14-15.

so as to lower his prestige or cause him to lose interest
in his work.

The chief was therefore the mouth piece of the British
Government for the issue of orders and is rewarded in prop-
ortion to the efficacy of the orders.

The indirect rule policy, to a very large extent, altered
the relationship between the chiefs and the social structure
of the colony. This change was reinforced by the Native
Jurisdiction Ordinance, first enacted in 1878, supplanted
by the Ordinance of 1883, amended in 1910 and remained in
force till 1927 when a new Ordinance was enacted. There was
also a Chiefs' Ordinance in 1904. The salient aspects of
these enactments were that the Governor was given the right
to confirm, elect and install,as well as suspend or depose,
any chief who shall appear to have abused his powers. The
chiefs were to function for as much as their activities were
"not repugnant to natural justice,equity and good conscience".
This stock phrase was what finally eroded the authority of
the chiefs.

Henceforth, their activities were directly placed under
the aegis of the central administration. Commenting on this,
John Mensah-Sarbah said that the circumscription of the chiefs'
judicial competence and the introduction of District Commiss-
ioners courts reduced the status of the chief for "in the

African mind, leadership carried with it the administration of justice".[3] The 1927 ordinance in particular, is of significant importance to the development of local government administration in Ghana. It shifted official emphasis from defining and controlling the power of the chiefs to **bolstering up an institution that now seemed essential to** the central administration.

In the process, the nature of chieftainsy was considerably modified; a form of government adapted to small local communities was brought into a new relationship with a wider system. This meant that the flexibility appropriate to direct democracy at the village must be replaced by the stability required by the agents of the colonial government. Consequently the philosophy of consanquinity which moulded traditional society together before the colonial era and upon which the authority of the chief is derived was replaced by an allegiance to the central authority. This, to some degree extinguished the spirit of collective identification which facilitated mass participation within the traditional set up.

Commenting on the effects of indirect rule, Lord Lugard wrote:

> The advent of Europeans cannot fail to
> have a disintegrating effect on tribal
> authority and institutions, and on the
> conditions of native life. This is due
> in part to the unavoidable restrictions

3. Cited in Kimble, <u>Political History of Ghana, From John Mensah Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution</u>, London, (1906), pp.124-134.

> imposed on the exercise of their power
> by the native chiefs ... The concentration
> of force in the hands of the Suzerain power,
> and the amenability of the chiefs to that
> power for acts of oppression and misrule are
> evidence to primitive folks that the power of
> the chiefs has gone. 4

Thus, in essence, the indirect rule system, prepared the infrastructure for post colonial local government administration.

I. LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POPULAR PARTICIPATION: In spite of the fact that indirect rule laid the foundation for the development of local government in Ghana, it did not alter the objectives of colonialism. Law and order remained practically the basis of its inception. The chiefs were therefore used to preserve law and order, collect tax and organise forced labour. The administration was still heavily centralised and the intermediary role of the chiefs was kept potent by the authority of the District Commissioners or political officers. It is therefore safe to conclude that the success of the indirect rule system was due to the rigid centralized control and pressure exerted on the chiefs and the people by the colonial machinery. Thus for the local people grassroots participation was involuntary; it was almost always made possible by the might of the colonialists.

On the attainment of independence when the government committed itself to the objectives of rapid economic and social development, it became imperative to involve all sec-

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4. Lord Lugard, Dual Mandate for Tropical Africa, (1923), p.43.

tions of the community in the realization of these object-
ives. For the bulk of the people, their contributions
could well be harnessed with the local government system
to generate grass-roots participation. For an institution
that has gone through the rigours of the colonial system,
the first steps in meeting these demands were to create a
legal structure that can translate popular will into action,
the broadening of popular participation into the political
process and the maintenance of national integration through
orderly accommodation of ethnic linguistic, religious and
other divisive factors. Also, the capacity to marry admin-
istrative responsibility, expertise and rationality with
popular will to achieve the common goal of national develop-
ment is another priority. This implies that the problem is
not just making structural and personnel changes within the
existing local government system, but a total commitment to
change in attitudes, relationship between government and the
people as well as administrative structure.

Within a congenial environment therefore, the contribu-
tions of local government in the task of national development
could be enormous. According to Henry Maddick, local
government can generate the following:
(i) Communication with an involvement of local people, and
     leadership to meet social and personal problems arising
     from technological change and disturbed societies.
(ii) Initiative, enthusiasm, and concentration of energies

to adapt and enrich national policies and make
development plans more realistic to local people and
better fit local needs and circumstances.

(iii) Co-ordination and comprehensive planning to integrate
many interlocking activities in a local policy and
subsequent execution.

(iv) Professionalism to improve technical efficiency, advice
and the execution of policies, and the blending with
them of the conci liar view.

(v) Accountability of elected representatives and the
accessibility of them and officers to the public to
increase honesty and sensitivity.[5]

The case of post independence Ghana, however, shows
that the country has not taken full advantage of gains of the
local government system.

Many reasons account for this, among them are that, as
an important ingredient in the local government process, the
country since independence has not been able to ease its
tight pre-colonial administrative grip on local government.
The problem of decentralization is still a thorny issue upon
which the 1976 report made this pronouncement:

> Decentralization of the machinery of government
> is a perennial problem of administrative reform
> which has engaged the attention of successive
> governments of this country. It was the recurring

5. Henry Maddick, The Contribution of Local Government in
    Local Government as a Promoter of Economic and Social
    Development, IULA, The Hague, (1971), p.39.

theme of most of the commissions of enquiry
appointed in the past to make recommendations
for reforms in the Civil Service. Despite their
recommendations the machinery of government has
been characterized by excessive centralisation. 6

Two reasons account for this. Immediately after

independence, the political tension that prevailed among

the various political factions perhaps made decentralization

a threat to national unity. Especially if the issue is viewed

from the heterogeneous nature of the Ghanian society and the

problem of unitary and federal state which remained as one

of the main issues for contention during the 1957 elections.

Perhaps, more importantly, like the colonial masters,

sharing of power by politicians and civil servants alike with

subordinates within a decentralized machinery was an anathema.

This is viewed differently by scholars like Schaffer, who

have argued that the British did not prepare their colonies,

especially African colonies, for self government within the

Westminster system, that even if they did, it came too late

to have any significant impact on prevailing practices within

the colonial system. [7]

Thus the stratification between the ruler and the ruled,

and the belief that it was only the educated who have the

know-how to administer the country became entrenched. Con-

sequently, even though for instance, Kwame Nkrumah recognized

6. Okoh Report, (1976), p.48.
7. B.B. Schaffer, "The Concept of Preparation. Some
   Questions about the Transfer of Systems of Government,
   World Politics, Vol. 18, Oct. 1965, pp.43-67.

the importance of grass-roots mobilisation, through the
success of the Conventions People's Party (C.P.P.),
it was doubtful whether he utilized this realization to
its logical conclusion within the concept of popular parti-
cipation through local government.

The political officers of the colonial era were replaced
by executive district commissioners responsible to the C.P.P.
Within the districts therefore party loyalties became the
most important consideration for participation and favours.
The establishment of political and administrative authority
was a mechanism aimed at weakening opposition in the districts.
For the chiefs therefore, most of whom   backed the opp-
osition, the C.P.P. government considered their traditional
role as insignificant to modern local government and admin-
istration. In line with this view, the government passed
the Chiefs' Law (1961) which gave legal recognition to the
ceremonial and traditional functions of chiefs but banned them
from participating in local government and administration.

This Act was a blow to the concept of participation in
various ways. In spite of the C.P.P. grass-roots membership,
the role of the chiefs as important power-brokers in the
quest for national unity cannot be easily disregarded,
especially in the rural areas where the people still consider
the chiefs as their natural leaders. For an institution
that had existed for centuries as an agent of grass-roots

mobilization and focus of traditional life, it cannot be
easily discounted. Therefore, it is important to cooperate
with the institution, modify it to meet changing demands
of modern society and guarantee peaceful co-existence.
This the C.P.P. government failed to do and to some extent
this jeopardised the objectives of national development.

In brief the local government system after
independence was modelled on the English system. Members
were elected under universal adult suffrage and characterised
implicitly the structures of the English system. However
with the adoption of one party-state in 1960, the position
of party functionaries became very powerful, dominating all
aspects of local government. This inevitably strengthened
opposition and division. Thus the environment created was
not conducive to the realization of the gains of local gov-
ernment enumerated by Maddick.

Furthermore the position of the President within the
1960 constitution facilitated centralization. Participation,
even at the central government level, was limited. By his special
powers the President of Ghana assumed a
position which corresponded very closely to that of the
Governor during the period of imperial rule. The prerogative
of the President placed him under no legal obligation to
publish his directions, even his executive instruments and

under no compulsion to seek the approval of parliament to treaties or other instruments signed on behalf of the state in foreign affairs. "Parliament provides a showground of considerable decorative value for any item which the President wishes to bring to popular attention."[8]

In addition to this, constitutional provisions since independence have categorically disqualified uneducated people from sitting as members of Parliament. For example, section 71(d) of the 1969 constitution echoes this practice in these terms:

> Subject to the provisions of this article,
> a person shall be qualified to be a member
> of the Assembly if and shall not be so
> qualified unless he is able to speak and
> unless incapacitated by blindness or other
> physical causes to read the English language
> with a degree of proficiency sufficient to
> enable him to take active part in the pro-
> ceedings of the Assembly.

This clause operated in a country which in 1960 for instance had only sixteen per cent of its adult population receiving formal education and "most of these had only received an elementary education".[9]

For an emerging country like Ghana, committed to the ideals of national development,

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8. David Apter, Politics of Modernization, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1965), pp.377-378.
9. Tony Killick, Development Economics in Action, (1978),p.4.

such a clause is unnecessary and discriminatory. This is because it undermines the underlying principles of popular participation and a truly representative government.[10] For government to be truly representative and participatory, a greater majority of the people must have an equal or a reasonably fair chance to all opportunities within the political system. For the majority of uneducated Ghanaians, these opportunities have been denied. For, apart from the ballot box and the eloquence of politicians, they have little or no control except at election time.

The operation of the political and administrative systems inherited after independence stifled popular participation, enlarged the existing cleavage between the literate and the illiterate and confirmed the rural peoples' conception of government as an alien body. Thus the establishment of political power to local leadership constituted an impediment to change and development. Institutionally, popular participation was absent even after the reforms of successive governments after the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah. The old stratified colonial administrative structure, where decision-making traditionally flows from the top to the people, existed with little or no modification.

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10. H.A. Birch, <u>Representative and Responsible Government</u> <u>An Essay on the British Constitution,</u> London, George <u>Allen and Unwin,</u> (1964), p.1.
    See also: <u>Key Concepts in Political Science: Represent-</u> <u>ation,</u> London, Pall Mall Press Ltd., (1971), Chapt. 7.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Since independence Ghana has experienced seven different governments, four of which are military. All these governments come to power with a pledge to redress the existing social and political injustice in the society and to support the objectives of national development. However, these objectives have not been attained. Twenty seven years after independence, the socio-political structure to a large extent remains unchanged. To conclude, it is important to examine the interest of forces behind the making and unmaking of governments and their amenability to change.

The conditions surrounding the overthrow of civilian governments from office illustrate some similarities. There is a pattern of economic malaise with intra-military grievance which sparks immediate causes. It is fairly safe to conclude that conditions for coup d'eta,t become very rife when elitist interest is threatened. For the purpose of this thesis, the term "elite" is defined "in terms of its common possession of a single attribute or set of objective attributes". Thus in the Ghanaian context, members of an elite are regarded as "all individuals who have achieved a given minimal level of education or income or who are engaged in particular occupations".[1] This definition therefore refers more to the

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1. Remi P. Glignet and Philip Foster, 'Potential Elites in Ghana and the Ivory Coast: A Preliminary Comparison, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.70, No.3., (November 1964,)p.349.

the urban community or those engaged in the modern sector.
In this sense, the army is part of the elitist group.

In the staging of a coup d'eta t, the officer corps
of the army, as an elitist group, are primarily concerned
with corporate and individual interest, in a societal context
of acute scarcity where other elites (professionals, poli-
ticians, trade unionists, students) are competing for the
same rewards and benefits. In such conditions of scarcity,
civilian and military grievances tend to coincide and the
existence of corporate and/or personal ambitions of officers
has been the key variable in sparking off military take-over.

Thus for example, the conservative generals of the 1966
coup d'eta t overthrew a government commited to socialism
and anti-imperialist. On the domestic front, the austere
economic policies of the government   heightened social
and economic tension especially among the elite whose interests
were seriously threatened.[2] Furthermore, the regular army
had its own grievance against the government for concentrating
resources in the improvement of the President's own Guard
Regiment at the expense of the impoverished regular army and
the infiltration of the officer corps with Soviet trained
personnel.[3]

2.   Claude E. Welch, Preatorianism in Commonwealth Africa,
     Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.10, No.2., (1972),
     p.211.
3.   A.A. Afrifa, The Ghana Coup, 24th February 1966, New
     York, (1966), pp.70-110.

The right wing civilian allies therefore teamed up
with the soldiers to safeguard their interests. Consequently
all aspects of Nkrumah's socialist policies were dismantled.
One basic feature of this government was that by both assoc-
iation and deeds, it favoured the western pattern of develop-
ment. It is therefore no surprise that it handed over power
in 1969 to a civilian government with a pro-western orient-
ation.

The factors which led to the fall of the Second Republic
in 1972 were not greatly different from those of the
First Republic. The economy was on a downward slide, the
policies of the government again were austere. It introduced
a development levy, introduced payment of school fees in all
cycles of the educational system, cut down drastically or
completely, the allowance of public and civil servants, banned
trade unions and devalued the Ghanaian currency. All these are
policies which hit the elites and their life styles most.

In justifying the military take over of 1972, apart
from the normal economic and social malaise, Acheampong
pronounced that even the few amenities which the soldiers
enjoyed under Nkrumah were denied them by Busia [4]. This
therefore attracted widespread support of all affected
elements within the society, namely trade unionists, civil
servants and students.This pattern of elitist interest is

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4. Claude E. Welch, op.cit., p.213.
   See also:
   David Goldsworthy,"Ghana's Second Republic, A Post-
   Mortem", African Affairs, Vol.72, No.286, (January
   1973).

present in almost all military take overs in Ghana.

It seems therefore that if the interests of the elites
are safeguarded, it would be a very high guarantee against
coup d'eta ts. However, the state of Ghana's economy is
such that, at any given time, government policy could endanger
the interest of this group collectively or sectionally. Con-
sequently, there is always a ready made justification for
a military intervention. This is testimony to the view
of this thesis that the failure to achieve the goals of
national development is not due to bad economic
policies but the inappropriateness of the institutional
response to national needs.

Another factor that recurs with military interventions
is that each regime was unable to capitalize on the achieve-
ments of its predecessors simply because each came into
existence in a manner that compelled it to literally annihilate
the memory of its predecessors.

> Each devotes virtually fifty per cent of
> its resources to ensuring that no symbolic
> reminders of the predecessors would be found
> in the political community. 5

Thus a situation is created where, with the overthrow
of each regime, the clock is turned back because of ideolo-
gical stance and idiosyncracies of the successive governments.

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5. Ladun Anise, Trends in Leadership Succession and
   Regime Change in African Politics since Independence,
   African Studies Review, Vol.XVII, No.3.(December 1974),
   p.516.

For a developing country like Ghana this practice has been very costly and a waste of resources.

Since independence in 1957, Ghana has experienced seven different governments with different ideological and constitutional backgrounds. Yet there has not been any significant change in the welfare of the majority of the people. The general state of the country still features a high degree of underdevelopment, poverty, disease and deprivation. Twenty seven years of constitutional and ideological failure should at least give an indication that ideology, constitutional governments and economic policies per se cannot generate rapid social and economic development. It requires, above all, structural and attitudinal changes that correspond to the task of national development. As this thesis has often pointed out, colonial institutions were designed to facilitate colonial objectives. The same objectives cannot be said to be prevalent in post colonial Ghana. It is imperative at this stage of development to restructure and if necessary build new institutions which respond sensitively to the objectives of national development; objectives that would harness the potential and accord recognition of every individual within the society in a practical and realistic manner.

More recently, a new approach is being tried for this problem of underdevelopment from the point of view of institutional ineffectiveness. It is difficult to pass judgement

on this new system now,due to the fact that the dust is
yet to settle. However, in the light of previous policies
it is important to discuss the outlines and objectives of
this policy in relation to the theme of this thesis.

The most noticeable feature of this regime is that for
the first time, the military junta by-passed its traditional
civilian elitist allies and directed its claim for support
to the ordinary masses. This naturally alienated the elites,
against the military government, hence its greatest opposi-
tion came from the traditional elitist ruling class. This
state of affairs is amply reflected in the first political state-
ment of the provincial national defence council (P.N.D.C.).
It stated:

> To many Ghanaians democracy meant just
> paper guarantees of abstract liberties.
> However it involves above all else, food
> clothing and shelter, the absence of which
> life is not worth living. The time has
> now come for Ghanians to restructure the
> society in a real meaningful democratic
> manner so as to ensure participation of
> the people in the decision-making process. 6

To actively involve participation of all segments of
the country in national affairs the P.N.D.C. announced:

> ... we have seen enough of traditional form
> of leadership which abandons the people once
> it is voted to power. We have seen that
> tradition is incapable of taking us further
> in seeing to our welfare and we reject it.
> The alternative that now lies open before
> us is for you the people to take over the
> destiny of this country and your own destiny

---

6. Daily Graphic, 4th January 1982, p.1.

> and shaping the society along the lines
> that you desire, making possible what has
> been denied to you all these years. ...
> That is why apart from the P.N.D.C. and
> other central national bodies, we are
> asking local defence committees at all
> levels in our national life - in the towns,
> villages, factories, work places, offices
> and in the barracks ... These Defence
> Committees are to defend the democratic
> rights of the people, expose corruption and
> any tendencies to undermine the revolution. 7

The Defence Committees as they function now, are in a
dualist position with traditional institutions like the trade
unions, workers associations and local government in the
districts and villages. They are structured on the national,
regional, district and village levels. It appears because of
their strong governmental support, the activities of the Defence
Committees have displaced the rival traditional institutions
into the sidelines. In effect, the Defence Committees
are actually involved in all aspects of
national life.

Initially, membership was not open to people identified
with the traditional oligarchy. However, it seems this
restriction is whittling down. For a country commited to
make use of all available manpower, it is important to avoid
divisive tactics and/make every effort to bring all factions
of the community together to collectively achieve the ob-
jectives of national development.

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7. Daily Graphic, 6th January, 1982.

As an institution for popular participation the Defence Committees could offer a solution to the traditional one-sided top to bottom type of decision making. It is therefore an institution which if well nurtured could go a long way in finding solutions to the country's plaguing problem of national development.

In addition to the defence committees there are plans to create a Representative National Assembly "which would be the supreme organ of government and state power through election processes". Membership would be so composed as to make it "truly representative and democratic with respect to the interest of the ordinary people."[8]

Furthermore, an education commission has been established to change the whole character of the present educational system into a system which recognizes the value of each individual's contribution and allow for his full development. "This would avoid the present system which leaves many people as dis-satisfied drop-outs along the educational ladder".[9]

Participatory theories in general challenge tendencies towards centralism and elitism in politics and administration. Thus it features qualities of Marxist theories. However popular participation is not Marxism. For instance, the

8. Radio Band Television Broadcast, 6th March 1984, Accra. By the Chairman of the P.N.D.C. Flight Lieut. J.J. Rawlings.
9. News from Ghana No.84/003 3rd April 1984. Press Release by Embassy of Ghana, Bern, Switzerland.

developed western world ensures participation through a
highly developed political system which accommodates
diverse interests and views. This is backed by a highly
literacy rate and an efficient independent mass media.
This means the actions of officials in responsible posi-
tions can always be brought to scrutiny to a greater percen-
tage of the population. Also, different views, criticisms
and general matters affecting the society reach a large
number of people by an effective communication network. All
these contribute to enhance public awareness of civic respons-
ibilities and rights. Thus directly or indirectly decision-
making becomes the task of all members of the society.

Ghana is however characterized by a high illiteracy rate,
with most of the rural people cut off from the rest of the
country by poor communication systems. Since the colonial
era, the mass media has been effectively controlled by
successive governments. The political system has not re-
presented the interest of the ordinary people and recognized
pressure groups have represented elitist interests.

All these do not create a fertile environment for smooth
functioning of popular participation within the Westminster
system inherited by Ghana after independence. Consequently
Ghana is yet to benefit from the advantages that popular
participation offer to national development. These include
restriction of centralized authority, establishment of res-

ponsible government and administration and improvement of
planning and decision making processes. It also acts as
a catalyst for attitudinal changes. Participation educates
the actors in the process, develops individual personality
as part of the society and develops citizen responsibility
to the society. To achieve the goals of national development
popular participation is a necessary pre-condition.

To conclude, the cultural, social and institutional
legacies bequeathed to Ghana after independence, in a large
measure, vitiated the roles of the elites as agents of change
and national development. In essence, the main institutional
structures of colonialism remain with us. Ghana's present
state of underdevelopment can be explained in these terms.

APPENDIX I

Bond of 1844

1. Whereas power and jurisdiction have been exercised for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland within divers, countries and places adjacent to Her Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast; we chiefs of countries and places so refered to and adjacent to the said forts and settlements do hereby acknowledge that power and jurisdiction and declare that the first objects of law are the protection of individuals and property.

2. Human sacrifices and other barbarous customs such as panyarring are abominations and contrary to law.

3. Murders, robberies and other crimes and offences will be Tried and Inquired of, before the Queen's judicial officers, and the Chiefs of the districts, moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British law.

NB: This treaty was signed by eight Fante chiefs including King Aggrey of Cape Coast. He was later exiled by the British from the Gold Coast for petitioning to the British Crown against abuses of the Bond.

APPENDIX II

Agricultural Production, Food Products
'000 metric tonnes 1969-71 = 100

1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
115	104	99	91	92	99	100	100

With an annual population growth rate of 3.0% these figures
are not very encouraging for an agricultural country like
Ghana.

Cocoa Production 1961-81 Ghana and Ivory Coast

	1961-65	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Ghana	453.5	406.0	470.0	415.7	343.0	381.6	396.2	324.0
Ivory Coast	108.6	179.2	225.8	185.4	208.5	241.5	227.4	304.0

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Ghana	270.0	255.0	296.0	250.0	230.0
Ivory Coast	304.0	318.5	374.0	400.0	430.0

Ghana and Ivory Coast lie in the same West African Sub-
region therefore one can explain this in terms of drought.

Gross Domestic Product - by kind of
Economic Activity

| Year | GDP | Agri-culture | Industrial Activity | | | | | |
			Total	Manu-facture-ing Industry	Cons-truction	W'sale & Retail Trade	Trans-port	Oth-ers
1970	2258.6	47	14	11	4	12	4	19
1975	5283.0	48	17	14	4	12	4	15
1976	6526.2	51	15	13	4	13	4	13
1977	11163.4	56	12	11	4	12	3	13

Source: UNITED NATIONS STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK

(1979) and (1981) New York
1979 page 108 and 98
1981 page 486 and 61

APPENDIX III

1960 Constitution
SPECIAL POWERS FOR FIRST PRESIDENT

55. (1) Notwithstanding anything in Article Twenty of
the Constitution, the person appointed as first
President of Ghana shall have, during his initial
period of office, the powers conferred on him by
this Article.

(2) The first President may, whenever he considers
it to be in the national interest to do so, give
directions by legislative instrument.

(3) An instrument made under this Article may alter
(whether expressly or by implication) any enactment
other than the Constitution.

(4) Section (2) of Article Forty-two of the Constitution
shall apply in relation to the powers conferred by
this Article as it applies in relation to the powers
conferred on Parliament.

(5) For the purposes of this Article the first President's
initial period of office shall be taken to continue
until some other person assumes office as President.

(6) The power to repeal or alter this Article during
the first President's initial period of office is
reserved to the people.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

MAP II.

GHANA

Scale 1 : 2,000,000

REFERENCE

Limit of Cocoa
Cocoa Maximum Production
Coconuts
Oil Palms
Land Planning Areas
Banana
Cola
Shea-Butter
Southern Savannah
(Proposed Land Planning Area)
Food Crops   F
Rubber   R
Agricultural   Stations
Included In First Dev. Plan
Agricultural   Stations
Included In Second Dev. Plan

Compiled, Drawn and Photolithographed
by the Survey of Ghana at Accra.

MINERAL DEPOSITS AND THE VOLTA LAKE

MAP III.

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by the Survey of Ghana at Accra.
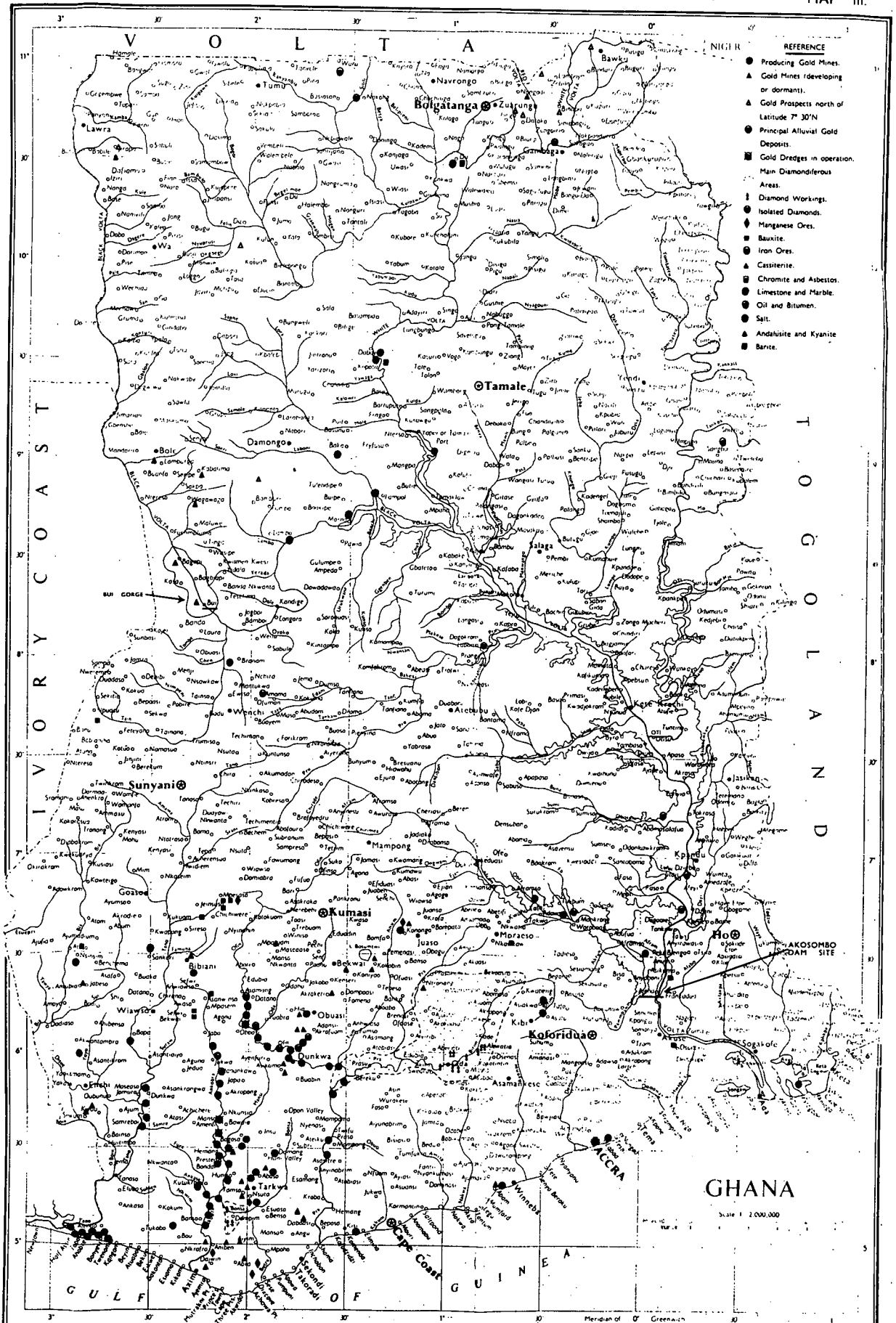
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