



YAMENS PRESS LTD.
0302 223222

Ghana Social Science Journal

Volume 13, Number 2, December 2016

GHANA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Volume 13, Number 2, December 2016

SPECIAL ISSUE
ON GOOD GOVERNANCE AND
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

School of Social Sciences,
University of Ghana, Legon

GHANA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Volume 13, Number 2, December 2016

**SPECIAL ISSUE
ON GOOD GOVERNANCE AND
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS**



School of Social Sciences
University of Ghana, Legon

Ghana Social Science Journal

Volume 13, Number 2, December 2016

Guest Editor

Joseph Atsu Ayee

Editors

James S. Dzisah

Cynthia A. Sottie

Editorial Committee

Charity Sylvia Akotia

Chairperson

Kwabena Asomanin Anaman

Member

Ama de-Graft Aikins

Member

Maxwell Asumeng

Member

Mavis Dako-Gyeke

Member

Akosua K. Darkwah

Member

Victoria Ellen Smith

Member

Alidu Seidu

Member

Edward Nketiah-Amponsah

Member

Martin Oteng-Ababio

Member

Supporting Staff

Afia Serwaa Attrams

Research Development Officer

Cynthia Asantewaa Boateng

Editorial Assistant

International Editorial Advisory Board

Emmanuel Akyeampong, Harvard University, Cambridge, USA.

Eugenia Amporfu, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana.

Timothy Insoll, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.
Michael Lofchie, University of California, Los Angeles, United States.
Lawrence Mundia, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Brunei Darussalam.
James Obben, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
John Onu Odihi, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Nigeria.
Mohammed Salih, Erasmus University of Rotterdam, The Netherlands.
Wilson Kwame Yayoh, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana.

© School of Social Sciences, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana,
2016.

ISSN: 0855-4730

All rights reserved; no part of this journal may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publishers. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this journal will be liable to prosecution and claims for damages.

Published by the

School of Social Sciences, College of Humanities, University of Ghana,
Post Office Box LG72, Legon, Accra, Ghana
Telephone Number: +233-302-500179
Electronic mail address: socsjournal@ug.edu.gh

Production editing of this issue was undertaken by Joseph Atsu Ayee;
James S. Dzisah; Afia Serwaa Attrams.

Printed by Yamens Press Limited, Post Office Box AN6045, Accra,
Ghana.

Telephone Number: +233-302-223222/235036.

Electronic mail address: yamenspresslimited@gmail.com

The views expressed in the papers are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor or the Publishers or the University of Ghana.

Ghana Social Science Journal is indexed and abstracted in the *ProQuest* Periodicals Acquisition Databases, Ann Arbor, Michigan, United States. The Ghana Social Science Journal is visible on the Web of Science through the Thomson Reuters' *Emerging Sources Citation Index* (ESCI).

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement

Charity S. Akotia.....vii

Editorial: Reflections on some Dynamics of Development: Good Governance and the Sustainable Development Goals

Joseph Atsu Ayee.....1-21

Working Children in the Kente Economy of Bonwire, Asante: The Context of the SDGs

Dede Amanor-Wilks.....22-49

To what extent does Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme Protect Members from Out-of-Pocket Payments in Hospitals?

Aaron A. Abuosi, Edward Nketiah-Amponsah, Joshua Yindenaba Abor and Kwame Ameyaw Domfeh.....50-73

Reducing Exclusion through Social Intervention Programme: Lessons from Implementation of MDGs in Ghana and South Africa

Imrana Mohammed and George Domfe.....74-95

Green Entrepreneurship for Sustainable Development in Ghana: A Review

Benjamin Bilalam Jabik and Simon Bawakyillenuo.....96-123

Rehabilitation of Offenders in Ghana: A Study of Nsawam Medium Security Prison

Alex Antwi.....124-148

Sustaining Good Governance, Political Accountability and Development in Ghanaian Politics: The Role of Political Songs

Samuel Bewiadzi.....149-174

Application of the Hypergeometric Model in Electoral Disputes Settlement

| | |
|---|----------------|
| <i>N.H. Somaayin, K. Tibie and K. Doku-Amponsah.....</i> | <i>175-184</i> |
| The State and Mango Export Crop Production in Ghana | |
| <i>Paul Kofi Dzene Yidu; Dan-Bright S. Dzorgbo.....</i> | <i>185-208</i> |
| A Gendered Perspective of Underemployment in Ghana | |
| <i>Priscilla Twumasi Baffour and Peter Quartey.....</i> | <i>209-231</i> |
| Changing the Dynamics of Human Resources Management in the Public Services of Ghana: An Organizational Learning Perspective | |
| <i>Frank Ohemeng and Emelia Amoako Asiedu.....</i> | <i>232-262</i> |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The publication of this Special Edition of the *Ghana Social Science Journal* (GSSJ) would not have come to fruition without the support of some organisations and institutions. I would therefore like to give my appreciation to the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which partnered with the School of Social Sciences in holding the School's International Conference in April 2016. We are also most grateful to them for their financial support that helped in publishing this Special Edition.

I must also acknowledge the support of the Office of Research, Innovation and Development (ORID) of the University of Ghana, the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) and the Institute of Fiscal Studies (IFS) over the years with regard to the Annual Conferences of the School of Social Sciences.

Professor Charity S. Akotia

Dean/Chairperson, Editorial Committee

**EDITORIAL:
REFLECTIONS ON SOME DYNAMICS OF
DEVELOPMENT: GOOD GOVERNANCE AND THE
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS**

Joseph Atsu Ayee (Guest Editor)¹

The multidimensionality, complexity, sustainability and vicissitudes of development have been at the heart of scholarly debates and have attracted the interest and attention of governments, citizens and development partners in Ghana and other African countries (Goulet 1971; Bryant and White 1982; Sen 1999; Todaro 2000; UN 2000; UN 2015; World Bank 1978-2016, among others). In fact, the post-colonial state in Africa has largely been preoccupied with issues, processes and strategies of development since the attainment of independence. Even though there is no universal definition of development, it is largely seen as the capacity and capability of a country to formulate and implement strategies and interventions which are meant to reduce inequality, unemployment and poverty. Development also entails building effective institutions, providing basic services, and ensuring the judicious management of human and physical resources, accelerated growth, social changes and stability. In this connection, development encompasses political, economic and social spheres (Goulet 1971; Bryant and White 1982; World Bank 1991; 2001; 2003; 2004; United Nations 1994; Todaro 2000). This has been reinforced by Sen (1999: 1) who views development “as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”. To him, even though growth in gross national product, rise in personal incomes, industrialization, technological advancement and

¹ Professor/Independent Scholar/Adjunct Senior Fellow, Institute of Economic Affairs; immediate past Rector, MountCrest University College and Deputy Vice Chancellor, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (E-mail: jraayee@gmail.com).

social modernization are important means to expanding the freedoms of individuals, they present a narrower view of development. Accordingly:

If freedom is what development advances, then there is a major argument for concentrating on that overarching objective, rather than on some particular means, or some specially chosen list of instruments. Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over-activity of repressive states (Sen 1999: 1).

Sen's views on the centrality of freedom to the development process are informed by two factors: (i) *the evaluative reason*, that is, "assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedoms that people have are enhanced"; and (ii) *the effectiveness reason*, that is, "achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people" (Sen 1999: 2). From this viewpoint, therefore, it is possible to say that at the heart of development is people and the satisfaction of their wants or demands – a view earlier on pursued and shared by Schumacher (1973).

The conclusions of Sen (1999) and Schumacher (1973) seem to have resonated with what the UNDP refers to as "inclusive development" which implies the contribution of all groups of people to create opportunities, share the benefits of development and participate in decision-making. This follows the UNDP's human development approach and integrates the standards and principles of human rights: participation, non-discrimination and accountability (UNDP 2010).

Governance and its subset, Good Governance (GG) and Sustainable Development (SD), are concepts that have dominated scholarly debates and development thinking and paradigm since the 1980s. Governance is not a new concept in the political and development lexicon. This is because it has been a recurrent theme in the literature on politics ever

since people began to reflect upon how they are being ruled. It can be traced to feudalism in medieval Europe, Plato and Aristotle in ancient Greece and enlightenment thinking in the 18th and 19th centuries in the works of Max Weber and Joseph Schumpeter (Hyden 1992; Ayee 2014). However, since the late 1980s, it has become associated with the changing responsibilities of public authorities and institutions and the several ways in which order and stability are generated in modern society.

The contemporary usage of the concept of governance has been largely shaped by debates about good governance with the publication of the World Bank (1989), “From Crisis to Sustainable Growth - Sub-Saharan Africa: A Long-term Perspective Study”, which attributed the development challenges facing Sub-Saharan African countries to a “crisis of governance”. Although the formulations used by scholars and specific international bodies differ, governance refers to the practices through which societies are governed.

The literature throws up at least three approaches to defining governance—as leadership, multi-organizational problem solving or as the fundamental or regime rules regulating the relationships between rulers and the ruled in any societal or political context (Hyden and Court 2002; Edwards and Romero 2015; Frödin 2015). Good or sound governance, which is a normative concept and a subset of governance, refers to the norms of governance which are associated with a diverse array of criteria including the rule of law, participation, accountability, transparency, effectiveness, efficiency, respect for human rights, the absence of corruption, tolerance of divergent views and differences and gender equality (UNDP 1997; Plumptre and Graham 1999; Ayee 2014).

The literature on Political Science links governance with efforts to understand the changing patterns of state and societal interactions. Some theorists have therefore associated governance with new forms of socio-political interaction. In the words of Rhodes (1996: 659), governance refers to “self-organizing inter-organizational networks that constitute an

alternative to, not a hybrid of, markets and hierarchies". In contrast, other scholars have adopted a more general view of governance that embraces different ways in which coordination is achieved between public and private actors (Kooiman 2000). In other words, non-governmental actors are no longer seen as passive "citizens" but as active "stakeholders" through their participation in public-private networks and interactions (Treib et.al. 2007). The three outstanding features of modern society, namely, diversity, complexity and dynamics, have led to hybrids of three governance forms: self-governance, co-governance and hierarchical governance (Kooiman 2003).

Like governance, sustainable development (SD) is seen as a complex and contested concept (Jacobs 1999). There are different perspectives on what SD entails and the scale of reforms needed to implement it in spite of what one might call the "consensus documents" adopted by international conferences and agencies. In the literature, there have been recurring debates about whether SD represents a rigorous philosophical or economic concept and the difficulty of translating it into specific policy prescriptions and recommendations (Meadowcroft 2005; 2007). Despite the debates, it is important to note that the concept was not formulated as part of the technical vocabulary of the social sciences or an operational toolkit that would allow policy outputs to be automatically read off from a list of situational inputs. Rather, it was designed as a normative point of reference for policy formulation on the environment and development (Lafferty 2004; Jacobs 1999). Like other political concepts such as democracy, justice and liberty, SD is expected to generate debates while being open to constant interrogation and reinterpretation (Kooiman 2003; Lafferty 2004; Newig et. al. 2013).

SD has been linked to a number of normative benefits including: protection of the environment, particularly the essential life support functions of the global ecosphere; promotion of human welfare, especially the urgent development needs of the poor; concern for the well-being of future generations and public participation in environment; and development policy and decision making (WCED 1987). It is

expected to achieve an appropriate balance between three pillars – (i) the environment; (ii) the economy; and (iii) society. In short, SD relates to the reorientation of the trajectory of development so that genuine societal advancement and progress can be sustained (Meadowcroft 2007; Le Blanc 2015).

What then is the nexus between GG and SD? GG for SD refers to processes of socio-political governance that are oriented towards the achievement of SD (Newig et. al. 2013). According to Meadowcroft (2007), it encompasses public debate, political decision-making, policy formulation and implementation, and complex interactions among public authorities and institutions, private business and civil society – in so far as these relate to steering social development along more sustainable lines.

SD is seen as an element of what it means to practice GG. SD is an internationally recognized goal which governments and other organizations with governance responsibilities should and ought to pursue. GG, on the other hand, is necessary in order to achieve SD. This point has been reinforced by the World Summit on Sustainable Development (UN 2002: 8): “Good governance within each country and the international level is essential for sustainable development”.

Perhaps a common thread that runs through governance and SD is the state which is central to both of them. This is because the “steering logic implies an important role for public authorities at all levels – including local and regional governments, national states, supranational unions and international bodies” (Meadowcroft 2007: 308; Gibson et. al. 2005). The state’s mechanisms of representation and democracy allow it to claim to act legitimately for the common good. The point to note is that SD involves the deliberate adjustment of the conditions of social life; and it requires an interactive and participative element. At the same time, it also requires formal structures to consider options and to provide closure and authoritative decision making (Sen 1999). Accordingly, the state is seen to provide both a means to shape society and a framework through

which society can influence the orientation of that shaping (Meadowcroft 2007; Edwards and Romero 2015; Frödin 2015; Le Blanc 2015).

At this point, it is appropriate to return to the concept of development. Two major global initiatives, namely, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), have shaped development. The MDGs - born out of the Millennium Declaration agreed to at the UN General Assembly and the Millennium Summit in New York on September 8, 2000 - was attended by 189 countries including 149 heads of state and government.

The MDGs were seen as representing the most determined effort in history to galvanise international action around a common set of development targets (ODI 2008). They were a set of development targets agreed upon by the international community which centred on halving poverty and improving the welfare of the world's poorest by 2015. Specifically, they consisted of eight specific and measurable development goals to be achieved by 2015. The first seven goals focused on eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality and empowering women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; and ensuring environmental sustainability. The eighth goal called for the creation of a global partnership for development, with targets for aid, trade, and debt relief.

According to Sachs (2012) the MDGs marked a historic and effective method of global effort to achieve a set of important social priorities worldwide. They expressed widespread public concern about poverty, hunger, disease, unmet schooling, gender inequality, and environmental degradation. By packaging these priorities into an easily understandable set of eight goals, and by establishing measurable and time-bound objectives, the MDGs helped to promote global awareness, political accountability, improved metrics, social feedback, and public pressures. Similarly, as quoted in Sachs (2012), Bill Gates, the US multi-

millionaire, once described the MDGs as a “type of global report card” for the fight against poverty for the 15 years from 2000 to 2015.

Even though African countries including Ghana have made substantial progress, the outcome of the MDGs has been described as mixed because progress is highly variable across goals, countries and regions (Sachs 2012; Prammer and Martinuzzi 2013; Kenny 2015). This contrasts with the UN’s description of the MDGs as the “most successful anti-poverty movement in history” (UN 2012: 3).

Arguably, one of the leading weaknesses of the MDGs is that they did not include governance, which has been seen as the root cause of poverty in Africa. Issues around ineffective leadership, corruption, lack of transparency and accountability, centralization, weak civil society, weak institutions, exclusion and authoritarianism – partly resulting in conflicts - largely contributed to stagnation in growth and development. In fact, one of the challenges faced in the realization of the objectives of the MDGs is ineffective or poor governance in most of the countries on the continent. Accordingly, the UN realized that for sustainable progress and development to occur, governance must be part of the blueprint on the post-2015 development agenda – an issue which was taken up by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), to which we now turn our attention.

Member states of the United Nations at their meeting held in New York in September 2015 adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs are said to build on the success of the MDGs and are aimed at ending all forms of poverty. The Goals and the Agenda can be found in the outcome document “70/1. Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”. There are 17 goals and 169 targets that together form the basis for how the international community intends to reach sustainable development by 2030. The uniqueness of the SDGs lies in the fact that they call for action by all countries, irrespective of their size and status, to promote prosperity while protecting the planet.

There is the recognition that ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and addresses a wide range of social needs including education, health, social protection and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection (UN 2015).

The idea of sustainable development that is expressed in the 2030 Agenda is one that is understood to entail three interconnected dimensions: social, economic, and environmental. The understanding is that to reach true sustainable development all three dimensions must be respected and focused on simultaneously in a balanced way (UN 2015). Further, the Agenda is a universal one, meaning that it applies to all nations equally.

Goal 16 is innovative in many different ways, one of which is the way it restates good governance as one of the central aspirational goals of the UN system as a whole, and as such it will have implications for how institutions within the UN system will be reformed (Edwards and Romero, 2014). There is the recognition that peace, stability, human rights and effective governance underpinned by the rule of law are important building blocks for sustainable development. Promoting just, peaceful and inclusive societies in Sub-Saharan Africa will no doubt provide the necessary fillip to minimize the winner-takes-all politics, conflict, corruption, ineffective leadership and lack of accountability and transparency that have characterized most of the countries on the continent since they achieved independence several decades ago.

The 2030 Agenda incorporates the principles of transparency, civic participation, accountable public institutions, and technological innovation in three ways. First, open government principles are explicitly addressed in Goal 16, which aims to “build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels,” and in other targets across other goals. These targets provide specific language on what governments and their citizens need to do to advance open government specifically and good governance more broadly. They therefore underline the importance

of open, responsive government as an end in itself. Second, the principles of open government are embedded across numerous SDGs where transparency, public participation and accountable public institutions are instrumental to achieving a particular target. For example, goals related to income, poverty, water, education, energy and cities all include targets for the provision of public services and universal access to such services. Open government is often an essential element of high quality and universal service provision. Services from education to infrastructure, which are indispensable for poverty eradication, are strengthened by citizen input and oversight. Third, the implementation of the 2030 Agenda rests on open government principles because of the calls for follow-up and review processes that are “open, inclusive, participatory and transparent for all people and [that] will support the reporting by all relevant stakeholders” (UN 2015: 53-65).

It is true that the SDGs are not legally binding or justiciable; however, taken together they may be regarded as the “game in town” as governments are expected to take ownership and establish national frameworks for the achievement of the 17 Goals. In addition, governments have been given the primary responsibility to conduct follow-up and review of the progress made in implementing the Goals, which will require quality, accessible and timely data collection. Regional follow-up and review will be based on national-level analyses and contribute to follow-up and review at the global level (UN 2015).

What then is the role of the social sciences in the promotion and enhancement of GG and SDGs? First, some scholars have pointed out that no field of study is more important to human beings than the social sciences (Ayee et. al. 2014; Hunt and Colander 2010). The social dimensions of GG and SDGs cannot be over-emphasized and therefore it is imperative for social scientists to team up with policy makers to help achieve the global development agenda and help to measure progress made towards the attainment of the SDGs. In other words, the social sciences through research and advocacy will help in identifying the factors that have contributed to the realization and non-realization of the

SDGs because in development one is not only looking at successes but also analyzing how success has been achieved, how sustainable it is and whether there are new trends of exclusion.

Secondly, it has been pointed out that implementing the SDGs will require expert inputs to help identify best practices and gaps in knowledge and practices, to monitor threats and help promote public awareness and concern. The social sciences can therefore help to capture the interlinkages between sustainability goals and help develop public support for implementing the SDGs since in the words of Haas (2016: 5) “sustainability is too important to be left up to governments alone”. In addition, social science research in the science-policy interface has shown that well designed expert panels contribute to the effectiveness of collective governance (Haas and Stevens 2011).

Thirdly, implementing the SDGs is considered a complex task because many of the 17 SDGs are themselves poorly understood or incompletely articulated while the array of interconnections between the SDGs themselves is complex and poorly understood (Kanie and Biermann 2016). Consequently, the three-fold task of social scientists in the implementation of the SDGs are (i) organizing information for the poorly understood SDGs; (ii) harvesting best practices in implementation by multiple actors for the SDGs for which shared understanding exists; and (iii) providing timely information about the interconnection between the issues (Haas 2016).

It is against this backdrop that the articles in this Special Issue of the *Ghana Social Science Journal* on Good Governance and the Sustainable Development Goals should be viewed. They are meant to complement and extend knowledge in the field of development, good governance and sustainable development. Even though a few of the articles may look tangential to the theme, their overall perspective and trajectory are to address issues, progress and challenges of development in Ghana since the attainment of independence in 1957. All the ten (10) articles in this Special Issue with the exception of those of Twumasi Baffour and

Quartey and Ohemeng and Amoako Asiedu were presented at an international conference on the theme, “The Social Sciences, Good Governance and Sustainable Development Goals”, organized by the School of Social Sciences, University of Ghana held on 14th and 15th April 2016.

The article by Amanor-Wilks on “Working Children in the Kente Economy of Bonwire, Asante: The Context of the Sustainable Development Goals” is an effort to show how Goals 4 and 16 of the SDGs on “Quality Education” and “Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions” respectively are reflected in the Bonwire kente economy dominated by working children including girl children serving under a system of apprenticeships which usually begins in childhood. In spite of the significant numbers of working children in the kente industry – a phenomenon which might be perceived as child labour and its attendant back pain regarded as an occupational hazard for the weavers, there is a ray of hope for the children as they and their parents value formal education, so that the children spend relatively short hours on their weaving and relatively longer hours at school. She recommends the integration of the informal kente apprenticeships into the formal school curriculum with the potential of improving the quality and relevance of education as well as reducing the perception of child abuse in line with the second target under Goal 16 which is to “end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children”.

The next two articles are on health and social protection and reflect Goals 3 and 10, which are “Good Health and Well-Being” and “Reduce Inequalities” respectively. The article by Abuosi et. al. on Ghana’s National Health Insurance Scheme noted that even though the implementation of the Scheme increased access to health care, informal out-of-pocket payments made by some patients in 17 hospitals in the Central, Brong Ahafo and Upper East regions are contrary to the tenets of the Scheme. The recommendation is that measures be taken to eliminate out of pocket payments in order to provide financial protection for the insured. As a follow up, Mohammed and Domfe’s article on the

implementation of the Millennium Development Goals in Ghana and South Africa emphasizes the point that investment in education and enforcement of laws on social rights could reduce inequality in both countries and that this should be one of the lessons that informs the implementation of the SDGs.

Goals 13, 14 and 15 on “Climate Action”, “Life below Water” and “Life on Land” respectively are taken up in Jabik and Bawakyillenuo’s article on green entrepreneurship. The paper bemoans the debilitating effects of a competitive private sector with little or no concern for sustainability which together have unfortunately led to deforestation, land degradation, air and water pollution, soil erosion, overgrazing, and destruction of biodiversity in Ghana – the cost of which is about 10% of the country’s annual gross domestic product (GDP). They therefore recommended green entrepreneurship which they hope will lead to policy initiatives that will focus on green approaches and promote investment in areas like research and development, sustainable agriculture, renewable energy, biodiversity management, technology, education and green infrastructure. It will also create jobs, enable equitable resource utilization, reduce poverty and ensure food and nutrition which are important for the achievement of the SDGs.

The article on the “Rehabilitation of Offenders in Ghana: A Case Study of Nsawam Medium Security Prison” by Antwi is an effort at Goal 16 with emphasis on access to justice and human rights of offenders in prisons. Serving a prison sentence in modern corrections is a difficult philosophy to promote in Ghana because penal reforms are punishment centred. A rehabilitative orientation entails the preparation of the recidivists for reintegration into society through the acquisition of education, skills and competencies for transformation after their release from incarceration. If the government fails to show commitment to improve the conditions of the prisons and transform them into useful centres of correction and reintegration, society will be sitting on a time bomb as 88.7% of prisoners in Ghana are youth between the ages of 18 and 45 years. This reinforces the point in the SDGs that peaceful and

inclusive societies for sustainable development can only be built if there is justice, fairness, accountability, inclusiveness and effectiveness of institutions at national, regional and local levels.

Political songs are not only for entertainment; they also serve the purpose of promoting the SDGs. Bewiadzi in his article on the role of political songs emphasizes the “didactic functions” of music in Ghanaian contemporary politics. Political songs not only mobilize citizens for political action but also they enhance the dissemination of information on development, manifestos, ideologies, policies and programmes of political parties. Such songs can also be used for the mobilization of political party followers and as a means of demanding transparency and accountability. Using the lyrics of the political songs of three of Ghana’s Hip-life artists, Kwame A-Plus, Barima Sydney and Sarkodie, Bewiadzi shows why and how political songs can promote the SDGs.

The contentious and disputed nature of elections in Ghana and other African countries has engaged the attention of governments, the judiciary, Election Management Bodies (EMBs), academics and development partners. Some countries such as Kenya, Togo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cote d’Ivoire and Gabon have experienced violent resolution of electoral disputes. Ghana has not been spared disputed elections since the return to constitutional rule in 1993. For instance, the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) challenged the results of the 2012 presidential election and the Supreme Court, by a majority decision, ruled on 29th August, 2013 that the National Democratic Congress’ (NDC) candidate, John Mahama had been duly elected as president. In their article on the hypergeometric model in electoral disputes settlement, Somaayin et. al. use the hypergeometric model to prove that the decision of the Electoral Commission in Ghana to declare the NDC candidate the winner of the presidential run-off of 2008 was statistically correct given the data available to the Commission on the day the winner was declared. According to them the use of the model to review electoral complaints and disputes could help developing countries to save some money for other things that would otherwise have

been spent to re-run elections the results of which have been disputed. This article is likely to generate more debate over the resolution of electoral disputes.

The article by Yidu and Dzorgbo on “The State and Mango Export Crop Production in Ghana” uses the Yilo Krobo and Kintampo North districts to demonstrate how state policies have assisted access to factors of production of mango, compliance with international food safety standards and improved the status of mango farmers. State policies such as credit and logistics support as well as the acquisition of land title registration certificate have increased the production of mango which enabled the farmers to increase their income and able to provide food for their families, educate their children and build decent houses – some of the targets of the SDGs.

The article on “A Gendered Perspective of Underemployment in Ghana” by Twumasi Baffour and Peter Quartey reinforces the findings of previous studies on underemployment as a rural phenomenon in Ghana where women, unlike men, face a higher probability of being in income-related underemployment in all employment types. It therefore contributes to Goals 5 and 8 on “Gender Equality” and “Decent Work and Economic Growth” respectively.

The relevance of the state or the public sector to socio-economic development cannot be underestimated (Ayee 2012; Ayee 2008). This was re-echoed in the 1997 *World Development Report* which argued that “an effective state is vital for the provision of the goods and services – and the rules and institutions – that allow markets to flourish and the people to lead healthier, happier lives. Without it, sustainable development, both economic and social, is impossible” (World Bank 1997:1). Accordingly, the last article by Ohemeng and Amoako Asiedu on “Changing the Dynamics of Human Resources Management in the Public Services of Ghana: An Organisational Learning Perspective” takes forward the debate of the relevance of the public sector in socio-economic development by emphasizing the importance of human

resources and the development of their capacities in achieving the SDGs and the poverty reduction. They reviewed the human resources management policy framework (HRMPF) developed by the Public Services Commission in 2015, the principal objective of which is to transform the Ghanaian public service into an ethical, responsive, and citizen-oriented service that will provide, and continue to provide into the future high quality and timely services to Ghanaians. Even though they have some reservations about the HRMPF, their optimism is grounded in the fact that the framework seems to have largely addressed some of the fundamental issues underpinning the effective management of human resources in the public sector. The article therefore makes a contribution to Goal 16 of the SDGs, specifically on the creation of strong and effective public sector institutions which are capable of implementing the SDGs in Ghana.

Overall, the articles have reinforced the point that the stirrings of policy interest in governance from international aid agencies in the late 1980s and the wave of pro-democracy movements that erupted across East and Central Europe and Africa at the time have provided the needed impulse for “power to the people” to shape political events that then shape development. It is clear that a governance lens offers a powerful impetus for promoting reforms in policies and programmes for sustainable development. These include open and transparent opportunities for poor and disadvantaged citizens to access information and secure their natural resources (land, forestry and the extractive industries), and to encourage governments to adopt policies that are more friendly to people and the environment. The massive injection of public funding for mitigation and adaptation and the complex political processes that underpin climate change negotiations can benefit from governance perspectives to shed light on the power, interests and resources at stake in order to bring about better outcomes. In a nutshell then, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development provides not only a tremendous opportunity to enhance the role of the state in development but also the prospect of improving good governance which is a critical component of achieving many of the 17 SDGs.

Finally, the articles also demonstrate, even if tangentially, that Ghana has a particular and compelling interest to ensure the successful implementation of the SDGs and that there is a lot of work to be done. This is largely for two reasons. First, the country was one of seventy (70) countries that made up the Open Working Group constituted to develop the post-2015 global development agenda. Second, President John Dramani Mahama and the Prime Minister of Norway, Ms Erna Solberg, were appointed by the United Nations Secretary General as Co-Chairs of a group of sixteen (16) eminent Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Advocates to support the Secretary-General in his efforts to generate momentum and commitment to achieve the SDGs by 2030. The 16 Advocates are expected to leverage their unique standing and leadership to promote the SDGs as part of an ambitious and transformative global agenda.

References

Ayee, J.R.A. (2014), "Improving Governance in the Public Sector in Ghana", Paper presented at the 9th Annual Internal Audit Forum held at the Accra International Conference Centre on August 19 and 20, 2014.

Ayee, J.R.A. (2012), "Improving the Effectiveness of the Public Sector in Africa Through the Quality of Public Administration", in Hanson, K.T., Kararach, G. and Shaw, T.M. (eds.) *Rethinking Development Challenges: Insights from Contemporary Africa*. London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 83-116.

Ayee, J.R.A. (2008), *Reforming the African Public Sector: Retrospect and Prospects*. CODESRIA Green Book, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Ayee, J.R.A., Agyei-Mensah, S. and Oduro, A.D (2014), "Introduction", in Agyei-Mensah, S., Ayee, J.R.A. and Oduro, A.D. *Changing Perspectives on the Social Sciences in Ghana*. Dordrecht Heidelberg New York London: Springer, pp. 1-10.

Bryant, C, and White, G. (1982), *Managing Development in the Third World*. Boulder, CO.: Westview Press.

Edwards, M. S. and Romero, S. (2015), “Governance and the Sustainable Development Goals: Changing the Game or More of the Same?”, *The SAIS Review of International Affairs*. 34(2): 141-150.

Frödin, O. (2015), “Researching Governance for Sustainable Development: Some Conceptual Clarifications”, *Journal of Developing Societies*, 31(4): 447-466.

Goulet, D. (1971), *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development*. New York: Atheneum.

Haas, P.M. and Stevens, C. (2011), *Organized Science, Usable Knowledge and Multilateral Environmental Governance*, in Lidskog, R and Sundqvist, G. (eds.) *Governing the Air*. Cambridge: MIT Press: 125-161.

Haas, P.M. (2015), *Epistemic Communities, Constructivism and International Environmental Politics*. London: Routledge.

Haas, P.M. (2016), *Expert Support for Implementing the SDGs* (accessed October 18, 2016, available at: [www.earthsystemgovernance.net/sdg/sites/default/files/publications/Haas_2016_Expert Support for Implementing the SDGs.pdf](http://www.earthsystemgovernance.net/sdg/sites/default/files/publications/Haas_2016_Expert%20Support%20for%20Implementing%20the%20SDGs.pdf))

Hunt, E. and Colander, D.C. (2010), *Study Guide for Social Science: An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New York: Prentice Hall PTR.

Hyden, G. and Court, J. (2002), “Comparing Governance Across Countries and Over Time: Conceptual Challenges”, in Olowu, D. and Sako, S. (eds.) *Better Governance and Public Policy: Capacity Building and Democratic Renewal in Africa*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian, pp. 13-33.

Hyden, G. and Bratton, M. (eds.) (1992), *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Boulder, CO.: Lynne Rienner.

Hyden, G. (1992), "Governance and the Study of Politics", in Hyden, G. and Bratton, M. (eds.) *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner. pp. 1-26.

Jacobs, M. (1999), "Sustainable Development as a Contested Concept", in Dobson, A. (ed.) *Fairness and Futurity: Essays on Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kanie, N. and Biermann, F. Eds. (2016), *Governing Through Goals*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Kenny C. (2015), *MDGs to SDGs: Have we Lost the Plot?* Centre for Global Development Essays, 5/27/15.

Kooiman J (2000), "Societal Governance: Levels, Models and Orders of Social-political Interaction", in Pierre, J. (ed.) *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kooiman J (2003), *Governing as Governance*. London: Sage.

Lafferty, W. (2004), *Governance for Sustainable Development: The Challenge of Adapting Form to Function*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Meadowcroft, J. (2005), *Environmental Political Economy, Technological Transitions and the State*. *New Political Economy*, 10, 479–498.

Meadowcroft, J. (2007), "Who is in Charge here? Governance for Sustainable Development in a Complex World", *Journal of Environment Policy and Planning*, 9: 299–314.

Newig, J. VoB, J-P and Monstadt, J. (2013), *Governance for Sustainable Development: Coping with Ambivalence, Uncertainty and Distributed Power*. London: Routledge.

ODI (2008), “Achieving the Millennium Development Goals: The Fundamentals, Briefing Paper 4 (September): 1-4.

Plumptre, T., and Graham, J. (1999), “Governance and Good Governance: International and Aboriginal Perspectives”. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*: 1-27.

Prammer, E. and Martinuzzi, A. (2013), *The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Post-2015 Debate*, European Sustainable Development Network (ESDN) Case Study 13 (April).

Reid, W.V. and Mooney, H.A. (2016), *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment: Testing the limits of Interdisciplinary and Multi-Scale Science*. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 19: 40-46.

Rhodes, R. (1996), “The New Governance: Governing without Government”, *Political Studies*, 44: 652–667.

Sachs, J. (2012), *From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals*, *Lancet*, 379: 2206-2011.

Schumacher, E.F. (1973), *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. London: Blond and Briggs.

Sen, A. (1999), *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Treib O, Bähr H, and Falkner G. (2007), *Modes of Governance: Towards a Conceptual Clarification*”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(1):1–20.

Todaro, M. (2000), *Economic Development*. 7th edn. Reading/Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

UNDP (1994), *Human Development Report, 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press.

UNDP (1997), *Reconceptualising Governance, Discussion Paper 2*, New York: UNDP.

UNDP (2010), "The Human Development Concept". *New York: UNDP*.

UN (2002), *Report of World Summit on Sustainable Development*. Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 August-4 September 2002

UN (2000), *Millennium Development Goals, 2000-2015*. New York: UN.

UN (2012), *UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda: Review of the Contributions of the MDG Agenda to foster Development: Lessons for the post-2015 UN Development Agenda*. Discussion Note (March).

UN General Assembly Resolution 70/1., 2015 (2015), *Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. New York: UN.

World Bank (1989), *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (1992), *Governance and Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (1991), *World Development Report, 1991: The Challenge of Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (1997), World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (2001), World Development Report, 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (2003), World Development Report, 2003: Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World – Transforming Institutions, Growth and Quality of Life. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (2004), World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Commission for Environment and Development WCED, (1987), *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (1978-2016), World Development Reports. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WORKING CHILDREN IN THE KENTE ECONOMY OF BONWIRE, ASANTE: THE CONTEXT OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Dede Amanor-Wilks¹

Abstract

For generations, the exquisite skills of Ghana's kente weavers have been passed on through a system of apprenticeships that typically begin in childhood. Traditionally children are given toy looms from an early age. Yet this source of indigenous knowledge, which for centuries has equipped the economy with a form of proto-industrialisation, must now adapt to government policies on education and new human rights concerns about the exploitation of child labour. To what extent do these institutions of indigenous knowledge undermine or complement the system of Western education adopted in Ghana? Based on a household survey of Bonwire in Ghana's Ashanti Region, the paper provides quantitative data on the extent of children's participation in the kente economy, as well as qualitative evidence on the nature of children's work. The paper finds that while there are significant numbers of working children in Bonwire's kente economy, including girl children, child labour is rarely found. It finds that back strain is an occupational hazard affecting all weavers, including children; nevertheless, most children work for relatively short hours. Further findings suggest that while both parents and children in Bonwire value formal education, the integration of informal kente apprenticeships into the formal school curriculum could improve the quality and relevance of education.

Keywords: masters, apprentices, education, hours, back-pain

¹ PhD Candidate, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana (E-mail: d.a.amanorwilks@gmail.com).

Introduction

The word ‘obooni’ in the Twi language denotes one who is learning from someone else, that is, an apprentice. Akwadaa (meaning ‘child’) is also used in certain contexts. But not all apprentices are children, and not all children who weave are apprentices. Boserup (1970) situated children’s work within the context of the beginning of specialisation and a gender-age division of labour within the family at an early stage of economic development. My empirical research in Bonwire, a royal weaving town in Asante, suggests that such a gender-age division of labour exists within the specialised kente weaving culture.

Woven kente cloth has been produced in craft villages in Ghana at least since the 17th century (Bowdich, 1819). Kente is a highly intricate art form requiring years of apprenticeship to master. Yet the rules governing how these skills are transmitted from one generation to the next must now yield to new human rights concerns about the use of child labour in developing countries, and to government policies on education. While the 1992 Ghana Constitution protects children’s human rights, Ghana’s education policies provide for nine years of compulsory basic schooling. As a signatory to various international human rights conventions, Ghana has also committed to various global goals, the newest expression of which are contained in the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with 17 new goals to complete by 2030. The full list of SDGs can be viewed at <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda.html>.

Two goals are of particular interest to this paper. Goal 4 on Quality Education requires that states ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. The Goal 4 targets include completion of free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education, as well as access to pre-primary education and to technical, vocational and tertiary education. Interestingly, they also specifically address the need to substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and

vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship (<http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/>).

Related to Goal 4, the ability of governments to deliver quality education can be considered a pointer to the quality of governance in a particular country. Indeed Goal 16 on Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions enjoins governments to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. The second target under Goal 16 is to: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children (<http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/peace-justice/>).

In the context of the post-MDGs realignment of international development priorities, this paper examines the extent of child labour and the conditions of working children in Bonwire, a rural weaving centre in Asante, Ghana. It looks for evidence on how the age-old system of apprenticeships is changing in the context of human rights concerns about working children.

The findings of the paper are drawn from a 10 per cent survey of Bonwire households that was conducted by the author from October to November 2014. The survey comprised a questionnaire for household respondents at 57 survey sites and separate questionnaires for master weavers, apprentices and female weavers found at those sites. Household number codes used here to describe survey sites bear no relation to any house numbering system in Bonwire. The survey was conducted alongside in-depth interviews with working children and apprentices, among other respondents. The survey formed part of the author's PhD research titled "Apprenticeships in the Kente Producing Sector of Ghana" at the University of Ghana. The research was conducted before the SDGs were developed and was framed in the context of human rights concerns in general, citing ILO conventions in particular. For the purposes of this publication, above the author has reframed her research problem to fit the specific context of the SDGs. The purpose is to focus

attention on the impetus that the SDGs provide for developing indigenous models of economic and social transformation.

A Review of the Literature on Child Labour

ILO Definitions of Child Labour and Child Work

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) emphasises that child labour hinders children's development and is a violation of fundamental human rights. It makes a distinction between 'child work' (or 'children in employment'), 'child labour' and 'hazardous work by children' (ILO 2013:6). It can be noted that none of these categories includes domestic chores and other forms of family work that children may engage in as part of their normal upbringing and socialisation, which are not considered as child employment or as child labour. The ILO (2013:16) defines children in employment (or 'working children') as follows:

[T]hose engaged in any economic activity for at least one hour during the reference period. Economic activity covers all market production and certain types of non-market production (principally the production of goods and services for own use). It includes forms of work in both the formal and informal economies; inside and outside family settings; work for pay or profit (in cash or in kind, part-time or full-time), or as a domestic worker outside the child's own household for an employer (with or without pay).

As a category of children in employment, the ILO (2013:16) defines children in child labour as including "those in the worst forms of child labour and children in employment below the minimum age, excluding children in permissible light work". This definition "excludes those children who are working only a few hours a week in permitted light work and those above the minimum age whose work is not classified as worst form of child labour, including 'hazardous work' in particular" (ILO 2013:16). The organisation defines hazardous work by children as follows:

[A]ny activity or occupation that, by its nature or type, has or leads to adverse effects on the child's safety, health and moral development. In general, hazardous work may include night work and long hours of work; exposure to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; and work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging their health. Hazardous work by children is often treated as a proxy for the Worst Forms of Child Labour (ILO, 2013:16).

ILO conventions (1973, No. 138) set the minimum age for employment or work at 15 years, or 13 years for light work, while the minimum age for hazardous work is set at 18 years, or 16 years under certain strict conditions. It also provides, in conditions where the economy and education facilities are underdeveloped, for the general minimum age to be set at 14 years, or 12 for light work. Another ILO instrument, the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), requires ratifying states to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. These are listed as including "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; child prostitution and pornography; using children for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children," (ILO, 1996-2015). Ghana has ratified both the Minimum Age and the Worst Forms of Labour conventions.

ILO research estimates that 168 million children worldwide are in child labour, accounting for close to 11 per cent of the world's child population. Half of these children, 85 million, are engaged in hazardous

work that directly endangers their health, safety and moral development. Asia and the Pacific region has the largest absolute number of child labourers, but Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest incidence, with more than one in five children in child labour (ILO, 2013: vii). Children in the age group 5-11 make up the greatest proportion of child labourers worldwide, 44 per cent, or 73 million in absolute terms. These young child labourers are the greatest cause for policy concern because they are the most vulnerable to workplace abuse as well as the denial of education (ibid: 6). Children in the 12-14 and 15-17 years age groups account for roughly equal shares, 28 per cent of the total child labour population or 47 million in absolute terms (ibid:18). Gender differences emerge in the 12-14 years age range and rise dramatically in the 15-17 years age range, where boys account for 81% of child labourers (ibid:18). However, household chores are predominantly performed by girls (ibid:19).

Child Labour and Apprenticeships in Ghana

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana protects every child from “engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his health, education or development.” The Children’s Act 1998 sets 15 years as the minimum age for both employment (clause 89) and the commencement of apprenticeships (clause 98). It sets at 13 years the minimum age for the engagement of children in light work (clause 90). The Government of Ghana’s policy of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) makes it a requirement that every child should have nine years of basic education. Ghana was one of seventy countries that made up the Open Working Group constituted to develop the post-2015 global development agenda now referred to as the SDGs (Government of Ghana/NDPC 2016). It therefore has a particular interest in ensuring the success of the SDGs.

In Ghana, 2.47 million children were engaged in some form of economic activity, of which 64.3 per cent attended school, according to an ILO/IPEC-Ghana Statistical Service survey of 2003 reviewed in a Public Agenda article (2005). The study classified 1.27 million children as engaged in child labour. The study found that labour inspection by

government officials was concentrated in the formal sector, whereas most child labour occurs in the informal sector (ibid). An estimated 57% of child labourers are reportedly engaged in agriculture, while 64.3% combine schooling with work (Adusei, 2013:1).

Adusei (2013), following the ILO, notes that children's work is part of their socialisation, as well as a means to transmit skills from parent to child in preparation for adulthood. While many authors share this view, Jayaraj and Subramanian (2002) accept a broader definition of child labour that includes unpaid work within a family context. Ray (2003) emphasises the effect of improved school attendance in curbing child labour. Bonnet (1993, cited in Ray 2003) notes that African parents move their children from school into employment because of the poor quality and lack of vocational relevance of schooling. Many see poverty as a major determinant of child labour in rural areas (Ray 2003, Nkamleu 2006, Agbenya 2009, Adusei 2013), although most studies on child labour appear to accept uncritically the notion that children should not do paid work.

Breaking with this tradition, Nieuwenhuys (1996:247) highlights the issue of children's agency and uncovers the need for poor children to achieve self-esteem through paid employment. This, she says, "impinges upon the moral condemnation of child labour as one of the fundamental principles of modernity." She suggests that the legitimacy of this moral condemnation is likely to be challenged in future, especially by women who "as they expose the construction of gender roles as instrumental in their discrimination in the labour market, are likely to be girls' foremost allies in contesting modern childhood's ideal of economic uselessness." Rather, she suggests, a focus on children's agency could enrich understanding of how work "acquires its meaning and is transformed into value" (Nieuwenhuys, 1996: 247).

Little has been written about children working in the kente sector though most studies recognise that systems of apprenticeships exist. There has also been little work on the differing apprenticeship systems or the

differing roles of children in the kente sector. Quartey-Papafio (1914) recorded the movement of children in apprenticeships, though not in the kente sector. Kpogo's (2012) survey of weavers in Bonwire, Akatsi and Agortime is silent on the issue of child weavers and we therefore have little sense from the literature of the worldview of kente producing communities in either the Asante or Volta regions regarding the question of children's employment. Occasionally stories on child labour in the kente sector appear in the Ghanaian press. A centre-page feature article by Kwadwo Baffoe (2015) on kente weaving in the Asante town of Adanwomase included a photo of children weaving, but made no reference to child weavers in the text. By contrast, an article on kente weaving in the Volta Region by Kafui Kanyi (Daily Graphic, 2014) alleged that children were forced by masters to work from dawn to dusk in communities including Hare, Kpetoe and Taviafe-Deme. The article claimed that low enrolment due to weaving activity had led to the closure of a junior high school (JHS) in Hohoe District. According to the story, a growing clientele from Togo and Benin had resulted in the emergence of a kente market in the Akatsi North District. Children were weaving in excess of 10 hours each night to compensate for hours spent at school, in order to meet contracts. Some 13-year old children said they had started weaving at age 6 and were seen as the family breadwinners. Some absented themselves from school to meet deadlines. However, the situation was not without hope as an initiative by the District Assembly to create a 'Best Parents/Guardian and PTAs' award scheme had resulted in improved results in the 2014 Basic Education Certificate Examination results over those of 2013.

Another story published in the Daily Graphic in 2014 claimed to have discovered a group of children trafficked from Togo to Ghana by an uncle to produce kente for the Ghanaian market. Child trafficking is more commonly understood to take place in other economic sectors, including agriculture, mining and fishing. In the case of fishing, two studies of children working in Ghana's fishing sector give two very different pictures of the problem of child labour. While Adusei (2013) looks at the complex issue of children's contribution to family labour in

the Ghanaian capital's marine fishing industry, Agbenya (2009) focused her research on an extreme example of child trafficking in Lake Volta. Agbenya's study is one of human trade and the extreme cruel treatment of trafficked children, mainly boys, aged 6-17 years in the Ogetse fishing community on Lake Volta. It is a story of children who start work as early as 3am or 4am and go to bed as late as 11pm or midnight, are given little to eat, are deprived of school, and also face flogging for minor misdemeanours.

Adusei's 2013 study of children in the Chorkor fishing community on the Accra coast found three causes of child labour. These were household poverty, traditional socialisation and ignorance about its effects. Adusei noted that Chorkor is the only significant fishing community in Accra that has no child labour programmes. Of 100 child workers interviewed, 56% did not attend school regularly. Of those who had never been to school, another 56% said that parents could not pay school fees, while 31% did not wish to attend school. In addition, 45% said that they would not go to school if given the opportunity, either because they wished to remain in employment (60%), or because they feared they would have difficulties catching up in school (40%). Though basic education is free in Ghana, 41% of those who had dropped out of school cited lack of finance to support their education as the reason. Other reasons were that studying is difficult (22%), school interferes with work (15%), or children were too tired after work to do school work (7%). The remaining 4% said that since they worked to support themselves and their families, they could not combine work with school.

Marine fishing is hazardous and 90% of children had suffered injuries falling either in canoes or into the sea or from ropes and nets or fish stings. The children worked six days a week during the peak fishing season. Daytime working children put in two to eight hours a day; of those that laboured at night, 23% worked for eight hours or more (Adusei, 2013:4-5). Close to 70% of children said they worked to earn money. They earned between GHS8 (2.41% of earners) and GHS70 (2.41% of earners), with 35% earning GHS40 while 16% earned GHS30

a month. Adusei concluded that for the children to stop working and begin schooling full-time meant household enterprises would not function and families would lose income and livelihoods (ibid). He recommended that policies to combat child labour should be culturally relevant and that free schooling should be extended to include free exercise books, school uniforms, school meals and other educational costs to compensate parents for the loss of earnings if children are withdrawn from fishing (Adusei, 2013:6).

Clark's 1994 study of women traders in Ghana's Asante region challenged the notion that childcare, not cooking, is the primary constraint on women's occupational choices. Notwithstanding studies suggesting that women choose trading because they can take care of all of their children in the market, Clarke said that less than half of Kumasi traders with young children go with them to the market, while the majority prefer to delegate childcare to child minders at home (Clark, 1994:357). Of those small children who were reported to be at home with no adult minder, 19 per cent were looked after by older siblings, who were children themselves, because these were believed to give better childcare than maids (Clark, 1994:361). Children's labour was, moreover, a key factor in fostering arrangements. In return for their labour, children received material benefits from older relatives (Clark, 1994: 367). Within such a context, children accumulated their own resources and parents encouraged even young children to have independent sources of income. Many children in Kumasi earned their own pocket money and poor children could support themselves as petty traders and carriers. "Accomplished child traders can make sizable incomes relative to their consumption levels," (ibid: 367). Children were often encouraged to save their earnings and gifts and these savings were sometimes a significant source of start-up capital for traders (Clark, 1994: 337) who, Clark pointed out, "constantly referred to the unreliability of financial contributions from husbands in any discussion of their economic prospects or marital relations," (Clark, 1994:338). Such gender considerations are worth keeping in mind in any study of the working lives of Ghanaian children.

This section has reviewed the literature on child labour and child work in the context of human rights conventions and legislation. Some of the findings from the secondary literature were used in the construction of the author's survey questionnaire. The next section reports key findings from the author's primary research, as they relate to both the literature reviewed here and the post-research context of the SDGs. It specifically sets out to determine to what extent kente apprenticeships in Bonwire involve children, and whether they can be classified as child labourers or working children.

Masters, Apprentices and Child Weavers in Bonwire

Kente cloth production is the most important economic activity in Bonwire. Indeed, kente weaving is not just an occupation; it is also an identity and a way of life. Thus a person who has stopped weaving to begin another occupation will still identify him or herself as a weaver. The life of a weaver revolves around the loom and in some weaving households, members are organised to meet the needs of the weaving industry. This section gives a breakdown of the population working in the kente industry in Bonwire, including children.

Kente Involvement of the Bonwire Population

The survey counted 807 household members, giving a total population of 8,070 people living in households in Bonwire (see Table 1), but did not take account of the non-household population. The survey found that weavers make up approximately one-third of the household population that is engaged in the kente industry, followed by kente cloth traders and bobbin winders. Weavers were classified as active, inactive, apprentices, under-18 and female. The tally of 258 'All weavers' shown in Table 1 comprises active weavers, inactive weavers and apprentices. Unfortunately, it was not possible to capture conclusive data on the total number of master weavers in sample households because many were identified simply as 'weavers'. Nonetheless 48 master weavers were interviewed. In Bonwire a master weaver is defined as someone who has mastered all known kente designs, believed to number about 500 currently (Eric Kwarteng, personal communication, May 2015).

Table 1: Kente involvement of 807 survey population members

| Categories | No. | Average per sample site | % of survey population |
|---------------------------|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|
| All weavers | 258 | 4.39 | 30.98 |
| Active weavers | 183 | 3.26 | 23.05 |
| Inactive weavers | 46 | 0.74 | 5.20 |
| Apprentices | 29 | 0.46 | 3.22 |
| Non-resident apprentices | 5 | 0.11 | 0.74 |
| Under-18 weavers | 29 | 0.51 | 3.59 |
| Female weavers | 29 | 0.35 | 2.48 |
| Kente cloth traders | 98 | 1.72 | 12.14 |
| Ex or retired traders | 15 | 0.26 | 1.86 |
| Traders and ex-traders | 113 | 1.93 | 14.00 |
| Bobbin winders | 82 | 1.44 | 10.16 |
| Warp layers | 2 | 0.04 | 0.25 |
| Strip stitchers | 5 | 0.09 | 0.62 |
| Kente accessories makers* | 8 | 0.14 | 0.99 |
| Loom makers | 2 | 0.04 | 0.25 |
| Heddle makers | 3 | 0.05 | 0.37 |
| Practice loom weavers | 2 | 0.04 | 0.25 |
| Other kente producers** | 5 | 0.09 | 0.62 |

* Seven bracelet makers, including one bracelet and sandals maker.

** Others – five former bobbin winders, including two former stitchers.

Table 2 shows the incidence of people with weaving knowledge in households. The largest number of people who knew how to weave in any one household was 20. This is a large number by any standards. While a substantial 93 per cent of households contain at least one weaver, just over 40 per cent of Bonwire households have between five and 20 members who know how to weave, and 8.75 per cent of households have 10 people with weaving skills. Just four households had no weaver at all.

Table 2: Number of weavers in households

| Value | Frequency | % |
|-------|-----------|-------|
| 0 | 4 | 7.02 |
| 1 | 9 | 15.79 |
| 2 | 8 | 14.04 |
| 3 | 6 | 10.53 |
| 4 | 7 | 12.28 |
| 5 | 6 | 10.53 |
| 6 | 4 | 7.02 |
| 7 | 7 | 12.28 |
| 8 | 1 | 1.75 |
| 10 | 1 | 1.75 |
| 12 | 1 | 1.75 |
| 13 | 1 | 1.75 |
| 14 | 1 | 1.75 |
| 20 | 1 | 1.75 |

Data on Apprentices and Child Weavers

When it comes to the participation of children in the kente economy, Bonwire offers something of a paradox. Although 93 per cent of households contain at least one weaver, and a significant number of household members are engaged in the kente industry, apprentices and child weavers are found in relatively few households. There were a total of 29 resident apprentices working in households in Bonwire. The maximum number of apprentices found in any single sample household was eight, all children under 18 years. Other households had apprentices ranging in number from one to four. These figures do not include apprentice bobbin winders, but only apprentice weavers, though in practice many weavers begin their apprenticeships as apprentice bobbin winders. Although five additional apprentices were recorded as non-resident, to avoid a problem of double counting they are not listed in the household register as members and not counted as part of the household population. Nor are they included in the total count of weavers.

Children were a central concern of the research, which found a total of 29 household members under the age of 18 who could weave or who were undergoing apprenticeships (see Table 3). This is not entirely the same list as the 29 apprentices counted in households, several of who were not children. The 29 children with weaving know-how accounted for 9.3 per cent of all children living in households and 3.6 per cent of the household population of Bonwire. As Table 3 shows, in three quarters of households there were no children who could weave. The maximum number of children who knew how to weave in any single household was eight and this occurred only once. The researcher counted six households where children had taught others to weave.

Table 3: Household breakdown of 29 weavers under 18

| Value* | Frequency | % | Valid % |
|--------|-----------|-------|---------|
| 0 | 43 | 75.44 | 75.44 |
| 1 | 8 | 14.04 | 14.04 |
| 2 | 2 | 3.51 | 3.51 |
| 3 | 3 | 5.26 | 5.26 |
| 8 | 1 | 1.75 | 1.75 |

* Number of child weavers in a household

The results of this study may be compared with the 2000 Population and Housing Census (page 97), which reported apprentices as making up 8.3 per cent of 7-14-year old working children in Ejisu-Juaben District. The Population and Housing Report 2010 results for Ashanti Region (page 118) reported apprentices as a proportion of employed people 15 years and older, but did not give data on working children. According to the census, apprentices made up 4.3 per cent of employed people aged 15 years and above. The largest categories were in the age groups 15-19 years (17.2%) and 20-24 years (16.5%).

Demographic Data on Bonwire's Masters and Apprentices

The average age of master weavers was 35 years and a striking 90.2% had attended school up to JHS 3. Of 39 master weavers who answered

this question, 71.8 per cent could read and write in English while 20.5 per cent could neither read nor write in English. Masters had been taught to weave by family members at the average age of 15 years, and reported taking between one and 12 years to become master weavers. Most master weavers reported that they received their first loom and yarns from family members, showing that the weaving industry in Bonwire relies heavily on family cooperation and is still substantially lineage-based. The average age at which master weavers had learnt to make their own decisions and weave unsupervised was 21 years, with the youngest learning to do this at age 11 and the oldest at age 28 years (Amanor-Wilks, 2015: see Appendix C, Table 2). Moreover, 21.1 per cent of master weavers were below 18 years of age when they began weaving unsupervised. While these figures show that a substantial number of weavers in Bonwire master their trade at a young age, they also show that more than four-fifths do not achieve mastery of weaving until adulthood.

Data on apprentices provided by master weavers showed that the average age of their apprentices, past and present, was also just under 15 years, and that the youngest apprentice started learning to weave at age 8 (Amanor-Wilks 2015: Appendix C, Table 3). By contrast, the oldest male apprentices only begin learning at the age of 24 and 25 years, while one female aged 30 years had only recently begun her apprenticeship. Available sex data show that almost 92 per cent of respondents said they had trained male apprentices, while just 5.6 per cent said they had trained females and 2.8 per cent said both. Interestingly, though, the inventory of 34 resident and non-resident apprentices compiled from the household register includes eight females of ages 6 and 10 up to 30 years, representing almost a quarter of apprentices (Amanor-Wilks, 2015: see Appendix C Table 11). Overall, the youngest apprentices were two 6-year old children who both used practice looms, also referred to as ‘toy looms’ or ‘play looms’. They both came from sample site #35, which was training a total of eight apprentices, all children under 18 years and all students. The head of the household was Grandpa Andrews, an octogenarian, who bemoaned a change in the tradition of apprenticeships

away from what he said was previously an exclusively family-based system. The table shows that of the 34 apprentices enumerated, 24 were from within the family, while 10 were friends or other non-family members.

Among 48 master weavers interviewed, 16 said they were training a total of 28 apprentices between the ages of 8 and 27 years. At sample site #50, there was an additional case of a failed apprentice. Of the 48 masters, 36 said they had trained a total of 183 apprentices in the past. Almost 70 per cent had trained between one and three apprentices; however, one weaver said he had trained 60 apprentices in the past, another said 20 and three others said 10. Of the 28 current apprentices, 50 per cent were family members, 40 per cent were friends, and the remaining 10 per cent had come from outside Bonwire.

CASE STUDIES OF ELEVEN APPRENTICES

Age of Case Study Apprentices

Detailed data on apprentices were gathered from in-depth interviews with eleven apprentices encountered at home during the survey period, which included a period of strike action by teachers, which in turn meant that more children were at home. These interviews provide insights into the nature and conditions of employment of apprentices in Bonwire. Although the sample is too small to be considered as representative, the interviews provide useful case study material. Demographic data on age and sex of apprentices, education, ethnicity and residence can be gleaned together with data on hours spent weaving and performing domestic chores, duration of apprenticeships and loom ownership (Amanor-Wilks, 2015: Table 5.2).

The ages of the eleven apprentices interviewed in the sample households ranged from 8 years to 27 years. These included six apprentices under the age of 18 years, including four apprentices under the age of 15. Of the 11, nine were males and two females. While the two females were aged 13 and 19 years, the age of the males ranged from 10 to 27 and

three were under 15 years. To these we can add the case of a female apprentice, aged 30, who was interviewed as a female representative.

In terms of the age at which apprentices start learning to weave, nine of the eleven apprentices interviewed were aged 15 years and under when they started to weave (see Table 4). The average starting age was 13.9 years. The youngest apprentice had started learning to weave at the age of 8 years, while three began at age 10, one at age 11, two at age 14 and two at age 15. The remaining two began weaving relatively late at ages 22 and 24.

Table 4: Age at which apprenticeships begin: eleven case study apprentices

| Age started learning to weave | | | | Months taken to learn | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|-------|---------|-----------------------|-----------|-------|---------|
| Age | Frequency | % | Valid % | Value | Frequency | % | Valid % |
| 8 | 1 | 9.09 | 9.09 | 1 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| 10 | 3 | 27.27 | 27.27 | 1.3 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| 11 | 1 | 9.09 | 9.09 | 2 | 2 | 18.18 | 22.22 |
| 14 | 2 | 18.18 | 18.18 | 3 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| 15 | 2 | 18.18 | 18.18 | 4.5 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| 22 | 1 | 9.09 | 9.09 | 10 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| 24 | 1 | 9.09 | 9.09 | 14 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| | | | | 72 | 1 | 9.09 | 11.11 |
| Total | 11 | 100 | 100 | Total | 9 | 100 | 100 |

Of nine apprentices who stated the number of months taken to learn to weave, the values ranged between one month and six years, giving a mean average of 12.2 months (see Table 4). However, if we remove the result for one apprentice from outside Bonwire who said that it took him six years, we have a range of one month and 14 months, and a mean of 4.7 months, with just two weavers taking 10 months or more to learn. Six apprentices learnt in less than five months. In the one to 14 months cited by ten respondents, an apprentice who is a new weaver may learn to weave a few designs but would still be a long way from becoming a

master weaver. A question was therefore put to apprentices about the number of kente designs they had learnt. Of the ten apprentices who responded to this question, four said they knew just one design, one said he knew two designs and one said he knew three designs. Four other apprentices said they knew “all the designs”. Of ten apprentices who answered the question who taught you to weave, six said a family member while four said a non-family master. Asked who managed or supervised their work, seven said a family member and four of the eleven apprentices said a master.

From these profiles of eleven apprentices, it can be seen that weaving apprenticeships using adult looms begin from the age of 8 years, but not all apprentices begin learning their trade in childhood and some begin well into their 20s. Nevertheless, most of the apprentices interviewed began learning before the age of 15; on average they started their apprenticeships at just under age 14. Apprentices are more often male than female. Nevertheless, two of the 11 apprentices interviewed were females and in the larger sample, a quarter of the 33 apprentices enumerated were females. Their particular conditions are analysed in the research from which this paper is drawn (Amanor-Wilks, 2015). Apprentices are most likely to learn weaving from a family member; however, some apprentices learn from non-family masters. Apprentices who grow up in Bonwire take between a month and fourteen months to learn weaving. However, this does not mean that they will know all the designs that qualify them to be called master weavers. Apprentices that come from outside Bonwire, such as from the Volta Region or the Central Region, can take six years to learn Asante weaving techniques. There is no uniform pattern of decision-making regarding the type of cloth to weave and the income from weaving. Decisions may be taken by the master, by the apprentice or jointly, depending on particular factors such as age, family relationship and contractual arrangements.

Schooling, Hours of Work and Occupational Health

Child labour is banned under international law because it deprives children of education and can be hazardous to their health. The ILO

condemns any form of child labour that keeps children out of school, requires them to work long hours or exposes them to occupational danger. Weavers routinely work long hours. Many work in excess of 12 hours a day in order to meet deadlines for special orders for purposes such as weddings or funerals. Since not all weavers have the capital to invest in yarns, many work only to order, for example from storekeepers and other traders, collecting advances with which to purchase yarns. This kind of arrangement can come with pressure to deliver the product within a short period. This section looks at the educational profile of the case study apprentices. It also analyses data on the hours of work of master weavers and their apprentices and on occupational health.

All the eleven apprentices interviewed had attended school, though only one had attended senior high school (SHS). As Table 5 shows, the lowest level of education completed was Primary 2 and the highest was SHS 3. Five of these apprentices were currently enrolled in school while six were not. In terms of English ability, seven could read and write in English, one could only read in English, one could only write in English and two could neither read nor write in English. However, one of these was literate in Ewe. Of four apprentices aged 15 and under, a 10-year old boy had completed Primary 2 in the Volta Region but could not read or write. His uncle reported that he had recently taken the boy out of school to bring him to Bonwire for a visit and that he would soon return home to the Volta Region to resume school.

Table 5: Educational level and literacy of eleven apprentices

| Education level | | | Literacy in English | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|-------|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Level of education completed | Frequency | % | Value Label | Frequency | % |
| Primary 2 | 1 | 9.1 | Yes, read only | 1 | 9.1 |
| Primary 3 | 2 | 18.2 | Yes, write only | 1 | 9.1 |
| Primary 6 | 1 | 9.1 | Yes, can read and write | 7 | 63.6 |
| JHS1 | 1 | 9.1 | No, cannot read or write | 1 | 9.1 |
| JHS3 | 5 | 45.5 | Can read and write in other language | 1 | 9.1 |
| SHS3 | 1 | 9.1 | Total | 11 | 100 |
| Total | 11 | 100.0 | Value Label | Frequency | Perc ent |

In the past, apprentices worked hours similar to their masters'. Today, however, it is relatively rare to see child apprentices in Bonwire working long hours since almost all families comply with the government's policy of free compulsory universal basic education and, indeed, embrace the opportunity to send their children to school at a subsidised cost. As Table 6 shows, the eleven apprentices interviewed at home during the survey enumeration worked on average 7.5 hours a day on 5.3 days of the week. Their work hours ranged from 1 to 14 hours on between 2 and 6 days. Of the four apprentices under the age of 15 encountered during the survey enumeration, three worked for 1-2 hours a day while one was reported as working 12 hours a day, the same hours as his uncle, though this was not probed. It seems unlikely that this boy could in fact have been working 12 hours a day since he was sharing the loom of his uncle, who also reported working 12 hours. Moreover, his aunt, also an apprentice, shared the same loom. However, it may be noted that the boy was learning as his first design, 'Adwini asa' ('My Brain is Exhausted'), one of the most complex classic kente designs of all times. If mastery of this design was the condition for the boy to return

to school in the Volta Region, it seemed unlikely that he would resume his education soon, as he reported having woven half a strip since beginning his apprenticeship.

Table 6: Hours of Work and Occupational Health

| ID code of 11 apprentices interviewed in sample households | Age | Hours spent weaving per day | Days spent weaving per week | Occupational ailments reported |
|--|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 2-109 | 18 | 10 | 5 | Waist pain (lower back) |
| 3-106 | 21 | 14 | 6 | None |
| 5-109 | 13 | 2 | 6 | Waist pain |
| 23-102 | 10 | 1 | 5 | None |
| 34-102 | 10 | 12 | 6 | None |
| 35-108 | 13 | 2 | 2 | Back pain (upper back) |
| 43-111 | 17 | 1 | 5 | Shoulder pain |
| 48-103 | 16 | 8 | 6 | Waist & foot pain |
| 49-103 | 19 | 6 | 5 | Body pains |
| 54-127 | 27 | 12 | 6 | Waist pain |
| 55-106 | 26 | 14 | 6 | Waist, shoulder & body |
| Mean | 17.3 | 7.5 | 5.3 | |

Of separate concern is that eight of the eleven apprentices interviewed reported some form of back pain, though encouragingly these did not include the boy described above. Of the three who reported no ailments, it may be noted that one worked the shortest hours, one hour a day for five days a week, while the other two worked among the longest hours, 12 and 14 hours on six days of the week. The other apprentice with a 14-hour workday reported the greatest number of ailments, namely waist, shoulder and body pains. However, at 26 years of age he was also the second oldest apprentice interviewed.

Not all the child weavers interviewed in households were apprentices, and therefore not all are captured in the data above. One school dropout aged 12, was an accomplished weaver who needed no supervision. But

having dropped out of school to weave full time, he was struggling to purchase yarns and planned to return to school, with the support and encouragement of his father. Another child who approached the researcher while walking was a 14-year old boy, an accomplished weaver who offered a strip of kente for sale. During a subsequent in-depth interview, outside the survey count, the boy gave details of the use of his kente earnings to supplement his parents' income and cover his educational costs. As he spoke with confidence about his dreams of becoming a lawyer, and his pride in weaving a cloth whose beauty would draw praise, he exuded the kind of self-esteem that can result from children's agency, as alluded to by Nieuwenhuys (1996:247) in her work on child labour.

Findings and Conclusions

Working children are found in just under a quarter of Bonwire households, but child labour is rarely observed among Bonwire's weavers. Most child weavers work for short hours after school and at weekends. This study found just one out-of-school child weaver, aged 12, and one out-of-school apprentice, aged 10. Whereas the 12-year old weaver was struggling to purchase yarns and had already taken the decision by the end of the survey period to return to school, encouraged by his father, the 10-year old out-of-school apprentice gave some cause for concern. Though it is unlikely that he was actually working the 12 hours a day as reported by his uncle, the complexity of the design he was learning to weave as a novice made it unlikely that he would very soon be returned to his school in the Volta Region.

Another source of concern was the high number of children reporting back ailments. This is an occupational health issue that faces most weavers of all ages, warranting attention to the design of the loom technology and the long hours typically spent on the loom, though the research found that children rarely work long hours. Four apprentices under the age of 15 were interviewed during the survey enumeration. Three of them worked for 1-2 hours a day while one was reported to be working the same 12 hours as his uncle.

Education is widely valued, for both boys and girls, and by both parents and by children. Nevertheless, although apprenticeships are being delayed in many households to enable children to complete free schooling, this does not mean that weavers are abandoning their looms. Rather, Bonwire's informal institutions of apprenticeship have learnt to adapt to the exigencies of formal education. Thus apprenticeship remains an effective institution for transferring indigenous knowledge and proto-industrial skills from one generation to the next, and some young weavers invest their earnings in a few more years of formal schooling. But while the quality of Bonwire's informal apprenticeships is not disputed, the same cannot be said about the quality of formal education. For example, although all eleven apprentices interviewed in households had been to school, less than two-thirds could both read and write in the official language of Ghana. By contrast, all apprentices could weave and contribute to household income, and there was only one case of a failed apprentice.

In almost all Bonwire households, children attend school from an early age and stay in school up to the maximum years of free schooling. This suggests that were free schooling to be extended beyond JHS 3, parents would delay apprenticeships further to ensure that their children benefit from government policies on education. It also suggests that in order to preserve such an important institution of indigenous knowledge, some attention could be paid to the integration of traditional apprenticeship training into the formal education system. This would ensure that the generations of accumulated indigenous knowledge are preserved and used in the service of the Ghanaian economy. This would in turn advance a target of SDG 4 on quality education, namely, to increase access to technical and vocational skills.

Child weavers and their parents appear to weigh up the relative costs and benefits of formal school education and informal kente apprenticeships. Sometimes young people start to learn weaving because they have exhausted the cycle of free education and see the income from weaving as a means to further their education. Yet many young weavers take a

unique pride in creating a product whose intricate workmanship and outstanding beauty make it one of the most recognisable faces of Ghana internationally. Encouragingly for policies of inclusion, girls and women can be found in kente apprenticeships, marking a break with the past, when a strict taboo barred women from weaving.

References

Adusei, Emmanuel Kofi (2013), "Child Labour and the Wellbeing of Children: The Case of Children in Marine Fishing in Ghana," in Johnson, D.J., Agbényiga, D.L. and Hitchcock, R.K. (eds.), *Vulnerable Children*. New York: Springer.

Agbenya, Lilian (2009), "Child Labour Trafficking in the Lake Volta Fishery of Ghana: A Case Study of Ogetse in the Krachi West District of the Volta Region," MA thesis.

Amanor-Wilks, Dede (2015), "Apprenticeships in the Kente Producing Sector of Ghana: A Case Study of Bonwire," PhD Dissertation in African Studies. University of Ghana.

Bonnet, M (1993), Child Labour in Africa. *International Labour Review* 132 (3): 371-89.

Boserup, Ester (1970), *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Boserup, Ester (1965). *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Bowdich, T.E. (1819), *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*. London: Routledge.

Clark, Gracia (1994), *Onions are my Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

Ghana Statistical Service (2013), *2010 Population & Housing Census: Regional Analytical Report, Ashanti Region*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

Ghana Statistical Service (2012), *2010 Population & Housing Census. Summary Report of Final Results*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

Ghana Statistical Service (2005), "Ghana 2000 Population and Housing Census: Ashanti Region. Analysis of District Data and Implications for Planning." Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

Ghana Statistical Service (2002), "2000 Population and Housing Census: Special Report on Twenty Largest Localities." Online resource (retrieved April 25, 2012): http://www.ghanadistricts.com/districts/?r=2&_21&sa=4538.

Goody, Esther (1982), "Daboya Weavers: Relations of Production, Dependence and Reciprocity in From Craft to Industry: The Ethnography of Proto-Industrial Cloth Production." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Government of Ghana/NDPC (undated), "The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS): An Overview of Ghana's Role in the Post-2015 Global Development Agenda By the National Development Planning Commission, Ghana". <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/media-center/press-release/1958-the-sustainable-development-goals-sdgs>. Accessed 7 September 2016.

ILO (1996-2015), *Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)*. "International Labour Standards on Child Labour". Online resource (retrieved 17 June 2015) Available at:

<http://www.ilo.org/global/standards/subjects-covered-by-international-labour-standards/child-labour/lang--en/index.htm>.

ILO/IPEC (2015), “World Report on Child Labour 2015: Paving the way to decent work for young people.” Geneva: ILO.

ILO/IPEC (2013), “Marking progress against child labour: Global estimates and trends 2000-2012.” International Labour Office, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). Geneva: ILO.

Jayaraj, D. and S. Subramanian (2002), “Child Labour in Tamil Nadu in the 1980s: A preliminary account of its nature, extent and distribution.” Economic and Political Weekly, 9 March.

Kpogo, Robert R.Y (2012), “Kente Weaving as a Developing Culture in Akatsi District of the Volta Region.” University of Education, Winneba. MA thesis,

Nieuwenhuys, Olga (1996), “The Paradox of Child Labour and Anthropology”, Annual Review of Anthropology, 25:37-251.

Nkamleu, Guy Blaise (2006), “Poverty and Child Farm Labour in Africa: Wealth Paradox or Bad Orthodoxy”, MPRA Paper No 15106, posted 8 May 2009: <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/15105>

Quartey-Papafio, A.B. (1914), “Apprenticeships amongst the Ga”. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 13(52):415-422.

Ray, Ranjan (2003), “The Determinants of Child Labour and Child Schooling in Ghana”. *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 11, No 4, 561-590.

Republic of Ghana (1989), Children’s Act 1989, Act 560. Accra: Ghana Publishing Company.

UNDP (2015), “Sustainable Development Goals. Goal 4: Quality Education: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”.
<http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda/goal-4.html>.

UNDP (2015), SDG16. “Peace, justice and strong institutions: Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies”.
<http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda/goal-16.html>.

United Nations (2015), “Sustainable Development Goals: 17 goals to transform our world, Goal 4 targets”,
<http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/>. Last accessed 7 September 2016.

United Nations (2015), “Sustainable Development Goals: 17 goals to transform our world, Goal 16 targets”.
<http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/peace-justice/>. Last accessed 7 September 2016.

NEWSPAPERS

Agbewode, S. (2011), “Agortime Kpetoe celebrates kente festival”, The Chronicle, 24 September.

Baffoe, K. (2015), “Adanwomase: The town of kente”. Daily Graphic, 23 April.

Bogler, L. (2011), “Kente Weaving at Bonwire”, Central Newspaper, 17 June.

Kafui Kanyi, A.B. (2014), “Children abandon school: to weave Kente for money”, Daily Graphic, 16 October.

Public Agenda (2005), "Ghana: Child labour remains a serious problem". Public Agenda article of 14 March, reprinted by the Norwegian Council for Africa. Printed from <http://www.afrika.no/Detailed/8597.html>.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Eric Kwarteng, Secretary, Bonwire Kente Weavers Association, May 2015.

Grandpa Andrews, Sample Household #35, November 2014.

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES GHANA'S NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE SCHEME PROTECT MEMBERS FROM OUT-OF-POCKET PAYMENTS IN HOSPITALS?

Aaron A. Abuosi¹, Edward Nketiah-Amponsah², Joshua Yindenaba Abor³, Kwame Ameyaw Domfeh⁴

Abstract

The implementation of Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme has resulted in a tremendous increase in access to healthcare. However, informal out-of-pocket payments are made in hospitals contrary to the tenets of the scheme. Previous studies have not examined the magnitude of these payments. A cross-sectional survey of out-patients in 17 hospitals in the Central, Brong Ahafo and Upper East Regions was conducted in 2013. Employing SPSS version 20, data was analysed using frequencies, chi-square and logistic regression. The dependent variable was out-of-pocket payment. Insurance status was the key independent variable, controlling for socio-demographic factors. The results indicate that about 10% of patients pay informal out-of-pocket fees in hospitals. The mean amount paid was GH¢13. The insured were about three times more likely than the uninsured to visit the hospital five times or more within one year. Regression analysis showed that the odd of insured patients paying informal out-of-pocket fees in hospitals is lower by 68%, holding other variables constant. Insurance status is a significant, but not sufficient factor in reducing out-of-pocket payments in hospitals. While

¹ Senior Lecturer, Department of Public Administration and Health Services Management, University of Ghana Business School. (E-mail: aabuosi@ug.edu.gh)

² Senior Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. (Email: enamponsah@ug.edu.gh)

³ Professor and Dean, University of Ghana Business School. (E-mail: joshabor@ug.edu.gh)

⁴ Professor, Department of Public Administration and Health Services Management University of Ghana Business School. (E-mail: kadomfeh@ug.edu.gh)

efforts are being made to sustain the national health insurance scheme, measures must be taken to eliminate out-of-pocket payments in order to provide financial protection to the insured.

Keywords: Health insurance status, out-of-pocket, patients, hospitals, Ghana.

Background

Providing financial protection to households in order to improve upon their accessibility to healthcare is increasingly becoming a priority for low and middle income countries (LMICs). This is also at the core of efforts by LMICs to attain universal health coverage (Jütting, 2001; Saksena, Antunes, Xu, Musango, & Carrin, 2011; Sepehri, Sarma, & Simpson, 2006). One of the targets of goal 3 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) is to achieve universal health coverage (UHC), including financial risk protection, access to quality essential healthcare services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all (United Nations, 2015). It is for these reasons that many African countries seek to expand health insurance coverage in order to eliminate or reduce out-of-pocket payments at the point of service delivery ((Macha et al., 2012).

However, evidence on the financial protection effect of interventions is not unanimous (Acharya et al., 2012; Macha et al., 2012). While some studies indicate that insurance enrolment reduces households' out-of-pocket spending, thus improving financial access and increased utilization of health services (Jütting, 2001; Saksena et al., 2011; Sepehri et al., 2006), others find that insurance enrolment may in some cases lead to increased out-of-pocket spending, which could be a significant barrier to accessing healthcare (Ekman, 2007; Wagstaff and Lindelow, 2008).

In 2003, Ghana launched the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) under Act 650 as a further step towards equitable and financial access to basic health services. The scheme was introduced countrywide in 2005. According to the policy framework of the NHIS "the vision of

government in instituting health insurance schemes in the country is to assure equitable universal access for all residents of Ghana to an acceptable quality of a package of essential health services without out-of-pocket payment being required at point of service use” (Ministry of Health, 2004).

Since its introduction, the NHIS has led to a tremendous increase in access to healthcare. Out-patient utilization has increased over 45-fold, from 0.6 million in 2005 to 27.4 million in 2013 (National Health Insurance Authority, 2011, 2013). Ghana is one of the success stories of health insurance schemes in Africa, surpassed only by Rwanda. In spite of the remarkable achievement of the NHIS however, there are issues about its financial protection effect on households, especially in relation to out-of-pocket payments at the point of service use. Nguyen, Rajkotia, and Wang (2011) note that even though the benefit package of the Ghana NHIS is generous, insured persons still pay out-of-pocket through informal sources, and for drugs not covered by the insurance scheme. However, compared with the uninsured, they paid significantly less. The latest report of the Ghana Demographic and Health Survey also confirms that more than one-third of respondents (37 percent of women and 35 percent of men) who were covered by the NHIS paid out of pocket for medicines and services at some time before the survey (Ghana Statistical Service, Ghana Health Service, & ICF International, 2015). Dalinjong and Laar (2012) found that insured patients experienced varied forms of ill treatment and discrimination by healthcare providers. The insured attributed their experience to the fact that they were not making immediate payments for services.

The adverse effect of out-of-pocket payment has been reported. Mills et al. (2012) assessed equity in financing and use of healthcare in Ghana, South Africa, and Tanzania. They found that out-of-pocket payments were regressive in all three countries. The authors also report that while the proportion of the population incurring catastrophic expenditure due to healthcare was 0.09% in South Africa and 1.52% in Tanzania, that of Ghana was 2.43%.

Even though previous studies in Ghana acknowledge the existence of formal and informal out-of-pocket payments by insured patients, several questions remain unanswered: what is the magnitude of the informal payments? Among the insured and uninsured patients, who are more likely to pay informal fees? Within the context of these questions, to what extent has the insurance status of patients reduced informal out-of-pocket payments in hospitals in Ghana, holding other variables fixed?

Conceptual framework

The progress of national health insurance may be assessed in terms of its progress across three coverage dimensions: who is covered, what services are covered, and what proportion of costs is covered (World Health Organization, 2014). Progress in these three dimensions depends on the decision by policy makers on which dimension should be prioritised. The decision is usually influenced by how successful a country has been in its revenue generation, pooling, and purchasing effort.

Who is covered?

Even though countries aspiring to attain universal health coverage endeavor to provide access to healthcare to all, some have placed priority on the coverage of some specific populations due to resource limitations. For example, Nigeria and Kenya are extending their formal sector programmes to cover the informal sector (Joint Learning Network, Nigeria; Joint Learning Network, Kenya). In Indonesia insurance schemes that were previously separate are being merged into a single universal scheme (Joint Learning Network, Indonesia). The focus of India's government health insurance scheme is on the poor people (Joint Learning Network, India). The aim of health insurance programmes in Ghana, Mali, Philippines and Vietnam, is to cover their entire populations (Joint Learning Network, Ghana; Joint Learning Network, Mali; Joint Learning Network, Philippines; Joint Learning Network, Vietnam). The proportion of the population enrolled in a country's health insurance scheme is an important indicator of its progress. More than 75% of Rwanda's population is covered by the health insurance

schemes. About half of the populations in Ghana, Vietnam and Indonesia schemes are covered. The coverage of India, Mali, Kenya, and Nigeria is less than 20%, as they are at their early stages of reform (Lagomarsino et al., 2012).

What is covered?

The services covered by a health insurance scheme are another important indicator of its success. One way of determining this is to examine the benefits package. Ghana and other LMIC such as Mali, Nigeria, Indonesia, Rwanda and Vietnam provide comprehensive preventive and primary care benefits including drugs (Lagomarsino, Garabrant, Adyas, Muga and & Otoo, 2012). The insurance schemes in Kenya, India and the Philippines initially covered only in-patient care. However, they are now taking steps to include preventive and primary care (Lagomarsino et al., 2012). In a systematic review, Lagomarsino et al. (2012) observed an emergence of new patterns of health insurance policy which tend to move towards comprehensive rather than partial benefits. The authors argue that the tendency of past health insurance models to emphasize on in-patient services due to the low probability but high costs is longer tenable, since chronic illnesses such as hypertension and diabetes which are on the rise are also costly to treat at the out-patient (ambulatory) care level. Besides, coverage of preventive and primary care has been reported to have a greater net benefit for the population compared with coverage of in-patient services (Musgrove, Fox-Rushby and Jamison, 2006).

Notwithstanding the merits of providing a comprehensive benefits package, financial sustainability is a big challenge to this approach. For example, in Ghana, the comprehensive benefits package has raised serious concerns about its long-term financial sustainability (Chankova, Atim and Hatt, 2010; Witter and Garshong, 2009). Since 2010, the expenditure of the scheme has exceeded its income (Mensah, 2012).

What proportion of cost is covered?

How well an insurance scheme provides financial protection to people and prevents impoverishment is a function of the costs it covers (Lagomarsino et al., 2012). There are two main ways of assessing the cost covered by health insurance. The first is the overall out-of-pocket payment as a percentage of government health expenditure. The second is the percentage reduction in out-of-pocket expenditure since the implementation of a health insurance scheme. Most developing countries have reduced out-of-pocket payments since they introduced health insurance schemes (Lagomarsino et al., 2012). Indonesia, Vietnam and Ghana report a reduction between 4 and 5 percentage points. Nigeria, Kenya, Rwanda and India recorded smaller reductions of 2 to 3 percentage points. In spite of the reductions, however, house-holds' out-of-pocket expenditure remains high. According to WHO, out-of-pocket expenditure beyond 15 to 20 % of total health expenditure could result in impoverishment. The out-of-pocket expenditure of Ghana is 27% of total health expenditure while that of Rwanda is 22%. The out-of-pocket health expenditure for other countries such as Nigeria, India, Mali, Vietnam and the Philippines exceeds 50% (Lagomarsino et al., 2012). A number of reasons may account for high out-of-pocket expenditure. They include not enrolling the whole population in the insurance scheme; excluding key service variables such as drugs, private health facilities, seeking care in high-level health facilities, ancillary expenses such as transport costs, illegal unofficial payments and ignorance of the insurance benefit package by users (Lagomarsino et al., 2012).

Methods

Study setting

The study was conducted in three regions of Ghana, the Upper East, Brong Ahafo and Central regions, representing the savanna, forest and coastal ecological belts of Ghana respectively. The Upper East Region of Ghana is located in the northeastern corner of Ghana. The region's economy is based on agriculture, primarily cattle and cereals like millet, sorghum and rice. The region has a total of 174 healthcare facilities (Ghana Health Service, 2014). The Brong Ahafo Region lies in the forest

zone and is a major cocoa and timber producing area. The northern part of the region lies in the savannah zone and is a major grain- and tuber-producing region. The region has a total of 200 healthcare facilities (Ghana Health Service, 2014). The Central Region is located in the coastal belt of Ghana. The major economic activities are agriculture and fishing. Small-scale manufacturing also takes place in food-processing, ceramic wares, as well as salt and soap industries. The region has a total of 158 healthcare facilities (Ghana Health Service, 2014).

Study design and data collection

A cross-sectional survey of patients seeking out-patient consultations in 17 general hospitals from three regions of Ghana was conducted. The three regions were selected to represent the three ecological belts in Ghana. The Upper East Region represents the northern Savanna belt, the Brong Ahafo Region the middle forest belt and the Central Region the southern coastal belt. These ecological belts have peculiar socio-economic characteristics. To make the sample representative of the whole country, therefore, it was important to include the major ecological belts of the country. We selected six hospitals each from the Brong Ahafo and Central Regions, consisting of two each of government, private and faith-based hospitals. However, in the Upper East Region there was only one faith-based hospital, therefore five hospitals were selected.

Both insured and uninsured patients were selected for interview. The total sample size determined for all the 17 hospitals was 850. A quota of 50 patients was selected from each hospital for interview, through convenience sampling. However, 818 out-patients were interviewed, representing a response rate of 96%. An exit interview strategy was used. In each facility patients on routine visits to the hospital were contacted and those who consented were interviewed after receiving treatment. Convenience sampling was considered appropriate because patients visited the health facilities and exited at different periods, and it is only those who consented who were interviewed. On average, approximately 13–15 patients were interviewed per day. In-patients were not included

in the sample. Out of the 818 respondents, 66.5% were insured, while 33.5% were uninsured. With patients less than 18 years of age, the adults accompanying them participated in the interview. Interviews were conducted by trained field workers.

The key variables measuring informal out-of-pocket payments include questions on payments in hospital without collecting receipts, the amount paid as informal fees and frequency of visits to the hospital within the twelve months prior to the interviews. The background variables were socio-demographic variables such as age, sex, marital status, educational level, income level and region of respondents. Other variables of interest were hospital ownership, bed capacity, number of doctors, size of household and health status of respondents.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics including frequency distribution means and standard deviation were conducted with the aid of SPSS version 20. A chi square test was used for bivariate analysis including testing for association of age, gender and insurance status with out-of-pocket payments. Logistic regression was then used to assess the influence of health insurance on out-of-pocket payments, controlling for socio-demographic and other factors. The dependent variable was out-of-pocket payments, coded 1= Yes, if patient paid money out of pocket without collecting a receipt; and 0=No, if patient did not make any payments out of pocket. Logistic regression models make it possible to estimate the probability of patients paying out of pocket, conditional on the independent variables included in the model. This takes the form:

$$\text{logit } p_i = \beta_o + \beta_i X_i + \varepsilon_i \dots\dots\dots(1)$$

Taking the linear form:

$$\ln(p_i / [1 - p_i]) = \beta_o + \beta_i X_i + \varepsilon_i \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

Where:

- p_i = is the probability that the event occurs to an individual with a given set of characteristics, X_i
- β_o = is the intercept or constant
- β_i = is the vector of coefficients, X
- $p_i / [1 - p_i]$ = is the odds ratio of patients with a given set of characteristics paying out-of-pocket or not
- ε_i = the error term in the regression

The main independent variable was insurance status, a dummy variable which was coded 1=insured; and 0=uninsured (reference). The rest of the independent variables were control variables. They included age of respondents, a continuous variable, ranging from 17 to 92 years; sex of respondent, a dummy variable coded 1=male, 0=female (reference); marital status, a dummy, coded 1=married, 0= not married (reference); education was a categorical variable, coded 1=none (reference); 2=primary; 3=JHS; 4=secondary/technical/vocational; 5=tertiary. income (monthly earnings) was a categorical variable, coded 1=no earnings (reference); 2=GH¢20 or below; 3= GH¢ 21-50; 4= GH¢ 51-100; 5= GH¢ 101-200; 6= GH¢ 201-300; 7= GH¢ 301-400; 8= GH¢ 401-500; 9= GH¢501 and above. Distance to hospital was a continuous variable, ranging from 1 to 58 Km; health status was measured using a Likert type scale, ranging from 1, very poor, to 5 very good health status; household size was a continuous variable. Hospital size was a continuous variable, and was measured by bed capacity (number of beds) as a proxy, ranging from 16 to 331 beds; number of doctors was a continuous variable, ranging from 1 to 6 doctors per hospital; region was a categorical variable, and was coded 1= Upper East (reference); 2=Brong-Ahafo Region; 3=Central Region. Ownership was a categorical variable, and was coded 1= government hospitals (reference); 2= mission hospitals; 3=private hospitals.

Results

From Table 1, whereas the proportion of insured females was higher (64%) compared with insured males (36%), the proportions were almost the same in the case of uninsured females and males (49% and 51% respectively). The results also indicate that among those married the insured were more (72%) than the uninsured (61%), whilst for those who were not married the figures were 28% and 39% respectively. With respect to educational background, there were no significant differences between the insured and uninsured regarding the proportions of respondents who completed the various levels of education. Twenty-two percent (22%) of the insured and 26% of the uninsured had no formal education; 45% of the insured and 40% of the uninsured had primary/junior high school level education; 18% of the insured and 19% of the uninsured had secondary/vocational/technical level education; and 15% respectively of the insured and uninsured had tertiary level education. Among those who earned monthly incomes of GH¢100 (\$50) or below, the insured earned relatively higher (42%) compared with the uninsured (36%). However, among those who earned GH¢101 or above, both insured and uninsured earned similar proportions of 28% and 30% respectively. The proportions were also similar with those who received no monthly earnings (30% and 34% respectively). There were also no marked variations in the ages and household sizes of insured and uninsured respondents. The mean age of the insured was 35, whereas that of the uninsured was 37. On the other hand, the mean household size of the insured was 5.25; whereas that of the uninsured was 5.7.

Table 1: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of insured and uninsured patients

| Characteristics | Insured | | Uninsured | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| | Frequency No. | Mean % | Frequency No. | Mean % |
| Sex | | | | |
| Male | 195 | 36 | 139 | 51 |
| Female | 349 | 64 | 135 | 49 |
| Marital status | | | | |
| Unmarried | 151 | 28 | 107 | 39 |
| Married | 389 | 72 | 163 | 61 |
| Educational | | | | |
| None | 121 | 22 | 72 | 26 |
| Primary-JHS | 242 | 45 | 109 | 40 |
| Sec/Tech/Vocational | 100 | 18 | 53 | 19 |
| Tertiary | 80 | 15 | 40 | 15 |
| Income | | | | |
| GH¢100 and below | 226 | 42 | 98 | 36 |
| GH¢ 101 and above | 154 | 28 | 82 | 30 |
| No earnings | 163 | 30 | 94 | 34 |
| Age | | 35 | | 37 |
| Household size | | 5.25 | | 5.7 |

A cross-tabulation of frequency of visits to hospital indicates that the insured were more likely to visit the hospital frequently compared with the uninsured. Out of 274 uninsured respondents, almost half (46%) visited the health facility only once; 24% visited twice; 11% visited three times; 7% visited four times; and 12% visited five times or more (Table 2). On the other hand, out of 534 insured respondents, only 14% visited the health facility once; 26% visited twice; 16% visited three times; 12% visited four times; and one in three insured respondents (33%) visited five times or more. This implies that the insured were about three times more likely than the uninsured to visit the hospital five times or more.

Table 2: Insurance status * No. of visits Cross-tabulation

| | No. of visits | | | | | Total | p-value |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------|---------|
| | Visited once | Visited twice | Visited three times | Visited four times | Visited five times or more | | |
| Uninsured | 126 46% | 66 24% | 31 11% | 19 7% | 32 12% | 274 100% | 0.000 |
| Insured | 75 14% | 138 26% | 83 16% | 63 12% | 175 33% | 534 100% | |
| Total | 201 25% | 204 25% | 114 14% | 82 10% | 207 26% | 808 100% | |
| | | | | | | | |

Table 3 indicates that females are more likely than males to visit the hospital five times or more. Using the row statistics, it is observed that out of 330 male respondents, 21% were likely to visit the hospital five times or more. On the other hand, out of 478 female respondents, 29% were likely to visit the hospital five times or more.

Table 3: Sex * No. of visits Cross-tabulation

| | No. of visits | | | | | Total | p-value |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------|
| Sex of respondent | Visited once | Visited twice | Visited three times | Visited four times | Visited five times or more | | |
| Male | 107 32% | 94 29% | 40 12% | 20 6% | 69 21% | 330 100% | 0.000 |
| Female | 94 20% | 110 23% | 74 15% | 62 13% | 138 29% | 478 100.0% | |
| Total | 201 24.9% | 204 25.2% | 114 14.1% | 82 10.1% | 207 25.6% | 808 100.0% | |
| | | | | | | | |

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2013

Respondents were asked whether any informal or unofficial fees were collected from them. The evidence of formal/official payments is usually the issuing of an official receipt in respect of the amount paid for by the patient. Thus, any payments made by patients to healthcare providers without an official receipt being issued could be suspected to be informal/unofficial charges. Out of 814 respondents, 90% indicated that no monies were paid to healthcare providers without the issue of an official receipt. The remaining 10% indicated that monies were taken from them without official receipt (Table 4). On the amount paid as informal fees, the mean amount was GH¢13 (\$6.5), the median amount was GH¢7 (\$3.5) and the modal amount was GH¢5 (\$2.5). A cross-tabulation of respondents' insurance status and the likelihood of paying informal fees revealed that the uninsured were 2.3 times more likely than the insured to pay informal fees. Out of 274 uninsured respondents, 16% indicated that they paid informal fees out of pocket. On the other hand, out of 540 insured respondents, 7% indicated that they paid informal fees.

Table 4: Insurance status * Informal payments Cross-tabulation

| Insurance status | Informal payment | | Total | p-value |
|------------------|------------------|------------|---------------|---------|
| | Yes | No | | |
| Uninsured | 44 16% | 230 84% | 274 100% | 0.000 |
| Insured | 40 7% | 500 93% | 540 100.0% | |
| Total | 84 10% | 730 90% | 814 100% | |

The mean amount paid by respondents as informal fees was GH¢ 13 (\$7), with the median and modal amounts being GH¢7 (3.5%) and GH¢5 (\$2.5) respectively.

Logistic regression analysis was further performed to determine whether insurance status predicts informal out-of-pocket payments. The results are shown in Table 5.

The overall model containing all the predictors (independent variables) was statistically significant, $\chi^2(27) = 45.98$, $p < .013$, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between respondents who made out-of-pocket payments and those who did not. The model as a whole explained between 7.3 % (Cox and Snell R square) and 15 % (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in perceptions of cost of treatment, and correctly classified about 90 % of cases. The results as shown in Table 5 indicate that the odd of making out-of-pocket payments in hospitals is lower for insured patients. In other words, for an additional unit increase in healthcare utilization by insured members of the health insurance scheme, the odds of paying out-of-pocket fees are lower by 68%, holding other variables constant.

However, some of the control variables were also significant predictors of out-of-pocket payments. These were sex, marital status, income levels and ownership of hospitals. Males were about twice more likely than females to pay out of pocket; married respondents were also twice more likely than those not married to pay out of pocket; respondents earning GH¢20 or below per month were three times more likely than those without monthly earnings to pay out of pocket; and patients attending mission hospitals were three times more likely than those attending government hospitals to pay out of pocket.

Table 5a: Logistic regression predicting likelihood of informal out-of-pocket payment in hospitals

| | <i>b</i> | Odds ratio |
|--|---------------------|------------|
| Insurance status (Insured=1) | -1.153*** (.300) | .316 |
| Age of respondent | .005 (.011) | 1.005 |
| Sex of respondent (Male=1) | .651* (.325) | 1.917 |
| Marital status (Married=1) | .728* (.369) | 2.071 |
| Educational level (Never been to school=1) | | |
| Primary | .845 (.493) | 2.328 |
| JHS/MSLC | .443 (.533) | 1.557 |
| Secondary/Technical/Vocational | .602 (.442) | 1.825 |
| Tertiary | .424 (.472) | 1.528 |
| Income levels (No earnings=1) | | |
| GH¢20 and below | 1.104* (.511) | 3.015 |
| GH¢ 21-50 | .592 (.593) | 1.808 |
| GH¢ 51-100 | .394 (.576) | 1.482 |
| GH¢ 101-200 | .384 (.548) | 1.469 |
| GH¢ 201-300 | .441 (.645) | 1.554 |
| GH¢ 301-400 | -.216 (.602) | .806 |
| GH¢ 401-500 | -.300 (.708) | .741 |
| GH¢ 501 and above | .623 (.885) | 1.865 |

Table 5b: Logistic regression predicting likelihood of informal out-of-pocket payment in hospitals

| | <i>b</i> | Odds ratio |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------|
| Distance to hospital | -.028 (.020) | .972 |
| Health status (Poor=1) | | |
| Fair | 1.343 (1.095) | 3.830 |
| Good | -.006 (.481) | .994 |
| Very Good | -.187 (.374) | .830 |
| Number of doctors | -.144 (.165) | .866 |
| Size of household | -.022 (.054) | .978 |
| Bed capacity | .004 (.003) | 1.004 |
| Ownership (Government Hospital=1) | | |
| Mission Hospital | 1.095* (.439) | 2.990 |
| Private Hospital | .405 (.397) | 1.500 |
| Region (Upper East=1) | | |
| Brong Ahafo | .092 (.426) | 1.096 |
| Central | .449 (.416) | 1.566 |
| Constant | .826 (.898) | 2.285 |

Discussion

The study found a significant difference between the insured and the uninsured with respect to financial access to care. Results of the regression analysis indicate that membership of health insurance for Ghanaians has a significant and positive effect on out-of-pocket

payments in hospitals (Jehu-Appiah, Aryeetey, Agyepong, Spaan and Baltussen, 2012; National Health Insurance Authority, 2011; Perez, Ang and Vega, 2009; Skinner & Mayer, 2007; Witter and Garshong, 2009). The bivariate analysis using cross-tabulation and chi-square tests also indicate that the insured were more likely than the uninsured to visit the hospital five times within the previous 12 months, compared with the uninsured. Also, health insurance is more favourable to the vulnerable in Ghana, as women were more likely than men to visit the hospital five times. Even though both insured and uninsured patients paid out of pocket, the likelihood of the insured paying out of pocket was 68% lower than the uninsured. This finding is consistent with an earlier study by Nguyen et al. (2011). Further study is required to identify the reasons for this disparity in out-of-pocket payments between uninsured and insured patients. This may however be due to health workers' fear of collecting money from insured patients since, in principle, the latter are not expected to pay any monies when they visit a health facility. This could be an inherent strength of the insurance scheme, since it could serve as a restraining factor to informal out-of-pocket payments.

Notwithstanding the relative advantage of insured over uninsured patients in terms of out-of-pocket payments, problems still exist regarding financial access to healthcare. The fact that about 10% of respondents paid informal fees out of pocket should not be considered an insignificant proportion. The mean amount paid as informal fees was GH¢13. This is more than twice the national daily minimum wage of Ghana at the time of the study. A report on the poverty incidence of Ghana by the Ghana Statistical Service estimates that 8.4 percent of Ghanaians are considered to be extremely poor, that is, they earn below GH¢792.05 (\$396) per adult equivalent per year. This implies that their standard of living is insufficient to meet their basic nutritional requirements even if they devoted their entire consumption budget to food. Extreme poverty is particularly high in the rural savannah, which is part of this study. According to the Ghana Statistical Service report, 27.3 percent of people in this locality live in extreme poverty in Ghana. Within this context, the average amount paid out of pocket as informal

fees could be a significant financial burden to the patients. The literature suggests that the existence of such payments is problematic because they affect not only households' standard of living, especially low-income and vulnerable households, but also the overall efficiency and equity of healthcare provision (Stepurko, Pavlova, Gryga and Groot, 2013). Adamba (2010) observes that even if what insured members paid out of pocket is significantly less than the uninsured, the unexpected demand for cash from the insured can be frustrating.

The implication of the out-of-pocket payments by the insured is that it could result in some patients resorting to cheaper and less effective alternative sources of treatment for their illnesses. This could ultimately discourage existing or potential health insurance members from renewing their membership or enrolling as members, if they have less faith in the insurance scheme to remove financial barriers to healthcare.

Limitations of the study

Only out-patients were studied. Conclusions cannot therefore be generalized to in-patients in Ghana's hospitals. The absence of qualitative inquiry on reasons behind some of the findings is also a limitation. Future studies may consider qualitative or mixed methods in order to probe deeper into the issues of informal and out-of-pocket payments. Cost of transportation and feeding were not included in assessing financial access to care. These could also serve as financial barriers to accessing healthcare. However, it was beyond the scope of this study and could be an area of interest for future study.

Further study is required to explore service areas where out-of-pocket and informal payments usually occur, and the extent to which patients perceive the payments to be burdensome. Reasons for insured patients paying less informal fees compared with the uninsured need to be established empirically. It would also be useful for a follow-up study of in-patients. Transportation and feeding costs should also be investigated to determine their effect on financial access to healthcare.

Conclusions

From the discussion of the results it is apparent that patients' insurance status is a significant, but not sufficient factor in reducing informal out-of-pocket payments. Out-of-pocket payments could serve as a serious barrier to financial access to healthcare. While efforts are being made to sustain the National Health Insurance Scheme in order to improve financial access to healthcare, serious measures must be taken to stop informal out-of-pocket payments. Severe sanctions must be meted out to individuals or institutions perpetuating informal out-of-pocket payments to serve as a deterrent to others. Patients should not be made to pay for services that are covered by health insurance.

Ethics

This study received approval by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research, in the University of Ghana, Legon (NMIMR-IRB 111/12-13), as well as the IRB of the Navrongo Health Research Centre (NHRCIRB158) in Navrongo. All respondents were informed of the objectives of the research and were asked to take part in the study. Those who agreed were asked to sign a consent form before being interviewed. Respondents were also told that they were allowed to opt out at any point during the interviews.

Acknowledgment

We are very thankful to all participants of the study and those who assisted in data collection, namely, Jennifer Nyagbenu, Mavis Mansah Akortia, Richmond Owusu, Francis Adane, Gifty Akafabli Anambane, Thomas Agyekum Kyeremeh, Emmanuel Mensah, Clement Adomah, Stella Quayson and John Azumah.

Funding

This work received funding support from the University of Ghana Business School and the University of Ghana-Carnegie Next Generation of Academics Project.

References

Acharya, A., Vellakkal, S., Taylor, F., Masset, E., Satija, A., Burke, M. and Ebrahim, S. (2012), The impact of health insurance schemes for the informal sector in low-and middle-income countries: a systematic review. *The World Bank Research Observer*, lks009, 1-31.

Adamba, C. (2010), The thrills and tears of National Health Insurance Scheme cardholders in Ghana. Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, Legon, Accra, Ghana, 2-4.

Chankova, S., Atim, C., and Hatt, L. (2010), Impact of Health Insurance in Low-and Middle-Income Countries. Edited by: Griffin C, Escobar ML, Griffin C, Shaw RP. Washington DC: Brookings Institution.

Dalinjong, P. A., and Laar, A. S. (2012), The national health insurance scheme: perceptions and experiences of health care providers and clients in two districts of Ghana. *Health economics review*, 2(1), 1.

Ekman, B. (2007), The impact of health insurance on outpatient utilization and expenditure: evidence from one middle-income country using national household survey data. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 5(1), 1.

Ghana Health Service (2014), Regional Health Directorates. Accra.

Ghana Statistical Service (2015), Ghana Health Service and ICF International

Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (2014), Rockville, Maryland, USA.

Jehu-Appiah, C., Aryeetey, G., Agyepong, I., Spaan, E., and Baltussen, R. (2012), Household perceptions and their implications for enrolment in the National Health Insurance Scheme in Ghana. *Health Policy and Planning*, 27(3), 222-233.

Joint Learning Network. *Ghana: National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS)* [Online]. Available: <http://programs.jointlearningnetwork.org/content/national-health-insurance-scheme-nhis> [Accessed May 24, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *India: Government Health Insurance Programs Profiled* [Online]. Available: <http://programs.jointlearningnetwork.org/content/india> [Accessed May 24, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *Indonesia* [Online]. Available: <http://programs.jointlearningnetwork.org/content/jamkesmas> [Accessed May 24, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *Kenya: National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF)* [Online]. Available: <http://programs.jointlearningnetwork.org/content/national-hospital-insurance-fund-nhif> [Accessed May 27, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *Mali: Mutuelles* [Online]. Available: <http://www.jointlearningnetwork.org/countries/mali> [Accessed May 27, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *Nigeria: National Health Insurance System* [Online]. [Accessed May 24, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *Philippines* [Online]. Available: <http://programs.jointlearningnetwork.org/content/philhealth> [Accessed May 24, 2016].

Joint Learning Network. *Vietnam: Compulsory and voluntary health insurance schemes* [Online]. Available: <http://programs.jointlearningnetwork.org/content/compulsory-and-voluntary-health-insurance-schemes> [Accessed May 24, 2016].

Jutting, J. (2001), The impact of community-based health financing on financial protection: case study Senegal. World Bank Discussion Paper Series on Health, Nutrition and Population.

Lagomarsino, G., Garabrant, A., Adyas, A., Muga, R., and Otoo, N. (2012), Moving towards universal health coverage: health insurance reforms in nine developing countries in Africa and Asia. *The Lancet*, 380 (9845), 933-943.

Macha, J., Harris, B., Garshong, B., Ataguba, J. E., Akazili, J., Kuwawenaruwa, A. and Borghi, J. (2012), Factors influencing the burden of healthcare financing and the distribution of healthcare benefits in Ghana, Tanzania and South Africa. *Health Policy and Planning*, 27: i46-i54.

Mensah, S. A. (2012), Value for Money, Sustainability and Accountability in the Health Sector. A Conference of African Ministers of Finance and Health. Tunis.

Mills, A., Ataguba, J. E., Akazili, J., Borghi, J., Garshong, B., Makawia, S., ... and McIntyre, D. (2012). Equity in financing and use of health care in Ghana, South Africa, and Tanzania: implications for paths to universal coverage. *The Lancet*, 380(9837), 126-133.

Ministry of Health (2004), National Health Insurance Policy Framework for Ghana, Accra.

Musgrove, P., Fox-Rushby, J. and Jamison, D. (2006), Cost-effectiveness analysis for priority setting. Disease control priorities in developing countries, 2.

National Health Insurance Authority (2011), Annual Report. Accra.

National Health Insurance Authority (2013), Annual Report. Accra.

Nguyen, H. T., Rajkotia, Y., & Wang, H. (2011), The financial protection effect of Ghana National Health Insurance Scheme: evidence from a study in two rural districts. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 10(1), 1.

Perez, D., Ang, A., and Vega, W. A. (2009), Effects of health insurance on perceived quality of care among Latinos in the United States. *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 24(3), 555-560.

Saksena, P., Antunes, A. F., Xu, K., Musango, L., and Carrin, G. (2011), Mutual health insurance in Rwanda: evidence on access to care and financial risk protection. *Health Policy*, 99(3), 203-209.

Sepehri, A., Sarma, S., and Simpson, W. (2006), Does non-profit health insurance reduce financial burden? Evidence from the Vietnam living standards survey panel. *Health Economics*, 15(6), 603-616.

Skinner, A. C., and Mayer, M. L. (2007), Effects of insurance status on children's access to specialty care: a systematic review of the literature. *BMC Health Services Research*, 7(1), 1.

Stepurko, T., Pavlova, M., Gryga, I., and Groot, W. (2013), Informal payments for health care services–Corruption or gratitude? A study on public attitudes, perceptions and opinions in six Central and Eastern European countries. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 46(4), 419-431.

United Nations (2015), *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. New York: UN.

Wagstaff, A., and Lindelow, M. (2008), Can insurance increase financial risk? The curious case of health insurance in China. *Journal of health economics*, 27(4), 990-1005.

Witter, S., and Garshong, B. (2009), Something old or something new? Social health insurance in Ghana. *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, 9(1), 1.

World Health Organization (2014), *Health systems financing: the path to universal coverage*. Geneva: WHO.

REDUCING EXCLUSION THROUGH A SOCIAL INTERVENTION PROGRAMME: LESSONS FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS IN GHANA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Imrana Mohammed¹ and George Domfe²

Abstract

Reducing exclusion within and among countries in order to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals in Africa would require basic understanding of the effectiveness of the various policies and programmes currently being implemented to improve welfare. The paper contributes to this discussion through a comparative analysis of the social protection paradigms applied during the era of the Millennium Development Goals in Ghana and South Africa. The authors investigated whether transformative measures such as changing regulatory framework to protect vulnerable groups, operationalizing economic, social and cultural rights of citizens, and public sensitisation campaigns have in-built mechanisms for tackling exclusion. The main approach of the study was a review of empirical literature that has examined the paradigms of social protection in the two countries. The study revealed that investment in education and enforcement of laws on social rights could reduce inequality within and between the two countries. It was therefore recommended that much effort should be made to improve investment in education and enforce laws on social rights in order to achieve better results from the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals in Africa.

¹ PhD Candidate, Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS), University of Ghana. (E-mail: imranamohammed@ymail.com)

² Research Fellow, Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS), University of Ghana. (E-mail: gdomfe@ug.edu.gh).

Keywords: sustainable development goals, social protection, exclusion, paradigms, inequality

Introduction

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which have recently been replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have poverty reduction and social inclusion as their broader focus. For instance, apart from SDGs 4, 5, 8 and 11 which partly deal with issues on inequality, the main focus of SDG 10 is to reduce inequality within and among countries with the intention to improve welfare. However, many developing countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa, are currently experiencing high levels of inequality and social exclusion mainly as a result of the implementation and adoption of policies hugely dominated by neoliberal ideological orientations that emphasise market forces as key drivers of development (Barrientos & Hulme, 2008; Fiorentini, 2015).

In Ghana, for instance, the adoption of a liberal economic agenda under the guise of economic recovery and structural adjustments in the 1980s by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government led to economic stability and minimal growth, with dire consequences on the social lives of Ghanaians including growing income inequality, widespread poverty, and social exclusion, especially among vulnerable groups such as women, rural dwellers, children, and people living with disabilities (PLWDs) (ibid). In South Africa, unbridled poverty, exclusion, and inequality among mostly the black population are the legacies bequeathed to the African National Congress (ANC), the successor government to the racist Apartheid regime (Mkandawire, 2010).

In line with global trends, the two countries have adopted social protection intervention programmes to reduce the social exclusion and inequality. Social protection emerged in current policy discourse as a key strategy against the social cost of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), and other market-focused neoliberal policies embarked upon by

many sub-Saharan African countries since the 1980s. Recent interest in social protection among policy makers gained urgency in the aftermath of SAPs, especially after their failure to reduce poverty and social exclusion (Barrientos & Hulme, 2008). This paper reviews debates on the comparative effectiveness of the various paradigms of social protection in the two countries, especially during the era of implementation of the MDGs. The authors investigated whether transformative measures such as changing regulatory framework to protect vulnerable groups, operationalizing economic, social and cultural rights of citizens, and public sensitisation campaigns have in-built mechanisms for tackling exclusion.

The paper is divided into four sections with the introductory section focusing on the background. This is followed by sections on the methods of the study, results and discussions and conclusion.

Methods

This paper draws on existing literature on social protection and exclusion by practitioners and academics (Adensina, 2010; Sen, 2000; Barrientos and Hulme, 2008; Barrientos, Møller, Saboia, Lloyd-Sherlock and Mase, 2013; Devereux, 2010; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; Doss, Oduro, Deere, Swaminathan, Baah-Boateng and Suchitra, 2015; Holzmann and Jorgensen, 1999; Rawal, 2008; Mkandawire, 2005; Mkandawire, 2010; Nyamu-Musenbi and Cornwell, 2004). Documents by development institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) were used as sources of back-up information. Additionally, documents in the form of institutional reports, and policy research from ministries, departments, and agencies of governments of Ghana and South Africa were also reviewed (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2015; Delany, Ismail, Graham and Ramkissoon, 2008). The search method was mainly internet-based and, as much as possible, only literature relevant to the thematic focuses of the review which are paradigms of social protection and reducing exclusion were selected. The information gathered from the existing

literature intermittently interposed by the authors' analytical commentaries is thematically presented.

Results and Discussions

Social Protection Paradigms

Several decades of doling out development assistance to the poor, vulnerable and the excluded have enabled policy practitioners, academics, and development agencies such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to conceptualise, define and explain social protection along certain paradigms. The African Union (AU) has a Social Policy Framework (SPF) that somewhat vaguely recommends general policy actions that member countries should take as measures to incorporate social protection in national development strategies. These include funding social protection through national budget and reviewing and reforming existing social protection programmes (African Union, 2008).

The World Bank (2001) considered social protection as a collection of measures to improve or protect human capital, ranging from labour market interventions, publicly mandated unemployment or old-age insurance to targeted income support. Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler moved a step further and defined social protection as:

All public and private initiatives that provide income or consumption transfers to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks, and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised; with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups (2004:8).

In the view of Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004), social protection interventions should be able to assist individuals, households, and communities to better manage income risks that may leave people vulnerable. This definition of social protection is still relevant in its

recognition of social transformation as a fundamental element in social protection practice.

In an attempt to give the so-called 'human face' to the Structural Adjustment Programme, the World Bank came out with the Social Risk Management (SRM) as a paradigm in social protection. The SRM, according to Holzmann and Jorgensen (1999), consists of public measures intended to assist individuals, households, and communities in managing risk in order to reduce vulnerability and improve consumption smoothing while contributing to development in a participatory manner. Until recently when people begun to question the validity of how the Bank conceptualises vulnerability, the SRM as reflected in a wide range of policy interventions, remained the dominant paradigm of social protection.

The SRM seems to make a shift from the World Bank's original safety net approach which limited social protection to assistance in the form of food aid and cash transfer to the extremely poor to a broader strategy that combines labour market interventions including policies to promote full employment and social insurance for the working class. Again, the SRM mainly used strict targeting based on means testing to access beneficiaries of social assistance, which has led the World Bank to conceive social protection as something only good for the critically poor and other people who suffer economic vulnerability. By and large, what is critically missing in the World Bank's Social Risk Management is the concern for equity and social justice which when addressed could better reduce social exclusion and ultimately ameliorate levels of poverty and inequality.

Due to the narrow lenses with which the World Bank defined and conceptualised social protection, other agencies and organisations have come out with frameworks that encompass a wider range of vulnerability and deprivation. For instance, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has defined social protection as the provision of benefits to individuals and families through public or collective efforts to protect or

prevent them from worsening living standards. Based on this definition, the ILO came up with a framework that categorised social protection under three headings, namely (i) protective; (ii) preventive; and (iii) promotive measures (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004).

Protective measures seek to provide relief from deprivation. Protective measures are narrowly targeted safety net interventions that aim to provide relief from poverty and deprivation to the extent that promotional and preventive measures have failed to do so. The protective approach includes social assistance, for example, cash transfer for the “chronically poor”, especially those who are unable to work and earn a living.

Preventive measures refer to measures that avert deprivation. Social interventions under this category deal directly with poverty alleviation. They include social assistance for economically vulnerable groups such as retirees, widows, and the seasonally unemployed who have fallen or might fall into poverty, and may need support to help them manage their livelihood shocks. Another intervention under this paradigm is social insurance for the working class to deal with livelihood risks.

Promotive measures aim to provide opportunities and enhance real incomes and capabilities of the poor. These are achieved through a range of livelihood-enhancing programmes targeted at households and individuals, such as microfinance, school feeding, and immunisation for children against childhood diseases.

Although the ILO framework, like the SRM, seems to have reduced social protection to safety net measures to tackle deprivation and vulnerabilities among the chronically poor, or at best prevent ‘worsening living conditions’, it has at least classified a gradation of measures beginning from protective to progressively bigger domains. The ILO framework, to some extent, better addresses the notion of vulnerability and inclusion than the SRM in the sense that it explains and suggests that deprivation should be tackled along multiple lines ranging from

providing relief to the vulnerable for which protective measures are applied and averting deprivation for which preventive interventions are used, to providing opportunities and enhancing the capabilities of the poor for which promotive measures are implemented. The SRM, however, focused largely on income and consumption poverty.

Despite the comparative conceptual superiority of the ILO framework over the SRM, Adesina (2010) and Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) argued that these two dominant paradigms seem to have taken their roots from the classical Poor Law traditions of British social policy that have in modern times resurrected in neoliberal thinking that informs international, multilateral and bilateral relationships in development community. In practice, the two paradigms, like their classical predecessor, the Poor Laws, are largely characterised by a focus on the extremely poor and the most vulnerable. They further give recognition to heavy targeting mechanisms such as means-testing for getting beneficiaries of social assistance, which in effect limits the vision of social protection to merely remedial measures at addressing poverty. It is the position of this paper that because of the dominance of the SRM, global policy choices on social protection have largely emphasised conditional and non-conditional cash transfers as the means of addressing exclusion, poverty and vulnerability.

Advancing the argument that the safety net approach is not a comparatively effective means of reducing poverty, vulnerability, and exclusion, Adensina (2010) and Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) argued that neoliberal thinking manifested in safety nets paradigms of social protection seems to conceive the social as the flip side of the economic. Doss et. al (2015) did a gendered analysis of shocks, assets and social protection in Ecuador, Ghana and India and identified the need for social protection on the welfare losses associated with market failure and imperfect markets. According to this narrow perspective on social protection, if there were perfect credit markets, individuals affected by adverse shocks would have the opportunity to smooth consumption. In other words, neoliberal thinking that dominates debates

in the 1990s on models of social protection largely conceived social problems as the outcomes of poor implementation of economic policies as the World Bank sought to argue in defence of the failures of the Structural Adjustment Programmes. Deep rooted social relationships that structurally consign the poor to deprivation and exclusion are hardly mentioned in the World Bank's social protection discourse.

The shortcomings of the SRM and the ILO framework in reducing exclusion have been the reason why Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004) set the agenda for Transformative Social Protection as a paradigm that better reduces exclusion. They argued that the wide range of interventions that constitute social protection go beyond mere resource transfer. Pushing forward the case for transformative measures, these proponents assert that protecting people from vulnerability requires that structural causative factors that are deeply embedded in the socio-political context of society are well addressed.

Transformative social protection seeks to tackle concerns of social inequity and exclusion, such as actions for workers' rights and upholding human rights for minority groups. Measures in this model include changing the regulatory framework to address the exclusion of socially vulnerable groups such as victims of domestic violence, PLWDs, as well as educational campaigns seeking to change the attitudes of people towards social equity. For instance, Finkel and Ernst (2005) found that school-based civic education is a social transformation measure that played an important role in ensuring racial integration in Post-Apartheid South Africa. These authors added that civic education in South Africa helped shape the structure of students' orientation towards democratic values such as tolerance, trust, and respect for human rights. In the political context of South Africa, social change and inclusion have been partly achieved through public sensitisation as proposed in Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004).

Reflecting on social protection in a Pan-African context, Adesina (2010) came up with the Nationalist Model driven by the assumption that

independence is the first step to post-colonial reconstruction. He did not give much explanation to this typology, but the conceptual inferences are fairly obvious in the struggle for self-rule by sub-Saharan African countries in the 1950s and 1960s when African leaders, notably Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and later Nelson Mandela of South Africa, pressed home for unconditional political and economic independence. Aside the revolutionary approaches rooted in Marxist tactics such as boycotts, demonstrations, and other civil engagements that these African leaders used in the struggle for independence, they adopted several generous social interventions including free education, healthcare, and housing during the early post-independence years.

Theorists of social protection (Barrientos & Hume, 2008; Adesina, 2010; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004) posited that although safety net measures are important, achieving sustainable poverty reduction requires transformative policy prescriptions that should build the productive capacities of the poor, enhance their citizenship entitlements and participation, and generally improve their social conditions so as to ensure their inclusion as equal citizens. Adesina (2010) reinforced this position that the most powerful social instruments in achieving protection against economic shocks do not start off as safety net measures. Investing in life-long education, for example, plays an instrumental role in delivering long term inclusion.

The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, for instance, requires the country's legislature to enact laws which are reasonably necessary for the implementation of policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economic or educational imbalance in the Ghanaian society. This legal provision has been used as a bargaining chip to demand inclusion for marginalised groups in public life of the country. Constitutional arrangements strengthened by several international frameworks such as the Beijing Platform of Action have resulted in concrete affirmative action policies that have enhanced the status of the girl-child, women, and other deprived groups in Ghana. As stated earlier, SRM and the ILO

frameworks use heavy targeting of vulnerable people for social assistance, and this sometimes comes with stigmatisation, because the resource transfer approach to inclusion sometimes makes the poor depend on the benevolence of the rich.

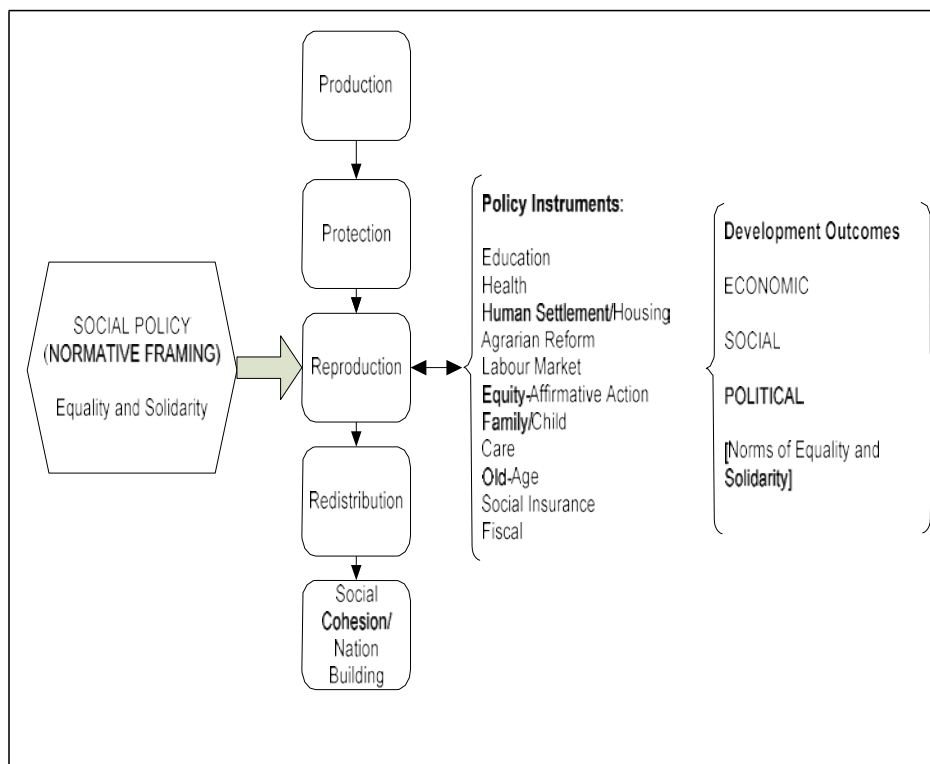
It has been argued that Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler's (2004) transformative measures are not new. For instance, Adesina (2010) explained that transformative approaches have been suggested in earlier propositions such as the Beveridge Report which had for many years been the blue print of British social policy and which highlights full employment as a better way of changing the situations of the poor people. Beveridge's German counterpart, the Bismarck Report proposed industrialisation as a major step in enhancing the living conditions of Germans.

Figure 1 shows the relationships among the ideational (normative) basis of transformative social protection, its multidimensional functions, the range of instruments used in the model, as well as the development outcomes it produces. Transformative policy serves productive, protective, redistributive, and nation-building functions. The model uses a collection of instruments such as education, health care, housing resettlement, agrarian reforms, labour market interventions, affirmative action, and child care measures. The broader policy outcomes of this paradigm are social, economic, and political inclusion that emphasise equity and solidarity.

On the whole, it is worthy to acknowledge that all the above discussed paradigms have mutually reinforcing effects on one another. Promotive measures, if properly combined with transformative ones, could better reduce exclusion. Also, safety net interventions could serve as stop gap measures in the process of social transformation and inclusion. However, if not handled properly, some forms of social assistance could have a corrosive effect in reducing inclusion because they may perpetrate dependency and reinforce social hierarchies.

Figure 1: Transformative Social Policy: norms, function, instruments and out-comes

Figure 1: Transformative Social Policy: norms, function, instruments and out-comes



Source: Adesina (2010).

Reducing Exclusion in Ghana and South Africa

Contemporary debates on social exclusion trace the historical discourse to French politician Rene Lenoire, who in 1974 used the concept to refer to the need to improve the living conditions of the physically disabled, the mentally disabled, and the “socially maladjusted,” that is, those who the plummeting economy of France at that time had left behind. In more

recent usage, social exclusion has taken a broader meaning to include those who are unable to participate meaningfully in the economic, social, cultural, and political life of a society.

Social exclusion, like many academic concepts, has several explanations. Rawal (2008) defined social exclusion as the process through which individuals and groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. Social inclusion is a multidimensional concept. For that matter several important living condition variables are used as explanatory proxies. These include exclusion from citizenship rights, exclusion from labour market, and exclusion from participating in civil society. Beyond this recent notion about the origin of the concept, Sen (2000) explained that social exclusion has earlier been espoused in the writings of theorists such as Aristotle and Adam Smith. The Aristotelian perspective of exclusion is that an impoverished person lacks the freedom to make choices in his/her life, that is, a person who lives in deprivation could be excluded from wide range of activities such as employment, health care, and other social services. To Adam Smith exclusion means not being able to appear in public without shame. This, if analysed in the current context, could imply one's inability to access social services such as health care and education.

Khan, Combaz and McAslan (2015:4) outlined a modern perspective on the concept of social exclusion: There is agreement, however, that social exclusion is multidimensional:

it encompasses social, political, cultural and economic dimensions, and operates at various social levels. It is dynamic, in that it impacts people in various ways and to differing degrees over time. It is also relational: it is the product of unequal power relations in social interactions.

In other words, social inclusion has many dimensions and can affect different people in many ways at different times.

Ghana and South Africa both have pockets of their population, especially women, people with disabilities and HIV/AIDS, the aged, children, and ethnic minorities suffering various forms of exclusion on the economic, political, and cultural fronts. In Ghana, as in many African countries, prior to independence, social protection as a tool for ensuring inclusion had largely been confined to informal kinship reciprocity based on social solidarity and religious-based interventions (Kumado and Gockel, 2003). While vulnerable and poor people mostly relied on family support as a means of coping with livelihood shocks, formal social protection was largely in the realms of religious institutions, mostly churches which built schools, orphanages, and health facilities to cater for the social needs of the people. At the centre of the struggle for independence was the absence of social security in the form of pension and reintegration packages for Ghanaian soldiers who fought on the side of Great Britain during World War II. The demand from the ex-service men for resettlement packages from the colonial government culminated in a riot on 28th February 1948 which resulted in the unfortunate shooting of three veteran soldiers. This event that raised the tempo of the fight for independence should not be left out in conversations about social inclusion in Ghana.

Subsequent to the attainment of self-rule, President Kwame Nkrumah (the first Republican President of Ghana), based on his socialist ideological orientation, made significant investments in education, health, and import substitution industrialisation, as means of addressing social exclusion, poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy. Notable among social interventions that sought to reduce exclusion were series of affirmative action policies including the Northern Scholarship Scheme for secondary education for people from the northern parts of the country which used to be a reservoir for cheap labour during colonial rule. The COCOBOD Scholarship Scheme that benefits children of cocoa farmers, mostly rural dwellers whose offspring have limited access to formal education is another case in point. To enhance the inclusion of women in politics, the Convention People's Party (CPP) government earmarked one seat each in the country's legislature to be occupied by women for

all the regions in the country, and this enhanced women's representation in the national government. However, the state dominated economy that rested on a vast small holding peasantry and large numbers of state-run import substitution industries faced a major crisis in the mid-1960s.

Under the weight of growing population, unemployment, widespread poverty, increasing cost of oil imports, and widening trade deficits, the state could not sustain most the generous social services which were delivered largely free of charge. By the mid-1980s Ghana responded positively to the new economic dogma of neoliberalism. The adoption of a liberal economic agenda under the guise of economic recovery and structural adjustment by the PNDC government was the consequence. While the reforms led to moderate economic stability and minimal growth, their negative impacts on the social lives of Ghanaians have been far reaching: growing income inequality, widespread poverty, decline or stagnation in real wages, steady devaluation of the local currency, growing rural-urban disparities, and withdrawal of subsidies on social services including health and education (Sowa, 2002). Realising that the Structural Adjustment Programmes did not yield much social dividend, but have, in fact, worsened the conditions of the majority of Ghanaians by reducing their capacity to access a wide range of social services including education and health care, the architects of the reforms decided to add a social protection dimension.

The Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) was added to the policy as a safety net project designed to mitigate the sufferings of the ordinary Ghanaian. This programme failed to reduce exclusion, partially because the funds supplied for the projects were poorly managed, and more importantly because PAMSCAD was supply-oriented, that is to say, that the programme arose out of the whims and caprices of donors with rarely any ownership by the Government of Ghana (Sowa, 2002).

The return to constitutional rule in 1992 brought back social protection as a tool for reducing exclusion on the political agenda. The landmark

was the adoption of the National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) in 2007 with a broader vision that takes social protection beyond income support to include the strengthening of social cohesion, human development, livelihoods and protection of rights and entitlements. However, the implementation of this policy document has so far focused on aspects of economic and livelihood vulnerabilities. The Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), a flagship programme under the NSPS, had focused mostly on interventions such as cash transfer to the aged, people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWAs) and orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs), and does not emphasise transformative measures.

Unfortunately, in recent times, these programmes have faced several implementation challenges resulting from the withdrawal of donor support in the case of the school feeding Programme in Ghana, for instance; the inability of the central government to reimburse service providers for money owed them under the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), and unbridled corruption as in the case of the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA). Additionally, Ghana has a considerable number of legal instruments to protect citizens from discrimination and reduce exclusion. Indeed, the country has been applauded for creating an elaborate legal architecture for the inclusion and integration of excluded groups. However, there are serious challenges in accessing justice, which include lack of political will on the part of the political class, corruption in the justice system, and low capacity of citizens to demand their rights (GHDR, 2007)

Ghana, in 2016, replaced the NSPS with the Ghana National Social Protection Policy (GNSPP) (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, 2015). The key social intervention foci of the GNSPP are: Livelihoods Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), Labour Intensive Public Works (LIPW), National Health Insurance Exemptions, The Ghana School Feeding Programme, Education Capitation Grant and the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA).

On the other hand, South Africa has since independence in 1994 used social policy to achieve overtly political goals, especially redressing historical injustices and inequalities, legacies the ANC inherited from the Apartheid government that had ruled the country for several decades (Devereux, 2010). The political change in South Africa has led to a renewed social contract between citizens and government with a growing impetus for social assistance as a major tool for redressing social and racial inequities (Barrientos, Møller, Saboia, Lloyd-Sherlock and Mase, 2013). Progressively, the government raised budget allocations for social assistance programmes and passed several pieces of progressive legislation to address exclusion.

On the safety net front, South Africa has been implementing a lot of social security programmes. Devereux (2010) stated that between 2010 and 2011 the South African government had allocated 3.5% of her Gross National Product (GDP) to social assistance, notably the Child Support Grant, Disability Grant, Older Persons Grant, and War Veterans Grant. Although these interventions have achieved moderate successes such as ensuring food security, increasing school enrolment, and generally improving the living conditions of the poor, they have been criticised for reinforcing dependency and creating paternalism between state and citizens. For instance, anecdotal narrations point to the generous Child Support Grant as part of the causes of the increasing levels of fertility among Black South African teenagers who see child-bearing as a way of getting economic support from government.

Another weakness of the South African social protection is limited social security for the working group poor aged from 18 to 60 years who are relatively uncovered by either social assistance or social insurance or both. The National Unemployment Insurance Fund excludes the majority of the South African working class who work in casual employment or are self-employed. Many unemployed South Africans survive on family support which is often subsidised by social assistance intended for children, PLWDs, and the aged. This leads to the diversion of public

transfers from intended beneficiaries, thereby compromising the impact of social grants on recipients (Devereux, 2010).

Delany, Ismail, Graham, & Ramkisson (2008) reported in an impact assessment of the South African Child Support Grant (CSG) that some recipients of the cash transfers have partly diverted the funds to unintended purposes such as payment for electricity, purchasing of groceries for the entire household, and taking care of unemployed members of the household. The portion of the report that examined the uses of the CSG explained that about 51% of recipients indicated pooling at least a portion of the grant to cover household expenses, while 53% reported using the grant exclusively for the welfare needs of the child. Additionally, in Limpopo, a recipient spoke of getting the grant so that 'you can help buy food at home'. Several spoke of using the money to buy groceries for the household, or to pay expenses such as electricity because of the lack of other income.

Comparatively, both Ghana and South Africa fundamentally attempt to reduce social exclusion through protective, preventive, and promotional measures that are in tandem with safety net approaches of the World Bank and the ILO. Regulatory frameworks to address social imbalances exist as paper tigers that seem effective on their face value but are incapable of yielding the desired results. In the face of affirmative action policies seeking to increase women's participation in politics, Ghanaian women are hugely under-represented in political office, mainly due to the fact that structural barriers to inclusion persist, party meetings are held at awkward hours and in an unfriendly environment, making it difficult for women to attend. The few who defy the odds and participate in high profile political offices are mostly stigmatised and verbally abused sometimes without any provocation. This had made it difficult for the country to achieve the Commonwealth's threshold of at least 30% representation for women in member countries' legislatures. In South Africa, social legislation such as the Determination for Domestic Workers Act is flouted with impunity due to power imbalances between employers and employees who cannot afford to lose their jobs and join

the large team of unemployed youth of the country. Devereux (2010) explained that between 1994 and 2004, about one million workers have been evicted from farms in spite of the Sectorial Determination for Farm Workers Law that emphasises employees' rights.

However, South Africa seems to have a more stable funding for social interventions mainly because funding for social protection is from the government's budget, unlike Ghana that depends on donor agencies to fund most of her programmes. By and large, the steady expansion in social assistance in both Ghana and South Africa is paralleled by persistent inequalities and exclusion because social policies in both countries largely favour a welfarist response to poverty rather than tackling structural causes of deprivation.

The two countries have used several social protection instruments which are a combination of the safety nets, nationalist, and transformative paradigms discussed earlier to tackle exclusion. However, from the perspective of both transformative and protective paradigms (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004; Adesina, 2010), investment in education appears to be a better approach to dealing with the problem of exclusion in Ghana and South Africa. For instance, social intervention programmes in education could provide opportunities for the poor to move away from poverty. Additionally, enforcement of laws on social inclusion will reinforce the existing efforts put in place in the two countries to reduce poverty while ensuring social inclusion.

Conclusion

Both Ghana and South Africa made some gains in poverty reduction during the implementation of the MDGs through social intervention initiatives. However, the interventions, even though merchandised in Africa, were mostly donor-driven and could have the unfortunate effect of undermining long-term development prospects of poor countries. The paper therefore concludes with a suggestion that the implementation of broader home-grown social policy measures could provide better outcomes for Ghana and South Africa than the donor-driven and

externally controlled safety net approaches. This means that an all-inclusive social policy measure is what is needed to spur Africa on to achieve the SDGs.

Additionally, the paper found that transformative social protection that seeks to tackle concerns of social inequity and exclusion has in-built mechanisms for reducing exclusion. For instance, African countries could successfully deal with poverty and social exclusion if they emphasised basic education and literacy as the prime movers of change.

Again, the likelihood of social protection programmes to succeed will largely depend upon the agenda-setting process at the local level. The decision to introduce a particular intervention should emerge from domestic policy discourse that reflects indigenous political priority; for instance, donor support should be welcomed but not to the extent that it can compromise the long term prospects of the programme.

Last, but not least, the agriculture sector of many African countries has historically played a significant role in poverty reduction but has generally lacked explicit policy measures. Increasing agricultural productivity during the implementation of the SDGs will go a long way to promote and sustain an all-inclusive growth to reduce inequalities and social exclusion. For instance, technological innovations in agriculture could be used as a response to adverse climatic conditions for rural dwellers to be protected against vulnerability to climate change and market volatility.

References

Adesina, O. J., (2010), Rethinking the Social Protection Paradigm: Social Policy in Africa's Development, Dakar: A report presented at a conference for promoting resilient through social protection in sub-Saharan Africa. Organised by the European Report of Development.

African Union, (2008), Social Policy Framework for Africa, Addis Ababa: An African Union report prepared for the AU Conference of

Ministers in Charge of Social Development in Windhoek, Namibia between 27th to 31st October, 2008.

Barrientos, A. & Hulme, D., (2008), *Social Protection for the Poor in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quite Revolution* Brooks World Poverty Institute(BWPI) Working Paper 30, University of Manchester, UK.

Barrientos, A., Møller, V., Saboia, J., Lloyd-Sherlock, P., & Mase, J. (2013), 'Growing' social protection in developing countries: Lessons from Brazil and South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 30 (1): 54–68.

Delany, A., Ismail, Z., Graham, L., & Ramkissoo, Y. (2008), *Review of the Child Support Grant: Uses, Implementation and Obstacles*. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Johannesburg: Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE).

Devereux , S., (2010), *Building Social Protection Systems in Southern Africa*, Brighton: Report prepared in the framework of the European Report on Development.

Devereux , S. & Sabates-Wheeler, R., (2004), *Transformative Social Protection*, Brighton, Sussex: Institute of Development Studies Working Paper 232.

Doss, C., Oduro, A. D., Deere, C. D., Swaminathan, H., Baah-Boateng, W., & Suchitra, Y. J. (2015), *Shocks, Assets, and Social Protection: A Gendered Analysis of Ecuador, Ghana, and Karnataka, India*. Discussion Paper. New York.

Finkel, S. E. & Ernst, H. R., (2005), *Civic Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Alternative Paths to the Development of Political Knowledge and Democratic Values*. *International Society of Political Psychology*, 20(3): 333-364.

Fiorentini, R., (2015), Neoliberal Policies, Income Distribution Inequality and the Financial Crisis. *Forum for Social Economics*, Vol. 45 (2):115-132.

Holzmann, R. & Jorgensen, S., (1999), Social Protection as Social Risk Management: Conceptual Underpinnings for the Social Protection Sector. *Journal of International Development*, 11: 1005-1027.

Khan, S., Combaz, E. & McAslan Fraser, E. (2015), Social exclusion: topic guide revised edition. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

Kumado, K. & Gockel, A. F., (2003), A Study on Social Security in Ghana, Accra: An Unpublished Report, University of Ghana.

Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. (2015), Ghana National Social Protection Policy. Final Draft. Accra, Ghana: Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection.

Mkandawire, T., (2005), Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation *Africa Development*, 30 (1 & 2). 1-33.

Mkandawire, T., (2010), How the New Poverty Agenda Neglected Social and Employment Policies in Africa. *Journal for Human Development and Capabilities*, 11(1): 37-55.

Nyamu-Musenbi, C. & Cornwell, A., (2004), What is the "rights-based approach" all about? Perspectives from International Development Agencies. IDS Working Paper, Sussex, England: Institute of Development Studies.

Rawal, N., (2008), Social Inclusion and Exclusion: A Review. *Dhulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 2: 161-180.

Sen, A., (2000), *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny*, Manila: Asian Development Bank, Social Development Papers No. 1.

Sowa, N. K., (2002), *An Assessment of Poverty Reducing Policies and Programmes in Ghana*. MIMAP Ghana Working Paper. Center for Policy Analysis, Accra.

World Bank (2001), *Social Protection Sector Strategy: From Safety Net to Springboard*, Washington, DC, USA: Department of Social Protection, World Bank.

GREEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA: A REVIEW

Benjamin Bilalam Jabik¹ and Simon Bawakyillenuo²

Abstract

Market-led strategies for growth and development have resulted in negative externalities at the various stages of production and consumption cycle, leading to the destruction of the environment, with negative consequences for sustainable development. Prior to the emergence of sustainable development, economic development, which was geared more towards economic growth paid less attention to externalities. Since 1983, vibrant and competitive private sector; and entrepreneurship approaches have been tapped in Ghana for the creation of jobs and employment. These, coupled with other factors, transitioned the country to middle-income status in 2011. The undue focus on a competitive private sector without prudent practices of sustainability has led to over exploitation and use of natural resources and this has caused deforestation, land degradation, air and water pollution, soil erosion, overgrazing and destruction of bio-diversity. These effects are estimated to cost about 10% of the country's GDP annually. Green entrepreneurship is very vital for addressing these challenges and the eradication of poverty. Using a desk study approach, this paper assesses how Ghana can harness the innovative potentials of green entrepreneurship to foster the attainment of sustainable development.

Keywords: Green economy, green entrepreneurship, sustainable development, environment

¹ Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana (E-mail: benjamin.jabik@yahoo.com).

² Research Fellow, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), University of Ghana (E-mail: bawasius@isser.edu.gh).

Introduction

Green entrepreneurship is a developmental approach that generates new products, services, techniques and organisational modes that substantially reduces negative environmental externalities and increases the quality of life (Schaper, 2002). It promotes the development of economies through green approaches which have minimal effect on the environment. In an era when sustainable development (SD) has become a global concern, green entrepreneurship has a significant role to play in the achievement of the SD goals.

Environmental degradation is one of the most prominent global issues of concern in the 21st century. Market-led strategies for growth and development in the past have led to increases in negative externalities at the various stages of the production and consumption cycle. These externalities have caused irreparable damage to the environment with negative consequences for sustainable development (Pastakia, 2002). Academics, policymakers, non-governmental agencies and governments are all concerned about the increasing levels of these externalities (Volery, 2002; IPCC, 2007; UNEP, 2015). Incidences including drought, floods, storms and heat waves for instance, have diminished the vitality and sustainability of various economies (IPPC, 2007).

The long-term sustainability of an economic system does not depend solely on its quantitative growth, but also on the ecological aspects as well (Klimova and Zitek, 2011). Additionally, in order to achieve sustainable development, sustainable wealth creation or “value-capture” is crucial, (Marsden and Smith, 2004). It is, therefore, critical that entrepreneurial initiatives take into account the ecological, human and social dimensions. Approaching entrepreneurship from this perspective aligns it with the Green Growth development pathway.

Natural resources have been pivotal for the socio-economic development efforts of Ghana since the pre-independence era (Government of Ghana, 2010; UNEP, 2012). This development effort underpinned the country’s transition to a middle-income status in 2011. Policy initiatives including

accelerated growth through modernised agriculture, and vibrant and competitive private sector development supported the process (IMF, 2006). While the focus on the competitive private sector was laudable, there was less emphasis on sustainable exploitation of the natural resources. Thus, this pathway to the country's socio-economic development has resulted in high levels of deforestation, land degradation, air and water pollution, soil erosion, overgrazing, and destruction of biodiversity (Government of Ghana, 2010). For instance, the country has been experiencing persistent environmental degradation that costs approximately ten percent (10%) of its annual GDP (UNEP, 2012). As part of enhancing the private sector to shore up development in the country, entrepreneurship has also been promoted since 1983, through the enactment of various pieces of legislation such as Act 434 of 1981 that established the National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI) in 1985, and Act 865 of 2013 that established the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC). Notwithstanding the contribution of entrepreneurs to economic growth, the present entrepreneurial activities are deleterious to the environment.

Using a review approach, this paper assesses the extent to which green entrepreneurship could foster the achievement of a green economy in Ghana, which will, in turn, bolster the achievement of the sustainable development goals (SDGs). The paper is structured into five main sections. Section one covers the background of the paper, theoretical underpinnings and analytical framework. Section two elaborates on the concepts of green entrepreneurship and green economy as well as their existing synergies. In section three, drivers of green entrepreneurship in an economy and the anticipated benefits of green growth in Ghana are examined. Section four encapsulates the conditions necessary to stimulate green entrepreneurship, while section five provides the conclusion.

Theoretical Rationale

The ecological modernization (EM) theory provides the basis for green growth, as it emphasises the prioritisation of the environment in the

promotion of economic growth (Mol, 1995). Central to ecological modernization is what Mol (1995) terms “ecological rationality”. In the past, much consideration was given to economic, technological, political and social reasons for making decisions in the era of modernization, which led to environmental problems because these decisions were devoid of ecological rationality (McEwen, 2013). Therefore, transforming central institutions in the society will prevent ecological crisis (Gibbs, 2009). The factors that led to the over-exploitation of natural resources in the past in pursuit of economic growth (Todaro and Smith, 2011) resulted in negative environmental crises and institutional failures. The EM theory, therefore, calls for the transformation of institutions in society in a bid to overcome these ecological crises (McEwen, 2013). This transformation should involve structural reforms and changes at both the macro and micro levels. Accordingly, this process would help to address environmental crises without side-stepping the path of modernization (Gibbs, 2009), since the institutions will reshape various practices, establish new standards, produce more efficient products and use very little resources (McEwen, 2013).

Entrepreneurs are innovators and as society’s needs evolve the entrepreneur has to provide innovative products that will help address emerging challenges. The existing environmental problems call for innovation in entrepreneurial activities, since most of these environmental problems are caused by the applications of outdated, polluting and inefficient technologies (Schaper, 2002). Aligning entrepreneurial activities with EM would lead to greater business efficiency due to reduced pollution and waste production; reduced labour turn-over due to the creation of a better work environment; and potential for increased sales of more ‘environmentally friendly’ products and services (Gibbs, 2009).

Analytical Framework

The analytical framework of the paper is based on the three pillars of sustainable development (SD). The common definition of SD is the one provided by the Brundtland Report of 1987 which indicates that SD is

“development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Keith, 2006 p.3). The increasing concerns of past development have emphasised the need for an interconnection between the environment, social and economic dimensions of development, hence the tri-dimensional concept of SD (Keith, 2006).

The economic dimension of SD in this paper reflects the need to strike a balance between the costs and benefits of economic activities, within the confines of the carrying capacity of the environment (Keith, 2006). Though the unsustainable management of resources in the country has contributed to a high growth in GDP, it has also resulted in numerous environmental challenges. This paper, however, will showcase how green entrepreneurship will foster the economic well-being of the country without jeopardising the social and environmental dimensions. Social sustainability in the analysis will look at how green entrepreneurship will foster the achievement of inclusive growth in Ghana.

The Context of Green Entrepreneurship and Green Economy

Green entrepreneurship and green economy are two distinct paradigms that are necessary for green growth. While green entrepreneurship is a micro-level activity, its success will lead to the achievement of a green economy. This section provides their contextual definitions and how they are interlinked.

Green Entrepreneurship

Green entrepreneurship, also known as environmental entrepreneurship; ethical entrepreneurship, ecopreneurship or eco-entrepreneurship is a relatively new concept (Pataskia, 1998; Schaper, 2002; Schaltegger, 2002). It started gaining ground both in research and practice in the 1990s (Pataskia, 1998). Being a combination of two words (ecological and entrepreneurship), it is seen as an innovative, market-oriented and personality-driven form of value creation or addition through

environmental innovations and products all of which exceed the start-up phase of an entity (Schaltegger, 2002). Pataskia (1998), on the other hand, describes it as producers or service providers whose products or services generate positive externalities at various stages of the production-consumption cycle. Green entrepreneurs are new breeds of entrepreneurs that fuse environmental issues with an entrepreneurial spirit, leading to a reorganised ecological society and environmental sustainability (Kirkwood and Walton, 2010; Bell, 2004).

Green entrepreneurs pursue environmentally-centered business opportunities, which show good returns on investment (Volery, 2002). For instance, farmers who engage in ecological farming give a lot of consideration to the natural capacity of plants and animals, thereby reducing the production and use of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and drugs whose production and use are detrimental to the environment. This implies that green entrepreneurs do not only achieve business objectives through an environmentally sustainable approach, but also indirectly contribute to the decline of environmentally harmful entities in an economy.

For the purpose of this study, green entrepreneurship is described as a multitude of innovations, practices and behavioural change both in the public and the private sectors that promote sustainability as a core component of their identity. It is characterised by a change in both public and private investment and management, policy directions and concerns towards ecologically-sound practices.

Green Economy

Green economy (GE) is recognised as one of the important pathways to SD (UNEP, 2015). It has the goal of transitioning towards development that result in improved human well-being and social equity, and of significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities (UNEP, 2010). An economy could be considered as green when there is improved human well-being and social equity, coupled with a reduction in environmental risks and ecological scarcities (UNEP 2011). UNEP

(2015) described GE as an economy where improvement in income and employment is driven by reallocation of industries to reduce carbon emissions and pollution, enhance energy and resource efficiency, and prevent losses of biodiversity and ecosystem services in the production cycle. In such economies, investments are promoted and supported by specific and focused public expenditure, policy reforms and regulations. A GE development pathway maintains, enhances and, where necessary, rebuilds natural capital as a critical economic asset for public benefits, especially for the poor whose livelihoods and security depend strongly on nature (UNESCO, 2011).

Synergy between Green Entrepreneurship and Green Economy

While GE is a major concern for achieving SD, green entrepreneurship is a fundamental contributor to the achievement of GE. With the growing advocacy for SD as a global priority, researchers, policy makers, and entrepreneurs themselves have questioned the role entrepreneurship can play in the achievement of its goals (Parrish 2010).

Green entrepreneurs destroy existing conventional production methods, products, market structures and consumption patterns and replace them with superior environmental products and services (Schaltegger 2002). Green entrepreneurship introduces new approaches to production that reduce externalities such as water pollution and soil erosion, maximise organic inputs and deliver high productivity and better incomes in an economy (UNESCO, 2011). The inculcation of green entrepreneurship in companies and corporations leads to innovations such as recycling, reduction in carbon emissions, efficient energy consumption, and efficient utilisation of resources, which leads to SD (UNESCO, 2011, UNEP, 2013). Arguably, these innovations contribute to job creation; increased productivity; technological innovation; and structural realignments (Parrish 2010). These innovations also promote intergenerational utilisation of resources in an economy.

Drivers and Protocols of Green Growth (GG)

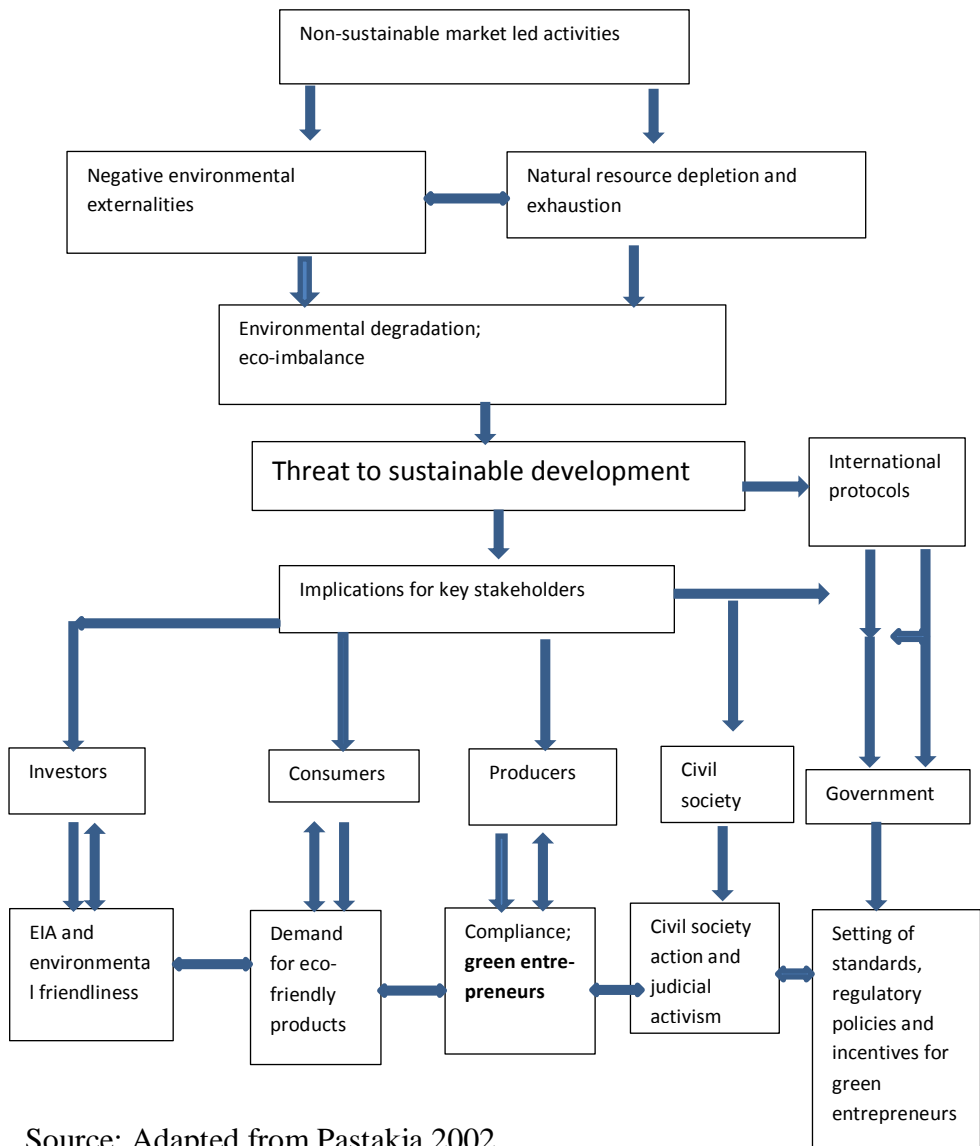
Green growth evolved from consumers and global bodies with an interest in the environment. Mol (1995) argues that many of the greatest environmental problems are global in scope, and so are the greatest environmental solutions. The increased demand for various natural resources globally led to environmental degradation in various forms. As depicted in Figure 1 below, the non-sustainable market-led activities resulted in negative environmental externalities and the depletion of natural resources which threatens SD. Such effects necessitated the formation of international treaties and protocols, which eventually led to the formulation and implementation of environmentally friendly laws and regulations globally (Pastakia, 2002). The Stockholm Conference of Heads of Governments in 1972 signified the beginning of global desire and willingness to make concerted and conscious efforts for environmental management (Schleicher, 1989; Kates et al. 2005; Sachs, 2012). This process was further strengthened by the Earth Summit in Rio twenty years later where the world affirmed the reality that development and environmental issues and goals are one (Government of Ghana, 2010; Sachs, 2012). Besides the protocols, international agencies like the UNEP, UNESCO, World Bank and African Development Bank provide funding and technical support to minimise waste and shift towards cleaner technology.

The unsustainable approach to development has implications for all stakeholders in the management of the environment. The government is required to lead in the promotion of policies that encourage green growth, as well as coordinate effectively, the activities of other stakeholders including the consumers, producers, investors and the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to complement its efforts. For instance, the demand for safe and wholesome food by consumers has been key to the birth of green growth. Organically grown food, certified by established associations that realised the need to adopt eco-friendly methods of production, attracted as much as 30% more revenue from the green consumers (Pastakia, 2002). Lucrative opportunities drive entrepreneurial actions (McEwen, 2013), hence, with the returns on

investment being high, producers will be motivated to increase investment to produce more. This process is illustrated in Figure 1.

As depicted in Figure 1, the processes of promoting green entrepreneurship and ultimately GE globally begin with the international protocols to address issues of unsustainable development. These protocols require various countries to develop standards and legislations through policies that promote green growth. CSOs also contribute to promoting green products through awareness creation and playing the role of watchdogs in the society. All these processes contribute to the achievement of a GE in a country.

Figure 1: Drivers of Green Growth



Source: Adapted from Pastakia 2002

Preconditions for Green Growth

In reviewing the green strategies being implemented by various countries, five main preconditions are imperative for GG as detailed below.

Clear, consistent and coherent policy objectives

The effectiveness of policies is best guaranteed if the policy objectives are stable and predictable (Gan et. al., 2005). The key focus of GG policies essentially is to reduce carbon emissions and contribute to sustainable development through valued outcomes, such as energy security, job creation, poverty alleviation and high economic growth (Resnick et. al. 2012). For these to be achieved, countries must redesign their national strategies in ways that will be inconsistent with natural comparative advantages and past investments (Resnick et. al., 2012), but these strategies must be clear, consistent and coherent (Gan et al., 2005). Policies and practices must deviate from both the prescriptions of conventional development theory and the current development trajectories, as most GG approaches are parallel to previous development agendas such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes, which were motivated by economic management crisis rather than environmental sustainability (Resnick et al., 2012). For instance, Germany with firm support from the electorate, consistently devoted resources to and attained consistent policy objectives on green energy which has contributed to its current energy security status (Gan et al., 2005).

Choice of policy instruments

GG policies are not a win-win policy reform but a reform that advocates the acceptance of short-term adjustment costs in the expectation of long-term gains (Resnick et. al., 2012). The short-term costs often generate anti-reform coalitions, in some cases involving powerful actors that need concurrent intervention to protect their interests (Resnick et. al., 2012). Balancing these differences in interests promotes consistency in policy formulation and implementation as well as private investment. An example of this approach was the introduction of fossil fuel tax in Sweden in the 1970s and the subsequent introduction of feed-in-tariffs

which increased the market share of green electricity as well as reduced its cost (Gan et. al., 2005).

Investment in Research and development

Technology improvement is paramount for successful implementation of GG strategies. Policy support and investment in research and development promote innovations that are relevant for GG. The Netherlands and Germany, for instance, started promoting research and development on green products after the 1973 oil crisis and this was followed by investment in the 1980s (Gan et. al., 2005). However, for developing countries, the adoption of these new technologies will necessitate their importation, which may weaken growth linkages in the short-run. It has also been argued that these new technologies are somewhat expensive and may require high levels of human capital which is short in supply in developing countries (Resnick et. al., 2012).

Broad-based consultation decision-making

Broad-based consultation with different stakeholders during policy formulation provides a concrete basis for effective and efficient policy development (Gan et. al., 2005). In the GG approach, since costs of policies are incurred in the short-term and the benefits occur in the long-run, those who sacrifice may not be those who ultimately gain from policy decisions (Resnick et. al., 2012). They may consider the immediate rather than the long-run effect and this can affect policy implementation if the formulation is not broad based. The success of Germany's renewable energy policy implementation which led to the growth of power generation from renewable sources by 142% between 1991 and 2000 has been attributed to the broad-based discussion on sustainable energy in the 1970s (Gan et. al., 2005).

Capacity building for policy implementation

The success of policy implementation depends largely on existing implementation capacity (Gan et. al., 2005). Thus, GG policies require orientation and capacity development for both investors and project developers through initiatives such as courses, education and exchange

learning. This pre-condition will contribute to consistency and success in policy implementation.

How Green Entrepreneurship could underpin Green Growth in Ghana

Expanding investment in green infrastructure contributes to the achievement of GE, which has implications for sustainable economic development through job creation, energy security, increase in foreign exchange and poverty eradication (Parrish, 2010). Green growth benefits the poorest in society, who rely on natural resources for their well-being. It increases rural employment opportunities stimulated by sustained agricultural productivity, renewable energy development, improved food security and reduced household expenditure due to energy efficiency (UNEP, 2015). These areas are further elaborated below.

Productive Employment Creation and poverty reduction

Green entrepreneurship would enhance the natural capital base that offers an important source of jobs, income and livelihoods for the vast majority of Ghanaians. Natural resource-based sectors such as agriculture, forestry and fisheries remain the largest job providers in the country (ISSER, 2013). In 2010, the agricultural sector alone employed over 42% of the active labour force in the country (GSS, 2013). Small-scale farmers constitute about 80% of this labour force and they rely on the natural environment for their livelihood which is only rain-fed (Government of Ghana, 2010). The enhancement of green entrepreneurial practices such as drip irrigation and sprinklers would create many more jobs within these farming enclaves all year round. Also, the promotion of other green entrepreneurial activities within the agricultural sector such as organic farming and labour intensive farming would contribute to tackling the social problem of unemployment in the country. For instance, in Mauritius, a green economy scenario has indicated that over 25 percent more employment will be created compared to a conventional growth scenario (ILO, 2013), while in South Africa, since 1995, an estimated 486,000 work opportunities have been created in an environmental rehabilitation programme for sustainable

forest management and the reduction of invasive species using a labour intensive approach (UNEP, 2015).

Though agriculture employs a greater proportion of the labour force, its contribution to total output of the country is constantly decreasing (Government of Ghana, 2010). Green entrepreneurship would encourage people into the sector since output would be improved in a sustainable manner, thus leading to inclusive growth. Green entrepreneurship would also lead to stable energy supply, which boosts investor confidence, thus leading to expansion in investment in the industrial and service sectors of the economy. The expansion in investment would, in turn, lead to increase in job creation; poverty reduction; affordable and clean energy supply; decent work and economic growth as well as achieve life on land in the economy.

Increased Income

The adoption of green entrepreneurial approaches in the country could increase income levels of both the government and the private investors. There is a growing demand for green products globally (UNEP, 2013). In 2006, the farm-gate prices of organic pineapple, ginger and vanilla were higher, than conventional products by 300%, 185% and 150% respectively, indicating that green forms of production are highly profitable for producers and local communities (UNEP, 2011). The increase in demand for these products results in an increase in the income of the farmers. Additionally, there would be an increase in government revenue through income tax and export earnings. Green growth investments in water use efficiency, such as drip irrigation and sprinklers, would contribute to water cost savings, thereby improving the overall sectoral performance (UNEP, 2014), and engaging farmers throughout the year.

Increase Foreign Exchange Earnings (Non-Traditional Export)

The global market for green products was projected to grow by 67% between 2011 and 2015 (UNEP, 2013) and Ghana could have benefitted if green development approaches were promoted in the country. Ghana

has seen a remarkable increase in non-traditional exports in recent times (ISSER, 2013). Notwithstanding this increase, a ban has been placed on some of the produce intended for the European market (MOFA, 2015) due to excess concentration of chemical in some of the products. The promotion of green growth practices in the production of green products could help resolve this challenge and increase export opportunities in the country. In 2012, the nontraditional exports in the country declined by 2.4% and this was partly due to the decline in the export of raw agricultural products (6.9%) and semi-processed products (1.83%) (ISSER, 2013).

Sustainable Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation

Climate change effects are heavily felt in Ghana and it is projected that the intensity of climate change is expected to increase over time. There is an increase in the incidence and severity of extreme weather events like drought, floods, rising sea level, pest infestation and shortened rainy season (Government of Ghana, 2010; UNESCO, 2011). The vulnerability of the citizenry to these effects makes climate change adaptation critical for sustaining and improving the wellbeing of the people. Conventional investments to adapt to these challenges are directed towards technology adoption such as the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides, livelihood diversification and shallow irrigation (Laube et al 2011; Bawakyillenuo et al, 2014) in order to close the food need gap. Some of these adaptation practices have a negative impact on soil quality, pollute water bodies and generate a high level of greenhouse gases (GHG) in the medium to long-term (Resnick et. al., 2012).

These negative environmental impacts can be mitigated and the adaptive capacity of people built through the promotion of green growth initiatives such as the use of underground water for irrigation, farmer managed natural regeneration and organic farming. Promoting investment in these sections increases resource conservation, enhances natural capital stocks and increases resilience (UNESCO, 2011), all of which contribute to sustainable climate change adaptation practices.

Green growth initiatives can create multiple environmental benefits including lower greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Ghana's Greenhouse Gas (GHG) total emissions were estimated to be 33.7 million tonnes carbon dioxide equivalent (CO₂e) in 2012 (UNEP, 2015) with the transport sector being one of the biggest emitters in the country. This represents an increase of 136.7 percent of the 1990 level of emissions (Bawakyillenuo and Agbelie 2015). The steady growth in vehicular population, importation of old vehicles and machines, and the shift to cars with high fuel consumption are the main reasons for the increase in emissions, (ISSER, 2013). Promotion of Green growth would help reverse this situation and hence reduce pollution in the country.

Reliable and Sustainable Energy Supply

The supply of reliable, efficient and adequate energy products in an economy promotes development (NDPC, 2011). Ghana's main energy for lighting is generated by hydropower, which is vulnerable to the threat of climate change (Government of Ghana, 2010). Also, the main sources of energy for cooking in Ghana are biomass (firewood and charcoal) (63%), petroleum products (21%) and electricity (16%) (GSS, 2013). This implies that the majority of households in Ghana use unsustainable sources of energy which contribute to more emissions and the depletion of carbon sinks.

The limited power supply as well as the acute electricity supply load shedding commonly known as "dumsor" is a major challenge to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Ghana. Though micro and small enterprises provide about two-thirds of the jobs in Ghana, the acute load shedding regarding electricity supply resulted in losses among these enterprises, ranging between 37 and 48% of their annual sales, (Ackah, 2015). Apart from the losses in sales, jobs were lost. The enhancement of green growth initiatives in the energy sector can boost sustainable development through increases in clean energy supply, energy efficiency practices and the creation of new employment opportunities in the country (UNEP, 2015).

Ghana has huge potential for renewable energy power generation, through its vast solar, biomass and wind resources (Ministry of Energy, 2009 and UNESCO, 2011). Harnessing these potentials would drive economic growth, with significant job creation and environmental gains. By producing energy from locally available renewable sources, Ghana would reduce its dependency on fossil fuel imports and ensure the stability of energy prices (UNEP, 2015). Energy from renewable sources coupled with policy reforms would shift the high consumption of biomass at the household level to other energy sources which are less harmful to the environment. Also investing in renewable energy assets, waste-to-energy plants, and green building designs would shift the dependence on hydro to more reliable sources of energy which are more sustainable.

Sustainable Agricultural Practices and Improve Food and Nutrition Security

Agriculture remains the dominant sector of the Ghanaian economy, accounting for about 42% of employment (GSS, 2013) and contributing about 21.5% of the country's GDP (Government of Ghana, 2015). However, food insecurity remains one of the critical issues in the country, with about 16% of households in the three northern regions of Ghana being food insecure (WFP, 2012). This situation can be attributed to decreasing soil quality, unsustainable farming practices, inappropriate fertilizer usage, decline in the use and length of fallow periods, overgrazing and population pressures (UNESCO, 2011).

In addition, climate change effects on agriculture such as pest infestation, drought, prevalence of diseases and flood have worsened (Government of Ghana, 2010) resulting in poor agricultural productivity. Green growth practices such as efficient underground water use for irrigation, ecological farming practices, organic farming and green manuring require capacity improvement, education and knowledge transfer which are essential for improving agricultural productivity and food utilisation. These practices will counter environmental degradation and increase

productivity, and thereby improve food supply. This will reduce hunger and poverty and promote good health.

Enabling conditions for Green Entrepreneurship to Foster Green Growth in Ghana

Agriculture, forestry, water, waste management and sanitation, energy and extractive industries are the major areas that contribute to deforestation and environmental challenges in Ghana (UNEP, 2013). For green entrepreneurship to flourish these sectors are very critical and, various enabling conditions are indispensable: effective policy options, promotion of both public and private investment, and enhancement of knowledge and skills of the citizenry. The key areas and the enabling conditions for improvement are summarised in Table 1 below. The three main areas to concentrate on under each sector include investment, policy options and capacity development. The investment section focuses on increasing investment opportunities in both public and private sectors. These investments should be promoted by clear and consistent policies. The policy options must also encourage the transfer of technology through capacity building in the country.

Table 1: Enabling Conditions for Green Entrepreneurship Enhancement in Ghana

| Sectors | Enabling conditions | | |
|----------------------|---|--|---|
| | Investment | Policy options | Capacity building |
| Agriculture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Resource efficient technologies (drip irrigation) –Ecological farming practices (agroforestry) –Post-harvest management –Research and development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Market price premium –Removal of perverse subsidies (fertiliser subsidies) –Incentives for organic agriculture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Training on green farming practices –Public awareness on good and harmful practices, and educational initiatives – Post harvest management training –Establishment of demonstration sites |
| Water and sanitation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Upgrade of infrastructure (drains) –Water efficient infrastructure –Non-traditional sources of water (rainwater harvesting, recycling, etc) –Small local water supply systems | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Removal of obsolete subsidies (economic price) –Fiscal measures (tax revenues, tariffs, etc.) to finance water Infrastructure | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Education and information dissemination programmes |
| Forestry | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Protected areas –Planted forests –Farmer managed natural regeneration –Agroforestry –Research on ecosystem services | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Payments for environmental services –Taxes on timber products –Incentives for certified activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Improved information on forest stocks flows and cost-benefit distribution |
| Energy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Research and development –Renewable energy assets (the wind, solar etc) –Clean development mechanism | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Phasing out of harmful subsidies –implementation of the energy investment Act –promotion of energy efficient consumption at the household level –Establishing renewable energy fund –Public and Private | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Demonstration projects –Dissemination of policies |

| | | | |
|---------------|--|---|--|
| | | partnership mechanisms | |
| Building | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Sustainable building materials – Green building design | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Building codes, standards and regulatory enforcement – Energy auditing –Energy or carbon taxes –Grants and rebates –Subsidized loans | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Labelling and certification –dissemination |
| Manufacturing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Energy and water efficient technology –Low carbon emission technology –Environmental impact assessments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Removal of harmful subsidies –Taxation on waste emissions and/or materials extraction –Incentives for green technologies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Consumer awareness |
| Waste | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Collection services –Reclaiming contaminated sites –Recycling of waste –Waste-to-energy plants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –National certification programmes –Volumetric landfill taxes –Pay-as-you-throw (PAYT) –Recycling credit –Waste sorting policy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Training of waste workers |
| Transport | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Higher capacity vehicles –Green vehicles and fuels –Research and development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Congestion charges –Subsidies for low carbon vehicles and transport modes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Public information –Mobility management and driver education |

Source: Adapted from UNEP, 2011

Policies to Enhance Green Entrepreneurship

An enabling policy environment that is sound regulatory frameworks, market mechanisms, infrastructure, and investment in research and development promotes investor interest as well as confidence in the system. Policies that address environmental externalities through full-cost pricing and aligning government and private sector spending with agreed directions will advance green entrepreneurial activities (UNEP, 2015). Appropriate policy options will also address market failure;

resulting in full-cost pricing that reduces undesirable impacts on the society and environment, while offering incentives for economic development. Fiscal policies such as taxes, tariffs on polluting activities and removal of harmful subsidies can also create revenue streams that can be used to enhance desired development (UNEP, 2014). This implies that policy directions in Ghana have to shift from the current trajectory that focuses on growth only.

Important government policy measures such as policies that support organic fertiliser production from waste, incentives for organic agriculture and removal of perverse subsidies can promote sustainable patterns of production and consumption. Such policies would also reduce pressure on government budget and could be used to finance other sectors of the economy.

Also, strengthening the capacities of various institutions is pivotal to the formulation and implementation of strategies and policies that would help initiate innovative green entrepreneurial activities for the achievement of GE and SD in Ghana. A well-coordinated action involving policy and decision makers from many segments of the society in charge of planning and implementation would be instrumental in mainstreaming green policies in national development frameworks and strategies. Participatory approaches involving the private and public sectors, community-based local knowledge and collective forms of stakeholders are crucial for building robust green entrepreneurship in the country.

Investment Options and Capacity Building for Green Entrepreneurship

The promotion of GE in Ghana implies the need to scale up investments, reallocate capital from activities that create pollution and increase environmental risks to areas that stimulate sustainable growth. The government can encourage and promote green entrepreneurial investment by providing incentives and promoting resource efficient technologies such as greener agricultural technologies, renewable energy

and cleaner public transportation systems. The introduction of conducive regulatory and financial frameworks would also stimulate the emergence of micro, small and medium-sized green enterprises to foster sustainable development (UNSEC, 2011). Training in areas such as green farming practices, marketing skills, public awareness creation, labelling and certification would improve the technical knowhow of both producers and consumers.

Conclusion

Green entrepreneurship is fundamental to GE which offers an opportunity for Ghana to achieve inclusive economic and social development in a sustainable manner without a negative effect on the environment. Policy directive and investment promotion towards green approaches such as renewable energy, recycling of waste, water efficient technology, organic farming and green building designs can lead to regaining environmental assets in the country. These practices will promote sustainable development through job creation, sustainable energy supply, equitable resource utilisation, reduced poverty and food and nutrition security which are vital for the achievement of the SDGs. Policy initiatives must change to focus on green approaches and promote investment in areas like research and development, sustainable agriculture, renewable energy, biodiversity management, technology, education and green infrastructure.

References

- Ackah, C. (2015), "Electricity insecurity and its Impact on Micro and Small Businesses in Ghana", (unpublished).
- Anderson, A. R. (1998), Cultivating the Garden of Eden: Environmental entrepreneuring. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 11(2); 135-144.
- Barnes, P. (1994), A new approach to protecting the environment: The European Union's environmental and audit regulation. *Environmental Management and Health*, 5(3): 8-12.

Bawakyillenuo, S., Yaro, J. A. and Teye J. (2014), Exploring the autonomous adaptation strategies to climate change and climate variability in selected villages in the rural northern savannah zone of Ghana, *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability* 21(3):361-382.

Bawakyillenuo, S., and Agbelie, I. (2015), *State of Energy report 2014*, Ga East Municipality. Accra, ISSER: University of Ghana.

Chopra, K. (2014), *Ecopreneurship: Is it a viable business model?* *AE International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 2(3). www.aeph.in

Gan L., Eskeland S. G., and Kolshus H. H. (2005), *Green electricity market development: Lessons from Europe and the US*. Center for International Climate and Environmental Research-Oslo, Norway.

Ghana, Statistical Service (2013), *2010 Population and Housing Census: National Analytical Report*. Accra. Ghana, Statistical Service.

Gibbs, D. (2009), *Sustainability Entrepreneurs, Ecopreneurs and the Development of a Sustainable Economy*. <http://www.greenleaf-publishing.com>

Government of Ghana (2015), *Performance Report on the Budget Statement and Economic Policy of the Republic of Ghana for the 2014 Financial Year*, Ministry of Finance.

Government of Ghana (2010), *Ghana Goes for Green Growth; National engagement on climate change*, Discussion document. Ministry of Environment, Science and Technology, Republic of Ghana.

Government of Ghana (2010), *National Environmental Policy*. Accra, Environmental Protection Agency.

Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (2013), Ghana Social Development Outlook 2012, Legon: University of Ghana, Accra.

Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (2013), Policies and options for Ghana's Economic Development. Third edition, Legon: University of Ghana. Accra.

IPCC (2007), Climate change 2007; Synthesis report, Geneva, Switzerland, IPCC. Available; http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr.pdf (Accessed; 24/5/2016).

Kates R., Parris, M., and Leiserowitz A. (2005), What is Sustainable Development? Goals, Indicators, Values, and Practice, Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development, 47(3): 8–21.

Keith N. (2006), Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development, Commonwealth Secretariat Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London.

Kirkwood, J., and Walton, S. (2010), What motivates ecopreneurs to start businesses? International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior and Research, 16(3): 204-228.

Klimova, V., and Zitek, V. (2011), Ecoinnovations as a result of companies innovations activities. e-leader, Croatia.

Laube, W., Schraven, B. and Awo M. (2011), Smallholder adaptation to climate change: dynamics and limits in Northern Ghana, Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011.

Marsden, T. and Everard, S. (2004), Ecological entrepreneurship: sustainable development in local communities through quality food production and local branding, Geoforum 36: 440–451.

McEwen T. (2013), Ecopreneurship as a Solution to Environmental Problems: Implications for College Level Entrepreneurship Education. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 3(5).

Ministry of Energy (2009), *National Energy Policy*, Revised. Ghana, Accra.

Mol, A. P. J. (1995), *The refinement of production: Ecological modernization theory and the chemical industry*, Utrecht: Van Arkel.

National Development Planning Commission (2006), *Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) (2006 – 2009)*. USA, Washington, D.C.

National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) (2011), *The Implementation of the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda, 2010 – 2013; 2010 Annual Progress Report*. Accra.

National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) (2014), *The Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda, 2013 – 2017*. Accra.

Parrish D. B. (2010), Sustainability-driven entrepreneurship: Principles of organization design, *Journal of Business Venturing* 25: 510–523

Pastakia A. (2002), *Assessing ecopreneurship in the context of developing country; The case of India*, Greenleaf. Available: <http://www.greenleaf-publishing.com> (Accessed: 24/4/2016).

Pastakia, A. (1998), Grassroots ecopreneurs: change agents for a sustainable society, *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 11(2): 157-173.

Post, J. E., and Altman, B. W. (1994), 'Managing the Environmental Change Process: Barriers and Opportunities', *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 7(4): 64-81.

Resnick D., Tarp F., and Thurlow J. (2012), *The Political Economy of Green Growth: Cases from Southern Africa*, *Public Administration and Development*, 32: 215–228.

Sachs D. (2012), *From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals*. New York, Earth Institute, Columbia.

Schaltegger, S. (2002), *A Framework for Ecopreneurship; Leading Bioneers and Environmental Managers to Ecopreneurship*. University of Luneburg, Germany. Available: <http://www.greenleaf-publishing.com> (Accessed: 21/4/2016).

Schaper, M. (2002), The essence of ecopreneurship. *Environmental Entrepreneurship*. GMI (38):26-30. Available: <http://seedconsortium.pbworks.com/w/file/etch/44727174/greenentrepreneurship.pdf> (Accessed: 5/5/2016).

Schleicher, K. (1989), *Beyond Environmental Education: The Need for Ecological Awareness*. *International Review of Education*, 35(3): 257-281.

Todaro, P. M., and Smith, C. S. (2012), *Economic Development*, eleventh edition, Addison-Wesley, Boston Columbus Indianapolis, New York, San Francisco.

United Nations (2013), *Sustainable Economic Challenges: World Economic and Social Survey 2013*. Available: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/2843WESS2013.pdf> (Accessed: 15/5/2016).

UNEP (2011), Towards a Green Economy: Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication. A Synthesis for Policymakers. Geneva, United Nations. Available:http://web.unep.org/greeneconomy/sites/unep.org/greeneconomy/files/field/image/green_economyreport_final_dec2011.pdf (Accessed: 20/6/2016).

UNEP, UNCTAD and UN-OHRLS (2011), Why a green economy matters for the least developed countries. Geneva, United Nations.

UNEP (2012), Environmental Fiscal Reform & A Proposed Carbon Tax. http://www.unep.org/greeneconomy/Portals/88/documents/research_products/Fiscal%20Policies/3_South%20Africa_EFR_Carbon_Tax_UNEP_IMF_GIS_Oct_2012_C_Morden.pdf (Accessed: 17/6/2016).

UNEP (2012), Green Economy Advisory Services: Ghana. Kenya. Geneva: UNEP.

UNEP (2013), Green Economy Scoping Study: Ghana. Geneva: UNEP.

UNEP (2013), Green Economy and Trade – Trends, Challenges and Opportunities. Geneva: UNEP.

UNEP (2014) Green Economy Fiscal Policy Scoping Study: Ghana. Geneva: UNEP.

UNEP (2015), Ghana Solar Export Potential Study. Geneva: UNEP.

UNEP (2015), Building Inclusive Green Economies in Africa Experience and Lessons Learned, 2010- 2015, 50pp. Geneva: UNEP.

UNEP (2015), Indicators for Green Economy Policymaking – A Synthesis Report of Studies in Ghana, Mauritius and Uruguay. 36pp. Geneva: UNEP.

UNESC (2011), A Green Economy in the Context of Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication: What are the Implications for Africa? Seventh Session of the Committee on Food Security and Sustainable Development (CFSSD-7) and the African Regional Preparatory Conference for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20).

UNGA (2015), Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015.

Volery, T. (2002), Ecopreneurship: Rationale, current issues and future challenges. Swiss Research Institute of Small Business and Entrepreneurship, St. Gallen (Switzerland) (pp. 541-553).

World Food Programme (2009), Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis, Ghana. World Food Programme, VAM Food Security Analysis.

World Food Programme (2012), Ghana Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis, Ghana. World Food Programme, VAM Food Security Analysis.

REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS IN GHANA: A STUDY OF NSAWAM MEDIUM SECURITY PRISON

Alex Antwi¹

Abstract

Serving a prison sentence is a conventional treatment of convicts in modern corrections. The objectives include reformation and rehabilitation so that the offenders can lead law-abiding lives after discharge. Yet, some of these offenders re-offend again either once or several times. The questions posed by this paper include the following. What are the major forms of rehabilitation programmes available to offenders in Ghana prisons? Do most offenders have adequate access to this formal institutional support? If so, what are the effects on their attitudes and reintegration? In addressing these questions, a sample of 87 respondents drawn from the Nsawam Medium Security Prison including the recidivists, family members of the recidivists, prison officers, social workers and prison evangelists were purposively engaged in in-depth interviews. The findings suggest that rehabilitation of offenders in Ghana is ineffective due to the absence of offence-focused treatments, inadequate state funding, inadequate skilled personnel, overcrowding and short sentences, lack of interest, inconvenience and security protocol as well as the lack of programme intensity and integrity. The paper recommended that penal reforms in Ghana should shift from being punitive centred to a rehabilitative oriented.

Keywords: Rehabilitation, reintegration, recidivism, prison, penal policy

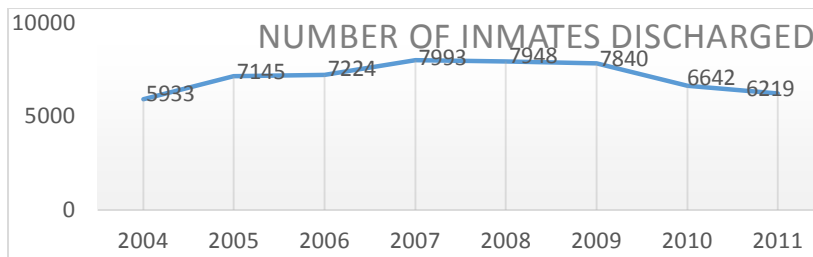
¹ Part-time Lecturer in Sociology, MountCrest University College, Kanda, Ghana (E-mail: alex.antwiboasiako@gmail.com).

Introduction

The dominance of imprisonment in Ghana's penal system cannot be overemphasised. For the past few decades, Ghana has witnessed a drastic increase in its prison population. The Nsawam Medium Security Prisons (NMSP), for instance, was built to accommodate 717 inmates but as at February 2014, the total inmate population was approximately 4,000², a figure which is over five times what it was originally designed to take. Furthermore, the Institute for Criminal Policy Research (2014) estimates that Ghana is ranked 76th by the World Prison Population List (WPPL) and 20th in Africa with a total inmate population of 14,416. According to the same publication, Ghana's per capita imprisonment is 55 per 100,000 population. With the exception of those serving life sentences, about 90% of this prison population will be released annually into the communities after serving their sentences. Figure 1 provides details of offenders admitted and discharged in Ghana prisons from 2004-2011.

Figure 1: Number of offenders admitted and discharged from Ghana prisons (2004-2011)

² Fieldwork, Nov. 2014 at NMSP



Source: Ghana Prisons Service Annual Report, 2004-2011

The data in Figure 1 indicate that in 2004, 2005 and 2011, 73%, 82% and 88% of the offenders who were admitted into the various prisons in Ghana were released into the communities after serving their sentences. However, in spite of the inevitability of the return of most prisoners into the communities, the overarching goal of transforming the offenders to live as law-abiding citizens is unachievable. This can be attributed to the ineffective correctional sentence plan to manage the pre-release period of the inmates. Most convicts leave prisons without receiving the required skills and experience to make them productive and enhance their post-release employment prospects. Consequently, most ex-offenders in Ghana are not fully prepared for post-release life and inevitably face social rejection because of the stigma of prison record. Oftentimes, most of them experience substance abuse and mental health problems. As a result, about 24% of the ex-convicts in Ghana get re-incarcerated for new crimes within three years after their release. Much research has not been done on offender rehabilitation in Ghana with reference to the availability of vocational and formal education as well as offence-focused treatments. Besides, the inmates' accessibility to such interventions and the impact on their attitudes and reintegration remain unascertained.

This article discusses the challenges of offender rehabilitation and reintegration in Ghana. Using Nsawam Medium Security Prison as a case study, this paper highlights on the necessity of theoretical instructions and prison industry to achieve economic reintegration of offenders in Ghana.

Offender Rehabilitation

Basically, rehabilitation is the process of helping a person to re-adapt to society or of restoring someone to a former position. Offender rehabilitation is the psychosocial programmes designed to address the criminogenic needs relating to the offenders' offending behaviour so that they can lead a law-abiding life after release from prisons. The idea of rehabilitation through punishment was first embodied in the penitentiaries, in the late 19th century. Reformers were of the view that felons had to be "kept in solitude, reflecting penitently on their sins in order that they might cleanse and transform themselves" (Irwin, 1980: 2). The Quakers believed that prolong incarceration reflections on the wrong doing were the effective means to redemption (Abotchie, 2008). Contemporary corrections attempt to rehabilitate offenders through formal classroom education and vocational training. Reformers introduce a system of classification that allowed for their individualized treatments (Irwin, 1980). As Foucault (1977) rightly pointed out, the main purposes of imprisonment include pedagogical and spiritual interventions. Pedagogy was structured around the need to renew the mind from criminal intent, learn a trade, work and earn money. Work was compulsory for prisoners to earn money and guarantee sustenance.

These objectives of modern prisons are clearly articulated in the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners which stipulate that the purpose of training and treatment of convicts shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life upon discharge and to fit them to do so. Treatment shall be such that it will encourage their self-respect and develop their sense of responsibility.³ Furthermore, sufficient work is provided to keep the prisoners actively employed for a normal working day. The work provided should increase the prisoners' ability to earn an honest living after release. Rehabilitation is carried out during case management.

³https://www.unodc.org/pdf/criminal_justice/UN_Standard_Minimum_Rules_for_the_Treatment_of_Prisoners.pdf

Research has shown that a number of principles are associated with successful case management. These are the Risk, Need and Responsivity Principle (RNR) (Andrews et. al., 1990). Thus, in order for the programme to be beneficial, it must be based on the personality, motivation and ability of the offender (van der Knaap et al., 2012). The literature suggests that these risk assessment instruments are based on a high degree of success in reducing recidivism (Flores et al., 2006). However, Ward and Steward (2003) argue that the RNR model does not incorporate individual strength and does not also address the relationship between risk management and good lives. The good lives model is a strength-based approach based on the realization that a reduction in recidivism is a result of interventions aimed at addressing the strength and needs of the offender.

Approaches to Rehabilitation

There are several approaches to prison-based rehabilitation. These include the Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), Education and Vocational Training (EVT) and Faith-based Approach. The CBT is an approach to treating offenders with the objectives of changing the distorted thinking processes and patterns that promotes criminal behaviour (Prendergast, 2009). It includes anger management, substance abuse prevention, mental health care, alternative to violence, guidance and counseling, problem solving skills and reinforcement of behavioral change. It is believed that the majority of the offenders lack self-control, problem solving skills, critical thinking and planning skills. These programmes ensure cognitive transformation and criminal desistence (Koehler et al., 2012). The objective is to identify the thought process that lead to negative feelings and maladaptive behaviours and re-socialise them with the mind-set that leads to positive feelings and behaviours. Through cognitive restructuring, thought processes are modified to reduce patterns that are conducive to criminal behaviour. Problem-solving skills, particularly when interacting with others, are taught to increase rational thinking and pro-social behaviours. This method requires the use of social learning techniques, which employs role-

playing and modelling (Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction, 2010).

Studies have shown that prison-based educational and vocational programmes reduce recidivism and increase the probability of obtaining post-release employment (Nuttall et al., 2003; Wilson et al., 2000). Owens (2009) hypothesises that the higher the educational level of offenders, the greater the reduction in re-offending. This is because skills acquisition ensures higher social capital and greater access to legitimate job opportunities. Inmates who participate in education programmes are less likely to return to prison (Petersilia, 2003).

Debate on Correctional Programmes

Other studies evaluating correctional interventions have come to conclusions that question their effectiveness. Scholarly researches show that the various forms of interventions in prisons have little impact on reducing re-offending and assisting the post-release behaviour of ex-offenders. For example, Sykes (1958) believes that “attempting to reform criminals by placing them in prison is based on fallacy” (in Abotchie, 2012: 67). This is because custody requirements are prioritized over treatment considerations. Martinson (1974) notes that prisons cannot effectively rehabilitate offenders when its major objective is to punish them. He concludes that ‘nothing works’ in corrections. Duguid (2000: 72) observes that rehabilitation cannot be effective in a “coercive environment.” The nature of the prison environment undermines rehabilitation efforts. Foucault (1977) also criticizes the medical model of corrections and concludes that the criminal justice system produces criminals rather than transforming them.

Recent studies have however shown that programmes focusing on proper risk assessment, skills training and placement, cognitive behavioural skills, housing assistance, post-release family and community support have proven to be effective in reducing re-offending (Nathan, 2015). Rehabilitation programmes provide the opportunity for prisoners to change behaviours associated with criminal activity and learn more

positive and productive ones. The reduction in recidivism can be translated into improvements in public safety and reintegration of former prisoners into the labour force, families, communities, schools, and religious organizations (Petersilia, 2003).

Theoretical Framework

This study employed differential social support and coercion theory (Colvin et al., 2002). The theory postulates that social support prevents crime but coercion predisposes a person to commit crime. However, social support and coercion have an inverse relationship. Social support is the assistance from members of the communities, social networks and confiding partners in meeting the expressive and instrumental needs (Cullen, 1994). Coercion is the force that intimidates a person to comply with specific instructions. Coercion can be interpersonal as it happens within family settings or impersonal involving invisible forces such as unemployment. Coercion can also involve the removal of or threat to remove social support (Colvin, 2000). Coercion produces strain thereby leading to criminal behaviour.

This theory can contribute to the understanding of ineffective rehabilitation in Ghana's prisons. The consistent coercion means that custody prerequisites take priority over treatments considerations as suggested by Sykes (1958). Besides, the lack of or inadequate state funding to provide tools, materials and skilled personnel imply that most returning inmates lack educational, vocational and specific training to enhance their human capital. Consequently, most of these returning inmates have low motivation to succeed. The ineffective rehabilitation, coupled with the lack of gradual release and weak aftercare means that most returning offenders find it difficult to readjust into normal life. It is the author's view that prisons in Ghana are structural arrangements designed to isolate, stigmatize and coerce offenders without proper rehabilitation. Therefore, prisoners in Ghana remain at a high risk for their inability to reintegrate into the communities.

Methodology

This research employed a qualitative research design which allows for the exploration and in-depth understanding of the lived experiences and the transitional challenges of offenders in Ghana. The study was conducted at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison because it is the largest prison in Ghana (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2011). It accommodates all the categories of criminals from different security levels.

Research Participants

Purposive sampling was used and data saturation was arrived at 87 respondents. The following are the details of the research participants:

Table 1 Sample Size

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Recidivists | 34 |
| Prison Officers | 43 |
| Social Workers | 3 |
| Prison Evangelists | 2 |
| Family Members of the Recidivists | 5 |
| Total | 87 |

Source: Fieldwork, Nov. 2013

This sampling technique is appropriate because it ensures that the sampling units were intentionally selected based on their peculiar characteristics, knowledge, feelings and experiences in the transitional process of offenders in Ghana. In other words, purposive sampling ensures that the sample population as identified above satisfies certain features and attributes which were not randomly distributed in the total population but are typical or exhibit most of the characteristics of interest to the study.

Findings and Analysis

The findings of this study were analysed within the framework of differential social support and coercion theory.

Characteristic of Recidivists in Ghana

A greater percentage of the recidivists (91.2%) were male within the ages of 19-39 years who had married but had been divorced because of the stigma of imprisonment. One interesting finding is that the males engage in criminal behaviours such as stealing, armed robbery, pushing of narcotics and assault while the females engage in smuggling of narcotics, stealing and defaulting to pay debts. Although both males and females have the propensity to commit criminal behaviours, more men commit crimes than women. This confirms report that male offender crime rates are much higher than those of females in Ghana (Ghana Prisons Annual Report, 2008). This observable disparity in male and female criminality in Ghana could be attributed to socio-cultural factors. Adler (1975) observes that traditionally, lower crime rates for women can be explained by their second-class economic and social positions.

Within the nuclear family, the father performs instrumental roles which make him a leader and provider, whilst the mother performs the expressive role of giving emotional support and socializing children. Consistent with Hirschi's Social Bonding theory (1969), most of the offenders were unable to desist from crime because they lack proper attachment to their families. Moreover, the findings of Adler (1975) are generally applicable in Ghana where men's position provides them with different access to power and resources which lead to different constructions and expressions of masculinity, leading to different types of crime. Some men in Ghana construct their masculinity around physical aggression, anti-social behavior, delinquency and violence.

The majority of the respondents (32.4%) have primary/elementary education; 20.6% had no education at all. About 20.6% each had basic education (JHS/Middle School) and secondary education (SHS/O and A Level) while 5.9% had tertiary education. Those with low education

engaged in petty stealing and armed robbery while offenders with tertiary education also engaged in fraud. Asiedu (1999) observes that as at 1990, 48% of the inmate population in Ghana were illiterate, 39% had elementary education, 8% had secondary education, and 3% had technical education, 1.5% had first degree and 0.5% had post-graduate education.

A greater percentage of the respondents (47%) were arrested in the Greater Accra metropolis. This is mainly because of industrialization and urbanization. Another important finding is that re-offending occurs at a greater severity. Thus subsequent criminal behaviours were more severe than the earlier ones. For instance, a first time offender may be imprisoned for six-month for petty theft and 41 years for armed robbery the second time. In all, economic crime (stealing, armed robbery, fraud, fictitious trade/default) are most dominant, followed by crime against public order (narcotics, illegal possession of firearms) and violent crimes (assault, defilement, rape, murder).

The study also reveals that inmates were disproportionately burdened with medical and mental health problems. There was a prevalence of communicable and chronic diseases and mental health problems among the inmate population. Some of these problems include hepatitis, influenza, tuberculosis, high blood pressure, skin rashes, malaria, colds, headache, waist pain, eye problems, hernia and asthma. Although all the inmates are under the National Health Insurance Scheme which covers these diseases, it does not cover some health problems like hernia. In addition, it is an undisputed fact that substance abuse problems are prevalent in the NMSP.

Rehabilitation in Nsawam Medium Security Prison (NMSP)

There are no precise records relating to the commencement of training programmes by the Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) in NMSP. However, interviews with case managers reveal that rehabilitation began on October 10th 1960 when the first inmates were admitted into the facility.

This is because the workshops for various kinds of vocational trainings together with the blocks and cells were in place at the commissioning of the prison. Thus from the commencement of the prison, vocational training was the only form of rehabilitation in NMSP. Male convicts were trained in areas such as agriculture, carpentry, tailoring, barbering, and draughtsmanship, shoemaking, laundry and masonry, while their female counterparts were trained in sewing, soap making, hair dressing, bakery, batik and tie and dye. Interviews with the prison officers revealed that there was a time when upon the completion of the training when inmates were being discharged, tools were provided to enable them establish their own businesses. The aftercare officers also visited them to ensure their successful reintegration. This prison officer however did not provide the exact period when this took place,⁴ although it is clear that this practice of aftercare has been abandoned.

It was not until January 2008 that formal classroom education namely Junior and Senior High Schools together with non-formal education began in NMSP. Some of the subjects offered include English, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Social Studies, Economics, and Financial Accounting and ICT (non-examinable). The non-formal education subjects are Ewe, Twi, Ga, English (reading and writing) and numeracy. Currently, the Ghana Education Service (GES) standards are used to assess the students as they write the final examinations conducted by the West Africa Examinations Council (WAEC) called West Africa Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE).

The service-receiving patterns are four hours daily, from 7.30am-9.30am and from 11am-1pm with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays. This enables the inmates to partake in the intermittent roll calls and dining. The criteria for selection into the vocational and formal education include the following:

- a. The inmate should be serving four or more years.
- b. The inmate should not be a re-offender.

⁴ This is an interview with one prison officer at NMSP

- c. The inmate should have an interest or prior knowledge in that vocation.
- d. The inmate should pass a selection test to determine the suitability for the training.
- e. The inmate should not have committed a felony offense such as armed robbery or murder.
- f. The inmate should be of good behaviour.

The following is an excerpt from the interviews with some participants on the programmes available in NMSP:

After the documentation, observation, counselling and allocation of blocks, case management follows. Though there is no specific treatment for drug addiction, sex and other crimes of violence only convicted prisoners are recommended for various training programmes based on personal interest, length of sentence, prior knowledge and availability of facilities, passing the selection test, not having committed a felony offence and being of good behaviour. Some of the training programmes available include reformation, vocational skills, formal and non-formal education (Prison Officer).

Access to Rehabilitation

Participation in rehabilitation programmes is limited to a fraction of the convicts, who are also less likely to receive post-release social and community support. As at February 2014, of a total of 1,759 male convicts, only 2.7% participate in vocational training while 4.1% participate in formal education. Moreover, out of a total of 69 female convicts, only 27.5% and 2.9% participate in vocational and formal education (JHS) respectively. The implication is that 97.3% and 95.9% of male convicts as well as 72.5% and 97.1% of female convicts respectively are unable to participate in these programmes. Further, the prison industries where convicts can work in workshops, on the field or as apprentices to generate income do not exist. Therefore, prisons labour is not effectively trained and harnessed for productive ventures to benefit

the inmates and the state. As one prison officer put it “most convicts in NMSP are only confined in the prison walls; they just eat and sleep”.

Besides, offense-focused treatments such as professional counseling and therapy to address specific risk factors such as substance abuse, anger and sex offences to ensure convicts’ attitudinal transformation are virtually non-existent. Pastors and imam provide general counseling to inmates irrespective of the offence committed. As a consequence, rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders in NMSP are ineffective.

Reasons for Ineffective Rehabilitation

Lack of State Funding

Rehabilitation is ineffective in NMSP due to lack of or inadequate state funding. This stems from limited budgetary allocation by the government to GPS. For instance, in 2008, the government allocated twenty-one million, seven hundred and five thousand, fifty-nine Ghana cedi (GH¢21,705, 059.00), to the GPS. Moreover, this amount was spent on expenditure items namely personal emoluments, administration, service activities and investment (Ghana Prisons Service Annual Report, 2008). The state’s reaction to the GPS may be explained by the fact that although section 41 of the Prison Service Act 1972 (NRCD 46) requires the Prison Service to establish in every prison training courses and instruction designed to teach simple trades, skills and crafts to prisoners who may benefit from such training. However, section 1 of this same Act places the emphasis on custody and welfare of prisoners and whenever practicable, undertakes reformation and rehabilitation. Thus, penal policy in Ghana does not focus on rehabilitation and reintegration. This contradiction explains why governments are not obliged to finance rehabilitation programmes in Ghanaian prisons.

Consequently, prison-based interventions in NMSP are ineffective due to lack of tools and materials or the reliance on obsolete ones. Another prison officer bemoaned the fact that “the lack of equipment to train the inmates leads to re-offending”. When asked why correctional education

in NMSP suffers from lack of tools and materials, another prison officer indicated that:

There is no specific allocation of funds either by the government or the GPS for any rehabilitation purpose in NMSP. Although the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Presidential Special Initiative on Distance Learning (PSI-DL) provide some support for inmates' formal education while the non-Formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education also supports functional literacy programmes for inmates, these sources of funding are inadequate for a meaningful rehabilitation.

Inadequate Skilled Personnel

Previously, the NMSP severely lacked qualified teachers and relied on inmate teachers⁵ until recently when national service personnel and trained teachers were posted from the Ghana Education Service (GES) to assist in the rehabilitation of the inmates. As at February 2014, the teaching staff included 18 inmate teachers, 5 permanent teachers from the Ghana Education Service (GES), 8 national service personnel and 7 prison officers who handle vocational, formal and non-formal education. It is clear, however, that these teaching personnel are not enough to handle all the programmes. One interesting thing is that these inmate teachers (who constitute 47.4% of the teaching staffs) are only given allowances which are not motivating enough because they are serving their sentences in hard labour. Sometimes, it becomes difficult to replace a discharged inmate teacher which implies that the course he was teaching would have to be suspended. Moreover, although some of the prison officers can assist in teaching especially at the formal education but are unable to do so because of the shift system where an officer may be on night shift or in the farm. This is because security is prioritised over rehabilitation.

⁵ Convicts who are teachers

Overcrowding and Short Sentencing

Despite the significant success chalked by the “Justice for All Programme”⁶ overcrowding and poor conditions of service continue to be a major source of worry in the Ghana Prisons Service (Ghana Prisons Service Annual Report, 2010: 1). The inmate population outstrips the educational facilities available, making it difficult for interested convicts to participate in these programmes. Moreover, the convict population includes those with physical disabilities and mental illness. Further, most of them lack interest while the criterion for participation in the rehabilitation programmes depends on the sentence length. In NMSP for instance, an inmate must serve four or more years before he/she is considered for educational or vocational training. However, given that 58.8% of the re-offenders are serving sentences less than or equal to three years, it can be inferred that misdemeanants serving less than three years are more likely to be excluded from participating in these programmes. Plate 1 reveals the sleeping condition of inmates in NMSP in Ghana.



Source: Joy News/Seth Kwame Boateng

Inconvenience and Security Protocol

Inconvenience and security checks disrupt the smooth functioning of rehabilitation programmes in NMSP. Although Ghana Education Trust Fund (GET Fund) has since 2013, begun constructing a new classroom

⁶ An initiative by the Ghana Judicial Service to decongest Ghana prisons by trying those on remand within the various prisons in Ghana

block at the NMSP, there is insufficient space for teaching and learning, prompting some classes to be held under sheds. Sometimes, these classes end abruptly during rainfall and other harsh weather conditions. Moreover, although the Ghana Education Service provides teaching materials to the Inmate Education Unit, these prove to be inadequate. As one prison officer put it “some parents buy learning materials for their wards but others do not, so everything they need, they ask for. If a student asks for a book, next time he asks for a pen and another time he asks for a pencil. If he is not given, he becomes fed up and stops”. Besides, there is no space for private studies as the various cells are congested and inmates do not have enough space for sleeping (see plate 1). The lights also go off by 7.00pm. As one prison officer put it, “we requested for one block for the students so that they can have the convenience and the atmosphere to concentrate but the authorities refused”. Again, there are eight security checks per day which also disrupts effective learning. Finally, for security reasons, students are prevented from using mathematical sets in their private studies. This is because, the “protractor” “compass” and “divider” can be used as weapons. Calculators and mathematical sets are given to students only during classes. As a result, most students perform poorly in maths at both JHS and SHS levels (Ghana Prisons Service Annual Report, 2008).

Lack of Programme Intensity and Integrity

Programme intensity in NMSP is low because students are allowed four hours a day to participate in rehabilitation as compared to students in the mainstream population who have more hours for studies. In addition, the programmes are not based on the risk, need and responsivity framework as they do not target the personality, motivation and ability of the offenders, a situation that result in uninformed placement at the various programmes. Therefore, these programmes do not have any significant impacts on the attitudes of the offenders. Without this important institutional support, most offenders often leave prisons as they came or in a worse state than they were prior to their imprisonment.

The Impacts of Ineffective Rehabilitation

The inadequate institutional support manifested in ineffective rehabilitation has negative impacts on the attitudes and reintegration of the inmates. The high criminogenic needs of offenders coming home imply that they have not been transformed into useful humans and therefore have low attitudinal transformation and low motivation to succeed. As their discharge dates approach, most of the offenders get filled with anxiety and fear because of the anticipated absence or erratic post-release support from the family, faith and charity-based organizations and the general public. This invariably affects their ability to lead law-abiding lives after release from prison. As an illustration, one recidivist said “I have been suffering in this prison for 5 years without any training. I was told my car has been sold to pay my children’s fees, so I don’t know how I would survive when I leave here.”

Discussion

Burger (1907-1995), former chief justice in the US believes that although incarceration has crime control effects, confining offenders without changing their attitudes is an expensive folly with short term benefits⁷. Maltz (2001) observes that recidivism reflects the degree to which released inmates have been rehabilitated and the role correctional programmes play in reintegrating prisoners into society. Consistent with the study by Martinson (1974), rehabilitation in NMSP in Ghana is ineffective.

One reason why rehabilitation is ineffective in NMSP is the consistent coercion. This can be seen in the eight security checks carried out each day. As a result, treatment and training are erratic. Sykes (1958) in his study “Society of Captives” redirects our attention to the conditions of penal confinement. Although his work was done over five decades ago, the findings still have relevance in modern corrections. His conclusion explained earlier on finds justification in Ghana’s corrections (see page 4). His observation that custody demands take priority over treatment

⁷ Factories with fences retrieved from <https://www.unicor.gov/information>

consideration explains the view that security issues in NMSP are prioritized over rehabilitation.

The study reveals that about 97% of the offenders in Ghana re-entering the communities lack education. This can be attributed to the fact that rehabilitation is not covered by the expenditure of the GPS. Penal policy in Ghana does not focus on funding rehabilitation as a secondary crime prevention strategy. Consequently, the prisons lack the needed tools, materials and professionals to provide correctional education. Sarklin (2008) reveals that among the objectives of modern imprisonment, rehabilitation and reintegration have remained elusive and controversial in Africa. Overcrowding and under-funding prevent the achievement of effective rehabilitation. He maintains that although rehabilitation is usually seen in the penal policies of African governments, yet the lack of political will prevents its implementation. He notes that recidivism rates in Africa can only be reduced if there are effective rehabilitation programmes.

Another interesting finding is that 47.4% of the teaching staff are inmates. Studies have shown that the lack of proper funding of prison programmes and lack of fully qualified teachers are major challenges of correctional education (DelliCarpini, 2008; Lewis, 2006; Makorios and Travis, 2010). With little funding, prisons are forced to hire educators with fewer skills, less experienced teachers and volunteers to help educate the inmates (Lewis, 2006). The lack of funding for rehabilitation originates from the scarcity of resources in Africa. Most countries on the African continent are confronted with so many social needs. As a consequence, providing resources to cater for the needs of prisoners is not the priority of most governments. Asare (2009) in his study of the Obuasi prison in Ghana finds that the intention to equip prisoners with skills, knowledge and attitude to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life as enshrined in the prisons rule was ineffective because of lack of the required personnel and facilities to rehabilitate the offenders. Buahene (2004) equally observes that rehabilitation programmes in the Awutu Camp prison in Kasoa in Ghana were not effective because about

65% of the respondents had not received any training since detention. According to Hagan (2013), some of the challenges of vocational training in NMSP include lack of appropriate equipment, poor quality tools/obsolete machines, poor attendance by the inmates and lack of large capital as well as the negative perception of the vocations by some of the inmates.

Perhaps it is because post-colonial governments in Ghana have not paid particular attention to rehabilitation as a correctional goal that the Asafo-Adjei Commission was set up in 1967. The Commission indicated that although prisoners may be incarcerated as punishment, everything done to avoid creating bitterness and resentment in them is ultimately for the good of the society to which they will eventually return. The Commission recommended that the GPS should intensify its efforts to recruit more qualified teachers to undertake the urgent task of educating the mass illiterate inmates in Ghana (Asiedu, 1999).

Conclusion

Rehabilitation in the NMSP is ineffective due to a combination of factors. These include the punitive penal policy pursued by the state, lack of or inadequate state funding, inadequate skilled personnel, overcrowding, short sentencing and the prioritization of security concerns. Consequently, most convicts leave the prison without participating in rehabilitative programmes, making it difficult to enhance attitudinal transformation and post-release economic reintegration. Moreover, most ex-offenders find it difficult to be law-abiding because of erratic family and community support as many ex-offenders face strong social rejection in Ghana. If rehabilitation which is the main objective of modern imprisonment is elusive in Ghana's corrections, then where do we place justice in Ghana's penal system? Given that 88.7% of prisoners in Ghana are youth between the ages of 18-45 years (GPS Annual Report, 2008), most of who are illiterate, then urgent efforts must be made to ensure their education. It is time to rethink corrections in Ghana. The "Efias" Project and a ten-year strategic development plan for the Prisons Service must really improve the conditions of prisons and

transform them. This would ensure equitable educational opportunities for all Ghanaians as enshrined in the SDG. In this regard, the study strongly recommends that penal reforms be undertaken in Ghana to ensure a policy shift from punitive to a rehabilitative orientation thereby holding governments responsible for funding rehabilitation in Ghana's prisons.

References

Abotchie, C. (2012), *Treatment of Criminals and Crime Prevention in Ghana*, Accra: Hans Publications.

Abotchie, C. (2008), *Social Deviance and Control*, Accra: Hans Publications.

Adler, F. (1975), *Sisters in Crime*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. D. (1990), Classification for Effective Rehabilitation: Rediscovering Psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 17 (1), 19-52.

Appiahene-Gyamfi, J. (2009), Crime and Punishment in the Republic of Ghana: A Country Profile. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 33 (2), 309-324.

Asare, S. (2009), "The Impact of Rehabilitation on Recidivism in Ghana" Unpublished Long Essay, University of Ghana.

Asiedu, W. K. (1999), *Effective Treatment Measures for Prisoners to Facilitate Their Reintegration into Society: The Ghanaian Experience*. Retrieved on 28th June, 2015 from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/publications/Abstract.aspx?id=190097>.

Boahen, A. (2004), "Rehabilitation of Prisoners in Settlement Camp Prisons." In Asare, S. "The Impact of Rehabilitation on Recidivism in Ghana." Unpublished Long Essay, University of Ghana.

Boateng, S.K. (2015), Judges Vow to Re-consider Judgements. Retrieved on 28th June 2015 from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2015/March-14th/judges-vow-to-reconsider-judgments-handed-to-remand-prisoners.php>

Colvin, M. (2000), *Crime and Coercion: An Integrated Theory of Chronic Criminality*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Cullen, F. T. (1994), Social support as an organizing concept for criminology: Presidential address to the Academy for criminal justice sciences. *Justice Quarterly*, 11, 528-559.

DelliCarpini, M. (2008), Creating Communities of Professional Practice in the Correctional Education Classroom, *Journal of Correctional Education*, 59 (3), 219-230.

Duguid, S. (2000), *Can Prisons Work? The Prisoner as Object and Subject in Modern Corrections*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Flores, A.W., Lowenkamp, C.T., Holsinger, A.M. and Latessa, E.J. (2006), Predicting Outcome with the Level of Service Inventory-Revised: The Importance of Implementation Integrity. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 34 (5), 523-529.

Foucault, M. (1977), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2004), Annual Reports. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202007.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2005), Annual Reports. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202008.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2006), Annual Report. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202009.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2007), Annual Report. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202010.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2008), Annual Report. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202011.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2009), Annual Report. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202012.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2010), Annual Report. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202013.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (GPS) (2011), Annual Report. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaprison.gov.gh/pdf/Annual%20Report%20Prisons%202014.pdf>

Ghana Prisons Service (1972), Prisons Service Act 1972 (NRCD 46). Ghana Prisons Service, Accra. Retrieved from http://laws.ghanalegal.com/acts/id/385/section/41/Education_Of_Prisoner

Hagan, M. (2013), "The Impact of Rehabilitation Programmes of the Nsawam Prison on its Inmates." Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Ghana.

Irwin, J. (1980), Prisons in turmoil. Boston: Little, Brown.

Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR) (2014), World Prison Brief Data. Retrieved from <http://www.prisonstudies.org/country/ghana>.

Koehler, J. A., Loser, F. & Humphreys, D. K. (2012), A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis on the Effects of Young Offender Treatment Programs in Europe, *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 9 (1), 19-43.

Latessa, E. J. & Holsinger, A. M. (2011), *Correctional Contexts: Contemporary Classical Readings* (4th ed), New York: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, J. (2006), Correctional education: Why it is only “promising”. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 57 (4), 286-296.

Lowencamp, E. J., Christopher T., & Latessa, P. (2006), Does Correctional Program Quality Really Matter? The Impact of Adhering to the Principles of Effective Intervention, *Criminology and Public Policy*, 5 (3), 575-594.

MacKenzie, D. L. (2006), *What Works in Corrections: Reducing the Criminal Activities of Offenders and Delinquents*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Makorios, M., & Travis, L. F. (2010), From the Classroom to the Community. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 37 (12), 1377-1391.

Maltz, M. D. (2001), *Recidivism*. Florida: Academic Press.

Martinson, R. (1974), What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform”. *The Public Interest*, 35, 22–54.

Nathan, J. (2015), Offender Re-entry: Correctional Statistics, Reintegration into the Community and Recidivism. Retrieved from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL34287.pdf>

Nuttall, J., Hollmen, L. & Staley, E. (2003), The Effect of Earning a GED on Recidivism Rates. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 54, 90-94.

Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections (2010), What Works? General Principles, Characteristics and Examples of Effective Programmes. Retrieved from <http://www.drc.ohio.gov/web/Reports/Effective%20programs.pdf>.

Owens, J. C. D. (2009), "Social Symbols, Stigma, and the Labour Market Experiences of Former Prisoners", *Journal of Correctional Education*, 60 (4), 316-342.

Petersilia, J. (2003), *When Prisoners Come Home: Parole and Prisoner Re-entry*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Prendergast, M.L. (2009), Interventions to Promote Successful Re-entry Among Drug-Abusing Parolees, *Addiction Science and Clinical Practice*, 5 (1), 4-13.

Prisons Service Decree, 1972, NRC 46. Retrieved from <http://laws.ghanalegal.com/acts/id/385/prisons-service-act>

Sarklin, J. (2008), *Prisons in Africa: An Evaluation from a Human Right Perspective*. Retrieved from www.surjournal.org/eng/conteudos.

Sykes, G. M. (1958), *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*, Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Van der Knaap, L. M., Leenarts, L. E. W., Born, M. P. & Oosterveld, P. (2012), Reevaluating Interrater Reliability in Offender Risk Assessment. *Crime and Delinquency*, 58 (1), 147.

Ward, T. and Steward, C.A. (2003), *The Treatment of Sex Offenders: Risk Management and Good Lives*. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 34, 353-360.

Wilson, D. B., Gallagher, C. A., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2000), A meta-analysis of corrections Based education, vocation, and work programs for adult offenders. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 37, 347–368.

SUSTAINING GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN GHANAIAN POLITICS: THE ROLE OF POLITICAL SONGS

Samuel Bewiadzi¹

Abstract

Songs have played important roles in the political history of Ghana. From the colonial to post-colonial times, songs have featured prominently in the body politic of the country. In contemporary times, political songs have taken center stage in expressing issues about governance, democracy and development. Using the qualitative model, the paper interrogates the contributions of political songs in sustaining good governance and development in Ghanaian politics. In the conduct of this research, the following research questions were posed. What are political songs? How do they contribute to the sustenance of good governance and development in Ghanaian politics? What messages do these songs send out to the public? What roles do political songs play during elections? The first section focuses on the history of political songs in colonial and post-colonial Ghana. The second section discusses three selected political songs to ascertain the messages they send out to the public. The third section deals with the roles of political songs in sustaining good governance and development in Ghana. In this section, the paper employs textual analysis and interviews to analyze six-selected political songs that depict the theme of good governance. The paper concludes that political songs educate the public about governance issues, help politicians to send messages to the electorates during electioneering campaigns and preach the message of peace and unity to Ghanaians. Political songs are relevant in sustaining good governance in contemporary Ghanaian politics.

¹ Department of General and Liberal Studies, University of Health and Allied Sciences (UHAS), Ho. (E-mail:rasorgzy@yahoo.com).

Keywords: Political songs, good governance, elections, development, Ghana

Introduction

Political songs are songs with political statements and expressions that portray specific political messages, offer a partisan opinion, raise awareness, and advocate for specific political action. These songs have become relevant in contemporary Ghanaian politics. Political songs have featured prominently in shaping the political destiny of this country in the colonial and post-colonial times. These political songs were championed by the pioneers of Highlife music genre like E.K. Nyame, Nana Ampadu, and E.T. Mensah (Van der Geest and Asante-Darko, 1982). Today, Ghanaian musicians have built upon what their progenitors laid down for them and accordingly, political songs have taken center stage in the body politic of the Fourth Republic.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, music plays important roles in daily activities of people. According to Omibiyi (1975), music is a social organizer. It supervises the operation of established government, assists in the maintenance of the land, safeguards and perpetuates tradition. Songs have therefore been widely used in most Sub-Saharan African countries to promote political discourse. Englert (2008:71) is of the view that Bongo Flava music has helped to shape a generational identity of Tanzanians who grew up in the era of liberalization and multi-party politics. Englert further argues that this youthful musical genre has helped to increase the visibility and voiceability of the youth in Tanzanian public and thus encouraged the participation of the youth in political discourse. Similarly, Geiger (1997) stated that in Tanzania, songs have long encouraged social movements against conflict or perceived injustices. The most common striking feature of political songs in Tanzania is their direct echoing of leadership speeches and writings (Plastow, 1996:199). These assertions indicate that in Tanzania, music plays important roles in politics. It enhances dissemination of information to the public concerning issues of politics and encourages the development of social and youth movements to participate in

political discourses. What is the situation in Ghana? What roles do songs play in the politics of the Fourth Republic? This paper responds to these questions.

In Nigeria, Olusegun and Abayomi (2011:166) point out that election campaign goes with songs and music is a powerful force for political mobilization. Olusegun and Abayomi further argue that the late Fela Anikulapo-Kuti used music to preach against political domination, oppression, economic hardships, unemployment and nepotism. In addition, music is used as a cross fertilization of ideas through the medium of television or radio during electioneering campaigns and this makes it easy to reach the teeming population who are willing to hear what each political party needs to deliver to the electorate. In this regard, Emeka (1992) argues that music is a useful tool in the dissemination of information and it is only through it that the electioneering campaign can reach the grass-root. These assertions are relevant to this paper as it will investigate how political songs preach against corruption, enhance electioneering campaigns and help in the dissemination of information on governance issues in Ghana.

In Uganda, Njoju and Maupeu (2007:144) argued that through songs, the politics of underdevelopment and the failure of the nation-state are also brought out to the peasant. On the political scene, Luo songs have been used to articulate political beliefs, and as a powerful tool for social mobilization. Finally, Van der Geest and Asante-Darko (1982) have observed that highlife is a blend of traditional Akan rhythms and melodies with European musical elements. According to Bame (1974), highlife songs deal with the problems of everyday life: poverty, marriage problems, hatred, gossip, shame, sickness, and death. Apart from live performances, highlife owes its popularity to recordings, which are produced in Ghana.

The literature above clearly demonstrates the roles that songs play in the body politic of some countries in sub-Saharan Africa. However, there are some gaps in this scholarship. In the first place, these views are country

specific; they do not provide any insight into the role of political songs in Ghanaian politics. However, they point to issues that should be interrogated in the paper. Secondly, even though the literature provides a general overview of the roles of songs in these countries, it does not focus on political songs and their roles in sustaining good governance and development in Ghanaian politics. Furthermore, Van der Geest and Asante-Darko (1982) and Bame (1974) have only focused on the history of highlife music in Ghana such as the origin of highlife music, the literal meaning of highlife songs, the recording companies as well as the role of highlife songs in expressing problems in society. This paper fills this gap. The significance of the paper stems from the new perspective it adds to the literature on songs by looking closely at the roles that political songs play in sustaining good governance in contemporary Ghanaian politics, especially in the era of sustainable development goals where good governance is important.

The History of Political Songs in Colonial and Postcolonial Ghana

According to Van der Geest and Asante-Darko (1982:27), “Highlife is a blend of traditional Akan rhythms and melodies with European musical elements, such as the use of European instruments and harmony. It encompasses a variety of artistic expressions: music, dancing, storytelling and theatre.” Highlife originated from approximately the end of the nineteenth century, when some Fanti on the coast acquired European instruments. Western music such as marches, popular songs, and church songs influenced these musicians, as did music from West Indian and Liberian sailors (Collins, 1976a). Owusu (2013) points out that by the late 1950s, highlife had become socially institutionalized as Ghana’s musical soul and as a powerful medium to express political ideas. The music permeated all facets of the society and could be counted on to reach citizens in ways that newspapers at the time could not. He also argues that highlife songs are entertaining but they also reflect the challenges of daily social life. Significantly, highlife has throughout Ghana’s colonial and post-colonial history also evoked or reflected major political events or developments. Generally, the songs deal with

the problems of everyday life: poverty, marriage problems, hatred, gossip, shame, sickness, and death (Bame, 1974; Ricard, 1974).

In the colonial era, Collins (1976b:67) argues that highlife was used for political means and he mentions the song Kwame Nkrumah will never die, which was composed by the “Axim Trio” in 1950 when Nkrumah was imprisoned by the British. He also argues that E.K. Nyame wrote a song Onimdeefo Kukudurufo Kwame Nkrumah (Honourable and heroic Kwame Nkrumah), referring to Nkrumah’s release from prison. Collins again shows that there was close cooperation between some bands and Nkrumah’s Convention People’s Party (CPP). The “Axim Trio” staged a number of concert parties in support of Nkrumah during the pre-independence years. Songs that are mentioned include: Nkrumah will never die; Nkrumah is a mighty man; and Kwame Nkrumah is greater than before.

By the 1960s onwards, there were over one hundred bands in Ghana, which played Highlife. The most popular ones according to Van der Geest and Darko (1982:28) were E.T. Mensah and his Tempos Band, E.K. Nyame’s Band, City Boys Band, Ashanti Brothers Band, Konadu’s Band, and Ramblers Dance Band, among others. The music produced by these bands performed many different functions in Ghanaian society. The first and foremost was entertainment. According to Van der Geest and Darko (1982:28), “people loved its rhythm, melody and text”. Highlife also reflected the problems of daily life and people used it to air their frustrations. Van der Geest (1980) again argues that highlife songs had ideological functions while Bame (1977) points out that highlife was used in disseminating family planning ideas. In addition, highlife songs were used as political tool for the oppressed as well as those in power. Finally, the songs also served as avenues for commerce and advertising (Van der Geest and Darko, 1982).

One interesting thing about highlife songs of the time was that the song texts had a hidden meaning. The hidden meanings had different functions and sometimes assumed a political character. As Van der Geest

and Darko (1982) observed, such songs may become a code for insiders to communicate with each other without interference from political oppressors. It may even become a language in which oppressors are ridiculed without their noticing it, and in which people find psychological relief for frustrations. In January 1978, when Ghana had already sunk to economic disaster and political corruption, one song titled *Aware bone* (Bad marriage) was composed by Nana Ampadu to reflect the political conditions in the country under the leadership of General Kutu Acheampong. Even though his name was not mentioned in the song, it was clear that Ghana as a nation was married to Acheampong and his leadership was considered as a bad marriage because citizens were suffering and there was abject poverty and the kind of corruption referred to as “kalabule”. The song was therefore used to express the unfavourable political and economic conditions of the country and the people’s displeasure with the Acheampong regime.

Interestingly, General Acheampong himself made use of highlife songs tremendously when he overthrew the Progress Party (PP) government of Prime Minister Busia on 13 January 1972. The song *To wobo ase* (Be patient) composed by Okukuseku II Band was played on the radio when General Acheampong succeeded in the coup and the song subsequently became a slogan. In a similar vein, Nana Ampadu also composed a very popular song titled *Ebi te yie* (literally: some people are sitting well), which indirectly criticized the National Liberation Council and pointed out the high level of inequality in Ghanaian society (Van der Geest and Asante-Darko, 1982).

The discussion so far has given a broad overview of the origin of highlife music, the roles that the songs played during the colonial era and how they reflected the socio-economic conditions in the country and the functions of these songs in the post-independence era. Obviously, the literature does not focus on the roles that political songs play in sustaining good governance and development. This paper aims at filling this gap.

The Concept of Good Governance

This study is informed by the concept of good governance. This concept is essential to the paper because its principles are the central themes that the paper interrogates by using political songs.

Hill (2013:17) argues that governance has been a much-discussed concept in political science. Governance is generally a more inclusive concept than 'government', reflecting the negotiation between society and government in effectively implementing socially acceptable allocation and regulation by mediating behaviour through values, norms and laws (Jordan, 2008; Treib et al, 2007; Mayntz, 2004). Governance is broader than government and incorporates both state and non-state actors. UNDP (1997) defines governance as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.

In the 1980s, the concept of good governance was viewed from a more normative perspective, with the development of criteria of normatively 'good governance' (Pierre, 2000; World Bank, 2002). These criteria sought to guide the repair of the failures of the decreasingly legitimate top down governance structures, by focusing on alternative modes of actor constellations that help to resolve common issues from different perspectives (Hill, 2013). By the 1990s, it was used from a more analytical perspective in the social sciences as a means of assessing public policy arrangement in empirical research (Kooiman, 1993). The concept of good governance has therefore become popular in recent decades, in response to the notion that more effective governance regimes or systems need to be designed and created to overcome government failure, market failure, and system failure or a combination of these (Rogers and Hall, 2003:24).

Legitimacy is seen as a core concept of good governance, and is dependent on a number of inputs that are represented by some key

components of good governance. These indicators include participation, leadership, accountability, trust, effectiveness and transparency (UNDP, 1997). The UNDP Regional Project on Local Governance in Latin America elucidates governance legitimacy as the proper function of institutions and their acceptance by the public, which is in part enabled by the efficacy of government and the achievement of consensus by democratic means as well as the ability of political, social and economic rules to solve conflicts between actors and adopt decisions. This highlights the role of actor networks and institutions in participative and effective governance processes for achieving good or legitimate governance. The World Bank (2002) considered four key components as being central to achieving good governance: public sector management, accountability, legal framework for development, and transparency and information. In addition, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) identifies four elements of key importance to governance: predictability, participation, transparency and accountability (Allan, 2008). In this framework, Brugnach et al (2008) argue that good governance tends to relate to a regulatory system that shows qualities of accountability, transparency, legitimacy, public participation, justice, efficiency, the rule of law and the absence of corruption. These indicators outline the basis for which good governance is measured.

Relating this concept to the paper, it is argued that the Ghanaian musician is a non-state actor in governance. Ghanaian musicians are also private actors in governance who articulate the interests and needs of the people. In doing so, they discuss issues about leadership, corruption, trust, accountability, effectiveness, and transparency, which are some of the hallmarks of good governance. Furthermore, one of the key principles of good governance as outlined by the World Bank is transparency and information. Ghanaian musicians provide citizens with information through their songs. They disseminate information to the public about governance issues. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Asian Development Bank outlines public participation as a key component of good governance. Accordingly, the Ghanaian musician as a non-state actor, participates in governance by composing political

songs to reflect the state of affairs in the country. Through these songs, the people become informed and educated about governance issues. Interestingly, the principles outlined in the concept are central to the themes that are discussed in Ghanaian political songs. The concept of good governance therefore provides the context within which this paper explores the role of political songs in sustaining good governance and development in Ghanaian politics.

Research Design and Methodology

The paper adopts the qualitative approach in data collection and analysis. It uses ideological criticism, interviews and textual analysis. Therefore, first, it will discuss how this method will be used. Barret (1991) defines ideology as the process by which meaning is produced, challenged, reproduced and transformed. Ideological criticism is concerned with theorizing and critiquing those processes of meaning production as social and political realities. It exposes three dimensions of the struggle present in the production of meaning; reveals the tensive relation between the production of meaning and language; highlights the multiple discourses operating within the text; and lays bare the complex nature of power relations that produce texts. It constructs the institutional context of texts, their reception and affects readers of those texts in particular social locations (Barret, 1980). In relation to this paper, this method is used to unfold the hidden meaning of political songs, the discourses produced within these songs, the problems presented within the socio-political space and their roles in sustaining good governance. According to Foss and Littlejohn (2009), the primary goal of ideological criticism is to make the ideology visible. Sellnow and Sellnow (2001) observed that musicians are more than reporters, documenting an event; they present an illusion of life, amplifying a particular perspective of a situation. Indeed, this paper aims to make visible governance issues that are shrouded in political songs for better understanding and appreciation.

Secondly, textual analysis is a method that communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message (Frey et al, 1999). The rationale for choosing this method is to

describe the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in the selected political songs. It is also to systematically describe, analyze, interpret and evaluate the governance messages and issues embedded in these political songs.

The selection of songs focused on the period from 2007 to 2016. This is because the political and social climate encouraged an increase in political songs. In all, fifteen (15) political songs were sampled using the purposive sampling technique. This initial selection was pruned down to nine (9) to allow for a closer examination of the lyrics and music of each artist in this paper. First, three (3) songs were analyzed for the theme: Discussing the song texts of three political songs – the Messages. Secondly, six (6) of these songs were analyzed in terms of examining their roles towards sustaining good governance and development in Ghana. The selection of artists/songs was based on the following criteria: (a) songs that were written and released in Ghana by Ghanaian artists between 2007 and 2016; (b) songs that contained political statements that reflected governance issues; (c) a brief review of the biography of each artist; (d) genre of songs performed; (e) songs with compelling lyrics; and (f) originality of the songs in style and composition.

The final selection considered artists who were seen to have attained some recognizable career success based on sales and earnings and by the awards they received within the music industry. Interestingly, all the artists chosen for this study are still actively writing, producing, and performing music today. After the songs were selected, a textual analysis method was adopted to analyze them. The nine songs selected for the study are: Yekeke, Kwame A-Plus; African Money, Barima Sydney; Inflation-letter to government, Sarkodie; Nkratuo, Lucky Mensah; The Masses, Sarkodie; Sika die Basaa, Barima Sydney featuring Shongo; Nana Ye Winner, Daddy Lumba; Taka, Tika, Michael Adangba; and Warrior for Peace, Edem.

Finally, interviews were conducted in three public universities, namely, the University of Ghana (UG) – Legon, the University of Cape Coast

(UCC) and the University of Health and Allied Sciences (UHAS), Ho to supplement the data. In all, thirty informants/interviewees participated in the study. Six (lecturers), that is, two each from UG, UCC and UHAS, responded to various questions on the field. Twenty four (24) students, that is, eight (8) each from UG, UCC and UHAS also participated in the study. These students were sampled from the Institute of African Studies at UG, the Center for African and International Studies at UCC and the Department of General and Liberal Studies at UHAS. These units offer African Studies with courses in music, language, history, and politics. These samples were recruited using the purposive sampling technique.

Discussing the Song Texts (Lyrics) of Three Political Songs: The Messages

Since the 1992 multi-party elections, politicians have made use of political songs to convey their messages to the electorate. Again, some musicians have kept watch on politicians by composing songs to measure the performance of public office holders and politicians. In Ghana's Fourth Republic, musicians compose songs to reflect governance issues and how they affect the citizens. This section discusses three of such songs to elicit the messages they present to the public.

The three political songs discussed here are: Yekeka (we talk/are talking) by Kwame A-Plus; African Money by Barima Sydney and Inflation-letter to government by Sarkodie. These three hiplife artists, as justified in the methodology, are famous for producing good music and have a large following. In addition to that, they have won Ghana Music Awards and are still active in the music industry today.

Kwame A-Plus' song Yekeka was composed in 2012. This song depicts the various governance issues happening in the country; it expresses issues about the various personalities and the political parties they represent. The song refers to the activities of people like former President Jerry John Rawlings, Paa Kwesi Nduom, Alfred Agbesi Woyome, Nana Akufo-Addo and President Mahama, among others, who

are active stakeholders in the politics of this country. The song discusses issues surrounding these personalities and how they contribute to the overall development of the country's politics. The song praises some personalities and criticizes others. However, the song also argues that Ghanaians like talking. Below is an extract of the song:

From Gambaga straight to Tamale
Axim to Hohoe to Walewale
They dey talk loud loud
Shout shout loud loud
On the radio and TV, you will hear
On the internet and newspapers, you will see
Everywhere is talking taking
If J.J. Rawlings says he will not campaign, we are talking
If Woyome deserved the money he was paid, we are
talking
If Nduom separates himself, we are talking

From the song, the artist argues that, the radio, television, internet and newspapers have become avenues where the ordinary Ghanaian updates himself on issues of governance. The song raises pertinent governance issues about the judgement debt paid to Alfred Agbesi Woyome, the refusal of J.J. Rawlings to campaign for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in 2012, the breaking away of Papa Kwesi Nduom from the Convention People's Party, the NDC, the separation of Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings from the NDC party to form the National Democratic Party (NDP), among others. In addition, the song also refers to the new campaign strategies of Nana Akufo-Addo. The artist notes that Ghanaians talk too much as indicated in the lines: talks, loud-loud and shouts loud-loud. According to informants, Ghanaians contribute to political discussions on radio stations through phone calls but some of them make unconstructive criticisms. This signifies the high level of cacophony that has characterized political discourses on the media landscape in contemporary times. To the informants, this is the reason

why the artist argues that Ghanaians talk “loud-loud” since some of the statements are not necessary.

The second song is African Money which was composed by Barima Sydney in 2007. This song deals with the way public office holders mismanage the economy by embezzling public funds, how leaders are corrupt, work less but take home fat salaries and even steal public funds, thereby leaving the poor to wallow in abject poverty. The excerpt below clearly expresses the state of the economy and the level of inequality that permeates all spheres of the economy:

Our money, wanna money
Africa money eee, oga dey chop am fuga fuga
Edey chop am nyaga nyaga
Oga dey chop am nyafu nyafu, wa wa wa
Poor man dey work, rich dey enjoy
I say how we go bridge the gap between
Accountant dey chop ooo, Oga dey chop am fuga fuga
Bank manager dey chop, Oga dey chop am basa basa
Director dey chop oooo, Oga dey chop am nyaga nyaga
Even pastors dey chop

Interviewees pointed out that this song became very important in the 2008 elections as the National Democratic Congress (NDC) used this song to its advantage to send messages to the ordinary people that the New Patriotic Party (NPP) was a corrupt party and that its leaders were mismanaging state resources. However, this paper cannot determine whether this song really worked against the NPP. From the lyrics, it is argued that the song clearly informed the people about governance issues such as corruption, embezzlement, and mismanagement of state funds by public office holders. Interestingly, the artist mentions bank managers, accountants, directors and pastors as culprits. This does not mean only these people misappropriate public funds; some others like judges, police officers, and heads of public institutions, public and civil servants are all

guilty of this offence. This song therefore reflects governance issues in the economy.

The last song is Inflation-letter to the government, which was composed by Sarkodie in 2015. He is a renowned hiplife artiste who has composed many songs and won awards both locally and internationally. His song Inflation informs citizens about governance issues under the leadership of President Mahama and the NDC. Interviewees pointed out that this song cuts deep into the politico-economic fabric of the Ghanaian society as the government was saddled with many structural and other related challenges. Sarkodie's song therefore explains the socio-economic climate within which Ghanaians live as follows:

The nation is full of surprises
Up to today we still live in crisis
Go to Kantamanto and see prices of goods
Today is dumsor, tomorrow is pipe problem

The extract above narrates a story about the economy. It captures the difficulties in the economy, the high prices of goods, problems with power and challenges with access to water, for which he blames the leadership. By doing a textual analysis of this song, Sarkodie challenges President Mahama's competency to rule the country. He also partly blames parliamentarians, who he describes as wicked people who have rendered the country naked. He emphasizes that petrol prices are on the increase and the price of the dollar is appreciating against the Ghanaian Cedi, which is depicted in the song below:

Are we going forward or backwards
Petrol prices have been increased
Because of hunger, many Ghanaians don't know peace
The potholes on our roads are like gutters
Assembly member is somewhere unconcerned
If it is time for election, you look up to us

Again, from a textual analysis perspective, the song expresses concern about the various problems that face the economy. Reference is made to fiscal challenges, infrastructure deficiencies and how Ghanaians all contribute to the problem. He mentions the lackadaisical nature of Assembly members whose duty it is to see to development at the grass-roots but who shows a lack of concern with such matters, only to run back to the electorate when it is time for elections. This shows that the problem is not only coming from the top leadership of the country but also from the local level leadership. Sarkodie continues to explain the effects of these fiscal and structural challenges on businesses and individuals as follows:

Right now we buy prepaid in pieces
Because of the dollar, people's goods have remained in
the port
Nobody is giving loans because everybody is hot
Ghana's economy is not pretty
The nation has torn into pieces
Workers are not paid
This economy is bad

Per this extract, the artist argues that people cannot pay their children's school fees, they find it difficult to feed themselves and prices of cement and other things are rising. He pleads with the president to wake up and rectify the problem. To the citizens, he advises that they eschew the NDC and NPP politics and work together for the country's development.

From the textual analysis of this song, the paper argues that the artist is up to date with issues of governance and sees it as his responsibility to speak on behalf of the people and channel their grievances to the leadership of the country. The next session focuses on the contributions of political songs to good governance and development in Ghanaian politics.

Political Songs, Good Governance and Development in Ghana – the Contributions

Musicians by their songs and lyrics do not only entertain the public but also educate and shape the minds of the people either for good or bad, depending on the motives of the musician composing the song. As stated in the methodology, six political songs are analyzed for this section; these are Nkratuo, The Masses, Sika die Basaa, Nana is the Winner, Taka, Tika and Warrior for Peace. The reason for analyzing these songs is to ascertain the level of governance issues they present to the public and how such issues affect citizens in appreciating and understanding governance issues. Views from interviewees were also incorporated into the analysis. Findings are presented under four themes: education of citizens about politics and the economy; criticism of government and public office holders; exposure of citizens to government business/activities; and political songs and electioneering campaigns.

Education of the Citizens on Politics and the Economy

Views from interviewees indicated that one of the roles played by political songs towards sustaining good governance and development is that the songs educate citizens about events, regarding politics and the economy. Informants pointed out that since 1992, political songs have served as one of the avenues through which citizens are informed about the activities of the government and politicians. Data gathered from the field show that Kwame A-Plus has composed many songs, which demonstrate a keen interest in politics and social issues. Some of the songs mentioned by informants include: Mesuro Mpo Na Merekeka Yi o which literally means I am afraid of what I am saying but I will say it anyway; Freedom of Speech I; Freedom of Speech II; Letter to Parliament; and A Letter to the West. These are songs that contain lyrics about corruption, parliamentary business, the exploitation of the local economy by the West, the right of individuals to express their ideas in political discourses and election procedures. Again, the data indicate that the song Freedom of Speech II advised the New Patriotic Party to rule the country better or risk losing power in 2004. After the 2004 general elections, he composed another song titled Agye Gon (It did not work)

which analyzed the election process, campaign messages, the losers and the winners. To informants, these songs educated citizens and kept them updated and abreast with governance issues in the country.

Criticizing Government, Politicians and Citizens

Findings from the field reveal that as part of the good governance process, political songs are used to lambast government, politicians and citizens. These songs hold politicians accountable to the people. Informants indicated that one notable song, which influenced people in the post-2008 era was Nkratuo (The message) which was composed by Lucky Mensah. The song pointed out the loopholes in governance and how the citizens were wallowing in abject poverty. In a free translation, part of the song reads as follows:

Tawiah collect this information
Go and give it to your elder brother
We are suffering, things are not going well
Right now, it has reached its peak
We helped you to climb the tree
Now you are the only person enjoying
Remember that the cane that was used to beat Takyi
Will be used to beat Baah

The artist presents a case where the people worked hard to elect Prof. Mills and the NDC to office, but only a few people were benefiting from state resources and portfolios while the generality of the people were suffering. For this reason, the day of accountability will come. Informants pointed out that though the song is not direct in mentioning names of government officials, it reflects the socio-political conditions of the people and is a critique of Prof. Atta Mills and the NDC government. To hold the government accountable to the people, the song warns that: The cane that was used to beat Takyi, will be used to beat Baah. Obviously, this means that just as the NPP government was thrown out of power, so can the NDC government if they do not manage the country

well. To informants, this was a wake-up call to the government to satisfy the needs of the people.

The second political song, which criticized government actions, is titled *The Masses*. Composed by Sarkodie, it was a direct critique of the Mahama-led government. The song explains the bad nature of the economy, the way politicians are mismanaging and misappropriating public funds and how citizens were living in abject poverty. The song also criticized parliamentarians for their selfish activities and the high level of corrupt practices that have engulfed the country. The excerpts of the lyrics run below:

Ghanaians are suffering
We produce oil, yet we continue to beg
Lights are going off, businesses are collapsing
All they know is extravagant spending
We voted for you to govern the nation
But not to spend our cash
Every day, the news is about corruption

This song is a direct critique of the NDC government. The song explains problems of the economy such as corruption, power problems, the failure of businesses due to power outages, embezzlement of public funds and the contraction of loans by government, among others. Informants argued that the song had an effect on the NDC government as some opposition parties capitalized on this song to criticize government. Informants also pointed out that the song was a healthy criticism as it awakened government to rise to the challenge and rescue the failing economy.

Exposing Citizens to the Activities of Government and Public Office Holders

Data gathered from the field also indicated that political songs expose citizens to the activities of the government and public office holders. The song *Sika die Basaa* (misappropriation of money) is analyzed within this

framework. This song was composed by Barima Sydney, featuring Shongo. It presents a message about politicians and ministers who embezzle public funds. It also expresses concerns about poverty among the citizens and how the youth are suffering. Below is a free translation of the song:

Misappropriation of money, just like that
Corruption, just like that
Peoples businesses have collapsed
The young men are stealing
The young women are removing trousers
Everywhere you pass is generator
Making a lot of noise
The youth are suffering
Children are suffering
Women are suffering
What crime has Ghana committed?

The text highlights issues about corruption, misappropriation and mismanagement of the public purse, fiscal challenges and the energy, water and fuel crises, among others. The song shows that because of this, the youth, men, women and children are suffering in the country. Informants argued that some of the issues raised in the song are true reflections of the state of the economy as the energy crisis, corruption and mismanagement are issues that are discussed daily in the media. They, however, added that the song prompted the government to put measures in place to ameliorate the situation. It is therefore argued that political songs tend to put the government on its toes and elicit a response to the needs of the people.

Political Songs and Electioneering Campaigns

Political songs contribute to electioneering campaigns. Interviewees argued that campaign songs have always been an integral part of the campaigns of presidential candidates. These songs entertain, inspire, engage and communicate with the public. During electioneering

campaigns, political songs set the tone and reflect the message of party campaigns. The data show that through political songs, many voters get to know candidates and what they stand for in an election process. Some of these songs recapture the emotions, interests and loyalty of voters during elections. The roles of the selected songs in electioneering campaigns are categorized under three themes: delivery of party manifestoes, describing the achievements of candidates and promotion of peace and unity.

In the first place, political songs enhance the delivery of party manifestoes to the public. Political parties of the Fourth Republic have always made public written declarations of principles, policies and objectives that they intend to pursue if given the mandate to rule the country. Apart from giving oral delivery of the manifesto, parties use songs to make such public declarations. Interviewees stated that the NDC and the NPP have been the two major parties, which used popular culture to mobilize the electorate to deliver their manifestoes to them. The data shows that in 2008, the NPP contracted Daddy Lumba, a renowned highlife musician to compose a song for the party titled: Nana Ye Winner, which literally means Nana is the Winner. This song, according to the interviewees, was the greatest political song of the party and it received a wide range of airplay across the length and breadth of the country. They argued that this song presented Nana Akufo-Addo's manifesto as follows:

Nana Nana Nana is the Winner
He is the Winner
Vote for Nana, Nana
For free Senior High School, Nana
For improved Health Insurance, Nana
Exercise Books for all, Nana
From the beginning to the end, Nana
Everyone will get, Nana
The poor and the rich, Nana
Everyone will attend, Nana

The song highlights Nana Akufo-Addo's agenda for the country: His intention to implement free senior high school policy, improve upon the national health insurance scheme, create jobs, provide exercise books for students and make the distribution of national resources equal to both the poor and the rich. Thus, the song appeals to the electorate to vote for Nana Akufo-Addo and the NPP.

Secondly, political songs are used to describe the achievements of candidates and to canvass for votes. Field data show that the songs present to the electorate the development initiatives embarked upon by candidates and their parties. In 2012, the NDC contracted Michael Adangba, a highlife musician, to compose a song to reflect the achievements of the late Prof. Evans Atta Mills and John Mahama. The song highlighted the developmental initiatives in the first four years of their leadership as follows:

Vote for John Mahama
Free school uniforms have come
Exercise books are being shared double-double
Education, one child, one computer
NDC has good mind for the youth
Because of that it brought
Youth in Agriculture
Youth in Shea butter
Youth in Coastal Sanitation
Youth in Bamboo processing

Information and Communication Technology Education

The song enumerates what is deemed to be the achievements of the NDC government and John Mahama in education, agriculture, sanitation, creation of jobs for the youth and human capacity development. The song therefore appeals to the electorate to vote for John Mahama. Young men, old men and women are purported to have said they will vote for Mahama because what others have failed to do, John Mills and John Mahama have done. The song argues that John Mills and John

Mahama have provided electricity, good roads and good water. They have also brought economic growth, paid off Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) debt, constructed the Tamale Teaching Hospital, the the Bekwai and Tarkwa hospitals, the Accra-Teshie hospital and two new public universities, among others. Hence, the need to retain Mahama and the NDC in power. Finally, political songs promote peace, unity and stability during elections. According to the interviewees, even though some political songs tend to express party positions, others eschew partisanship and promote peace, unity and stability during elections. During the late President Mills' visit to the White House in early March 2012, President Obama commended Ghana for having peaceful elections and stated that Ghana was a model for African democracy. This recognition was made because of the peaceful manner in which elections were conducted in Ghana. Political songs therefore have a role to play in ensuring peace, unity and stability during elections. One song that is analyzed under this theme is titled Warrior for Peace. This song was composed by Edem and it expresses his wish for free and fair elections, unity and solidarity. He entreats politicians to listen to this message and adhere to it strictly for the good of this country. Below is an extract from the song:

Be a warrior for peace
Not a warrior for war
In this coming election
I see children crying out peace
Children know nothing about politics
They simply want to grow up
Having the love and care of their parents
The children are crying out peace
In order for children of Ghana to live and see their dreams
fulfilled
It is important that the country have
Free, fair and peaceful elections
Be a warrior for peace
Not a warrior for war

The lyrics of this song underscore the relevance of political songs in mobilizing the citizens to eschew war, violence and chaos in the period of election. From the lyrics, the artist shows that the young ones are innocent people who know nothing about politics. They have high hopes to become useful and responsible citizens of this country. For this reason, there was the need for politicians and the various stakeholders to ensure that the elections were free, fair and peaceful so that there would be stability and development in the country. This song clearly demonstrates the relevance of political songs in electioneering campaigns as it reaches out to all Ghanaians and not to party foot soldiers and supporters.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that political songs are relevant in sustaining good governance in contemporary Ghana. This is reflected in the didactic functions that music plays by measuring the performance of politicians and public office holders and educating the citizens on the prevailing socio-economic conditions. In addition, political songs mobilize citizens for political action; they enhance the dissemination of information, delivery of party manifestoes, and communication of party ideologies and principles to the electorate. Furthermore, political songs highlight information about development initiatives of candidates and governments and accordingly criticize the government if it fails to provide for or respond to the needs of the citizenry. In electioneering campaigns, political songs are used in the mobilization of followers. It is therefore obvious that political songs have taken centre stage in contemporary Ghanaian politics; and they help promote good governance and development in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

References

Allan, A. (2008), *Governance Assessment Methodology*. Centre for Water Law, Policy and Science, University of Dundee, Dundee.

Bame, K.N. (1974), "Domestic Tensions Reflected in the Popular Theatre", in C. Oppong (eds). *Domestic Rights and Duties in Southern Ghana*. Legon; Institute of African Studies; pp. 145-61.

Bame, K.N. (1977), "A Study of Some Traditional and Modern Media for Development Support Communication in Africa: An Illustration from a Ghanaian Family Planning Study", Legon: PDP-Conference paper.

Barret, M. (1991), *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Brugnach, M., Dewulf, A., Pahl-Wostl, C., Taillieu, T. (2008), Toward a Relational Concept of Uncertainty: About Knowing too Little, Knowing too Differently, and Accepting not to Know. *Ecol Soc*13 (2): [online] URL: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss32/art30/>

Collins, E. J. (1976a), "Comic Opera in Ghana", *African Arts* 9 (2): 50-57.

Collins, E.J. (1976b), "Ghanaian Highlife" *African Arts* 10 (1): 62-68, 100.

Emeka, L. N. (1992), "Radio Root-Broadcasting and Rural Development in Nigeria", Paper presented at Conference on Communication and Development. Enugu, News Agency of Nigeria.

Englert, B. (2008), *Ambiguous Relationships: Youth, Popular Music and Politics in Contemporary Tanzania*. Stichproben, wiener Zeitschrift fur kristische Afrikastudien Nr. 14/2008, 8. Jg., pp. 71-96.

Foss, A.K. & Littlejohn, S.W. (2009), *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. Sage Publications Inc. London.

Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G. (1999), *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods*. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

Geiger, S. (1997), *Tany Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism: 1955-1965*, Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Hill, M. (2013), *A Starting Point: Understanding Governance, Good Governance and Water Governance*. *Advances in Global Change Research* 54, Springer Science +Business Media Dordrecht.

Jordan, A. (2008), “The Governance of Sustainable Development: Taking Stock and Looking Forwards”. *Environ Plan C: Gov Policy* 26:17–33.

Kooiman, J. (1993), *Modern Governance: New Government-Society Interactions*. Sage, London/Newbury Park.

Mayntz, R. (2004), *Governance im modernen Staat*. In: Benz A (ed) *Governance – Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen*. Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, pp. 65–76.

Njogu, K & Maupeau, H. (2007), *Songs and Politics in Eastern Africa*, Amazon: African Books Collectives.

Olusegun, T. S. & Abayomi, B. O. (2011), *Musical Forms in Songs for Political Mobilization during 2011 General Elections in Nigeria*. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol. 2 No. 13, July 2011.

Omobiya, M.A. (1975), *Training the Yoruba Traditional Musicians in Yoruba Oral Poetry*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Owusu, K. (2013), ‘The Political Significance of Highlife Songs’. <http://www.ghanamusic.com/bloggers/guest-bloggers/the-political-significance-of-highlife-songs/index.html>.

Pierre, J. (2000), *Debating Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Plastow J. (1996), *African Theatre and Politics: The Evolution of Theatre in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*, Rodopi.

Ricard, A. (1974), "The Concert Party as a Genre: The Happy Stars of Lome", *Research in African Literatures*, 5: 165-79.

Rogers, P, and Hall, A.W. (2003), "Effective Water Governance". GWP TAC background papers no.7. Global Water Partnership Technical Committee, <http://www.gwpforum.org/servlet/PSP?iNodeID=215&itemID=197>

Sellnow, D. & Sellnow, T. (2001), "The Illusions of Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music in Media Communication". *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18: 395-415.

Treib, O., Bähr, H., Falkner, G. (2007), "Modes of governance: Towards a Conceptual Clarification"; *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(1):1–20.

UNDP (1997), *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*. United Nations Development Programme [Online]. <http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/policy/>

Van der Geest, S. (1980), "The Image of Death in Akan Highlife Songs of Ghana", *Legon; Music in Ghana*, 2:70 – 94.

Van der Geest, S. & Asante-Darko, N. (1982), "Political Meaning of Highlife Songs in Ghana", *African Studies Review*, 25(1) (March):,27-35.

World Bank (2002), *Toward More Operationally Relevant Indicators of Governance*. Preliminary Notes No. 49, Dec 2002.

APPLICATION OF THE HYPERGEOMETRIC MODEL IN ELECTORAL DISPUTES SETTLEMENT

N.H. Somaayin², K. Tibie³ and K. Doku-Amponsah⁴

Abstract

Judges or members of Election Management Bodies (EMBs) of many less developed democracies are often faced with reviewing electoral complaints and coming out with a decision that is acceptable to all parties involved. Some judges have ruled for complete cancellation of all votes in the affected polling stations. Where the electoral irregularities are widespread, it is very difficult to declare a winner without incurring the additional cost of a re-run. In this article, we use the hypergeometric model to provide an alternative method to direct cancellation or proportional deduction approach used by many EMBs in the settlement of electoral disputes. To be specific, we provide a bound on the margin of victory when either a re-run or fresh election is not necessary to determine the winner of the polls, i.e., the non-overturn condition. We use this method to investigate whether or not the decision by the Electoral Commission of Ghana to declare the NDC candidate the winner of the presidential run-off of 2008 is statistically correct given the data available to the Commission on the day to declare the winner. Using this approach in the review of electoral complaints could help developing nations to save some money for development that would otherwise have been spent on election re-runs.

² Department of Statistics, School of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, University of Ghana University of Ghana.

³ Department of Statistics, School of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, University of Ghana.

⁴ Senior Lecturer, Department of Statistics, School of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, University of Ghana. (Email: kdoku-amponsah@ug.edu.gh).

Keywords: Hypergeometric model, normal approximation to hypergeometric, electoral disputes, re-run of polls, victory margins, illegal votes.

Introduction

In many less developed democracies, the desire for people to attain power leads them, most of the time, to do all they can to get political power. It is not uncommon to hear cases of electoral disputes as a result of electoral malpractices like multiple voting, impersonation, tampering with ballot boxes, voting by minors, inflation or deflation of electoral results, and so on, during and after the electioneering process. All these irregularities affect the election results and could sometimes affect the general credibility of the electoral process. Ghana's 2008 presidential election had its share of irregularities.

The 2008 general elections took place on the 7th of December and included both presidential and parliamentary elections. Some of the political parties which took part in the presidential elections were the National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Convention (PNC), Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), Democratic People's Party (DPP) and Reformed Patriotic Democrats (RPD) as well as an independent candidate. Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP polled 4,159,439 (49.13%) of the votes while his close contender, Prof. John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC had 4,056,634 (47.92%) of the votes, making them the top two (2) candidates. Neither of these candidates received the fifty percent (50%) plus one votes required to win the election, hence as stipulated by the 1992 constitution, there was a run-off election, which took place on the 28th of December, 2008. At the end of the run-off election on January 3, 2009, John Atta- Mills was declared winner of the polls with a margin of less than one (1) percent and total votes of 4,521,032 (50.23%) whilst his opponent Nana Akufo-Addo had 4,480,446 (49.77%). The results were accepted by all as declared by the Electoral Commission, but as has always been the case, a lot of complaints were filed during and after the elections (Electoral Commission, 2008).

Problems which are considered in the hypergeometric distribution model are an example of the famous urn problems studied extensively by researchers (Johnson & Kotz, 1977, among others).

In probability theory and statistics, an urn problem is an idealized experiment in which some objects of real interest (such as votes, people, pens, balls and so on) are represented as balls in an urn or another container. In the general urn model, one or more balls are drawn or removed from the urn with or without replacement (Johnson & Kotz, 1977). For the hypergeometric model we observe a random number of successes in a finite draw from a finite population containing a number of successes without replacement (Berkopce, 2007).

In this article, we use the hypergeometric model to investigate whether the decision by the Electoral Commission of Ghana to declare the NDC candidate the winner of the presidential run-off of the 2008 election was a right one, although the NPP had instigated a review of the polls, taking into account the fact that there were over 300,000 votes over the first run and the victory margin was a little over 40,000. To be specific, we use the hypergeometric model to calculate the probability of overturning the election, say p . We compare our p calculate with a chosen value probability which we shall set at 0.05 and if the $p < 0.05$ we conclude that the overturn of results of the election is highly unlikely to occur.

In the remainder of the paper, we apply the hypergeometric model to election dispute settlement. In section 2 we present the methodology. In section 3 we apply our methodology to Ghana's 2008 presidential run-off. Section 4 provides the non-overturn condition, recommendation and limitations.

Method

Suppose in an election N valid votes were cast and these votes are deemed to go to two political parties A and B . Suppose N_A and N_B votes went to parties A and B respectively. If M of the N have been adjudged to be over the actual number of voters and the vote difference between the

winner and loser $m < M$, then one may be tempted to conclude that the declared winner might not be the legitimate winner. Cancellation of the results of affected polling stations could lead to violence and a complete re-run could lead to extra cost because all parties would be very keen to win. Before we think of a re-run, we could consider the actual number of invalid votes, say Y in the votes of the winner N_A as a random variable and calculate the probability of detecting Y invalid N_A votes in the election as follows:

$$P\{Y=r\} = \frac{\binom{N_A}{r} \binom{N_A-m}{M-r}}{\binom{N}{M}}, r=0,1,2,3,\dots,M \quad (2.1)$$

Note that, the number of illegal votes M is more than the victory margin of m and the outcome of the election can only be reversed if the inequality:

$$N_A - r \leq (N_A - m) - (M - r) \quad (2.2)$$

holds. Therefore, solving 2.2 for r we obtain $M \geq r \geq \frac{1}{2}(m+M)$.

Therefore, the probability of reversing the outcome of the election may be calculated by:

$$p = \sum_{r=\lceil (m+M)/2 \rceil}^M P\{Y=r\},$$

where $\lceil x \rceil$ means the integral part of x . If the probability, p_A exceeds 5 percent (even for small percentage points), we consider it a large enough probability to cast doubt on the election results, which could justify a new election or a re-run of the polls. Otherwise, we affirm the initial decision and conclude that the illegal votes did not affect the outcome of the election (see Durrett, 1994 for more examples on the application of this model in disputed elections).

The main limitation of the study is the restriction of the number of political parties to two. It is possible to consider the case where we have multiparty democracy and in this case, we will need to consider the multivariate hypergeometric model. Computation of the overturning probability will be a little tedious to carry out. In the case where the votes from similar parties are insignificant, one may collapse these votes into the first run up and carry out the analysis as if the votes were coming from two political parties depending on what the constitution of the country says about what number of valid votes will secure a candidate a win in an election. In the case of Ghana, it is *50 percent plus one vote*. The computation of the lower bound of the interval in Subsection 4.1 may be very tedious for large values of M but it can be done with the help of high speed computers.

Analysis of Ghana's 2008 Presidential Run-off

The 2008 presidential election saw two rounds of election since none of the candidates made more than 50 percent of the valid votes cast as stipulated by the electoral law. In the first round, there were 8,465,834 recorded valid votes and 205,438 invalid or rejected votes, making a total of 8,671,272. The top two candidates who contested in the second round were John Atta-Mills of the NDC and Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP who secured total votes of 4,056,634 and 4,159,439 respectively. In the second round, 9,094,364 votes were cast, out of which 9,001,478 valid votes were recorded. In this round, Nana Akufo-Addo had 4,480,446 votes while John Atta-Mills had 4,521,032 (Electoral Commission, 2008). The victory margin in the second round is 40,586 and that means 423,092 more people voted in this round of the 2008 election. We recorded that there was voter apathy especially on the part of the NPP supporters during the second round of the election, so we expected voter turn out to be less than that of the first round. But interestingly, we recorded the opposite case.

In this subsection of this article we investigate the effect of these extra voters on the election outcome. Thus, we seek to find out if the election results should have been overturned though there was no evidence of

fraud on the part of the winner since these 423,092 additional voters are more than the victory margin of 40,586.

If we assume that all voters were equally likely to be one of the 423,092 disputed votes cast, we can look at this problem in the framework of the hypergeometric model described in section 2 as follows: we remove, say r votes from John Atta Mills' votes and $423,092 - r$ from Nana Akufo-Addo's votes and the probability of doing this is given by:

$$P\{Y = r\} = \frac{\binom{4,521,032}{r} \binom{4,480,446}{423,092 - r}}{\binom{9,094,364}{423,092}}$$

where $231,839 \leq r \leq 423,092$. Now, as the number of valid votes cast (9,094,364) and the number of erroneous votes 423,092 are both large, we use the normal approximation to the hypergeometric distribution or Central Limit Theorem (Nicholson, 1956), to infer that the highest probability will occur on the modal number of successes, which is approximately equal to 211,546. As the mode has the highest probability of:

$$\frac{\binom{4,521,032}{211,546} \binom{4,480,446}{423,092 - 211,546}}{\binom{9,094,364}{423,092}},$$

we have

$$p(231,839 \leq Y \leq 423,092) < \sum_{r=211,546}^{423,092} P(Y = 211,546) < 423,092$$

$$\times \frac{\binom{4,521,032}{211,546} \binom{4,480,446}{423,092 - 211,546}}{\binom{9,094,364}{423,092}} < 423,092 \times \frac{7.563748284 \times 10^{741165}}{4.2524455543 \times 10^{743102}}$$

$$< 0.7525446116705252 \times 10^{-1937} < 0.05$$

which shows that the probability of overturning the result is negligible (less than 0.05). Hence the decision of the Electoral Commission (EC) to declare John Atta-Mills the winner was a correct decision.

Conclusion and Recommendation

In this article, we have demonstrated that the hypergeometric model can be used to settle election disputes in Ghana. This is especially so, if an error margin of 0.05 percent (in the case of the computation in section 3 $\alpha = 0.05$) is set before the election when the victory margin m lies in the interval:

$$\left(M - \frac{2^{(M+1)} \Gamma[(M+3)/2] \Gamma[(M+1)/2]}{\Gamma(M+1)} \right) \times 0.05,$$

M) (That is the non-overturn condition)

There will be no need for a re-run, as eliminating the illegal votes M will not overturn the election results. It is recommended that before the EC thinks of applying the complete cancellation or the proportional deduction approach (Hickey, 2008) in the settlement of electoral disputes, the hypergeometric model should be used to minimize the cost of running elections in Ghana.

In addition, the political parties should be encouraged to concentrate their efforts on preventing illegal votes from inflating the election results because those votes may not necessarily annul the result.

Mathematical Analysis of the Non-Overtake Condition: In this section we outline the mathematical analysis behind our calculation in section 3 above and suggest a possible way to make a decision whether or not to overturn the election results. To begin, we assume that:

$$N_A / N \rightarrow p_A \in [0,1], M / N \rightarrow 0, \text{ as } N \rightarrow \infty$$

(in the case of Ghanaian case we have $p_A = 1/2$ in Section 4.1) and observe that, the overturn probability satisfies:

$$p = \sum_{r=(m+M)/2}^M P\{Y=r\} \leq \frac{(M-m)}{2} \frac{\binom{N_A}{\text{mode}} \binom{N_A-m}{M-\text{mode}}}{\binom{N}{M}}$$

$$\leq p_A^M \frac{(M-m)\Gamma(M+1)}{2\Gamma([(M+3)/2]\Gamma([(M+1)/2])},$$

where $\text{mode} = \frac{(M+1)(N_A+1)}{2N_A-M+1} \rightarrow \frac{(M+1)}{2}$ for $N \rightarrow \infty$ and Γ denotes the Gamma function.

If an error margin of α percent (in the case of the computation in Section 3, $\alpha = 0.05$) is set before the election we have the following bounds on the victory margin m .

$$M - \frac{2p_A^{-M}\Gamma([(M+3)/2]\Gamma([(M+1)/2])}{\Gamma(M+1)} \times \alpha\% < m \leq M$$

Therefore, if the margin of victory satisfies the above inequality then there will be no need for another election or re-run to determine the winner. It will be interesting to investigate, with empirical data, how this model will explain election outcomes or re-runs in Ghana.

Moreover, it will be interesting to research into the acceptability of the model to stakeholders (EC and political parties and the judiciary). Also one could look at the model and its impact on the electoral laws of Ghana.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank the reviewer(s) for their helpful suggestions which have improved the mathematical content of the paper. The computation in section 3 has appeared in a project (Somaanyin, 2012), submitted to the Department of Statistics, University of Ghana. The limitation in Section 4 has been considered in a project (Tibie, 2014), also submitted to the Department of Statistics, University of Ghana.

References

- Berkopec, A. (2007), HyperQuick algorithm for discrete hypergeometric distribution. *Journal of Discrete Algorithms*. 5(2) 341-347.
- Durrett, R. (1994), *The Essentials of Probability*. California: The Duxbury Press.
- Electoral Commission of Ghana (2009), *Electoral Commission of Ghana*. Accra: Electoral Commission.
- Hickey, K.J. (2008), Accuracy Counts: Illegal Votes in Contested Elections and the Case for Complete Proportionate Deduction. *New York University Law Review*.
- Johnson, N.L. and Kortz, S. (1977), *Urn Models and Their Application: Approach to Modern Discrete Probability Theory*. New York: Wiley.
- Nicholas, W.L. (1956), On the Normal Approximation to the Hypergeometric Distribution. *Ann. Math. Statist.* 27(2): 471-483.

Somaayin, N.H. (2012), Probabilistic Analysis of Ghana's 2008 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections. Unpublished BA Project, Department of Statistics University of Ghana, (June).

Tibie, K. (2014), A Probabilistic Analysis of the Election Petition on 2012 Presidential Election. Unpublished BA Project, Department of Statistics, University of Ghana, (June).

THE STATE AND MANGO EXPORT CROP PRODUCTION IN GHANA

Paul Kofi Dzene Yidu¹ and Dan-Bright S. Dzorgbo²

Abstract

This paper investigates how state policies aided access to factors of production, compliance with international food safety standards and improved income status of mango farmers. The study was conducted in the Yilo Krobo and Kintampo North Districts— two major mango growing areas in Ghana. A total of 43 respondents provided primary data for the study. They included 32 farmers and 11 key informants from processors, key state institutions and development partners. Among the major findings are: land title registration certification policy guaranteed land security, expansion in farm size and increased productivity. Leasehold land tenure was the preferred practice and it significantly replaces sharecropping associated with land acquisition. The state and development partners injected significant agriculture credit into mango production. Cash and logistic support got directly to farmers. Access to agricultural credit engendered capital-intensive production, aided farm expansion and facilitated procurement of agro-inputs. Division of labour is by specialization and experience rather than gender, sex and age. Technical and skill development capacity training has improved farmers' agronomic practices, and ensures compliance with food safety standards, greater competitiveness and increased export volumes. Farmers are experiencing increasing income and regular profit and are able to educate their children, build decent houses and provide food for their families.

Keywords: Ghana, Mango, Food Safety, Income, Farm Certification

¹Assistant Director of Education, Ghana Education Service. (E-mail: kofipaul65@yahoo.com).

² Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana. (E-mail: ddzorgbo@ug.edu.gh).

Introduction

In the last three decades of the 20th century, Ghana's production of cocoa, oil palm and shea nut/butter dropped and foreign exchange earnings from these major traditional export crops dwindled; even when the world cocoa price increased in the middle of the 1970s, the state could not get enough cocoa beans to export so as to enjoy the economies of scale (Dzorgbo 2001; Gyimah-Boadi and Jeffries 2000; Frimpong-Ansah 1991). Major contributing factors to this situation were the Busia government's Alien Compliance Order of 1969 (Asamoah 2001) through which many migrant cocoa farmers and labourers were deported; farm neglect as a result of low producer price of cocoa and shea butter; high import tax on production inputs, cocoa smuggling into neighbouring countries, prolonged drought (climate change) and bush fires (Frimpong-Ansah 1991; Gyimah-Boadi and Jeffries 2000; Nyanteng and Seini 2000; Dzorgbo 2001; Chalfin 2004).

In response to the economic crisis of the early 1980s, the then Rawlings-led Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government adopted an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) better known as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s, to restructure the overall economy. One critical element of this restructuring is the diversification of export crops production (Dzorgbo 2001; Chalfin 2004). Through the SAP the government increased producer prices of export crops, removed price controls on major basic commodities, abolished import licensing and liberalized trade of export commodities (Gyimah-Boadi and Jeffries 2000; Nyanteng and Seini 2000; Chalfin 2004). The SAP prioritized diversification of export crop production on large-scale with the inclusion of small-scale farmers.

The literature is replete with sociological analysis of production organization of Ghana's traditional export crops such as cocoa, oil palm and shea nut/butter. For example, Ghana's cocoa production for export focused on share cropping as one major means of land acquisition (Hill 1956; 1963), a cocoa pricing regime (Killick 1978; Frimpong-Ansah 1991), and smuggling as a consequence of the pricing regime in cocoa

production (Gyimah-Boadi and Jeffries 2000; Nyanteng and Seini 2000; Dzorgbo 2001). The policy of joint partnership investment between the state and multinational corporations (MNCs) in oil palm plantations was explored by Daddieh (1994) and Huddleton and Tonts (2007). The revitalization of the shea nut/butter economy in northern Ghana, the significant role of women in shea nut/butter production and men's intrusion into shea nut/butter trade which had hitherto been the preserve of women in Northern Ghana were espoused in Chalfin (2004).

While the state's role in cocoa and other crops has been analysed in much detail by anthropologists, economists and geographers, the same cannot be said of mango. However, anyone familiar with the development and growth of the mango industry in the country cannot dismiss the state as an insignificant player. Because the state's role has not been particularly well-documented, this paper investigates specifically the state's agriculture policy and how it aided access to factors of production, compliance with international food safety standards in production, improved income of mango farmers, promoted the mango industry and reduced rural poverty in Ghana.

History of Diversification into Mango Production in Ghana

Historically, two major attempts were made at promoting the production of horticultural export crops in Ghana in the postcolonial era. The first was a proposal by the Convention People's Party (CPP) government in its Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development where the policy proposed the diversification into the production of mango, cashew, pineapple, banana and industrial crops such as oil palm and sugar cane on a large-scale (Republic of Ghana 1964). The CPP government's most important policy foundation for mango crop development programme in Ghana was evident in the 1960s. First was the government's role in terms of input supply and research activities. Second were deliberate attempts by the CPP government to cultivate the crop on a large scale for export. To achieve this latter objective, cultivars of several mango varieties were imported from Trinidad and Ceylon and

trial tests conducted on them at the Ejura and Kpeve Agricultural Stations (Abutiate 1988). The Crop Research Institute of Ghana (CIR) imported some new mango cultivars from Miami, Florida in the United States and planted them at the Ejura, Kpeve and Somanya.

To promote the processing of mango and other fruits, the Nsawam Canneries factory was built near Accra - the national capital of Ghana. This factory catered for fruit crops in the Southern zone of Ghana. The construction of another processing factory at Wenchi to cater for the Middle and Northern savannah zones of Ghana was also begun. The Nkrumah-led CPP agriculture policy was a state-led and controlled initiative in mango production under the Seven-Year National Development Plan and import substitution industrialization. The CPP's policy of export crops diversification did not materialize, as the administration was overthrown in a coup d'état in 1966.

Another attempt at promoting the mango industry was evident under the Acheampong-led Supreme Military Council (SMC I) of 1972-1975. With the introduction of the 'Operation Feed Your Industries' policy, the regime provided incentives for domestic agriculture, subsidized inputs and reduced taxes on planting technology (Frimpong-Ansah 1991). To propagate the idea of commercial mango production, experimental nurseries and farms called mango museums were step-up in Kintampo, Ejura, Techiman and Wenchi.

It is evident from this brief historical account that governments had attempted to aid mango production but mainly under state-led development strategies. Therefore, targeting mango production for export in the 1980s under Ghana's SAP was not new but long overdue. The new dimension to the mango industry worth investigating is its organization under the state's trade liberalization policy which was pursued with the implementation of SAP. Trade liberalization implies that the state has extricated itself from the control of price of produce and production inputs, import licensing was abolished and there was

private sector participation in the purchase and export of agricultural produce (Gyimah-Boadi and Jeffries 2000).

Since the implementation of SAP, farm statistics showed that small and large-scale mango plantations were increasingly developed in the savannah and transitional forest belts of Ghana (Tweneboah 2000; Dixie and Sergeant 1998; Voisard and Jaeger 2003). The savannah production zones include the south eastern part of the Eastern Region, the Accra plains, the Northern Savannahs and the transitional forest zones in the Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, and Volta Regions of Ghana. Mango export volume in 1991 was 23,000 metric tonnes. This figure rose to 83,000 tonnes in 2003 and by the end of the 2008 production season the export volume had risen to over 1,200 metric tonnes (Dixie and Sergeant 1998; Jaeger 2011). Due to the increasing production of mango in the country, there has been a proliferation of fresh fruit processing factories and exporters. Notable ones are Blue Skies near Nsawam, Hans Peter Werder (HPW) at Adaeso in the Eastern Region, and the Integrated Tamale Fruit Company (ITFC) in the Northern Region. Major fruit exporting companies are Bomart Farms, Prudent Export Farms, Weblink Farms and Evelyn Farms.

History of Export Crop Production in Ghana

Mango production for export is an emerging economy in Ghana. Therefore its study cannot be divorced from the production of cocoa, oil palm and shea nut/ butter, especially since the organization of production of these earlier export crops is the precursor to mango cultivation and probably influenced the organization of the latter. The production of cocoa, oil palm and shea nut/butter was dominated by smallholder farmers from the 1930s to 1990s (Hill 1963; Killick 1978; Kay 1992; Frimpong-Ansah 1991; Daddieh 1994; Chalfin 2004). Characteristic of a traditional society, land tenure in Ghana is embedded in kinship ties. Clans, kin groups and lineages own land collectively and the individual group members had the right of usufruct (Nukunya 1975; Asamoah 2001). Indeed, in Ghana, customary land law recognises the right to land

through lineage membership, gift from an indigene, and purchase (Takane 2002: 37).

Land acquisition and tenure is one of the main determinants of export crop production. The state's approaches to land acquisition for export crop production differ with regard to cocoa, oil palm, rubber and sugar cane. The literature indicates that the state played virtually no role in land acquisition for cocoa production (Hill 1963; Takane 2002; Asamoah 2001). However, evidence shows that the state played a significant role in land acquisition for oil palm, rubber and sugar cane production (Killick 1978; Daddieh 1994; Huddleston et al 2007).

Hill (1963) argued that outright land purchase in southern Ghana was rare and leasehold practice was not a priority. According to Hill (1963), to acquire land, a prospective peasant cocoa farmer first became caretaker/labourer; he/she cultivated and maintained the cocoa farm. When the cocoa matured, the farm land and the produce were then divided into three parts and one-third went to the farmer/caretaker. A second method of land acquisition identified among the early cocoa farmers was that migrant settler cocoa farmers formed a company and the members, through their headman, bought land from the local chiefs. Later, the individual members of the company shared the land proportionately and then cultivated cocoa on it. A third method was sharecropping which was adopted during the post-colonial era due to population increase, land fragmentation and declining farm sizes (Amanor 1994; 2001). With sharecropping, it was only the produce that was shared and not the land on which the crop was produced. The gender dimension in cocoa production indicates that though women participated and owned cocoa farms (Hill 1963; 1975), their numbers were marginal and most of them were very old and widows (Hill 1963:89).

Unlike the cocoa industry in which the main protagonists were peasant farmers, the dynamics differ in the organization of rubber, oil palm and sugar cane production. During the Nkrumah era, the state acquired land for rubber cultivation at Bonsaso in Western Region (Dzorgbo 2001) and

about 5,600 acres (2,267 hectares) of rubber trees were planted on it (Republic of Ghana 1964: 70). From 1972 to 1975, the Acheampong-led SMC I administration completed land acquisition processes which were started by Nkrumah for large-scale production of sugar cane and oil palm. The sugar plantations and factories were located at Asutsuare and Komenda.

Investment in the oil palm plantation and processing industry was on a large-scale. The government policy prescribed a joint venture between the state and MNCs. The state appropriated land for the large-scale plantation farms while the MNCs, with their agencies such as the United Africa Company (UAC) and the International Development Association (IDA), and a consortium of local representatives of MNCs in Ghana, provided the necessary funding and technically skilled manpower for the project (Daddieh 1994). Benso Oil Palm Plantation (BOPP), Twifo Oil Palm Plantation (TOPP) and Ghana Oil Palm Development Corporation (GOPDC) were the main oil palm plantations and industries established through the joint venture.

There was variation in agricultural credit support for cocoa and oil palm farmers in Ghana. The state never guaranteed access to agricultural credit for cocoa farmers. Meanwhile, the state intervened by giving oil palm farmers agriculture credit for land clearing, supplying input (agrochemicals) and providing extension service. One reason for the government's intervention was to encourage farmers to produce oil palm to meet increasing local demands for palm oil and to reverse the increasing palm oil importation using scarce foreign currency.

The state's intervention in cocoa and oil palm production was vicious in the sense that the government controlled the domestic producer prices through the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB). The state successfully used the marketing boards in regulating export commodity prices during and after post-Second World War II depression. However, while this mandate remained imperative in theory, in reality, post-independence governments used the CMB as a conduit to control the price differential

between export prices and farm-gate prices to finance many government administrative and development projects. Therefore, the pricing system of the CMB in the 1960s did not favour cocoa farmers. Farmers were not enthused about successive governments' refusal to increase farm-gate prices despite increases in world market prices, the difference of which the state appropriated over the years, thus denying farmers what was due to them (Bates, 1981). The phenomenon was a major contributor to the neglect of cocoa farms, smuggling and rural disaffection (Dzorgbo 2001). However, governments developed a number of state intervention schemes to compensate farmers and mitigate criticisms: production inputs (seedlings, agrochemicals and farming gears) were subsidized; agricultural extension services and guaranteed market, scholarships to farmers' wards in secondary and technical schools were instituted.

Labour plays a prominent part in production and farm management. The dominant productive unit in rural agriculture in Ghana was largely family members and these were occasionally augmented with hired labour (Amanor 1994:103; Asamoah 2001:20; Takane 2002). The production tools were cutlass, axe, hoe and other farm simple or traditional implements. Bulldozers and tractors were in rare use in land clearing and preparation in cocoa farming mainly because the crops were cultivated on virgin lands.

Global Trend in the Organization of Mango Production

The literature indicates that in Ghana, unlike cocoa the development of the mango industry in particular and horticulture crops in general was aided by state policy on tax concession on export of produce; free import duty on machines and equipment; and agricultural credit (loan) from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), (IDA and MNCs (Sangho, et al. 2010; Rath 2003; Raynolds 1994). The literature on Mali indicates that the state, the World Bank and private institutions supported the mango industry (Sangho, et al. 2010). Through bilateral agreement, the Malian government took a loan from the World Bank/IDA and technical assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for agricultural trade and processing promotion.

Rath (2003) stated that in India, the horticulture industry was boosted in 1991 when the government reduced import duties on agricultural infrastructure (such as cool chain storage facilities and equipment). The horticultural crops farmers' co-operative then accessed commercial loans from banks and purchased some cool storage containers, disengaged middle agencies in the export trade and negotiated directly with European wholesalers.

Raynolds (1994) asserted that in the Dominican Republic the decision to diversify was largely influenced by the U.S.A, the IMF and the World Bank. While the USA reduced the quota for traditional export to their country, causing loss in foreign exchange earnings to the Dominican Republic, the IMF and the World Bank compelled the state to adopt the neo-liberal trade regime. Raynolds (1994) suggested that through external influences, the non-traditional export crop producers and exporters received the most subsidies. Firms in the sector enjoyed free tax exemptions.

Research Methods

The study is qualitative and combines a case study research strategy with a historical research approach. The data for this study were mainly from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were gathered from interviews conducted during ten months' fieldwork from October 2012 to July 2013 in the Yilo Krobo and Kintampo North districts.

Two major reasons accounted for selecting the study areas. First, they have a long standing history of mango production. This is because trials of imported mango varieties were carried out in these communities simultaneously (Abutiate 1988). The second rationale is geographical features which influence input and output markets and affect cost of doing business (www.ghanadistricts.gov.gh). The Yilo Krobo District is situated in the southern savannah zone closer to fruit processing factories and input market. On the other hand, the Kintampo North District is in the middle transitional savannah zone of Ghana and spatially far from input and output markets.

The secondary data came from official publications, Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy and government official statistical records. A total of forty-three (43) respondents were sampled, made up of 32 farmers and 11 key informants from among processors, key state institutions and development partners.

Purposive and snowballing sampling methods which are qualitative research methods were used in the selection of sampled respondents. The instrument used for data collection during an in-depth interview was an unstructured interview schedule. The study adopted mixed methods of data analyses. These are thematic and interpretative analyses which were based on the authors' own subjective evidence in the fieldwork.

Major Findings

The thematic areas undergirding this section of the article focus on state policies which influence access to land, agriculture credit and modernization of agriculture with a shift from labour-intensive to capital-intensive production. An additional thematic area is compliance with food safety standards in production which serves as a major booster for the increase in export volume of mango fruits and the effects of mango farming on the income status of farmers.

Policy Influence on Access to Factors of Production

Factors of production considered in the paper were land, agriculture credit and labour. State influence in the land tenure system was marked in land title registration certification. As a policy, the Land Title Registration Law, 1986 (PNDC 152) was promulgated, out of which the Land Title Registry was established. On land title registration certificates, section 51 (1) (a) of the law states that:

The land registrar shall, on registration of a person as proprietor of land or a lease, issue a land certificate to that person, (a) if that person is registered as proprietor of the land with absolute title, whether on first registration or on subsequent transfer of the land.

The rationale for this law is to authenticate rightful ownership and interest in land. This is to ensure that land tenure and acquisition are safe in order to minimise land litigation and activities of imposters. The influence of the Land Title Registration Law on right in land under cultivation is presented in Table 1.

Table1: Right in Land and Registration Status

| Right in Land/Status | Yilo Krobo | Kintampo | Frequency | Registration |
|----------------------|------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| Usufruct | 2 | 7 | 9 | 4 |
| Leasehold | 6 | 11 | 17 | 15 |
| Purchase | 4 | 2 | 6 | 5 |
| Total | 12 | 20 | 32 | 24 |

Source: Field data 2013

In table 1, the study identified three types of land tenure systems. These are usufruct right in land, leasehold and outright purchase. The dominant one was usufruct leasehold (17), followed by usufruct (9) and outright purchase (6).

In the Kintampo North District, leasehold was very high because its descent system emphasises the transmission of communal lineage land more than the individually acquired land. Consequently, leasehold is preferred to outright purchase. This shows how intricate kinship ties were in the local land market. In the Yilo Krobo District, population pressure accounted for preference of leasehold. This was because the custodians of the lands want to preserve the land for generations unborn.

In the promotion of oil palm, rubber and sugar cane production, state power was used to acquire land for the plantation projects (Dzorgbo 2001; Daddieh 1994; Killick 1978). However, as indicated in table 1, the state has extricated itself from direct appropriation of land for agricultural production as pertains under a joint venture between the state and MNCs. This study revealed that 24 farmers out of a total of 32

obtained land title registration certificates. This was what one of the respondents who possess the land certificate said during an interview:

Interviewer: how many acres of land have you cultivated?

Interviewee: I had land 161 acres. Interviewer: How did you acquire it?

Interviewee: I leased it from the Mo Traditional Council.

Interviewer: when did you lease the land? I met him (the chief) in 1981, and finally it was in 1984 that they (Traditional Council) gazetted the land for me.

Interviewer: what is your lease period?

Interviewee: The lease is 50 years but the lease is such that when the time is due and I have a building or a mango plantation on it the traditional council will be able to renew it for me.

Interviewer: how secure is your land?

Interviewee: On the security of the land, even though the chief is dead, his successor is there and the council helped me to acquire title registration''.

The study noted that those who have not obtained the land registration certificate encountered genuine challenges. One of the challenges was well captured in the narrative by a farmer in the Kintampo North District. He said:

I acquired the land in 2004 and I started farming that very year. The caretaker took me to the local chief at the first level. The local chief took me to his superior chief at the secondary level. Then I was taken to the tertiary level which is the paramount chief; Nana Okatachee Agyamang Kudom, the Nkoranza Omanhene.

According to this farmer, his land falls under the Nkoranza stool and in the acquisition of the land he did not encounter any problems. However, he lamented that:

As at now the chiefs have signed my indenture, but the government sector is where the challenges of land acquisition laid. Nine years on I have invested more than GHS100,000 on that farm. Land title registry couldn't locate my file.

We are certain that even though traditional authorities (chiefs and family heads) control access to and distribution of land in the peripheral communities, it is the government which regulates the authenticity of land owned by the traditional authorities through the award of land title deed and land title registration certificate. Further, the award of land title deed and land title registration certificate showed an emerging efficient land tenure system for the development of mango plantation hence large-scale farming is on the ascendency.

The cost of land (both leasehold and purchase) shows a marked pattern of value appreciation. According to the mango farmers:

In 1990s, the cost of one hectare of land acquired on leasehold was about GHS 250 and GHS 500 at Kintampo North and Yilo Krobo districts respectively. On the other hand, outright purchase was about GHS 400 and GHS 650 respectively. In the first decade of 2000, the cost of leasehold rose to about GHS2000 while outright purchase was about GHS5000 across the board in the two communities.

Despite the high cost of land (lease or purchase), a total of 404 hectares of land was cultivated. Farm sizes ranged from 2.5 hectares to 93 hectares. However, the average farm size for small-scale farmers was 3.2 hectares while large-scale farm size was 22 hectares.

The study assesses the state policy on influencing inflow of agricultural credit to farmers. The agriculture credits were mobilized with the institution of the Export Development and Agriculture Investment Fund (EDAIF) by (Act 582) of 2000 and through bilateral agreement. The EDAIF Act (Act 582) states that:

the agency will provide funding for agriculture production and export trade (MoFA 2009) and the fund shall be financed from a 0.5% of cost insurance and freight value of imports of non-petroleum products (EDAIF 2009).

In addition, through bilateral agreement, the state sourced agricultural funding from development partners such as USAID and GIZ. Funding from the Millennium Development Account (MiDA) was USAID-sponsored while GIZ supported the Market Oriented Agriculture Programme (MOAP). The fund from the World Bank's International Food Agriculture Development (IFAD) program was also used for the diversification of agricultural production. Table 2 presents sources of institutional funding to the farmers.

Table 2: Farmers Sources of Institutional Agriculture Credit

| Source | Frequency | Community |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| EDAIF | 14 | Kintampo North |
| IFAD | 1 | |
| GIZ | 20 | |
| MiDA | 7 | |
| Blue Skies Company | 6 | Yilo Krobo |

Table 2 indicates that seven (7) farmers got direct agriculture credit or cash support from the USA-MiDA fund, with each receiving GHS 240,000. EDAIF support of GHS766, 000 went to fourteen (14) farmers; the GIZ supported twenty (20) farmers while one farmer was sponsored by IFAD. The EDAIF agriculture credit was a long-term interest free loan with seven years' moratorium. Besides the state and development

partners, Blue Skies fruit processing company operating under the free zone policy also provided financial support to the mango farmers.

The Yilo Krobo District is an old mango production area which started exporting mango in 1996 while the Kintampo North District is an emerging production and exporting community spatially far from processors. Consequently, MiDA project selected the Yilo Krobo District in recognition of its export drive. In order not to duplicate roles and concentrate funds in the southern savannah zone, EDAIF and GIZ settled on the Kintampo North District. These events influenced disbursement of money to the farmers.

The benefit derived from the institutional funds was expressed by a farmer at Kintampo North District who said that:

EDAIF came in with financial assistance..., the maximum amount that I received per one hectare was between GHS300 and GHS400. The money was meant for land preparation, purchase of agro-chemical (fertilizer, weedicide, fungicide, watering cans) and for fire belt preparation.

Giving account of the MiDA fund, a respondent in the Yilo Krobo District said:

To enable me establish new farms and expand my farm size, the MiDA gave me GHS20,000. The fund helped me rent a bulldozer and tractor in doing stumping and ploughing. Now I have 92 acres (19 hectares) of land and I am developing it gradually.

The disbursement of MiDA and GIZ funds to the farmers reinforces a core-periphery production dependent relation which links farmers to the global economy through the state of Ghana and other developing countries which support the productive sector. The EDAIF, MiDA and GIZ's MOAP agricultural funds are disbursed through the formal

banking system with the implicit intension of profit extraction from the farmers. As a result of this, mango farmers are also incorporated into the global monetary system. There is some certainty that, indeed, foreign investment in horticultural export crops production greatly influenced the development of the industry.

According to respondents, mango production is more capital-intensive for arduous jobs, particularly, during the establishment of the farm and weeding. Bulldozers, tractors and motorized pruning and spraying machines were used in land clearing, ploughing, pruning and spraying. A farmer in the Yilo Krobo District said that:

Funding from USAID and disbursed by Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) in 2002-2005 was partly used for the hiring of bulldozers and tractors for ploughing and purchase of farming gears.

The same complement was paid to EDAIF by a beneficiary who said: ‘the fund I received from EDAIF in 2010/11 was used for serving about 250 hectares of land and tractor to plough’.

The executives of the mango farmer based organization in both Yilo Krobo and Kintampo North districts stated emphatically that motorized pruning and spraying machines facilitated their farm management practices.

One theme that emerged in the farmers’ response to increase in the capital-intensive nature of production was attributable to the state’s Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) Act, 1994 (Act 478). The GIPC Act (Act 478) provides that import duties on agriculture machinery and equipment and technology will attract zero tariffs. This policy has lowered the cost of hiring machines and equipment for agriculture production in the mango industry.

Again, the majority of the mango farmers who were members of the farmer based organizations were assisted by the District Assemblies by leasing land clearing machines and equipment on concession basis to them. This was done to ensure increased productivity through mechanization. The capital-intensive nature of the farming process made division of labour based on specialization and experience rather than gender, sex and age. In farms where mechanization is intensive, that is, where bulldozer, tractor and pruning and spraying machines were used, the categories of labourers that were hired include farm managers or farm supervisors, tractor operators and sprayers. These labourers were employed and paid regular salary.

Compliance with Food Safety Standards in Mango Production

Unlike cocoa, palm fruit and shea nut/butter which go through certain processes in order to be edible, mango is eaten in its raw state. It is susceptible to food contamination and is highly perishable; therefore compliance is of priority to countries of production and consumption. Compliance with food safety standards starts with the cultivation of quality cultivars recommended by the International Plant Protection Council (IPPC).

According to a key informant from the GIZ, through African Cashew Initiative, the agency trained and certified five (5) major mango nursery operators to raise seedlings for supply to farmers. Likewise, USAID's Trade and Investment Programme for Competitive Export Economy (TIPCEE) trained mango farmers to control pests and diseases, keep farm records, do farm maintenance, apply fertilizer and prune trees. The extension services interventions by donor agencies were possible due to a bilateral agreement at the state level between Ghana, Germany and the USA.

State policy mandates the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA), Plant Protection and Regulation Services Departments (PPRSD) and Ghana Standards Authority (GSA) to regulate and monitor agrochemical

use, pest and disease control in production and test for maximum residue level of pesticides on fruits. The farmers stated that through farmer-based organizations, the EPA identified a chunk of smallholders who were educated on registered and approved agro-chemicals to be used annually at the beginning of each farming season. This is to prevent the use of harmful chemicals in production, which attracts the sanction of embargo. The EPA does regular market surveys on a sustainable basis to remove from shelves unregistered agro-chemicals before they get to farmers.

On protecting plants from pests and insects, a senior agriculture officer at PPRSD stated that:

The PPRSD does biological control (BC) of plant pests and insects on the field. Through BC, 'friendly' living organisms are introduced to subdue mango attacking insects and pests. The on-farm activities are done in collaboration with field survey officers and MOFA District Directors of agriculture.

The PPRSD was also responsible for the issuance of export certificate for fresh export crops after proper scrutiny of storage facility and commodity by the quarantine unit. The director of PPRSD stated that:

From 2008-2013, the Ghana and Lebanon government signed a bilateral agreement whereby agriculture technologists would team up with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture officials and visit 15 farms and certify them before they were allowed to export to Lebanon.

The PPRSD does not operate and certify mango fruit for export in a vacuum; it collaborates with the Ghana Standards Authority (GSA). The GSA performs tests for maximum residue level of pesticides on fruits and issues certificates. According to a farmer who went through the process, a test of specimen from a hectare of mango farm cost GH¢250. Besides the state agencies, Blue Skies, a fruit processing company

mobilizes a team of agronomists to undertake farm visits and inspection. The team certifies farms that satisfied the traceability requirement under global good agriculture practice (Global-GAP).

The internal factors which induced safety compliance were structural, economic and social. Structurally, the proximity of food safety standards compliance bodies (EPA, PPRSD and GSA) and the injection of funds and input into production by Blue Skies fruit processing company and others play a major role in the enforcement of compliance with food safety regulations. Economically, farmers were convinced that market reward or revenue accruing from exporting mango was commensurate with the investment in food safety compliance. Further, executives of FBOs encourage members to be safety compliant for fear of an embargo; blacklisting and loss of credibility induced compliance. Socially, compliance was induced by farmer's sensitivity to their health and that of consumers; farmers' high level of education; and farmers' experience in farming and willingness to achieve results.

External factors which induced compliance were: the rigorous monitoring and evaluation done by IPPC through farm certification, exact and immediate application of sanctions such as an export embargo. Consequently, developed countries have confidence in the safety of Ghana's mango and this has resulted in the increased value of mango export, increased income for producers and more jobs and infrastructure development in the mango growing communities.

Income Status of Farmers

Price negotiation was democratic and participatory. A respondent, who is an agro-business development manager (ADM) in charge of market survey and pricing, stated that executives of mango farmer-based organizations meet with both the fruit processing companies and the exporter simultaneously to fix the producer price. The marketing manager of Blue Skies and the ADM of farmers were emphatic that global market price fluctuation does not drastically affect pricing in Ghana. The price negotiation is determined in accordance with existing

world price, so that an increase in world market price has a corresponding increase in farm-gate price and vice versa. The situation where government appropriates the price differential due to trade liberalization did not arise. Peak harvest periods in major producing countries such as India, Brazil and South Africa do not coincide with the harvest season in Ghana. Again, because the fruit is highly perishable and consumers' taste for 'fresh' product is high, the price does not fluctuate rapidly. The state of local pricing is indicated in table 3.

Table 3: Price Quotation for Mango Fruit

| Year | Price (kilo) | Price(tonne) | Per hectare |
|------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 2012 | GHS 0.50 | GHS 500.00 | GHS 4,375.0 |
| 2013 | GHS 0.75 | GHS 750.00 | GHS 6,562.5 |

Table 3, shows that mango farmers enjoyed improved income relative to their farm sizes and were linked to global market through processing companies and exporters. The price for a kilo of mango offered by the fruit processors and exporters in 2012 was GHS 0.50; a ton was GHS500.00 and 8.75 tonnes per hectare stood at GHS 4,375.00. In 2013, the price per kilo rose to GHS 0.75, resulting in a total of GHS 6,562.00 for the same number of tonnes per hectare. The figures for fruit sold to processors and fruit exporters were 1450 tonnes and 620 tonnes in the Yilo Krobo and Kintampo North districts respectively. The income-flow from the sale figures was GHS1, 087,500.00 and GHS 465,000.00 respectively. The local market price per a kilo of mango in the two years was GHS1, but the volume and rate of demand was low compared to the exporters. Meanwhile, the annual estimated average expenditure on a hectare of mango farm was GHS 2,770.00. It is worthy to note that there are two harvest seasons in the study areas, hence the net income level of the farmers is expected to be high. In this connection, one of the farmers pointed out that: 'my income status was evident in my ability to honour financial obligations. I am able to pay my children's school fees at all levels of education, funeral ceremonies and hospital bills'.

Furthermore, the income earned was expended on farm expansion, production of other crops such as cereals, root crops and vegetables. The farmers used efficient technology such as machines, tractors and agro-chemicals.

Conclusion

The paper has focused on important mango production factors which are land, agriculture credit, labour farm management and compliance with food safety. These factors affect the organization of mango production and the reduction of poverty and hunger. The paper found that security in the land tenure system engendered by the state land title registration certification bolstered the confidence in investment in land, leading to marked increase in farm size and increased productivity.

The state agricultural credit support was complemented by development partners. This collaboration injected substantial funds into mango production. It is striking to note that the funds received were interest free and long-term loans with several years of moratorium. The state has subsidized the cost of agricultural machines and equipment through zero import tariffs on agricultural equipment and production accessories.

The use of heavy machines in land preparation and other farm activities made production capital-intensive and because of the nature of the farming process, division of labour is a matter of specialization and experience rather than gender, sex and age. Major factors that enabled compliance with international food safety standards included the bilateral and multilateral cooperation which made it possible to up-skill farmers in agronomic practices and farm certification. When there is steady provision of agriculture credit, adherence to land title registration certification, constant up-skilling of farmers in good agricultural practices (GAP) and farm certification, productivity will increase and so will export. All of these work for the benefit of the farmer.

Finally, the sustainability of state intervention in the security of land through legislation, farmers' direct access to credit and compliance with

food safety standards will no doubt increase productivity and farmers' income, eradicate poverty and hunger and promote global partnership for export crop development.

References

Abutiate, W. S. (1988), Evaluation of New Cultivars of Mango (*mangifera indica L*) in Ghana: Growth Performance. Kumasi: Crops Research Institute.

Amanor, K. S. (1994), The New Frontier; Farmer Responses to Land Degradation. A West Africa Study. Geneva: UNRISD.

Amanor, K. S. (2001), Land, Labour and Family in Southern Ghana. Sweden, Landers Digitaltryck AB.

Asamoah, K. A. (2001a), Depeasantization of Africa's Rural Economy; The Ghanaian Experience. Accra: Charities Aid Foundation.

Asamoah, K. A. (2001b), On Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Guide to the Study of the Social Transformation. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.

Bates, R. (1981), Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Borras, S. M. Jnr. (2007), Free Market, Export-Led Development Strategy and its Impact on Rural Livelihoods, Poverty and Inequality: The Philippine Experience Seen from a Southeast Asia Perspective. Review of International Political Economy, 14(1):146-175.

Chalfin, B. (2004), Shea Butter Republic; State Power, Global Market, and the Making of an Indigenous Commodity. New York: Routledge.

Daddieh, C. K. (1994), Contract Farming and Palm Oil Production in Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana, in Little, Peter D. and Michael. J. (ed). Living

Under Contract: Contract Farming and Agrarian Transformation in Sub-Saharan Africa. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, pp.188-215.

Dixie, G & Sergeant, A (1998), The Future for the Ghanaian Horticulture Export Industry. The Agricultural Diversification Project. Accord Associates: U.K.

Dzorgbo, S. D-B. (2001), Ghana in Search of Development: The Challenge of Governance, Economic Management and Institutional Building. Aldershot, Ashgate.

Frimpong-Ansah, J. H. (1991), The Vampire State in Africa: The Political Economy of Decline in Ghana, London: James Curry Ltd.

GEPA (2010), Managing Ghana's Export Trade for Economic Development: Annual Review of Non Traditional Exports 2010.

Gyimah-Boadi, E. & Jeffries, R. (2000), The political economy of Reform, in Aryeetey, Ernest, Jane and Machiko (ed.) Economic Reforms in Ghana: The Miracle and The Mirage. London: James Currey, pp. 32-50.

Hill, P. (1963), The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huddleton, P., & Tonts, M. (2007), Agricultural Development, Contract Framing and Ghana's oil Palm industry. Geography, 92 (3):266-278.

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

La-Anyane, S. (1963), Ghana Agriculture; Its Economic Development from Early Times to the Middle of the Twentieth Century. London: Oxford University Press.

La-Anyane, S. (1985), *Economics of Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa. Making of an Indigenous Commodity*. New York: Routledge.

MoFA (2009), *Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy*. Contract No. GS 23F 9800H, Task Order 641-M-00-050037, Accra.

Nyanteng, V. K. and A. Wayo Seini (2000), *Agricultural Policy and the impact on Growth and Productivity 1970 – 95*, in Aryeetey, Ernest, Jane and Machiko (ed.) *Economic Reforms in Ghana: The Miracle and The Mirage*. London: James Currey, pp. 267 – 283.

Rath, Sharadini (2003), *Grape Cultivation for Export: Impact on Vineyard Workers*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(5): 480-489.

Raynolds, L. T. (1994), *Institutionalization Flexibility: A Comparative Analysis of Fordist and Post – Fordist models of Third World Agro Export Production*, in Gary Gereffi and Miguel (ed.). *Commodity Chain and Global Capitalism*. London: Praeger, pp.143 – 161.

Republic of Ghana (1964), *Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development: 1963-1970*. Accra: Ghana.

Sangho, Y., Labaste, P., and Ravry, C. (2010), *Growing Mali's Mango Export: Linking Farmers to Markets through Innovations in the Value Chain*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Takane, T. (2002), *The Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: Incentives, Institutions and Changes in Rural West Africa*. Chiba, Japan: Kenkyusha Printing Co.

Tweneboah, C. K. (2000), *Modern Agriculture in the Tropics: West African Cash Crop*. Accra: Co-wood Publishers.

A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE OF UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN GHANA

Priscilla Twumasi Baffour¹ and Peter Quartey²

Abstract

Globally, studies have shown that inclusive growth is necessary for poverty reduction. Ghana until recently was a success story in Africa due to its achievement of high and sustained economic growth and impressive poverty reduction. Growth has however not been inclusive. With a high labour force participation rate, most jobs are created in the informal sector where labour is underutilised. Although both unemployment and underemployment are forms of labour underutilisation, research has over the years focused on unemployment. Using the Ghana Living Standards Survey Six (GLSS 6), this paper employs a multinomial logistic regression model within a labour underutilisation framework to investigate underemployment in Ghana from a gendered perspective. Consistent with previous studies, this study finds underemployment to be a rural phenomenon in Ghana. Women, unlike men, face a higher probability of being in income-related underemployment in all employment types. In addition, all levels of education are observed to increase the likelihood of time-related underemployment, yet in accordance with the human capital theory, the probability of income-related underemployment is observed to decline with education.

Keywords: Underemployment, Underutilisation, Employment, Gender, Labour Market

¹ Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. (E-mail: ptbaffour@ug.edu.gh).

² Professor and Head, Department of Economics, University of Ghana. (E-mail: pquartey@ug.edu.gh).

Introduction

Economic growth usually translates into increased employment, but this relationship has been far from perfect, with recent policy debates focusing on inclusive growth. Literature on inclusive growth indicates that the extent to which growth reduces poverty depends on the degree to which the poor participate in the growth process and share in its proceeds. Hence, both the pace and pattern of growth matter for poverty reduction. As noted by the Commission on Growth and Development (2008), inclusiveness is a concept that encompasses equity, equality of opportunity and protection in market and employment transitions; these are essential ingredients of any successful growth strategy. Rauniyar and Kanbur (2009) indicate that support for human capital and the strengthening of capabilities is important for inclusive growth. Similarly, Mckay (2008) points to the need to increase the rate of job creation from growth as a necessity to provide opportunities for people to benefit from higher education and move out of agriculture.

A successful strategy for poverty reduction must therefore have at its core, measures to promote rapid and sustained economic growth that reduces underutilization of resources including labour. Inclusive growth, as a result, is concerned with opportunities for the poor and the middle class who constitute the majority of the labour force. This approach is known to take a longer term perspective due to its focus on productive employment rather than on direct income redistribution as a means of increasing incomes for excluded groups. The challenge for policy makers is how to combine growth promoting policies with policies that allow the poor to participate fully in the opportunities unleashed in order to contribute to that growth. This includes policies to make labour markets work better, remove gender inequalities and increase financial inclusion.

The labour underutilisation trap, is not peculiar to only African countries. The economy of Ghana has been growing at fairly decent rates over the past decade but unemployment continues to rise. Ghana until recently was a success story in Africa due to its achievement of high and sustained economic growth and impressive poverty reduction. The

country has since the early 1990s consistently outperformed its African peers in the area of economic growth which further accelerated in the past decade, bringing the country into lower-middle-income status. The high levels of economic growth were fuelled by increases in main commodity exports and the start of commercial oil production in 2011. Consequently, Ghana met the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of halving poverty ahead of the target period by decreasing the share of the population living in poverty from 52 percent in 1991 to 24 percent in 2012 (GSS 2014a). Growth was associated with the creation of some jobs but this did not yield the desired employment outcome; employment in agriculture increasingly gave way to services sector jobs and to a lesser extent, industry.

While the labour force participation rate was considerably high at 79.6 percent in 2013, (82.2 percent for males and 77.3 percent for females), it is acknowledged that most jobs in Ghana are created in the informal sector where labour is underutilised due to a mismatch between skills and jobs or underemployed by low hours (involuntary part-time workers). Undoubtedly, unemployment and underemployment prevent full utilisation of labour. As such, it is not surprising that Africa, the home of the world's highest rates of open underemployment and youth unemployment, equally has the highest proportion of people living in extreme poverty (ILO, 2003).

Low and sometimes comparable unemployment figures in Africa and the developed world have been questioned in recent times. In addition, unlike developed countries, in Africa recorded unemployment rates rise with the level of education, and university graduates tend to have the highest levels of unemployment (African Development Bank, 2012). In the absence of any social insurance mechanism, unemployment is simply not an option for the poor and unskilled, who find refuge in subsistence agriculture and the urban informal sector regardless of whether it pays less or is part-time work (Fields, 2012). Given the pervasiveness of informal employment in Africa in general, and in Ghana to be specific,

Osmani (2003) describes underemployment as the most problematic form of labour underutilisation in Africa.

The implication of this is that while unemployment takes the spotlight in labour underutilisation in Africa, the main challenge is the high levels of underemployment. For instance, in Ghana, although GLSS 6 (2013) estimates the unemployment rate to be 5.1 percent, about 43 percent of workers are known to work 40 hours or less in their main job. Therefore, the concern among labour market scholars in recent times about the need to focus on measures of employment rather than on unemployment is justifiable. Moreover, ILO (2008) cautions that discussions on the employment problem should not only be concentrated on unemployment but also extend to other insufficiencies in the volume of work and deficiencies in employment remuneration, as well as incompatibilities between education and occupation and other forms of mal employment.

For instance, Roubaud and Torelli (2013) document the pervasiveness of underemployment in urban labour markets in francophone Africa, which they divide into ‘time-related’ underemployment whereby workers are involuntarily working part-time, and ‘invisible’ unemployment, defined as a situation in which workers earn less than the minimum wage. Golub and Fayat (2014) similarly note that since the era of structural adjustment, employment opportunities in the public sector have dwindled and the formal private sector has failed to grow sufficiently to absorb the large majority of the working population in agriculture and the urban informal sector where earnings are very low with no access to social insurance programmes. Also Osei et. al. (2013), in a study on the Ghanaian labour market, used the labour utilisation framework by focusing on time related and low income underemployment. They found all forms of underemployment to be highly pervasive in the rural areas while acquisition of tertiary academic qualification was found to exacerbate the incidence of underemployment.

The picture on labour underutilisation in Africa wholly explains the Ghanaian labour market situation. Given that employment opportunities

are barely keeping up with a rapidly growing labour force, this translates into large and sometimes growing underemployment rather than open unemployment, as people are simply too poor not to work. Consequently, the primary focus of the National Employment Policy (NEP) for Ghana is on addressing the employment situation in the country and dealing with decent work deficits by targeting particular vulnerable groups such as the youth, women and persons with disability. The overall objective of the NEP however is to adopt an inter-sectoral and integrated approach toward achieving full, decent, productive and freely chosen employment for all Ghanaians who are able and willing to work to improve their living conditions within the framework of equity, security and dignity where people freely choose employment.

Empirical investigation into the labour market is therefore important to highlight the incidence of underemployment, particularly by finding out whether the incidence of underemployment has a gender dimension in the Ghanaian labour market and to offer policy prescriptions to assist policymakers on the dynamics of the labour market. The objective of this paper, therefore, is to examine whether the incidence of underemployment has a gendered perspective in both the formal and informal sectors of employment in Ghana.

Based on the literature on underemployment, this study adopts the involuntary perspective on underemployment by focusing on time related underemployment and underemployment by low income. This conceptualisation is suitable for the study because of the lack of data on skill-related underemployment in Ghana, particularly in the dominant informal sector. As a result, this study focuses on time-related and income-related underemployment, whereby the employed are categorised into adequately employed and underemployed either by time or low earnings (earning below the minimum wage).

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: the paper begins with a discussion on the theoretical framework of underemployment in section 2. This is followed by a discussion of the data and the empirical strategy

and analysis in sections 3 and 4 respectively. Section 5 follows with the conclusion.

Theoretical Framework

Underemployment is a broad concept in employment framework that encompasses the underutilisation of productive capacity. Literature on underemployment suggests two main perspectives: the objective and the subjective (Khan and Morrow, 1991). The objective perspective defines underemployment in terms of the level of utilisation of individuals' human capital, in comparison to an accepted standard for their referent group (Feldman, 1996). This is evaluated in terms of individuals being in a lower level of occupation, measured for example by level of income, educational requirements or hours worked. Measures of objective underemployment traditionally draw upon "accepted standards" to establish the extent to which an individual is underemployed. In contrast, a subjective perspective on underemployment would acknowledge and explore the individuals' interpretations of their employment situation, focusing on their perceptions of the use of their skills and abilities (Khan and Morrow, 1991; Jones Johnson and Johnson, 1995).

Feldman (1996) further proposed five dimensions that are used to judge whether an individual is underemployed. If these dimensions are applied in a labour market, individuals could be described as underemployed if any of the following statements are true: (1) they possess more formal education than their current job requires; (2) they are involuntarily employed in a different field from that in which they received their formal education; (3) they possess higher-level skills than the job requires; (4) they are involuntarily engaged in part-time, temporary or intermittent employment; and (5) they are earning less than the average earnings of their graduating cohort in the same major or occupation track.

ILO (2008) likewise outlines three possible types of underemployment which are time-related underemployment, skill-related inadequate employment and income related inadequate employment. Time related

underemployment is a situation where the hours of work of an individual are insufficient in relation to an alternative employment situation in which the person is willing and available to engage. Skill-related inadequate employment on the other hand exists when there is a mismatch between the skills of a worker and the job in question while income-related inadequate employment is when the desire of a worker to change the current work situation in order to increase income is limited. This results from low level of organisation of work or productivity, insufficient tools or equipment and training or deficient infrastructure, and wanting or seeking to work less hours either in the same job or in another job, with a corresponding reduction in income.

Beneath these dimensions is an assumption that individuals will always strive to avoid underemployment. The notion that an individual may voluntarily enter a position of underemployment is somewhat neglected, as the literature mostly adopts an “involuntary” perspective on underemployment. In addition, a range of factors have been proposed as possible antecedents to underemployment, including gender, age (Ruiz-Quintanilla and Claes, 1996), race (Feldman, 1996) and economic pressures resulting in reorganisation and downsizing (Feldman et al., 2002). All these factors are outside the individual’s control, so the subsequent underemployment is deemed to be involuntary. Yet many individuals, for a variety of reasons, actually make a choice not to utilise fully their education (Brynin, 2002).

Explanations offered within the literature on underemployment are premised on two different levels. The first is that underemployment can be a temporary transitional period for acquiring additional skills and experience, a stepping stone or bridge into more desirable situations, or a “stop gap” before career decisions are made (Alpin et al., 1998; Batenburg and De Witte, 2001). The second is that voluntary underemployment can be a means to avoid unemployment, seen as the “lesser of two evils” (Borgen et al., 1988; Feldman, 1996; Leana and Feldman, 1992). It is important to note that, both explanations describe situations that may be underpinned by a sense of involuntariness if the

individual perceives that there is no alternative (Verhaest and Omney, 2009).

In Ghana, due to limited data, underemployment discussions are centred on involuntary conceptualisation of underemployment by focusing on time related underemployment and underemployment by low income. This conceptualisation is suitable for the study because of the lack of data on skill-related underemployment in Ghana, particularly in the dominant informal sector. As a result, this study focuses on time-related and income-related underemployment, where the employed are categorised into adequately employed and underemployed either by time or low earnings.

Methodology

The paper investigates the incidence of underemployment in Ghana, based on a multinomial logistic regression model. The model is appropriate for this study because of the nature of the dependent variable which is by type of employment with three distinct response categories: underemployment by low hours worked, underemployment by low income and adequate employment. The paper adopts the labour underutilisation framework to analyse underemployment in Ghana. Findeis et al.'s (2000) labour underutilisation framework categorises labour market participants into five groups which consist of discouraged workers, unemployed, underemployed by low hours, underemployed by earnings and adequately employed, and tries to isolate the effects of individual characteristics on the tendency to be in any of the categories.

The Multinomial logit model is appropriate for analysing categorical variables such as the ones described in the three types of employment outlined in this paper. Using the multinomial logit model requires one of the response categories to be nominated as the base outcome that serves as a point of reference for the remaining categories. As a result adequate employment is used, mainly because the majority of the labour force would mostly be adequately employed.

The logit model is derived from an underlying latent variable model, where y^* is an unobserved or latent variable determined by

$$\begin{aligned} y^* &= \beta_0 + x\beta + e, \\ y &= 1[y^* > 0] \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

The model assumes that e is independent of x and that e has the logistic distribution. Consequently, log-odds are found in a linear function of predictors in a form $f(k,i)$ to predict the probability that observation i has outcome k , which is generally specified as;

$$\begin{aligned} f(k,i) \\ &= \beta_{0,k} + \beta_{1,k}x_{1,i} \\ &+ \beta_{2,k}x_{2,k} \dots \dots \dots + \beta_{m,k}x_{m,i} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

Where $\beta_{(m,k)}$ is the regression coefficient associated with the m th explanatory variable and the k th outcome. Consequently, age, sex, educational attainment, type of employment and location are used as explanatory variables in this study. Since coefficients obtained in the logistic estimation provide a sense of direction regarding the effects of covariates on underemployment and cannot be used to indicate the magnitude of impact, average partial effects of covariates are used to evaluate impact in terms of magnitude.

$$\begin{aligned} f(k,i) \\ &= \beta_{0,k} + \beta_{1,k}Age_i + \beta_{2,k}Agesq_i + \beta_{3,k}Sex_i + \beta_{4,k}Primary_i \\ &+ \beta_{5,k}Secondary_i \\ &+ \beta_{6,k}Vocational_i + \beta_{7,k}Tertiary_i + \beta_{8,k}Marriage_i \\ &+ \beta_{9,k}Employment_i + \beta_{m,k}Urban_i \\ &+ U_i \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

Where outcome K is a categorical variable with values 0 for adequately employed, 1 for underemployment by low hours and 2 for income related underemployment. Equation 3 above is estimated for the overall sample with a gender dummy to indicate the role of gender in the incidence of underemployment (to examine whether there is a premium or penalty associated with being of a particular sex in the labour market with regards to underemployment). Subsequently, the model is estimated separately for both the male and female sub-samples to investigate factors specific to both sexes in the incidence of underemployment to shed light on the gendered perspective of underemployment.

Theoretical and empirical literature on underemployment such as Ruiz-Quintanilla and Claes, (1996), Feldman (1999) and Feldman et al. (2002) have proposed a range of factors as possible antecedents to underemployment. These include age in years and its quadratic term, sex, level of formal education (measured using dummy variables for highest educational level completed), marital status, type of employment and location of the individual, all measured using dummy variables. Age in theory is intended to capture work experience on the job and in the labour market. This is expected to be negatively related to the incidence of underemployment, given that experienced (mature) individuals are more likely to have access to better jobs than younger inexperienced workers. Age squared is expected to capture the nonlinear relationship between age and labour market reward (underemployment in this study). Theory postulates that the incidence of underemployment declines with age but begins to increase after a point; the age squared variable is included for this threshold effect. Sex is expected to capture gender specific effect on the incidence of underemployment; in addition, based on human capital theory, education equips individuals with skills that make them productive on the job. The study includes marital status as covariates due to the network effects associated with marriage. Also, employment types are different, for which reason the incidence of underemployment is not the same across jobs. Consequently, the study includes the type of employment measured using dummy variables for wage employment and non-agriculture self-employment, with

agricultural employment as the reference category. All things being equal, the location of an individual (whether rural or urban) also contributes towards the nature of employment accessible; this we tried to capture using the urban dummy.

Table 1 presents variables used in the study with expected signs based on theoretical and empirical literature on underemployment within the labour underutilisation framework as indicated in studies such as Ruiz-Quintanilla and Claes (1996), Feldman (1999) and Feldman et al. (2002), Sackey and Osei (2006) and Osei et al. (2013).

Table 1: Variables that explain the incidence of Underemployment

| Variable | Measurement | Expected sign |
|---|---|----------------------|
| Age | Number of years | Negative |
| Age squared | | Positive |
| Sex | Male/female | Positive |
| Levels of formal education (none as the reference category) | Highest level of education completed. | Positive |
| Marital status (married as the reference category) | Reported marital status | Indeterminate |
| Type of employment (agriculture as the reference category) | | |
| Wage employment | Reported type of work | Negative |
| Non-agric self-employment | Reported type of work | Negative |
| Location (urban) | Whether resident in a rural or urban area based on classification by Ghana statistical service) | Negative |

The data used for this study is the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS6) which is a nationwide household survey designed to generate information on living conditions in the country collected over a period of one year (October 2012 to October 2013). The survey covered a nationwide representative sample of 18,000 households in 1,200 enumeration areas. The GLSS6 contains detailed information on

households, including their demographic characteristics, education, health, employment and time use, among others, which makes it suitable for the purpose of this study.

Table 2 presents a distribution of the employed population of the labour force by underemployment and adequately employed (state of employment). Underemployment includes individuals who are underemployed by working below forty hours a week in addition to those that earn below the minimum wage (low income underemployment). In 2013 the national daily minimum wage was 5.24 cedis. Consequently, individuals who reported total compensation from employment to be below 104.80 cedis are classified as underemployed by low income.

Overall, about 54 percent of the working population in Ghana are underemployed. This proportion is higher among females than males. In addition, underemployment is prevalent in rural (61 percent) than in urban areas (40 percent). As expected, due to seasonal vagaries in rainfall patterns because agriculture in Ghana is predominantly rain-fed, the incidence of underemployment is highest in agricultural employment; this is followed by non-agriculture self-employment and wage employment. Disaggregation of the sample by sex shows a consistent pattern where the incidence of underemployment is higher among females than their male counterparts in all employment types. Similarly, there appear to be significant differences of the state of labour between rural and urban dwellers. With the exception of agricultural employment (mainly rural based), underemployment is predominant in rural than in urban Ghana.

Table 2: Proportion (%) of working age population by state of employment

| Description | State of Employment | Wage Employment | Non-Agriculture Self employed | Agriculture Self-employed | Total |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| All | Underemployed | 28.3 | 44.3 | 64.6 | 53.5 |
| | Adequately employed | 71.7 | 55.7 | 35.4 | 46.5 |
| Male | Underemployed | 25.3 | 37.3 | 61.0 | 49.6 |
| | Adequately employed | 74.7 | 62.7 | 39.0 | 50.4 |
| Female | Underemployment | 35.1 | 47.3 | 68.5 | 57.3 |
| | Adequately employed | 64.9 | 52.8 | 31.5 | 42.7 |
| Urban | Underemployment | 24.6 | 37.8 | 66.2 | 39.7 |
| | Adequately employed | 75.4 | 62.2 | 33.8 | 50.3 |
| Rural | Underemployed | 37.9 | 54.6 | 64.4 | 60.8 |
| | Adequately employed | 62.1 | 45.4 | 35.6 | 39.2 |

Source: Author's calculation based on GLSS 6

Descriptive statistics of variables used presented in Table 3 indicates that the underemployed earns less than the average worker in the overall labour market. Given that underemployment, regardless of the type, is a reflection of labour that is being underutilised, it is not surprising that average earnings by the underemployed are less than average earnings in the entire labour market. This highlights the reason why focusing only on access to jobs is not enough to understand the effect of the labour market on individual and household welfare, because most jobs provide insufficient means (low earnings) to prevent poverty in the Ghanaian context. In terms of age, there is no statistical difference between the underemployed and the average worker—an indication that underemployment is not necessarily associated with age in the Ghanaian labour market. This we will investigate further through the rigorous empirical model adopted in this study. As expected, a larger proportion of people in underemployment have lower educational attainment relative to the overall labour market. Alternatively, this indicates that the

average individual with lower educational attainment in the Ghanaian labour market is prone to the incidence of underemployment, and this we investigate further in our empirical model.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Variables

| | Underemployment | | Total Sample | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Mean | Standard Dev. | Mean | Standard Dev. |
| Age | 36.9 | 16.9 | 36.3 | 17.4 |
| Earnings (Gh Cedis) | 337.43 | 116.02 | 413.60 | 132.74 |
| Education Attainment | Proportion | | Proportion | |
| Non | 23.1 | | 18.9 | |
| Primary | 59.4 | | 57.7 | |
| Secondary | 10.0 | | 14.0 | |
| Vocational | 5.5 | | 6.8 | |
| Tertiary | 2.0 | | 2.6 | |

Source: Authors calculation based on GLSS6

Findings

Multinomial logistic regression results are presented for the total sample and further disaggregated by sex based on time related underemployment (low hours) and underemployment out of low earnings in Table 4. Overall, age is found to reduce the likelihood of being underemployed by working low hours in Ghana. In other words, the elderly in Ghana have a higher probability of being adequately employed, but this probability changes after a threshold where age begins to increase the likelihood of being time related underemployed (positive coefficient on age squared).

This is consistent for both males and females in the labour market and similar to findings by Sackey and Osei (2006) and Twumasi-Baffour and Turkson (2015) who found that younger people are more prone to unemployment in Ghana due to lack of experience in the labour market relative to older people. On the other hand, age is found to increase the

likelihood of income-related underemployment; this holds for males but not for females. In addition, males as indicated by the sex dummy in the results for the overall sample (columns 2 and 3) compared to females are less likely to be underemployed regardless of the type of underemployment. Thus females are less likely to be adequately employed. This result is not surprising, as it corroborates earlier studies by Sackey and Osei (2006) and Osei et al. (2013) on the Ghanaian labour market. The explanation offered for this situation has been the high concentration of females in the informal sector, particularly for retail activities. Also, due to the demands of caregiving and domestic activities at home, women in general are time deficient; as a result, women may self-select themselves into employment types that are not too demanding of their time.

Table 4: Multinomial Logistic Regression Model of Underemployment

| | Total Sample | | Male | | Female | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | Low Hours | Low Income | Low Hours | Low Income | Low Hours | Low Income |
| Age | -0.030*** (0.002) | 0.003** (0.001) | -0.034*** (0.002) | 0.004** (0.001) | -0.027*** (0.002) | 0.003 (0.002) |
| Age Squared | 0.032*** (0.002) | -0.0001 (0.001) | 0.036*** (0.002) | -0.001 (0.002) | 0.029*** (0.003) | 0.000 (0.002) |
| Sex | -0.069*** (0.008) | -0.068*** (0.006) | | | | |
| Formal Education | | | | | | |
| None (Reference) | | | | | | |
| Primary | 0.033*** (0.010) | 0.004 (0.007) | 0.055*** (0.014) | 0.024*** (0.009) | 0.021 (0.014) | -0.017 (0.011) |
| Secondary | 0.064*** (0.015) | -0.041*** (0.009) | 0.098*** (0.020) | -0.015 (0.012) | 0.032 (0.024) | -0.072*** (0.015) |
| Vocational | 0.163*** (0.018) | -0.113*** (0.008) | 0.195*** (0.024) | -0.053*** (0.012) | 0.129*** (0.028) | -0.182*** (0.009) |
| Tertiary | 0.244*** (0.025) | -0.172*** (0.005) | 0.289*** (0.029) | -0.133*** (0.007) | 0.138*** (0.050) | -0.213*** (0.008) |
| Marital Status | | | | | | |
| Married (Reference) | | | | | | |
| Single | 0.054*** (0.011) | -0.027*** (0.008) | 0.045*** (0.016) | -0.000 (0.011) | 0.063*** (0.016) | -0.059*** (0.012) |
| Divorced | -0.022 (0.020) | 0.034** (0.014) | 0.013 (0.036) | 0.039* (0.023) | -0.044* (0.025) | 0.030 (0.019) |
| Widowed | 0.046** (0.022) | 0.010 (0.014) | 0.015 (0.053) | 0.040 (0.034) | 0.034 (0.026) | 0.001 (0.018) |
| Type of Employment | | | | | | |
| Agriculture (Reference) | | | | | | |
| Wage employment | -0.271*** (0.009) | 0.035*** (0.009) | -0.264*** (0.012) | -0.024*** (0.009) | -0.293*** (0.014) | 0.186*** (0.021) |
| Non-Agric self-employed | -0.206*** (0.009) | 0.035*** (0.007) | -0.187*** (0.012) | -0.032*** (0.009) | -0.227*** (0.013) | 0.110*** (0.011) |
| Urban | -0.071*** (0.009) | -0.039*** (0.006) | -0.061*** (0.012) | -0.047*** (0.008) | -0.076*** (0.013) | -0.032*** (0.010) |
| Diagnostics Statistics | | | | | | |
| Number of Observations | 19,960 | | 10,444 | | 9,516 | |
| Log likelihood | -18607 | | -9516 | | -8990 | |
| Prob > Chi ² | 0.000 | | 0.000 | | 0.000 | |
| Pseudo R ² | 0.101 | | 0.108 | | 0.09 | |
| Base Outcome = Adequately Employed | | | | | | |

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: Author's results out of multinomial logistic regression based on GLSS6

The results on education attainment in the labour market are quite insightful but not surprising. All levels of education relative to no education are observed to increase the likelihood of time-related underemployment. Thus people with no education have the tendency to work more hours on average in Ghana than those with education, particularly higher education, since the probabilities increase with the level of education. This is a true reflection of what actually happens in the labour market; given that the non-educated earn less on average, to maintain an appreciable level of standard of living, such people need to work more hours. Hence the motivation for extra income is higher for people with none to less education than the highly educated. However, the likelihood of income-related underemployment is observed to decrease with the level of education. This is also expected, based on predictions of the human capital theory by Mincer (1974). These results are generally consistent for both men and women, although not significantly so at all educational levels.

In addition, being in a wage employment and non-agriculture self-employment relative to agricultural employment, living in an urban compared to a rural area is associated with a significant reduction in the likelihood of being underemployed by low hours and an increase in the chances of being income-related underemployed, even though living in an urban area rather increases the chances of being adequately employed in terms of income. Also unmarried individuals are observed to have a lower probability of being adequately employed. This could be through the network effects of marriage that enable individuals to move into gainful employment. In Ghana, Osei et al (2013) note that given the responsibility of upkeep of the family in a marriage setting, married people tend to be serious in getting themselves adequately employed.

A disaggregation of the data by sex highlights some important differences between men and women in the Ghanaian labour market, although it is important to note that most of the results for the overall sample are consistent for both men and women. The most interesting finding that portrays the gendered dimension of the labour market is the

fact that men in all types of employment relative to agriculture have a lower probability of being underemployed regardless of the type of underemployment, while women face a higher probability of being in income-related underemployment in both wage and self-employment. Our inclination in explaining this finding is that, the low educational attainment of women makes them unable to make a decent income from employment, for which reason they are predisposed to income related underemployment. Also, some jobs require longer working hours including weekends, out of station travels and many other factors which make them unattractive to females, especially those 'attached' or married.

Conclusion and Policy Options

In spite of the high labour force participation rate in Ghana, coupled with the impressive performance of the economy until recently that earned the country a lower-middle-income status, most jobs in Ghana are found in the informal sector where labour is either underutilised via a mismatch between skills and jobs or underemployed by low hours (involuntary part-time workers). Undoubtedly, unemployment and underemployment prevent full utilisation of labour. Despite the fact that both unemployment and underemployment prevent full utilisation of labour, over the years the focus in research has been on unemployment.

Although the low and sometimes comparable unemployment figures in Africa and the developed world have been questioned in recent times, a good justification is that in the absence of any social insurance mechanism, unemployment is simply not an option for the poor and unskilled, who find refuge in subsistence agriculture and the urban informal sector regardless of whether it pays less or is a part-time job. The consequence therefore is that, while unemployment takes the spotlight in labour underutilisation in Africa, the main challenge is the high levels of underemployment. As a result, this paper adopts a labour underutilisation framework to investigate underemployment in Ghana from a gendered perspective using the Ghana Living Standards Survey Six (GLSS 6).

Consistent with previous studies, findings point to the relevance of education in the Ghanaian labour market, as all levels of education are observed to increase the likelihood of time-related underemployment. However, in accordance with the human capital theory, the likelihood of income-related underemployment is observed to decline with education. Overall, our results suggest that underemployment is predominantly a rural phenomenon. In addition, women, unlike men, face a higher probability of being income-related underemployed regardless of the type of employment they find themselves in, although findings with regards to education, age, marital status and education are not observed to have a gender dimension in the labour market.

Policy options following on the findings in this paper include; first, the need to tackle the prevalence of underemployment in rural Ghana. Rural underemployment stems from the over reliance on agriculture which is the dominant economic activity in rural areas. Because agriculture is rain fed, the vagaries of the weather render farmers redundant in certain periods of the year. An effective irrigation system that delinks farming activities from the weather conditions will significantly improve employment conditions of farmers throughout the year. Second, opportunities should be created for young people to undergo internship training for hands on experience before entering the labour market. If this is done, it will contribute towards reducing the vulnerability of young people to underemployment of all types because they are inexperienced in the labour market. Finally, programmes that encourage females to pursue higher education, such as affirmative action in admitting students to tertiary institutions, should continue to help tackle the gender imbalances associated with opportunities in education. This will result in reducing the susceptibility of females to income-related unemployment.

References

African Development Bank (2012), African Economic Outlook 2012: Promoting Youth Employment. Tunis: African Development Bank.

Alpin, C., Shackleton, J.R. and Walsh, S. (1998), Over- and under-education in the UK graduate labour market. *Studies in Higher Education* 23(1):17-34.

Batenburg, R. and De Witte, M. (2001), Under-employment in The Netherlands: how the Dutch 'poldermodel' failed to close the education-jobs gap. *Work, Employment and Society* 15(1):73-94.

Borgen, W.A., Amundson, N.E. and Harder, H.G. (1988), "The experience of under-employment. *Journal of Employment Counselling*, 25:149-59.

Brynin, M. (2002), Overqualification in employment". *Work, Employment and Society* 16 (4):637-54.

Chiswick B.R (2003), Jacob Mincer, Experience and the distribution of earnings. IZA Discussion Paper No. 847.

Commission on Growth and Development (2008), *Growth Report: Strategies for Sustained Growth and Inclusive Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Domfe, G., Osei R.D. and Ackah, C. (2013), "Determinants of Types of Underemployment in the MiDA Intervention Zones of Ghana". *Developing Country Studies* 3 (12).

Feldman, D. C. (1996), The nature, antecedents and consequences of underemployment. *Journal of Management*, 22(3):385-407.

Feldman, D.C., Leana, C.R. and Bolino, M.C. (2002), Under-employment and relative deprivation among re-employed executives. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 75(4): 453-71.

Fields, G.S. (2012), *Working Hard, Working Poor*. New York: Oxford.

Findeis J. L., Jensen L., Wang Q., (2000), "Underemployment Prevalence and Transitions in the U.S. Nonmetropolitan South". *Southern Rural Sociology* 16:125-147.

Ghana Statistical Service (2014), *Poverty Profile in Ghana (2005–2013)*, Analytical report Accra, Ghana. August.

Ghana Statistical Service (2013), *Ghana Living Standards Survey: Report on the Sixth Round (GLSS5)*. Accra, Ghana.

Glyde, G.P. (1977), Under-employment: definition and causes. *Journal of Economic Issues* 11(2):245-61.

Golub, S.S., A. Bernhardt, and M. Liu (2011), *Development and Trade Strategies for Least Developed Countries*. Paper prepared for UNCTAD. Mimeo.

Haywood, L. and F. Teal (2009), *Employment, Unemployment and Incomes in Nigeria: 1999–2006*. Center for the Study of African Economies, report prepared for the World Bank. Mimeo.

ILO (1998), *Preliminary Report on the Resolution on Underemployment*. Unpublished. Geneva: International Labour Office.

ILO (2005), *World Employment Report 2005-05. Employment, Productivity and Poverty Reduction*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Jones Johnson, G. and Johnson, W.R. (1995), Subjective under-employment and job satisfaction. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 25:73-84.

Kingdon G. and J. Knight (2004), *Unemployment in South Africa: The Nature of the Beast*. *World Development* 32(4): 391–408.

Khan, L.J. and Morrow, P.C. (1991), Objective and subjective under-employment relationships to job satisfaction. *Journal of Business Research* 22: 211-18.

Leana, C.R. and Feldman, D.C. (1992), *Coping with Job Loss: How Individuals, Organisations and Communities Respond to Lay-offs*. New York: Lexington Books,.

National Employment Policy (2014), Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations - Government of Ghana.

Osmani, S.R. (2003), *The poverty challenge in Africa: placing decent employment at the heart of the battle*. Addis Ababa: UNECA.

Rauniyar, G. and Kanbur, R. (2009), *Inclusive Growth and Inclusive Development: A Review and Synthesis of Asian Development Bank Literature*. ADB Occasional Paper No. 8.

Roubaud, F. and Torelli C. (2013), *Employment, Unemployment and Working Conditions in Urban Labor Markets of Sub-Saharan Africa: Main Stylized Facts*. In P. de Vreyer and Roubaud, F (eds.) *Urban Labour Markets in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Ruiz-Quintanilla, S.A. and Claes, R. (1996), Determinants of underemployment of young adults: a multi-country study. *Industrial and Labour Relations Review* 45(3):424-38.

Sackey H. A., and Osei B., (2006), *Human Resource Underutilization in an Era of Poverty Reduction: An Analysis of Unemployment and Underemployment in Ghana*. African Development Bank: Published by Blackwell.

Twumasi Baffour P. and Turkson, F.E. (2015), *Selection into Employment Sectors in Urban Ghana and Tanzania: The Role of Education*. *Research in World Economy*, Sciedu Press 6(4):78-92.

Verhaest, D. and Omney, E. (2009), Objective over-education and worker wellbeing: a shadow price approach. *Journal of Economic Psychology* 30(3):469-81.

CHANGING THE DYNAMICS OF HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF GHANA: AN ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING PERSPECTIVE

Frank Ohemeng¹ and Emelia Amoako Asiedu²

Abstract

The quality of human resources is critical to the development of any country. To enhance sustainable development and poverty reduction, governments need human capacities, especially in the public sector, to transform their commitments on these issues into results. In view of this, in 2015, the government of Ghana through the Public Services Commission developed a new human resources management policy for the public sector. The principal idea is that the new policy will lead to the transformation of the Public Service into an ethical, responsive, and citizen-oriented service that will provide, and continue to provide into the future high quality and timely services to Ghanaians. This paper examines the policy with the view of understanding whether it will transform a sector that has suffered considerable neglect since independence from the perspective of organisational learning. Will the new policy lead to fundamental shift in HRM in the public sector? Has it unearthed the fundamental issues underpinning the effective management of human resources in the sector? And has it proposed capable solutions to these issues?

Keywords: Ghana, Human Resources Management, Organisational Learning, Public Services Commission, Public Sector.

¹ Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration and Health Services Management, University of Ghana Business School. (Email:ohemengfl@gmail.com)

² Lecturer, Department of Business Studies, Wisconsin International University College and PhD Candidate, UGBS. (Email: adadz@yahoo.com).

Introduction

The issue of the quality of human resources is critically significant for the development of any country. To sustain development and reduce poverty, governments especially need better human capacities to transform their commitments into results. Nowhere are these capacities more necessary than in developing countries, and especially in Africa (Berman 2015). The developmental crisis on the continent will not be adequately addressed without people capable of finding and implementing the remedies. Accordingly, after years of retrenchment and pay freeze, many governments are undertaking numerous capacity building initiatives, and developing human resources management (HRM) systems in their public sectors. Doing so has become necessary because the public service, despite its limitations and constraints, still remains the only acceptable instrument with which to implement government policy, and is therefore critical for the realization of government and development objectives (World Bank 1997).

In 2015 the government of Ghana, through the Public Services Commission (PSC), and as part of HRM reforms in the public services under the Human Resources Management Information System (HRMIS) developed a new HRM policy for the public sector motivated by the desire to improve both individual and organizational productivity and performance. The objective of the policy is to ensure a:

[f]undamental paradigm shift from inward-looking, bureaucratic systems, processes and attitudes, and reliance on long service as a standard for recognition to a Service which is based on merit and performance, and which puts the needs of the public first, conducts its business professionally, transparently, and ethically, and holds public servants accountable for their actions (PSC 2015).

It further notes that the government wants the public service to become an ethical, responsive, and citizen-oriented service that will, for the foreseeable future, provide high quality and timely services to the public. The HRM programme was thus borne out of the realization that payroll

issues have monopolized the attention of the government, and yet the overall productivity in the sector remains quite weak.

Against this backdrop, this paper examines the HRM policy with a view to deciding whether it is the alchemical philosopher's stone that will transform an area that has been sorely neglected since independence. It is necessary to undertake such an assessment because "Ghanaian leaders are not yet taking the requisites for development seriously, particularly those having to do with public administration. Until they do so..., the effort to facilitate economic and social development will remain hopeless" (Werlin 1994: 207). The moribundity of development will persist until a functioning HRM system is instituted. We believe that "when an...HR strategy is properly configured, it will provide a direct and economically significant contribution to organizational performance" (Cesario 2015: 470).

The paper, then, attempts to answer these questions: have any historical lessons been learned that will influence the new policy? Will the new policy produce a fundamental shift in HRM in the public sector? Has it truly unearthed the deepest issues in managing human resources in the sector? Does it propose working solutions to these issues? Using organizational learning (OL), we argue that while the policy is very comprehensive, and cover critical aspects of HRM in the public sector, whether it can achieve its objectives depends significantly on lessons from the past about HRM and implementing the HR policy: a condition that seems to have shaped the policy. Hence, learning from experience has shaped the way the reforms are grounded.

OL is the right model because we need to understand both the factors that may have shaped the thinking of the policy developers and what those who will be expected to implement the policy have learned, and will inevitably be influenced by. At the same time, "effective learning is an important cause of effective action by individuals, groups, intergroups, and organizations" (Argyris 2004:507). We focus on OL because we want to know if the government, through this policy, is

adapting to current environmental changes, and not repeating errors in order to cope with future uncertainty in the sector.

We substantiate our argument with interviews with HR managers from the public service. We will thus be contributing not only to the OL literature, but also to the literature on HR in developing countries – studies on which are scarce, with even the one that does exist on the private, rather than the public, sector (Rees 2013).

Following this introduction, we will review the literature on OL in order to discern the policy and understand the continuing influence of the past. We will then discuss the methodology to the study, which is followed by a background discussion on HRM in Ghana and the new policy. We use OL to examine the efficacy of that policy, and then conclude the paper with some suggestions for the way forward.

Organizational Learning: A Theoretical Perspective

In this section the aim is to review literature on OL and explain how it relates to the present study. It is first important to acknowledge that some scholars use the terms, OL and learning organizations (LO), interchangeably, while others think they are different concepts (Örtenblad 2001; Popper and Lipshitz 2004). We are interested in the second opinion. We believe that OL is different from LO inasmuch as the former can be observed at the individual, group, and organizational levels, while the latter takes place only at the organizational level. Furthermore, “OL is the activity and the process by which organizations eventually reach [the] ideal of a learning organization [and] is therefore...a particular form of a process of organizational transformation” (Finder and Brand 1999: 137-138).

It has been argued that OL is one of the most popular concepts in organization studies, as well as in other disciplines (Friedman et al. 2005). The explosion of the literature on the subject has, however, not resulted in a universally accepted definition (Popova-Nowak and Cseh 2015). Rather, it has generated a plethora of definitions, making it

difficult to know exactly what it means in any particular instance, and what Taylor et al. (2010: 353) have called the “mystification of organizational learning.”

The obscurity of the definition of OL is attributable to the fact that it “has acted as a kind of conceptual magnet, attracting scholars from many different disciplines to focus on the same phenomenon - or different phenomena under the same name” (Friedman et al. 2005: 20). Combined with its ambiguity, its ubiquity makes it frustratingly difficult to delineate (Easterby-Smith et al. 2000). It would be naïve on our part to hope to achieve anything by reproducing these definitions. We will, however, consider at least three different ones to prove the truth of our position on the matter, and then follow with the definition we use in this paper.

Two of the earliest scholars to have referred to OL, Cyert and March (1963), viewed learning in an organization as behaviour in response to stimuli. To them OL is “a ‘learning cycle’ in which organizations responded to external shocks by adjusting the likelihood of reusing specific operating procedures.” Levitt and March (1988:319) deemed it “routine-based, history-dependent, and target-oriented,” while Tregaskis et al. (2010) perceived it as “a dynamic process whereby individual knowledge moves through different levels, from individual to group and organizational, and back again” (473). Considering it from an operation perspective, Huber (1991) says that OL deals with knowledge-sharing, which implies knowledge acquisition and sharing, information dissemination, information interpretation, and organizational memory. This definition is quite broad in the sense that each of the variables has its own significance in the general discussion on HRM.

What can be distilled from these definitions is that OL is “a transformational process to which the organization’s stakeholders, individually and collectively, contribute through their learning” (Finger and Brand 1999, 138). In this paper OL means “individuals’ acquisition of knowledge, the storing of this knowledge in the organizational

memory, and the use of the knowledge and organizational memory in the daily work” (Örtenblad 2013, 27).

In a review of the OL literature, Barette et al. (2012) identified three theoretical strands, and explained how they can be used to study issues in the public sector. The first is the cognitive element. From this perspective OL is seen as the “changes produced as a result of the reflections of individuals” (Barette et al. 2012:138). To them, this perspective “makes a distinction between the espoused theory of action and the theory in use and is very applicable to the public sector policy development field” (138). The second strand is knowledge management perspective. This strand “emphasizes a coherent rational process that follows specific phases. This approach is based on knowledge management theories, particularly information technology models” (Barette et al. 2012:138). The third is social learning. Here OL is considered a relational activity, and not an individual thinking process; the emphasis is on how people interact and develop as members in the organization, as well as on the facilitating organizational and contextual factors of collective learning. Consequently, proponents believe that interaction is essential for people to interpret and give meaning to learning (Barette et al. 2012:139). We are interested in the first, cognitive strand.

In the literature, it has been explained that OL takes place at three levels: the individual, the group, and the organizational (Agote 2013; Friedman 2003). These three are not mutually exclusive, but rather linked by social and psychological processes of intuiting, interpreting, integrating, and institutionalizing (Crossan et al. 1999: 523). The individual level is the focus of most research (Friedman, 2003). Bontis et al. (2002:443) have defined this level of learning as the location of “individual competence, capability, and motivation to undertake the required tasks”. The reason many researchers into OL concentrate on it is that “the foundation of organizational capabilities [is] the skills of its individual members” (Cohen 1991: 135). Furthermore, March (1991: 73) thinks that it is the individual in an organization who is socialized to organizational beliefs.

Hence, it is individual learning that will lead to OL. As noted by Simon (1991: 125), “it [is] learning by an individual that [has] consequences for an organizational decision – it provide[s] new factual decision premises that lead to an offer.” He further argues that “all learning takes place inside individual human heads; an organization learns in only two ways: (a) by the learning of its members, or (b) by ingesting new members who have knowledge the organization didn’t previously have.” The individual’s ability to understand the environment while at the same time developing the needed skills to deal with ongoing changes can thus significantly affect the organization’s performance. Failure to do so can even lead to its death.

The second level is that of the group, where learning occurs as a result of individuals sharing what they have learned with other members (Argote, 2013). Bontis et al. (2002: 443) define this as “the sharing of individual interpretations to develop a common understanding”. The importance of the group in OL is that it is not “only the link between the individual and the organization but also the crucial intervening social system in which sharing, learning, and organizational behaviour takes place” (Pawlowsky 2003: 75). Thus, groups play an important role in individuals’ lives by helping to shape their worldview on any number of issues.

The third is the level of the organization itself (Levitt and March 1988). Bontis (2002: 627) says that “learning at the organizational level starts once organizational teams integrate their own respective learning”. Learning thus “represents the translation of shared understanding into new products, processes, procedures, structures, and strategy” (Bonti et al. 2002: 444). Learning happens here because organizations store knowledge in their procedures, norms, rules, and forms or its repository (Agote 2013). They accumulate such knowledge over time by acquiring it from their members. Hence, “learning becomes a process of differentiation and integration focused on mastery of the organizational environment” (Kolb and Kolb 2009: 56). Here, OL deals with the conversion of individual and group learning into a systematic base of

organizational intellectual capital (Brontis 2002). We are interested in individual learning.

Methodology

The narrative approach was used in the data collection process. To obtain the necessary information we interviewed a number of HR managers. The managers were asked to tell their stories about the general nature of HR, as well as the newly developed HRM policy. We believe in the narrative approach and, in particular, storytelling, because although it is said that stories do not offer truth –or even, perhaps, factual information –to us they have more verisimilitude, as well as enhancing and imparting meaning to the facts surrounding a particular situation (Garud et al. 2011). The value of a story lies in the fact that it provides themes and workable maps that can be recreated depending on the order and sense of the future. We sought to identify narratives of actual past episodes of progression, as distinct from general accounts and evaluations of policies and practices. It was necessary to do this because attending to specific facets of an experience marks the beginning of the process through which people make sense of events they encounter.

Overall, 20 officials in the public service, including two from the CAGD working on the HRMFIS, two officials of the PSC who worked on the policy, and two officials each from the OHCS were also interviewed. Four of the HRM managers were randomly selected and interviewed at a workshop for HR managers on the new policy at Koforidua, while the rest were selected from the civil and public services in Accra.

The interviews took from 30 to 60 minutes. Apart from the ones at the workshop, all other interviews took place at the offices of the interviewees. This was the most convenient place for them. It also made the interview process a bit easier, because all the ministries except defence and foreign affairs are in the same area in Accra. The information obtained was then transcribed and used in the analysis.

The Trajectory of HRM Development in the Ghanaian Public Service

There is a dearth of research on HRM in Ghana (Abdulai 2000; Antwi and Analoui 2008). A centralized HRM policy in the Ghanaian public sector has never existed. There has been what may be characterized as haphazard personnel administration. Each public organization maintained its own HR information, in multiple stand-alone environments, including paper-based files, home-grown databases, and spreadsheets. In none of these was information consistently maintained or updated, further undermining the PSC's regulatory role in providing government-wide information on HR (Cain 1999).

One can only understand the current state of public sector HRM by looking at the creation and development of the formal public sector by the British in what was then called the Gold Coast. Before that, the country was under traditional rule, and the economy was informally driven. Only with the establishment of the colonial administration came formal bureaucratic organizations, as they exist today to carry out administrative responsibilities (Ayee 2001). Even then the administration was made up of expatriates who were recruited and sent to the colony, but managed from the colonial office in Britain (Bennell 1982).

In the Gold Coast, the period of Guggisberg's governorship (1920-1927) and his vision of self-governance led to the development of a cadre of competent civil servants to carry out some administrative responsibilities, especially those relating to his 10-year development plan. It was during this time that the administration began to develop the skills and knowledge of the indigenes, professionalized the career service, raised entry requirements, and provided local and overseas training for the indigenes. In spite of this, literacy and competency, along with kinship and loyalty to the colonial authority, became the most important criteria for employment and promotion in the colonial administration. It thus marked the emergence of modern HRM in the formal sense. Nonetheless, there is no evidence that a well-developed system to deal with personnel management was ever established. The

reason is that under colonial rule, separate personnel policies were made for the expatriates, who occupied the upper echelons of the service and the indigenes, who had limited training in administrative work at the lower ranks (Junior Service) and performed menial services (Bennell 1982).

While the members of the Junior Service, for example, were hired on the whims and caprices of the governor-general, the expatriate personnel were hired and managed from the colonial office in Britain with a better salary structure (Bennell 1982; Pearce 1982). It was not until the 1940s, and more precisely after the Second World War, that increasing agitation for public service jobs and independence, changes in the colonial administration office, as well as conflicts between the Intelligentsia and the local chiefs, whom the colonial administration continued to use in local administration, “forced the British to replace their previous long-term, evolutionary strategy with one that would allow Africans to take complete control over their affairs within a matter of years rather than decades” (Bennell 1982: 135). Sober consideration of the development of the public service, and therefore some serious work on HR issues to prepare the country for independence, inevitably followed.

A number of commissions and committees were set up by the government to address the needs of a newly independent nation, including development of a working public service. The recommendations were for one carefully adhering to the British model (Bennell 1982; Domfeh 2004). For instance, “in 1941, the Lynch Commission was set up to carry out a survey of departments and to make recommendations on the number of senior appointments, specifying the grades in each department that should be filled by Africans in the following fifteen to twenty years” (Ayee 1991: 281). Furthermore, in 1947 the Harragin Committee set up to examine the Civil Service in British West Africa recommended creating PSCs in the colonies to oversee consolidation and extension of existing arrangements regarding HR and associated matters in such a way as to secure the confidence, fairness, and impartiality of the general public and government

appointees.³ As a result, in 1948 an interim PSC was founded in the Gold Coast to advise the Governor on appointments and promotions in the public service (Kirk-Greene 2012).

Following the Harragin Committee, another commission, headed by Sir James Coussey, was established for the purpose of recommending the necessary interim measures to carry out the Watson Commission recommendations by drafting a constitution for the country in 1948. The commission identified “a universal feeling that Africanization was merely a promise and not a driving force in government policy, coupled with the suspicion that education had been slowed up, and directed in such a way as to impede Africanization” (Metcalf 1964: 682-3), as one of the causes of the disturbances. It thus recommended establishing a full-fledged PSC that would resort to a more rigorous policy of training and appointment of Africans to all classes of posts in the service, and give preference to African candidates in all appointments where they possessed the requisite qualifications (Price 1975).

The acceptance of the Coussey Commission report led to the promulgation of the 1951 Constitution of the Gold Coast. Earlier in 1949 the Saloway Committee, with the mandate to develop a comprehensive scheme for a progressive Africanization department of the public service, had recommended abolishing the distinction between junior and senior services, as well as appointing a full-time Commissioner of Africanization to act as an executive officer of the PSC (Ayee 1991: 282).⁴ As part of this Order-in Council, a PSC was established, and mandated to advise the Governor on issues relating to appointments, transfers, and disciplinary control of public officers. Unfortunately, the

³The committee recommended the introduction of competitive civil service exams in the civil service to be administered by the proposed PSC.

⁴The executive officer was to ensure that a maximum number of suitable and qualified African candidates became available for appointment to the higher grades of the public service. In 1951 it was recommended that the executive officer’s position be converted to the new post of Director of Recruitment and Training at the new Office of the Establishment Secretary (Ayee, 1991: 282-283).

Governor was not required under the Order to act in accordance with the advice given by the Commission. This, however, changed with the promulgation of the 1954 constitution, which subjected the exercise of the governor's powers in relation to the public service to the recommendation of the PSC – except when the Governor directed the contrary in any particular case. During this time, Africans were introduced into the senior ranks of the service⁵ (Rathbone 1968). The 1957 Independent constitution further tasked the Governor to act on the advice of the PSC in similar matters as in 1954. In the case of “Special Posts,” however, such as Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Department, the Governor was to act on the advice of the Prime Minister, given in consultation with the PSC. The constitution further made the PSC fully independent of the Executive.

It was against this background that Ghana gained independence in 1957. In terms of HRM, two major issues characterized the immediate post-independence era: the acceleration of the Africanization of the Civil Service, and the passing of the first industrial relations act. The Africanization policy mainly dealt with replacing expatriates in the civil service with indigenes, and thus brought a large increase in the salaries of clerks, bureaucrats, and managerial personnel (Kraus 1979: 266). According to Bennell (1982: 148), “in many respects, the Africanization of the civil service became the most important political issue during the 1950s, because the replacement of British bureaucrats by Africans was considered to be the fundamental precondition for the attainment of true independence.” On the other hand, the Industrial Relations Act focused on regulating employment relations, including the promotion of trade unionism and collective bargaining, rather than on managing human resources in either the private or public sectors (Davison 1957; Rimmer 1961).

⁵The Local Civil Service of the Gold Coast was established on 1st November 1952, and it absorbed all the members of the junior service, while at the same time, all Ghanaians, irrespective of their grades, who were appointed to the Public Service, were also appointed to the Local Civil Service.

Over the years the noble objective of establishing a PSC for Ghana has not changed much. During the period immediately after independence and up to 1979, however, HRM in the public services was marked by the struggle for identification and emphasis on source of control over public (civil) servants. The political executive was prominent in all matters relating to public or civil service promotion, transfers, and discipline (Nti 1974). Compounding the HRM problems was Nkrumah's proclivity to create and centralize public sector institutions under his presidency. Power was greatly concentrated in the centre at the political level, as well as at the level of the political head of government (Nti 1975).

A significant problem for HRM was how the Nkrumah government dealt with the PSC and the public service in general: especially the creation of a Civil Service Commission as a parallel institution to the PSC to deal with the ministries and departments outside the larger public service (Clerk, 1972). Further, apart from the creation of a number of institutions analogous to the public service, and recruiting party faithful to man them, the government curtailed the powers of the PSC to administer its function (Nti 1974: 170). The PSC was later dissolved, and its functions merged with the Establishment Secretariat under political control (Muwanga-Barlow 1978: 100).

Another serious issue was the politicization of the civil service, including the co-opting of civil servants into the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, and the government's ability to dismiss public servants if it believed such officials were not loyal to the state and devoted to the causes of Ghana and Africa (Ayee 2001: 6). Accordingly, "the bureaucracy was used as part of the means of achieving partisan objectives or rewarding political loyalists to the detriment of overall public service efficiency and effectiveness" (Akinnusi 1991; 164). Ayee (1991: 291) cynically remarked that by "1965...one [was] tempted to say that Ghana had become almost a classic example of an administrative system on the verge of collapse", brought to that pass by poor personnel management under Nkrumah.

The overthrow of the Nkrumah government in 1966 and the arrival of the National Liberation Council saw the establishment of the Mills-Odoi Commission:

[t]o investigate the organization and structure of the public services and to recommend reforms with special regard to the need to 'establish a civil service structure which matches the requirements of a machinery of government geared to rapid social and economic development' and 'improve the efficiency and economy of administration and secure the elimination of waste'" (Nti 1974: 171).

The Commission recommended the decentralization of administrative offices, including the management of programmes and personnel at the regional levels through the establishment and use of Regional Management Committees to deal with personnel matters in those departments relating to transfers, discipline, and appointment at the RMC level, taking these responsibilities away from the PSC (Owusu-Ansah 1975: 182).

The elected government of Dr. Busia (1969-72) was expected to implement the recommendations of the Commission, but turned its back on it. For instance, it refused to decentralize because of the fear that the programme would "result into [sic] a politically uncontrollable civil service" (Muwanga-Barlow 1978: 101), and further politicized it by appointing party faithful to key positions in the service (Nti 1975: 173). The politicization of the service reached its climax when 550 public servants were dismissed without recourse to lawful and prescribed personnel management procedures. To add insult to injury, the government openly refused to accept a court decision declaring the dismissals unconstitutional (Rathbone 1978).

There was much pettiness and incompetence in personnel administration throughout the 1970s, and no one seemed to really care about the public service in general, despite the establishment in 1974 by the Acheampong regime, which had come to power in 1972, of the Okoh Commission to study the Civil Service. It was tasked with investigating the organization

and structure of the Civil Service and its methods of operation, and with making recommendations for reforms, with special regard to the need to transform the Civil Service into a dynamic instrument of social change and economic development. Apart from echoing a lot of the Mills-Odoi Commission's findings, it recommended: that a new and separate post of Head of Civil Service be created, and an appointment to it made from among the regular Civil Service, and that it should remain a career post for Civil Servants; that the Head of the Civil Service should at all times have direct access to the Head of Government, and report to him on Civil Service matters; that the Principal Secretary post should no longer be the preserve of members of the Administrative Class, and should be opened to all Civil Servants, and to persons outside the Civil Service; and that there should be established a Civil Service Department to provide the professional support services required for effective central management of the public service, among other things.

These recommendations led to the further erosion of the powers of the PSC as they applied to HR. The only exception was that the PSC continued to administer the merit system through organizing the public service examination and overall recruitment. The OHCS became the main HR for the Civil Service. Not much, however, was done in respect of the Commission's recommendations.

Consequently, government paid little attention to HR issues during this period, while patronage appointments and politicization continued to afflict the service. The performance appraisal system, *i.e.*, the annual confidential report, became mere paper work. Even knowing the exact number of public servants became a problem, as the general bureaucracy became padded with ghost names. Absenteeism, moonlighting, and other vices became the order of the day, as there were no proper checks on the activities of public servants. Service productivity nosedived, with consequences for the economy (Appiah 2006; Ayee 2001). By the early 1980s the independence of the civil service, in particular, had significantly been eroded (Rathbone 1991), and the public service in general was in a pitiable condition (Appiah 2006; Nti 1980).

Personnel administration became so haphazard that by the time Ghana embarked on its much talked about Structural Adjustment Programme, the sector was confronted with serious problems. For example, government payroll was replete with fictitious names (a phenomenon commonly known as “ghost names”) resulting in the government spending significant proportions of its limited resources on such personnel. Besides, the merit principle and system, through which appointments and promotions came and still come into being, had become a mere formality. Furthermore, job descriptions in the service, particularly the civil service, were still problematic, with the service adhering to the old bureaucratic culture, which continued to undermine productivity.

Although the PNDC undertook a number of reforms compelled by the dire condition of Ghana’s economy and the general abysmal nature of the public service, the reforms focused much more on structural changes than on revamping personnel administration and introducing modern HR techniques in the sector. Significant HR reforms at this time were the privatization of a number of public services, retrenchment in the public service, capacity building by developing skills required for policy development, and implementation at the expense of total HR management (Ayee 2001).

Since the early 1980s attention has continued to focus on civil service, rather than general public service HR issues. Students of public administration in Ghana, knowing the result of the introduction of the new public management philosophy, since the 1990s, will not be surprised. Organizational decentralization, semi-autonomous agencies, and the use of management contracts have enabled a number of agencies to decide their own HR issues. The PSC was not empowered to fully undertake its mandate as a central HR institution, so it could not design a central strategy for the sector.

The 1992 Constitution, however, recognized the need to improve HRM practices, and it generated “a basis for sound HRM policies in Ghanaian

public organizations” (Abdulai 2000: 450). It reinforced the PSC as the main HR institution in the sector. Unfortunately, the PSC continues to be undermined by government, through both omission and commission. For example, government continues to enact separate legislation for different institutions, as well as create new ones: which has, in a sense, made these institutions autonomous to the PSC. Institutional insight has, in turn, been fragmented, and continues to undermine HRM programmes, such as PM (Ohemeng 2009). These problems, and especially the continuing decline in productivity, despite the high wage bill that has led the government to empower the PSC to undertake holistic HR reforms as part of the GIFMIS, have culminated in the creation of the new policy.

The New Human Resources Management Policy in Focus

It has already been noted how personnel administration or management in the public service was unsystematic, and fragmentation allowed each organization to have its own HR system, with all the accompanying paper work. The absence of reliable data on the size of the public service generated, among other system problems, the cancer of ghost names, eating away at the government payroll system (Cain 1999).

In developing the policy, the PSC recognized that society is dynamic, and that systems and procedures must be regularly reviewed and re-engineered to accommodate changes in the landscape of human resource management within the public administration system. The PSC also noted that the public service undertakes diverse work, developing policies and delivering programmes and services to Ghanaians. Furthermore, it acknowledged that a functioning HRM constituted the cornerstone of a high performing public service, and a key element in building Ghanaians’ trust in, and satisfaction with, government. It further considered HRM as a key component of strengthening the overall capacity of the Public Service for service delivery, which in turn contributes to enhancing the democratic process and economic development. Consequently, to the PSC, one of the objectives of the policy is to respond to the long-standing complaint that the HRM regime of the public service needs to improve through streamlining and

alignment of existing HRM principles, processes, procedures, and practices. Additionally, the policy seeks to clarify roles, responsibilities, accountabilities, structures, and standards.

The policy covers almost every aspect of the public service. It consists of 12 chapters covering issues such as: well-being of personnel and sustaining a healthy working environment; diversity and gender mainstreaming; PM and recognition; training, development and learning; compensation; ethics, values and conduct; staffing and capacity; and organizational and HR planning. Implementation is left to individual organizations, with the PSC monitoring them. The PSC is thus not directly involved in implementation, but has provided the broad policy for managing HR functions and activities.

Dissecting the New HRM Policy: the Organizational Learning Viewpoint

March (1991) argues that since in all learning processes there are delays in adjustment to changes, the contribution of learning to knowledge depends on the degree of turbulence in the environment. We have already noted the kind of turbulence that has characterized HR in the public service. What lessons were learned from this turbulence, and how did they help to shape the new policy? In what follows we will use interviews to help us understand how attention to experiences already undergone may have assisted in developing and implementing the new policy.

The first, and perhaps the most important, lesson was about how to address the institutional fragmentation of HR in the public service. OL teaches that individuals and organizations learn from their experiences to help them shape the future (Argote and Miron-Spektor 2011; Garud et al. 2011). We have already noted how HRM has been fragmented in the public sector, and the impact of this fragmentation, including bloating the bureaucracy, which has had an effect on government finances.

As already noted, Article 194(1) of the 1992 Constitution and the consequent enactment of the PSC Act, 1994 (Act 482) brought all public sector institutions under the PSC. The numerous limitations associated with the present system have produced these two enactments, enabling the Commission to centralize HR policy, as embodied in the new policy. Although some scholars have argued against such centralization as practised in other countries, and have advocated a decentralized system (Järvalt and Randma-Liiv 2010), a number of interviewees believe that it was and is right for Ghana. Commenting on the need for a centralized system, an interviewee noted that “in Ghana, the current situation is that we do not have a one-stop shop HRM system. So the question one will want to ask is: how, then, do we collect employee information to pay salary, for example?” A caveat, though, is that in developing this new system, the PSC, as the leading HR institution, worked with the OHSC.

Another interviewee noted the limitations of the current payroll system, especially the personnel processing software, and their effect on HR, emphasizing the need for a centralized system. Despite this, as we have already indicated, actual implementation of the policy is left to HR managers at the various institutions, with the PSC monitoring them. An interviewee was less than happy with the phrase “centralization of HR policy” to describe what is taking place. They noted that the:

PSC, by developing and providing the various HR policy documents, has not necessarily centralized HR. Each agency has its own HR Unit. However, it is important that the same guidelines apply to all public sector entities, for fairness’ and uniformity’s sake. That is the strength of the PSC action in leading the uniform policy development process.

Some interviewees were of the opinion that what we (the researchers) are calling centralization has come about as result of the fragmented nature of HR in the sector. They pointed out, however, that the implementation of the policy is left to individual organizations, so that organizational context and uniqueness – instead of the one-size-fits-all approach – can be drawn on to achieve the objective of the policy.

An aspect of OL is how the past tends to shape the future. It figures largely in the growth of the organization and the (further) experiences it gains (Agote 2011). In the Ghanaian case, a good learning experience has come from observing how, in the early 1990s, the impact of some past HR initiatives (e.g. personnel training and skills set development programmes) were limited by the fragmentation of HR issues and the lack of institutional leadership in the initiation of the Civil Service Performance Improvement Programmes, and the Strategic Approach to HR Management by the OHSC and the PSC respectively, said one interviewee. According to an interviewee, the new policy in general is meant to address identified problems and gaps in HR development – *i.e.*, from recruitment to exit from the service: something that has been a serious problem in the sector. In that respect, the interviewee continued, the policy is abreast of the times, and has flexibility for its review consistent with the exigencies of the time.

It has already been indicated that one of the key objectives in developing the HRMIS is to enable better management of HR through an HR planning system that can be integrated with other government systems related to financial management. Doing so will, in a sense, give HR and CAGD managers the opportunity to access HR data in a manner that best supports effective decision-making, as well as HR management in the country. How, then, does the policy address these issues?

As part of the learning process, the HRMIS is now, unprecedentedly, linked to the payroll system and the national budget. The HRMIS is a personnel data system with the information the CAGD needs to process the payroll, and which it can cull to that purpose. Once the payroll is processed, the cost to government is expected to appear in a financial statement linked to the GIFMIS. The GIFMIS is integrated with the payroll, and the payroll is integrated into the HR. In this case the HR collects the needed information about employees, which is more than what is needed to run the payroll. When the payroll is ready, it will “speak” directly to the HRMIS system, without any human intervention,

and select the data. Ghost names and other corrupt practices that have bedevilled the system are expected to be reduced, if not eliminated.

According to Agote (2013: 33), “OL occurs in a context which includes the organization and the external environment in which the organization is embedded.” The environment in which the public service operates in Ghana is politically highly contentious. Any government action in the sector is interpreted as politically motivated, thus politicizing the sector. This political environment makes any meaningful reforms difficult, remarked one senior official. To overcome this the government granted significant autonomy to the PSC,⁶ based on the aforementioned constitutional provision. One senior ministry official noted that:

[t]he proposals are not ‘political,’ with the policy for staffing and capacity development. It is now up to all the players to go by the policy prescriptions in it, and for PSC [to] be bold to act according to the dictates of the policy without fear or favour. Institutions must be allowed to work as provided by law.

To understand the effectiveness of learning, interviewees were asked whether the policy can unearth the deepest issues in managing HR in the sector, and whether it has solutions to these problems. It was almost unanimously agreed that the policy document has indeed been structured in such a way as to identify problems and recommend solutions. An interviewee commented: “That is effective; of course, as new challenges emerge, there is flexibility for innovation.” Interviewees also believed that the wide ranging consultations undertaken by the PSC with stakeholders, the various workshops organized for HR managers, and the proposed yearly review of the policy’s implementation by the PSC with stakeholders are quite innovative, and in fact unprecedented. An interviewee, for instance, pointed out that “various orientations have

⁶A number of other institutions are involved in the implementation of the HRMIS. These include the Ministries of Employment and Labour Relations and Finance in addition to the Accountant General’s Department, OHSC and the Fair Wages and Salaries Commission.

been held by both the PSC and OHSC to give meaning to strategic HR development as embedded in the document.” Accordingly, many hope that as various implementation obstacles from individual organizations are identified, the PSC, as the overarching organization, will propose good solutions that go far to help in HRM and development in a more collaborative manner.

Employee motivation had long been a major problem in the sector. In its current form the policy includes the mechanism with which government can generate that motivation. For example, when it comes to promotion, which obviously leads to pay increment, the policy emphasizes such issues as the annual performance review of employees, based on a newly developed performance management system.⁷ There is thus now, as indicated by the interviewees, a serious link between individual performances and salary increments. One interviewee was so optimistic about the new policy and lessons learned that he remarked: “If effectively used [the policy], I think that we will have a lot of prospects for development as a nation.”

OL tells us that learning takes place at different levels: individual, group, organizational, and inter-organizational. In the Ghanaian case, while individual learning might have shaped the policy through individual inputs, it is at those other levels that we find serious learning. This is a result of the approach of the PSC and the OHSC to disseminating the new policy.

To overcome obstacles to many reform efforts in Ghana, the two organizations decided to pilot the HRMIS and the HR policy in some MDAs; and they continue now to organize training for HR managers of these identified organizations, in the hope that by the end of 2016 these seven MDAs will be live on the HRMIS. Commenting on the piloting approach, a CAGD official noted that the idea was premised on the

⁷With the implementation of the Single Spine Pay Policy, the government is now focusing on pay for performance in the public sector, but this is yet to be implemented.

human factor of the fear of change, which leads to resistance to new reforms. He explained that every new system faces some kind of resistance, not necessarily because people do not like it, but because of the fear of the unknown, and because it is human nature to want to remain in one's comfort zone. This approach thus provides the transparency needed to allay that fear of the unknown when it comes to the introduction of any new reform programme. As explained by another official, people do not cooperate effectively in an environment where there is not much transparency. This lack of effective cooperation undermines the success of reforms. In such an environment discussions will be open, and collaboration and cooperation will be the values that will help to overcome the expected resistance, as well as the customary passivity of public officials when it comes to reforms.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper is to examine how the PSC, in collaboration with other institutions, and in particular the OHSC, was able to develop a new HR policy for the public sector in Ghana. The essential premise of that policy was that without an effective HRM system Ghana's quest to become a middle-income country would continue to be futile. Furthermore, effectively managing public finances and increasing productivity in the sector, which government recognizes is at only 50 per cent efficiency, calls for new ways of managing employees.

It was this recognition, and the seriousness the government attached to the HR issue, that prompted it to link the development of the HRMIS to the GIFMIS, a broader financial management system. Empowering the PSC was also seen as instrumental in the sense that the 1992 constitution recognizes it as one of the main institutions for HR management in the public sector.

Sustaining an OL context, a number of players, including some involved in the development of the policy, as well as HR managers in the larger public service, were interviewed. All acknowledged that the past had a significant influence on the policy's development. To understand why,

the paper reviewed the literature on OL, and then considered the historical development of the public services and HR as a way of arriving at a contextual understanding, including of the challenges of implementing an effective HR system in the public sector. Following this was a brief overview of the new policy.

In analysing how learning helped the policy developers and individual managers, we realized that what was, and has been, paramount was the need to get HR right. In the interviewees' words, recognizing the importance of HR for national development became fully acceptable; unlike in previous years, where HR had been neglected, to the benefit of other areas. Accordingly, "...HR functions are not placed amongst strategic positions in public services organisations, leading situations normally termed as 'square pegs in round holes', where weak and reactive people sometimes occupy positions they may not deserve or not adequately prepared for" (Katrisku 2015). Many have accepted the notion of getting HRM right this time, and this has led to carefully examining the major problems confronting it in the sector. The first lesson was that the government needed to identify a leading institution, and empower it to assume such a function. The PSC, with its constitutional mandate, became that; and all other institutions, such as the OHSC, the Fair Wages Commission, and the Public Sector Reform Secretariat, became collaborators. Institutional fragmentation, which creates turf wars, may be avoided.

OL talks about how the past shapes the future, taking into account environmental turbulence. This was seen in the Ghanaian case. The turbulence emerged from HR silos; that is, each organization developed and implemented its own HR policy, with a tremendous impact on recruitment, dismissals, absence management, and delays in the payment of new recruits, including professionals in the sector. The consequences of these were the padding of the government payroll system with ghost names and industrial strife ignited by disruption of payments to new recruits.

Lessons from history have enabled the leadership of the PSC to develop what may be considered an effective policy: which, if well implemented, may become an alchemical philosopher's stone capable of transforming the public sector with a less than stellar productivity record. What this paper has done is to start the debate over the implementation of a new HR policy for the public service. Therefore, as an agenda for future research, the following questions will be worth addressing: What are the potential implementation challenges to the policy? What needs to be done to address difficult issues that may arise in the policy's implementation? Will the policy help in developing an HR environment, and provide the means to deliver Ghana from its present developmental predicaments through the employment, development, and motivation of personnel, so as to make the public sector the engine of development and a serious, sought after, place of employment?

References

- Abdulai, A.I. (2000), Human resource management in Ghana: Prescriptions and issues raised by the Fourth Republican Constitution. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 13(5): 447 – 466.
- Akinnusi, D.M. (1991), Personnel management in Africa: A comparative analysis of Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria, in Brewster, C. and Tyson, S. (eds.) *International Comparisons in Human Resource Management*, London: Pitman.
- Antwi, K.B. and Analoui, F. (2008), Challenges in building the capacity of human resource development in decentralized local governments: Evidence from Ghana. *Management Research News*, 31(7): 504 – 517.
- Appiah, F. (2006), *In the Throes of a Turbulent Environment: The Ghanaian Civil Service in a Changing State*. Accra: Afram Publications Ltd.
- Argote, L. (2013), *Organizational learning: Creating, retaining and transferring knowledge*, 2nd ed. New York: Springer.

Argote, L. and Miron-Spektor, E. (2011), Organizational learning: From experience to knowledge. *Organization Science*, 22(5): 1123-1137.

Argyris, C. (2004), Reflection and beyond in research on organisational learning. *Management Learning*, 35(4): 507-509.

Ayee, J.R.A. (2001), Civil service reform in Ghana: A case study of contemporary reform problems in Africa. *African Journal of Political Science*, 6(1): 1-41.

Ayee, J.R.A. (1991), Public sector manpower development during the Nkrumah period, 1951-1966, in Arhin, K. (ed.) *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah*. Accra: Sedco Press.

Barette, J., Lemyre, L., Corneil, W. and Beauregard, N. (2012), Organizational learning facilitators in the Canadian public sector. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(2): 137-149.

Bennell, P. (1982), The colonial legacy of salary structures in Anglophone Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 20(1): 127-154.

Berman, E.M. (2015), HRM in development: Lessons and frontiers. *Public Administration and Development*, 35(2): 113-127.

Bontis, N. (2002), Managing organizational knowledge by diagnosing intellectual capital: Framing and advancing the state of the field, in Choo, C.W. and Bontis, N. (eds.) *The Strategic Management of Intellectual Capital and Organizational Knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bontis, N., Crossan, M.M. and Hulland, J. (2002), Managing an organisational learning system by aligning stocks and flows. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(4): 437-469.

Cain, P. (1999), Automating personnel records for improved management of human resources: The experience of three African governments, in Heeks, R. (ed.), *Reinventing Government in the Information Age: International practice in IT-enabled public sector reform*. London: Routledge.

Cesario, F. (2015), Employees' perceptions of the importance of human resources management practices. *Research Journal of Business Management*, 9(3): 470-479.

Cohen, M. (1991), Individual learning and organizational routine: Emerging connections. *Organization Science*, 2(1): 135-139.

Crossan, M.M., Lane, H.W. and White, R.E. (1999), An organisational learning framework: From intuition to institution. *Academy of Management Review*, 24(3): 522-537.

Cyert, R.M. and March, J.G. (1963), *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Domfeh, K.A. (2004), Managing the environment in a decade of administrative reforms in Ghana. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 17(7): 606-620.

Easterby-Smith, M. (1997), Disciplines of organisational learning: Contributions and critiques. *Human Relations*, 50(9): 1085-1113.

Easterby-Smith, M., Crossan, M. and Nicolini, D. (2000), Organizational learning: Debates past, present and future. *Journal of Management Studies*, 37(6): 783-97.

Finger, M. and Brand, S.B. (1999), The concept of the 'learning organisation' applied to the transformation of the public sector: Conceptual contributions for theory development. In Easterby-Smith, M., Araujo, L. and Burgoyne, J. Eds. *Organizational Learning and the*

Learning Organization: Developments in Theory and Practice. London: Sage.

Friedman, V.J. (2003), The individual as agent of organisational learning, in Dierkes, M., Antal, A.B., Child, J., and Nonaka, I. (eds.) Handbook of Organisational Learning and Knowledge (398-414), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Friedman, E.J., Yezreel, E., Lipshitz, R., and Popper, M. (2005), The mystification of organisational learning. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 14(1): 19-30.

Garud, R., Dunbar, R.L.M. and Bartel, C.A. (2011), Dealing with unusual experiences: A narrative perspective on organisational learning. *Organization Science*, 22(3), 587-601.

Huber, G.P. (1991), Organizational learning: The contributing processes and the literatures. *Organization Science* 2(1): 88–115.

Järvalt, J. and Randma-Liiv, T. (2010), Public sector HRM: The case of no central human resource strategy. *Baltic Journal of Management* 5(2): 242–256.

Katrisku, B. (2015), Public Services Commission to revamp Human Resource Management, Ghana News Agency, Accra, <http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/public-services-commission-to-revamp-human-resource-management--98152>.

Kirk-Greene, A. (2012), Aspects of empire: A Second corona anthology. New York: I.B. Tauris.

Kolb, A.Y. and Kolb, D.A. (2009), Experiential learning theory: A dynamic, holistic approach to management learning, education and development, in Armstrong, S.J. and Fukami, C.V. (eds.) *The Sage*

Handbook of Management Learning, Education and Development. Los Angeles, California: Sage.

Kraus, J. (1979), Strikes and labour power in Ghana. *Development and Change*, 10(2): 259-286.

Levitt, B. and March, G. (1988), Organizational learning. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 14(1): 319–40.

March, J.G. (1991), Exploration and exploitation in organizational learning. *Organization Science*, 2(1), 71-87.

Metcalf, G.E. (1964), Great Britain and Ghana: Documents of Ghana history, 1807-1957. London: Thomas-Nelson and Sons.

Muwanga-Barlow, C.H. (1978), The development of administrative sciences in English- Speaking Africa. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 44(1): 93-105.

Nti, J. (1975), Ghana's experience in administrative reform of the central bureaucracy, in Rweyemamu, A.H. and Hyden, G. (eds.) *A decade of public administration in Africa*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

Ohemeng, F.L.K. (2009), Constraints in the implementation of performance management systems in developing countries: The Ghanaian case. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9(1): 109-132.

Örtenblad, A. (2013), What do we mean by 'learning organization'?, in Örtenblad, A. (eds.) *Handbook of Research on the Learning Organization: Adaptation and Context*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Örtenblad, A. (2001), On differences between organizational learning and learning organization. *The Learning Organization*, 8(3): 125–133.

Owusu-Ansah, K.A. (1975), Administrative reforms at the grass root: The Ghanaian experience, in Rweyemamu, A.H. and Hyden, G. (eds.) *A Decade of Public Administration in Africa*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

Pawlowsky, P. (2003), The treatment of organisational learning in management science, in Dierkes, M., Antal, A.B., Child, J. and Nonaka, I. (eds.) *Handbook of Organizational Learning and Knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 61-88.

Pearce, R.D. (1982), *The Turning Point in Africa: British Colonial Policy, 1938–48*. London: Frank Cass.

Price, R.M. (1975), *Society and Bureaucracy in Contemporary Ghana*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Popova-Nowak, I.V. and Cseh, C. (2015), The meaning of organizational learning: A meta-paradigm perspective. *Human Resource Development Review*, 14(3): 299-331.

Popper, M. and Lipshitz, R. (2004), Organizational learning: mechanisms, culture, and feasibility, in C. Grey and E. Antonacopoulou (eds.) *Essential Readings in Management Learning*. London: Sage, pp. 37-54.

Public Services Commission (2015), *Human Resources Management Policy Framework and Manual for the Ghana Public Services*, Accra, Ghana.

Rathbone, R. (1991), Politics in Ghana and politics in Ghana, in Mayall, J. and Payne, A. (eds.) *The Fallacies of Hope: The Post-colonial Record of the Commonwealth Third World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Rees, C.J. (2013), Human resource management in the public sector in developing countries, in Burke, R.J. Noblet, A.J. and Cooper, C.L. (eds.) Human Resource Management in the Public Sector. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar.

Simon, H.A. (1991), Bounded rationality and organisational learning. *Organisation Science*, 2(1): 125-134.

Rimmer, D. (1961), The new industrial relations in Ghana. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 14(2): 206-226.

Taylor, G.S., Templeton, G.F., and Baker, L.T. (2010), Factors influencing the success of organisational learning implementation: A policy facet perspective. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 12(4): 353–364.

Tregaskis, O., Edwards, T., Edwards, P., Ferner, A. and Marginson, P. (2010), Transnational learning structures in multinational firms: Organisational context and national embeddedness. *Human Relations*, 63(4): 471–499.

Werlin, H. (1994), Ghana and South Korea: Explaining development disparities, an essay in honor of Carl Rosberg. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 29(3-4): 205-225.

World Bank (1997), *The State in a Changing World*, World Bank Development Report. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS AND CALL FOR PAPERS

The Ghana Social Science Journal (GSSJ) publishes a peer reviewed research for domestic, regional and in international audiences covering scholarly work in terms of: analysis, theory, measurements and empirical enquiry in all aspects of social science scholarship. Contributions are encouraged from all fields which have relevant and insightful comments involving social, economic, political, cultural, health, environmental and spatial dimensions of society and their implications for Social Science scholarship as broadly conceived. The Editor invites prospective authors to submit manuscripts (articles and book reviews) for possible publication in this international journal. The Journal is published twice a year in June and December.

1. Manuscript Requirements

- i. Two copies of the manuscript should be submitted in English in double spacing, accompanied by an electronic version, preferably in Microsoft Word, sent as an electronic mail attachment to the following address: [\(socsjournal@ug.edu.gh\)](mailto:socsjournal@ug.edu.gh)
- ii. Articles and book reviews sent to this journal should not have been accepted for publication elsewhere. Contributors who receive notification that their articles are accepted for publication in the journal would be expected to withdraw any similar versions of the articles from wherever they may have been sent. Articles which are not accepted for publication shall not be returned. Authors are advised to keep copies of their manuscripts.
- iii. Articles should normally not exceed 8,000 words in length, and must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 150 words. A book

review should not exceed 1,000 words. A brief autobiographical note on the author should be supplied including full name, institutional affiliation, e-mail address and full international contact details. These should be provided on the cover page of the manuscript.

- iv. Illustrative material (maps, diagrams, photographs and others) should be numbered serially (using Arabic numerals).
- v. Endnotes, which should be self-explanatory and kept as minimal as possible, should be numbered serially and typed on separate sheets from the text; they should not be used to introduce bibliographical references. Instead, references to books and articles must be in Harvard style; that is, shown in the main body of the text as the author's last name followed by year of publication and page number(s). For example, "Field (1958: 1043) ..." indicates that the reference is made to page 1043 of Field's book or article, which appeared in 1958. Similarly, several authors, such as "Ward (1956)", "Goody (1957)", and "Field (1963)..." imply works by the authors which appear in the years indicated in brackets. If more than one work of an author that appeared in one year are cited in the manuscript, letters should be used to distinguish the works from one another, such as "Merton (1963a)," and Merton (1963b). This procedure should be used in the endnotes also.
- vi. At the end of the manuscript a reference list in alphabetical order must be given as follows:
 - For books, last name of author, followed by initials, followed by the date of publication, full title of book; place of publication; publishers; for example:
Ward, W.E. (1958), *A History of Ghana, Second Edition*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

- For journal articles, last name of author followed by initials, year of publication, full title of article, full title of journal in which it appears, volume, number, month where available and pages, for example:

Poku, J.Y. (1992), Bilingual Representational System and Inter-lingual Transfer of Learning, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 13(4):470-480.

- For an essay in a book: last name of author, followed by initials; year of publication, full title of essay, pages; followed by the preposition **in**; this should then be followed by the name (s) of editor(s), full title of book; place of publication; and publishers, for example:

Titriku, P.K. (1999), "Agriculture in the Volta Basin: Problems and Projects", in Gordon, C. and Amatekpor, J. K. (eds.), *The Sustainable Integrated Development of the Volta Basin in Ghana*, Accra: Volta Basin Research Project, pp. 107-117.

If several works by one author are cited, entries in the references should be in chronological order. Works by the same author that appear in the same year should be distinguished by the use of letters (a, b, c...).

2. Copyright

Manuscripts for publication should be accompanied by a declaration that the work does not infringe on an existing copyright and that indemnifies the publisher of *Ghana Social Science Journal* against any breach of warranty. For ease of dissemination and to ensure proper policing of their use, all published papers and contributions shall become the legal copyright of the publisher – the School of Social Sciences, University of Ghana, unless otherwise agreed. Upon publication the author will receive one complimentary copy of the issue in which the work appears.

3. How to Submit

Manuscripts and CDs and any other correspondence about the journal should be sent to:

The Editorial Office,
Ghana Social Science Journal
School of Social Sciences
University of Ghana
P.O. Box LG72
Legon, Accra, Ghana
Electronic mail address:
socsjournal@ug.edu.gh