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 Administration in partial fulfilment for the requirement for the award of a Master of Social Science (Administration) degree.

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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.

SAMUEL BANNERMAN-WOOD
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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 underdevelopment, 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 settled 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 uphold 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 socialization became the main vanguards of this interest.

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 supervisory 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 concerned 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 development. 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 expanded immediately after independence, they lagged behind in terms of the fulfilment of the objectives of national development. 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 entrepreneurship capable of infusing change and innovation,
(4) lack of popular participation in national decision making and unresponsive 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 occurred 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 administrative 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. 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:

Always until European influence was felt, responsibility was collective, not individual ... The solidarity of the family and helplessness 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 ancestors 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, traditional religion is ancestral worship. This is what kept the people together and gave authority to the seemingly overriding position of the chiefs and the elders.

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.

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.  

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.

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.

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6. C.R. Busia and Rattery, See also Danquah.
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 subsidized 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

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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 territories. 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 ordinances 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

\textsuperscript{11} David Apter, \textit{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 administrative 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

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.

See also:
C.K. Webster, *Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston, 1830-41*, (1951).
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.

¹ Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, 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 relationship 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

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

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

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 practice 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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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 movement. 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

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 transcultural 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 appropriateness 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 economy13, 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

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 development is defined as:

A continuous and sustained increase in the capability of the political system to deal effectively with existing and emergent 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) uplifting 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 production in the economy, (111) full employment and (IV) maintenance of law and order which creates a conducive atmosphere for the realization of these objectives. 16

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.  

Within this purview, the restructuring of the educational system was commenced in 1951 when Ghana attained internal self-government. 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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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 1961 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 distribution 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 provisions 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 traditional 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,

* 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. 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 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 disrupted by the 1966 coup d'etat.

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. Also, the high rate of annual urban migration has created a problem in providing facilities to accommodate the migrants. Thus instead of investing in

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 Libya 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.  

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 is submitted that the full impact of western socialization and acculturation has taken its toll on Ghanian society.

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 the 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>NO. OF DISTRICTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GOLD COAST PROPER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Province</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASHANTI</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTHERN TERRITORIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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". 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".

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.

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

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.  

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 subsequent application of the principle of elective representation, 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.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (NOW CABINET)</th>
<th>LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (PARLIAMENT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFFICIALS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOFFICIALS</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* 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".  

(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

and effectively as well as produce favourable results if it had had 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 expatriates had 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 positions 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

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 Nkrumah'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, Participation in Politics: Manchester University Press (1972), Chapter I.
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: As a legacy of the colonial administrative service, the Ghana Civil Service owes its general features to the Northcote-Trevelyan report\(^\text{12}\) and in particular the Lidbury Commission Report of 1951.\(^\text{13}\) Since then two commissions, first in 1967\(^\text{14}\) 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 recruitment and deployment of staff for each. Recruitment has

\begin{itemize}
  \item[12.] "Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil Service" (The Northcote-Trevelyan Report), (1853), Appendix B of Fulton Report.
\end{itemize}
therefore been linked directly to the output of the educational 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 secondary 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 functions 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 specialisms 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 compete 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 establishments inevitably produced, their conflicting reports further strained the class relationships.

The career opportunities that are defined for the different 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINISTER</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRINCIPAL SECRETARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIVATE SECRETARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECRETARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE, PERSONNEL, ACCOUNTING, SECRETARIAL, CLERICAL STAFF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 relatively 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 organisation 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 movement of individuals, both upwards to the posts of higher responsibility 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".\textsuperscript{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 classics."\textsuperscript{17} It was believed that such instructions were superior to any programme of specialized vocational education. This type of training was restricted to the British upper class.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{19} This explains the blanket definition of the functions of the Administrative Officer during the colonial era; and also the evident dominance of the Administrative class within the Civil Service.

The Administrative class since independence has maintained its generalist character, moving frequently from

\textsuperscript{16} Okoh Report, 1976, p.56.
\textsuperscript{17} Henrika Kuklick, \textit{The Imperial Bureaucrat. The Colonial Administrative Service in the Gold Coast 1920-1939}, Stanford (1979), p.21.
\textsuperscript{19} "Select Committee of the Legislative Council on Africanization 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 experience 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 professionalism 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.

Initiative and innovation on the other hand would be broadened. 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. This recommendation was made about eleven years after the Fulton report was published. Yet the Fulton report made far reaching and radical recommendations on this issue. It recommended that the divisions between higher and lower classes should be abolished. That a continuous grading system from bottom to top should be substituted in each occupational group. For instance, it proposed a merger of administrative, executive and clerical classes. It also proposed that no post should be the preserve of any group.

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 governments 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

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 practice, 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

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 unifying 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

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, Nkrunah 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

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 transferring the functions previously
performed by ministers to the Principal Secretaries or heads of ministries, subject to the direction of the N.L.C. 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. 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.

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. government dismissed five hundred and sixty-eight public and civil servants. The government's action was based on a constitutional provision found in section 9(1) of the transitional

provisions contained in schedule I of the 1969 constitution. No official reason was given for this action though recommendations contained in the constitutional proposals laid before the constituent assembly must have been deemed to have been the basis of the government's action. 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.

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

rank. Though there has not been official confirmation of this view, it gained currency among civil servants to the extent that 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 determination 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

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 unsatisfactory 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 implementing legislation. 35

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 independence Ghana. The reference to the Fulton report is considered 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 comprehending the ever growing social, political and administrative 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 indigenous 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 importance, their people are controlled in accordance 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

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 proportion 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 Commissioners 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 chieftaincy 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 consanguinity 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

---
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-

tions of the community in the realization of these objectives. 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 administrative responsibility, expertise and rationality with popular will to achieve the common goal of national development 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 contributions 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 conciliator 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
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. Consequently, even though for instance, Kwame Nkrumah recognized

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 participation 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 opposition, the C.P.P. government considered their traditional role as insignificant to modern local government and administration. 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 government 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."  

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 proceedings 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".  

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

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.

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'etat 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". This definition therefore refers more to the

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'état, 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, politicians, 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'état overthrew a government committed 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. 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.


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 association and deeds, it favoured the western pattern of development. It is therefore no surprise that it handed over power in 1969 to a civilian government with a pro-western orientation.

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

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'etats. 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. Consequently, 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 achievements 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 ideological stance and idiosyncracies of the successive governments.

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 opposition came from the traditional elitist ruling class. This state of affairs is amply reflected in the first political statement 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

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 committed 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 objectives of national development.

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 dissatisfied 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

developed western world ensures participation through a highly developed political system which accommodates diverse interests and views. This is backed by a highly literary rate and an efficient independent mass media. This means the actions of officials in responsible positions can always be brought to scrutiny to a greater percentage 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 responsibilities 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 represented 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 referred 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Ivory Coast</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Ivory Coast</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961-65</td>
<td>453.5</td>
<td>108.6</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>270.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>406.0</td>
<td>179.2</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>255.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>470.0</td>
<td>225.8</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>296.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>415.7</td>
<td>185.4</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>250.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>343.0</td>
<td>208.5</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>230.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>381.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>396.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>324.0</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>GDP</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Manufacturing Industry</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>W'sale &amp; Retail Trade</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2258.6</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>5283.0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>11163.4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
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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.
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