

# THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF GHANAIAN TOWNS, 1960-2000



BY

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**REGIONAL INSTITUTE FOR POPULATION STUDIES AT  
THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON**

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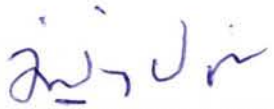
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**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
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LEGON**

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**ACCEPTANCE**

Accepted by Faculty of Social Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of M.A Degree (Population Studies)

Supervisor..... 

Dr. Samuel Nii Ardey Codjoe

Date..... 17<sup>th</sup> September 2009

**DECLARATION**

I, Noah Kwame Tali do hereby declare that, except for the duly acknowledged references to other people's work, this study is my own work undertaken at the United Nations Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, and that neither in part nor in whole has been presented elsewhere for another degree.

Signed.....

Noah Kwame Tali (Student)

Date.....17 - 09 - 2009

**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my late father, Torgbui Tali II (So So & So), my mother, Atsunorvi Gaga and to my lovely wife Gifty Ivy Akpalu for their devotion to my education.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am most grateful to God Almighty for taking me through the M.A. Programme successfully. I am greatly indebted to my Supervisor Dr. Samuel Nii Ardey Codjoe for taking the pain to guide and encourage me throughout this work. My profound gratitude is also extended to all lecturers of RIPS for their immense contributions which made this work a reality.

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## ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study is to examine the growth patterns of Ghanaian towns in terms of population size and to investigate the plausible reasons for an increase or decrease in the number of people living in the towns at a particular point in time. For a meaningful study, selection is made of all towns in the country with population of 10,000 or more by the 2000 Population and Housing Census Reports of Ghana.

The study found out that, internal migration in Ghana flows in all directions but the more urbanized towns with much infrastructure development and job opportunities as found in regional administrative capitals, mining towns, industrial areas as well as commercial towns continue to attract a disproportionate share of the migrants. Major differences in urban functions such as administrative, commercial, manufacturing, construction services, transport and communication, agriculture and mining as well as educational institutions in the various large towns have to a large extent been responsible for the different rates of urbanization and growth of towns in the country. For instance, the population of the largest city in the country, (Accra), has been 8 times as large as the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest town (Tamale) and 39 times that of the 20<sup>th</sup> largest, Nkawkaw as at 2000.

Generally, the contribution of net migration to the growth of towns in Ghana over the period 1970 to 1984 was low compared to that of between 1960 and 1970 due to an economic crisis experienced by the country in the 1970s which compelled many Ghanaians to travel outside the country in search of jobs. Decentralization policy instrument of Ghana which was initiated in 1988 changed the status of some towns in the country and hence reduced rural-urban drift of the youths.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the study.

One of the most demographic features about the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is the astronomical growth of urban centres and the manner in which millions of people have mushroomed in the four corners of the earth. Consequently, human settlements throughout the world have undergone series of dramatic changes in their patterns, levels and organizations. The world is on the verge of a shift from predominately rural to mainly urban.

According to the United Nations Demographic Yearbook 2008, 33 percent of the world's total population of 3.0 billion people in 1960 lived in urban centres. This percentage share of the urban population rose to 37.2 in 1970 and to 42.7 percent in 1990. It has also been projected that the world's urban population will rise to 52.0 percent by the year 2010. Thus, for the first time in the demographic history, the world's population living in the urban areas is expected to exceed that of rural population. The issue is not different for sub-Saharan Africa. The percentage share of the urban areas in Africa is projected to reach 51.4 percent in 2015. This also implies that, should urban growth and the level of urbanization go on uninterrupted, Africa, for the first time is expected to have greater proportion of its people living in urban areas by the year 2015 compared to rural areas.

Ghana has not been left out in the dramatic upsurge of urban growth and urbanization. According to the Preliminary Reports of the 2000 Population and Housing Census of Ghana, the urban population of Ghana increased from 23.1 percent of the total

population in 1960 to 28.9 percent, 32 percent and 43.8 percent in 1970, 1984, and 2000 respectively. The census figures show that, while a majority of Ghanaians still live in rural areas, larger towns and cities continue to attract more immigrants than small towns. (Nabilla, 1992).

The process of urbanization in Ghana predates the arrival of Europeans and colonization. However, while the scale of urbanization during this period was quite small, the process assumes a new impetus and dynamism during the European colonization and the introduction of western economic enterprise with its market economy which favoured urban concentration. Investment strategies informed by basic criteria of investing in regions with exploitable and exportable resources, and subsequent provision of basic infrastructure attracted population to such areas relative to other parts of the country.

Ghana's population has increased significantly since the 1920's when formal censuses were introduced. Along with the increased population has come the increasing concentration of the population in settlements of 5000 or more people. Using Ghana's official urban definition, the top urban hierarchies are the large cities of Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Secondi-Takoradi with population of 250,000 or more. This is followed by medium-sized towns with population of 50,000 to 250,000, typified by regional capitals. After this are the small towns exemplified by the district capitals/administrative centres with population of 5000 to 50,000. Lastly, there are rural settlements. (Owusu, 2008).

According to the Ghana Statistical Service reports on 2000 population and housing census, Accra metropolis was recorded as the first largest locality in Ghana with a population of 1,658,937 followed by Kumasi metropolis of 1,170,270 and Tamale with

a population of 202,317. Takoradi, Ashaiman and Tema followed with 175,436; 150,312 and 134, 645, respectively.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Urbanization in Ghana had been rapid since independence both in the number of people and the number of towns classified as urban. The number of urban centres identified in Ghana in 2000 was 364 which constitute 43.8 percent of the total population of the country. However, a few urban cities dominate this concentration, mainly Accra and Kumasi. In 2000, the two cities accounted for about 34 percent of the total urban population of the country though there were 350 urban centres in the country (GSS, 2002).

The Greater Accra region again, which is the most urbanized region in the country recorded a population growth rate of 5.6 percent between 1960 and 1970, while the national average growth rate was 2.4 percent. However, a 1960 sample survey showed that the region had the least natural increase, indicating that, large proportion of the growth of the population in 1970 was due to migration from other areas. (Abdulai, 1999)

In addition, of the Ghana's total urban population of 8,274,270 recorded in the 2000 Census, 30.8 percent was recoded in urban areas of Greater Accra region while only 1.2 percent was recorded from urban centres in Upper West region. The number of urban centres in Greater Accra region increased from 3 in 1960 to 46 in 2000, and that of Ashanti region increased from 10 in 1960 to 56 in 2000. However, the number of urban centres in Upper West region increased from 1 in 1960 to 5 in 2000 and from 3 in 1960 to

7 in 2000 in the case of Upper East region. There is clear indication from the above statistics that, Ghana is experiencing rapid urbanization, however, what is worrying and highlighted in some official research documents, (Adepujo, 1987 and Nabila, 1992) is the uneven spatial concentration of the urban population in the country. Conversely, there are few other urban centres whose population size had declined significantly either during the first, second or third inter-censal period. The 2000 Population and Housing Special Reports on Urban Localities revealed that, towns like Sekondi, Keta, Ayarko and Kedzi continue to decrease from 1960 through to 2000.

Undoubtedly, the massive increase in the number of urban towns as well as the number of people residing in these towns in the last three decades will have serious implications for food, housing, education, health services, job opportunities and social amenities in the urban centres. In the Greater Accra for instance, there is continuous water shortage or no water at all in some areas of the capital city. Satellite towns such as Adenta, Ashongman, Madina, Ashaley Botswe and hardly see water flowing through their pipes.

Health facilities in these urban centres are nothing to write home about. Government Hospitals like 37-Military Hospital, Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital and Ridge Hospital all in the capital city of Accra as well as the regional hospitals all over the country are over stretched with virtually no extra space for admission of patients. In addition, the problem of waste disposal which is directly related to the number of people and their consumption habit can not be left out in this issue of urban concentration. Gutters in the urban centres are filled with human waste which continues to cause perennial flooding in the “big” cities of Accra, Kumasi and their various satellite towns.

Housing problems in the various urban centres especially the regional capitals and the large commercial towns like Techiman, Tema New Town and Nkawkaw in the country has lead to proliferation of urban slums and temporary structures. There is an upsurge at the rate in which rent for houses in the urban cities rises by each month, creating a situation where some people sleep in temporary and uncompleted structures. Inadequate job opportunities had also resulted in streetism, commercial sex work, armed robbery and other social vices in the urban areas.

For the above illustrations and consequences of the various dimensions of urbanization, this study attempted to answer the following questions:

- (i) What is the pattern of change in the Ghanaian towns over the past four decades?
- (ii) (ii) What are the plausible factors accounting for the rapid increase in the number of urban cities as well as the number of people residing in these cities?
- (iii) Why is the urban growth concentrated in few metropolitan cities of the country?
- (iv) Finally, why are some urban cities declining in size and why have some declined during particular period and then increased in other periods?

### **1.3 Rationale of the Study.**

Urbanization and for that matter urban growth have been a compelling topic for research in the recent decades in view of its demographic and socio-economic implication in the world and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.



Before the commencement of official population censuses in Ghana, there was virtually no detailed research work on the pattern of urban growth and urbanization undertaken in Ghana. However, after the 1948, 1960, 1970 and 1984 population censuses, and currently, 2000 population and Housing census of Ghana, more detailed research works on the growth of urban areas were conducted. For instance, Larbi, W.O (1986), studied Spatial Planning and Urban fragmentation in Accra; Gough, K.V.(1999), worked on “The changing role of urban governance in Accra, Ghana; and “Continuity and Change in Peri-urban Accra and Kumasi” by Gough, K.V.& Yankson, P.W.K. in 1997. All of these works focus mainly on migration to the urban cities of Accra and Kumasi and its related consequences. Not much had been done on the processes of urban growth regarding how the small towns attain urban status and the rate at which the urban cities are increasing in both numbers and sizes.

The widely held views by those works on Migration and Urbanization is that, rural-urban migration has negative effect on the rural areas, and as such, migration deprives the rural areas and for that matter the agriculture sector of its young workers and the educated who are more receptive to new ideas crucial to the transformation of the rural production. Unfortunately today, the massive movement to the towns has resulted in rapid rate of urbanization with its resultant unemployment, overcrowding, sanitation problems, crime and other social vices on one hand and negative structural changes with its possible consequences for the rural areas on the other.

It is therefore necessary to undertake this type of studies to examine the pattern of urban growth in the country with its related consequences on both the rural and urban settlements. This will help to up-date the understanding and dynamic processes of

urbanization from demographic perspective in our urban cities. Our stakeholders could hence be informed with effective programs and strategies to combat the chronic problems engulfing the urban centres in the country and at the same time ensuring a balance spatial distribution of population in the country.

In addition, most of the research works in the area of urbanization such as Grant, R. & Yankson, P.W.K (2002), Larbi, W.O (1996) and Gough, K.V. (1999) were all at micro specific units regions and cities but not at the aggregate level covering the entire country. Thus, conclusions drawn on the subject have been specific mostly on the few over populated cities of Accra, Kumasi and Tamale. There is therefore a research gap between the national level on one hand and the regions on the other. The study hence seeks to rationalize the need to conduct an in-depth investigation into the aggregate components of urban growth and urbanization in the country. It is hoped that the results will provide a new data set for planning and implementation of population and socio-economic policies.

Furthermore, most of the works done in the area of urbanization were mainly on the rapid growth of major urban centres in the country, but not on the declining urban settlements. This work will also identify some declining urban settlements with regards to the factors accounting for their decline over the specific period.

Finally and most importantly, the study is timely in terms of the ever increasing satellite towns around the large cities of Accra, Kumasi, Tema, and Sekondi-Takoradi with such associated issues like water shortage, problem of sanitation and housing, pressure on health and educational facilities, high level of unemployment, prostitution and other social vices. The study will therefore help redirect the attention of policy

makers, planners as well the academics to what corrective measures could be used or adopted and which areas should be given a priority consideration in the rural development effort.

It is in the light of the above variation gaps in the various works conducted by several researchers that this study has to be undertaken to examine the changing patterns and trends of Ghanaian urban cities over the last four decades.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of the study is to examine the changing patterns of Ghanaian towns between 1960-1970, 1970-1984 and 1984-2000 with emphasis on towns with population of 10,000 or more in 2000.

Specifically, the work will:

- (i) Examine the pattern and trends of the growth of Ghanaian towns in the country.
- (ii) Investigate the plausible causes of the increases as well as decreases in the selected Ghanaian towns over the various inter-censal periods of the country.
- (iii) Examine the impact of Ghana's decentralization programme on the growth of towns in the country.
- (iv) Make suggestions and policy recommendations that are likely to help our policymakers and stakeholders to promote spatial population distribution in the country.

## 1.5 Literature Review

Kingsley Davis (1972) in his book “World Urbanization 1950-1970” stated that, by 1970, the world’s total population had reached approximately 3.6 billion people. Of these, about 1.4 billion or nearly 39 percent lived in urban areas. Today, 49 percent of an estimated total population of 6.7 billion people in the world is living in urban areas. In the case of Africa, 38 percent of the 967 million people are living in urban settlements and Ghana, the focus of this study is currently having 48 percent of its 23.9 estimated population residing in urban cities (2008 World Population Data Sheet).

Tacoli (1998), identify that the distinction between ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ is probably inescapable for descriptive purpose; however, it often implies a dichotomy which encompasses both spatial and sectoral dimension. In censuses and other similar statistical exercises, rural and urban populations are usually defined by residence in settlement above or below a certain size. Agriculture is assumed to be the principal activity of rural populations whereas urban dwellers are thought to engage primarily in industrial production and services. Urbanization however, was in part the result of population increase both due to natural causes and immigration. As well, it was a consequence of economic and technological changes which reduced the demand for labour on farms and offered vastly expanded opportunities in urban industries.

The Population Reference Bureau (September 2007) stated clearly that, the world’s regions differ greatly in their levels of urbanization. In North America, Europe, and Latin America and Caribbean, more than 70 percent of the population is already urban; but in Africa and Asia, less than 40 percent of the population is urban. The

Bulletin explained further that, globally, all future population growth will take place in cities, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Asia and Africa, this growth will signal a shift from rural to urban growth, changing a millennia-long trend.

Clark, P. (1995) identified in his studies on 'The Urbanization of the Human Population' in *Scientific America*, the shift of population from rural to urban area as the principal cause of population growth in the cities in Europe during the industrial Revolution. He identified shift from agricultural to non-agricultural occupation as the principal economic factor of such growth. The industrial revolution was therefore seen as the catalyst in accelerating the levels of economic growth and development in Europe. Hence, urban growth has come to be understood in the Western World in terms of its "connection with economic growth".

In a related study conducted on urban growth in Latin America between 1931 and 1951, Hauser (1961) cited in Clark (1995) found that migration was the principal contributor to urban growth in Venezuela, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Paraguay and El Salvador. On the other hand, natural increase contributed more than net migration in Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Cuba within the same period (1931-1951). The marked differences in urban growth in these Latin America countries were attributed to differences in socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

In Africa, Adepoju (1987) found out in his work on "Internal Migration and Regional Development in Africa" that, migration exerts direct and indirect effect on urban population growth. The direct contribution of migration, he explains derive from the initial migratory streams, and the repeated and longer stay at the urban destination. A second effect is then set in motion as migration attracts other migrants and the indirect

effect seen in reproductive behaviour of the migrants. Migration, Adepaju explains, is age selective and in Africa where a larger population of the urban immigrants consists of the youth, they invariably transfer their rural high reproductive behaviour to boost up urban fertility.

Writing on Urban dynamics of Black Africa, Hanna, W.L. (1971) cited in Tacoli, C. (2002) identified migration as the predominant factor in urban growth in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. However, they acknowledged that in most African towns, natural increase has already become the primary cause of population explosion. They further observed that the contribution of natural increase in the urban growth will be increasing since there is increasing proportion of the number of women of childbearing age in town.

In analyzing 1948, 1960, 1970 and 1984 Population Censuses of Ghana, Nabila (1992) found out that between 1948 and 1960, net migration contributed more than 90 percent to urban growth in Ghana. The share of net migration declined to 54 percent between 1960 and 1970. The figure declined considerably to 18 percent between 1970 and 1984. According to the author, the reduction of net migration to urban growth in Ghana was due to the fact that as more of migrants settled in the urban centres, they contributed their natural fertility to urban growth.

Working earlier on the Population Distribution of Ghana, Gaisie and de Graft-Johnson (1974), also identified the high concentration of industrial establishments and government departments in the Accra-Tema Metropolitan area as the main factors responsible for the rapid increase in population in the area. According to them, Greater Accra region alone in 1970 contained over 90 percent of the large industries in Ghana.

Caldwell (1969) cited in Owusu (2008) also argued in his publication on “Africa Rural-Urban Migration, The Movement to Ghana’s Towns” that, population growth in the urban areas in Ghana between 1948 and 1960 was largely attributed to migration. According to him, about half of the growth is attributable to Ghanaians who moved from the countryside to the towns. Immigrants from neighbouring countries had also contributed to the urban growth.

Ewusi (1986) cited in Anarfi et al (2003) found that depressed social conditions at the place of origin are more compelling motivations for rural people to migrate than economic factors. However, once people decide to migrate to urban cities, individual migrants base their choice of destination primarily on the economic opportunities available at that end.

One other Survey on Internal Migration and Urbanization in Ghana by Obeng (1991) revealed that over 80 percent of the respondents gave economic reasons for migrating from their previous localities, suggesting that income differentials contribute significantly to internal migration in the country. He further explained that, the pattern of internal migration in Ghana which had resulted into a high rate of urbanization in the country is been influenced by the stark differences in the levels of poverty between the North and the South, as well as their perspective capacities to respond to new economic opportunities.

Owusu (2005) in his study on “Growth of Small Towns in Ghana” emphasize that while historical dimensions have been well-noted by many writers on urban growth and regional development in Ghana, more contemporary factors acting on these historical conditions and shaping the current urbanization process in the country involve the impact

of the economic and political reforms of the last two decades. These he cited as the World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF) inspired Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as well as Decentralization and local government reforms, introduced at the end of the 1980s.

The author explained that SAPs in Ghana though, had restored some level of economic growth and sanity at the macroeconomic level, it came at a high social cost due to the fact that most vulnerable groups have been adversely affected both directly and indirectly by measures such as the withdrawal of subsidies on social services, retrenchment of labour, and the general increases in prices of goods and services. Also, SAPs in Ghana have been criticized as only stimulating economic activities in the traditional resource-rich regions and relatively developed south, especially the cocoa and coffee, mining and timber regions. This, it is argued, has further widened the gap between the north and south.

Notwithstanding the criticisms of SAPs, Konadu-Agyeman and Adanu (2003) cited in Owusu (2005), in their studies on “The Changing Geography of Export Trade in Ghana under Structural Adjustment Programmes: Some Socio-economic and Spatial Implication”, argue that the promotion of non-traditional export commodities under SAPs has enabled regions especially northern Ghana to participate in the export trade. A process if adequately supported in the long-run with better infrastructure would likely have positive impact on previous disadvantaged regions. They made the argument that, the removal of subsidies which for a long time largely benefited the urban population; the shrinking of the formal sector which was largely concentrated in the larger urban centres;

and the high cost of living in these centres have reduced the attraction of the leading cities in the country.

In a related argument, Thomi, W. et al (2000), notes that SAPs lead to reduction in rural-urban migration rates and hence reduction in the growth of major cities, whilst at the same time allowing the growth of both secondary cities and other locations in the national urban system. While the explanations suggested by the author may hold for other Third World countries, especially in Latin America, they fall short in the case of Ghana. Available evidence from Owusu, G. (2005) indicates that, in Ghana, SAPs have not resulted either in deconcentration of industries and employment or a significant shift in the terms of trade in favour of agriculture. Rather, investments have continued to be concentrated in the core metropolitan areas, especially Accra-Tema. In fact, evidence from 2000 Population and Housing Census Reports indicates that the four urban centres of Accra, Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi account for 44 percent of the total urban population.

Yankson et al (2005) in their work on “Monitoring Urban Growth in Ghana” realised that modern urbanization in Ghana is focused mainly on Accra-Tema and two other urban nuclei in the country, Kumasi and Tamale. They found out that Accra is a primate city not only in the size of its population, but this primacy manifests in every respect: political, administrative, economic and cultural. Accra became the capital of the Gold Coast, (now Ghana) in 1877 when the colonial headquarters was relocated from Cape Coast. It has subsequently become not only the political and administrative capital, but also the commercial, industrial and cultural centre. It is the transport hub of the

country and linked to the outside world through the only international airport of the country and a harbour at Tema, about 20 km to the east of Accra.

## **1.6 Data and Methodology**

### **1.6.1 Source of Data.**

The principal source of data for the study were basically taken from the 1960, 1970, and 1984 Population Censuses; as well as 2000 Population and Housing Census conducted in Ghana by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). Based on the 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000 Population and Housing Census Reports of the country, all the towns with population of 10,000 or more people are selected in each of the four census reports for the study.

### **1.6.2 Method of Analysis**

The study is a descriptive one. Simple statistical techniques like ratios, rates and percentages were employed. Percentage increases of population over each of the three inter-censal periods for all the selected towns are computed and tabulated. The selected towns are however, grouped under plausible reasons that might have contributed to their growth or decline over the various inter-censal periods. Excel is however used to compute the percentage increases.

## **1.7 Limitation of the Study**

Ghana, like any other developing country, lacks a clarity regarding the boundaries of urban centres resulting in either splitting or merging of some settlements. A

typical case is the peri-urban areas surrounding major urban cities such as Accra and Kumasi.

Another limitation is the usual coverage error associated with population censuses in Sub-Saharan African countries like Ghana.

In spite of these limitations enumerated above, the four Population Censuses are the most comprehensive and reliable data available for the study.

## **1.8 Definition of Key Concepts**

### **(i) Urban Centre:**

It is important to note that different centres use different population sizes to refer to an urban centre. An urban centre in this study shall constitute a settlement where 5,000 or more of the population resides. This conforms to the definition of urban area in Ghana. Urbanization therefore shall refer to the situation where an increasing proportion of the total natural population lives in urban settlements.

### **(ii) Urbanization:**

It is a process of continuous concentration of population in a particular country into cities and metropolitan areas. It is the process of growth in the proportion of the national population living in urban centres.

### **(iii) Natural Increase:**

The difference between the number of births and deaths occurring in a given population within a well defined territory in any particular year.

**(iv) Urban Growth:**

The change in the number of population living in urban areas relative to the initial number at the beginning of a given a given period. Strictly speaking, it refers to the growth of in the urban areas themselves.

**(v) Migration:**

Movement of individuals or groups which involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of usual place of residence between clearly defined geographical or administrative boundaries for at least six months.

**vi Decentralization**

Decentralization has been defined as the “transfer of authority to plan , make decision, and manage public functions from a higher level of government to any individual, organization or an agency at a lower level”(Rondinelli, 1981) cited in Kumi-Kyereme, A. et al (2005).

**1.9 Organization of the Study**

The study will be organized into five chapters. The first chapter which is the introductory chapter focuses on the background to the study, statement of the problem, the rational of the study, Objectives, Literature Review, Data and Methodology involving

data source and Method of Analysis, Limitation to the study and Definition of Key Concepts.

The second chapter examines the Population patterns of Ghanaian towns with 10,000 or more people between 1960 and 1970 while chapter three looks at the growth pattern of the selected towns between 1970 and 1984. Chapter four of the study will identify the plausible reasons influencing the growth of Ghanaian towns with population of at least 10,000 in year 2000.

The last chapter, chapter five will contain the Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations.



## CHAPTER II

### POPULATION PATTERNS OF GHANAIAN TOWNS: 1960-1970

#### 2.1 Introduction

The problem of defining urban centres is probably as old as the conceptual problem of defining what constitutes a town or a city. Definitions used or applied to urban centres have therefore varied among researchers even for the same country and region. (Owusu, 2005). For instance, Andersson (2002), writing on Zimbabwe, notes that while Kamete et al. (1988) defines urban centres at Zimbabwe as settlements with population above 9,999, Pederson (1995) suggested a settlement with a population of at least 50,000 to be considered as urban.

In the context of Ghana, urban centres are officially defined as settlements with populations of 5000 or more. However, according to Owusu (2005), three main classifications of Ghanaian towns can be made: small towns, medium-sized/intermediate towns, and large towns/cities. At the top of Ghana's urban hierarchy are the large cities of Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Sekondi-Takoradi, with populations of 250,000 or more. This is followed by the medium-sized towns with populations of 50,000 to 250,000, typified by the regional capitals. After this are the small towns, exemplified by district capitals/administrative centres with populations between 5,000 and 50,000. Lastly are the rural settlements with populations less than 5,000.

Thomi and Yankson (1985), made a similar classification of Ghana's urban system based on the 1970 Population Census. Andrae's (1981) classification of Ghanaian towns, based on the 1960 Population Census and other characteristics such as administrative status and level of industrial and service establishments, created a four-tier

urban hierarchy: The Accra capital region which is the national politico-administrative and industrial hub with a population of over 300,000; Cities ( Kumasi, Tema, Sekondi-Takoradi) with populations over 50,000, then comes the important industrial and all other regional administrative capitals with populations over 10,000. The last category is towns with populations below 10,000 which are mainly district administrative capitals. Andrae considered all locations whose populations are below 10,000 as 'rural' settlements.

Even though, Ghana has an official definition of urban centres as settlements with a population of 5000 or more peoples, it has none for towns or other categories such as large or medium-sized town. For meaningful discussion and analysis, towns in Ghana are defined in this study as localities with population of 10,000 or more people in the 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000 Population Censuses of Ghana. This is also for the fact that, Ghanaian towns with a population of at least 5,000 may be too many for the study. Additionally, some of the towns that are labeled as towns by the official definition are purely rural settlements with little or no level of commercial or industrial activities. Furthermore, the 10,000 population cut-off for this study is mainly due the fact that, most of the towns in Ghana that falls under this category actually have urban characteristics in terms of infrastructural developments.

## **2.2 Ghanaian Towns during the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Periods**

Historically, growth of towns and therefore urbanization has been a feature of demographic, social and economic life of the people of Ghana. Consequently, contemporary urban growth has been a result of cumulative process of social, economic and demographic change in the country.

Tetteh (1992) has indicated that there was an indigenous African urban tradition in Ghana. The most remarkable being Salaga, Bono, Wa, and Kintampo which in the pre-colonial days were principally market centres owing their existence and development to trading activities.

According to Addo (1966), the experience of urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa, including Ghana is essentially a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon and is a product of African colonial history. The advent of the Europeans in the 15<sup>th</sup> century produced a tremendous transformation in the nature and direction of trade and had a distinctive impact on population growth and distribution.

The Europeans built fortresses along the coast and started trading with the indigenous people along the coast which stimulated economic growth and development. Consequently, a number of localities like Cape Coast, Winneba, Accra, Ada and Keta developed into larger localities along the coast. These towns served as centres for export of resources of the country and at the same time as centre for import of industrial and consumer goods from Europe. Alongside trading in commercial items in exchange for mineral resources and timber, the Europeans introduced Slave trade. The Slave trade led to inter-tribal wars, which were much intensified in the northern part of the country. This contributed in no small way in the dwindling of population in some parts of the country.

Introduction of Cocoa into the agriculture industry of Ghana had also altered the growth of Ghanaian towns. Addo (1966) contends that, cocoa farming created a permanent migration to the farming settlements. As a result, population in towns like Lartey, Adukrom, Manpong and Aburi all in the Akwapim south, declined drastically at the time. For example, Lartey's population declined from 7,911 in 1901 to 2,623 in

1931, representing a decline of 66.8 percent over the twenty-year period. Similarly, Aburi population also declined considerably from 8,393 in 1901 to 3,700 in 1931. The cocoa industry also enhanced the importance of certain towns like Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi. For instance, Accra and Sekondi-Takoradi served as ports through which cocoa were exported to Europe, and where storage facilities for cocoa were constructed.

### **2.3 Classification of Ghanaian Towns under Plausible Reasons for Growth**

Many significant differences can be drawn between any two towns. The differences may be based on size, location, age (new or old towns), importance or functions as well as morphology. The size of the population and importance or functions of a town are the most fundamental basis for comparison of towns. (Benneh G. et al, 1988)

It is however very difficult to classify a particular town base on a single function performed by that town. For instance, all administrative towns such as the regional capitals equally have large market centres which contribute to their growth. Likewise, some towns situated at a border say Dzodze and Bawku with much trading activities are also predominantly farming settlements. Hence the classification of the selected towns in this work is not mutually exclusive.

The number of functions or services provided by urban centres and their location factors are the main reasons used to explain the growth of the selected towns in the country. For the prosperity and importance of a town, situation or location in relation to other settlements or centres of economic activity is far more vital than site. A settlement develops urban characteristics and provides certain services (educational, commercial,

administrative, farming and mines) if there is a demand for them from the area in which the settlement is situated.

One can talk of Administrative towns which in Ghana are generally associated with the regional offices of the various ministries, departments and agencies. In other words, majority of the people in these towns are workers in the various offices. Commercial functions such as banks, markets and large stores are common in these towns. Mining towns are located at mineral deposits. Examples are Obuasi and Prestea which began strictly as mining towns. Almost all towns on the coast originally functioned as ports and were lined with the interior by roads. This factor of port location can now be applied to towns like Tema and Takoradi.

Other categorizations of towns in this study are Agricultural towns, Fishing towns and Market or Trading towns. Even though, no town can be classified exclusively as an Agricultural or fishing town, the categorization is done to mean the main activity engaged in by the majority of the people in the locality. Yeji, for instance, began as a small fishing community and had grown to its present status as a result of migration of fishermen mainly from the Volta region to the town.

## **2.4 Towns with Population of 10,000 or more in 1960**

Table 2.1 shows towns in Ghana with populations of 10,000 or more according to the 1960 Population Census Reports. In all, 34 towns in Ghana had a population of at least 10,000. From the table, it can be observed that the identified towns include all the 10 administrative regional capitals. Most of these towns were selected as colonial administrative centres in 1901 and had witnessed massive development in terms of road,

electricity, rail-lines, schools and hospitals which were influential factors for growth of population in these areas. This is an indication of the fact that, the administrative functions which the regional capital towns serve couple with the rapid infrastructural development at these towns served as a centripetal force in attracting migrants thereby expanding the population in these towns.

Wa, Sunyani, Berekum, Koforidua, Tamale, Ho, Cape Coast, Accra and Kumasi are examples of towns which grew as a result of their basic administrative functions and the implied commercial activities. From the table, it can be clearly seen that Accra Central Town has the highest population of 347, 815 as at 1960. The transferring of the capital town of Ghana from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 and hence the location of the headquarters of all Ministries, Departments and Agencies as well as educational and commercial centres in Accra can be sited as the main reason of the high population in the city far back at 1960.

Apart from the regional administrative capitals, certain enclaves like Tarkwa, Obuasi, Dunkwa, Akwatia, Oda and Prestea are also identified among this group with 10, 000 and more population in 1960 because of mining activities. From the table, Prestea and Tarkwa are the next highest after the regional capital, Takoradi in the Western region as Obuasi also comes after Kumasi in the Ashanti region. In the Eastern region, Oda is the third highest after the regional capital Koforidua. This affirms the fact that, mining was a major activity in the country during the 60's and had attracted a lot of migrants to mining localities.

As already stated, introduction of Cocoa into the agriculture industry of Ghana had also affected some Ghanaian towns. Notable towns like Wenchi, Berekum, Agogo and

Manpong attracted migrant farmers from other towns and hence increase the populations of these towns within the period.

Another important factor that contributes greatly to the growth of some towns during the colonial era is trading. Trading activities initiated by the Europeans with active participation of natives along the coast saw the growth of towns like Winneba, Keta, Ada and Cape Coast. Nevertheless, almost all the regional administrative capitals as well as the District administrative centres have large markets in them. This is due to the fact that, as more and more people move to these town as workers in the various departments and agencies, commercial an trading activities automatically boom resulting in larghe markets. A Mention can be made of Agbogloshie and Makola markets in Accra; Kotokoraba market in Cape Coast and Kejetia market in Kumasi. Other regional capitals, Ho, Koforidua, Tamale, Wa and Takoradi as well as Bawku and Tarkwa can boast of large markets. The major towns in Ghana including all the regional administrative capitals are shown in Figure 1.1.

All the 34 identified towns in 1960 had a total population of 1,098,742 people with the nine administrative towns having 65.1 percent of the population. Agricultural towns and Mining towns covers 12.6 percent and 10.8 percents of this population respectively. Also, the population of two harbour towns, Tema and Takoradi accounted for 5 percent of the total population of the 34 selected towns in 1960.

FIG.2.1: A Map of Ghana, Showing Major Towns and Rivers.



Table 2.1

**Ghanaian Towns with 10,000 or More Population and Reasons for Growth, 1960**

<b>Reasons for Growth / Towns</b>	<b>Population</b>
<b><u>Administrative</u></b>	<b><u>1960</u></b>
Accra	347,815
Cape Coast	41,230
Ho	14,519
Koforidua	29,849
Kumasi	180,642
Sekondi	34,513
Sunyani	12,160
Tamale	40,443
Wa	14,342
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>715,513</b>
<b><u>Agriculture</u></b>	
Agogo	10,356
Agona Swedru	18,293
Anloga	11,038
Asamankese	16,718
Berekum	11,148
New Tafo	10,557
Nkawkaw	15,627
Nsawam	20,240
Nyaakrom	13,467
Suhum	10,193
Wenchi	10,672
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>138,126</b>
<b><u>Mining</u></b>	
Akwatia	12,592
Bibiani	12,992
Dunkwa-on-Ofin	12,689
Konongo	10,771
Obuasi	22,818
Oda	19,666
Prestea	13,246
Tarkwa	13,545
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>118,319</b>
<b><u>Fishing</u></b>	
Keta	16,719
Winneba	25,376
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42,095</b>
<b><u>Harbour</u></b>	
Takoradi	40,937
Tema	14,937
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55,874</b>
<b><u>Market Centres</u></b>	
Bawku	12,719
Yendi	16,096
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28,815</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1,098,742</b>

Source: Derived from 1960 Population Census Reports.

Figure 2.2 Population of Administrative Towns in 1960

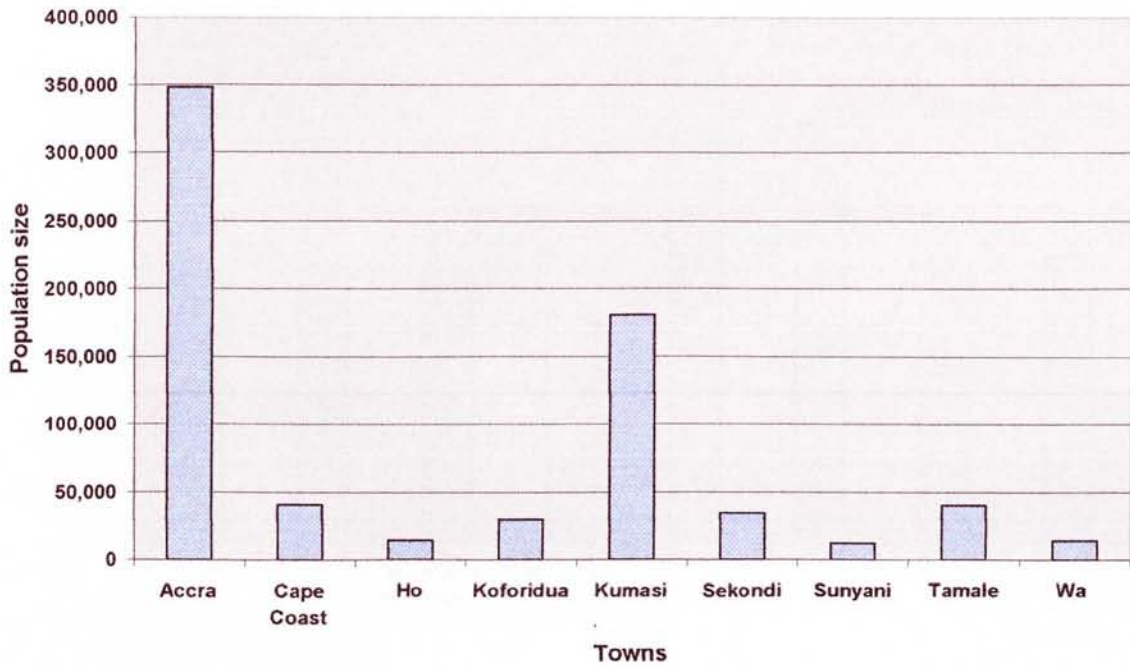
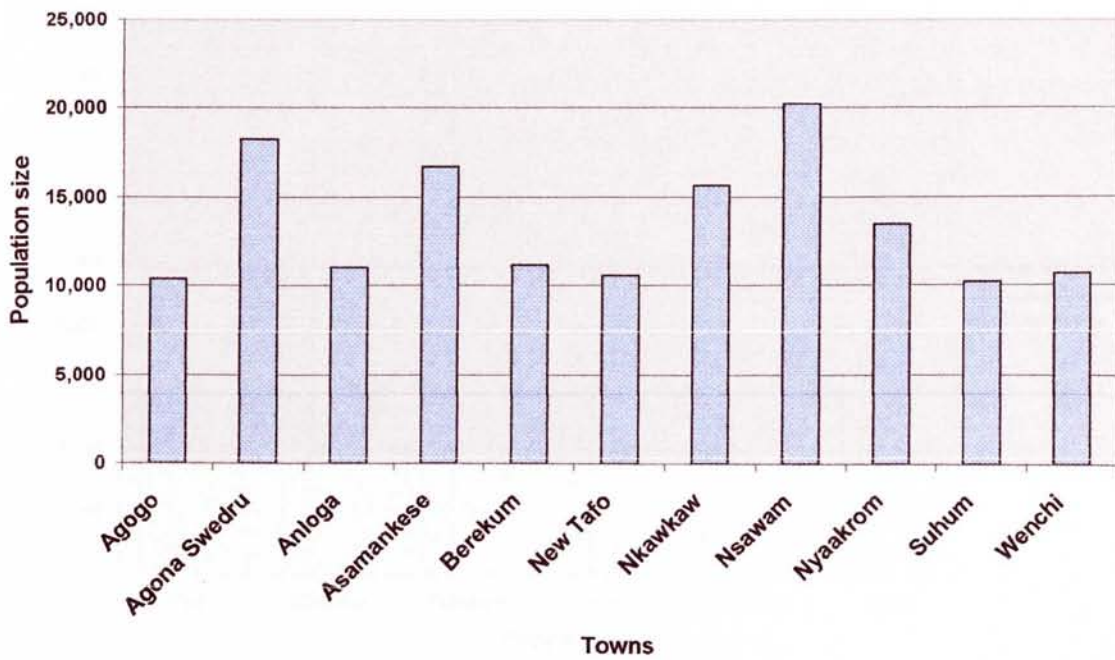
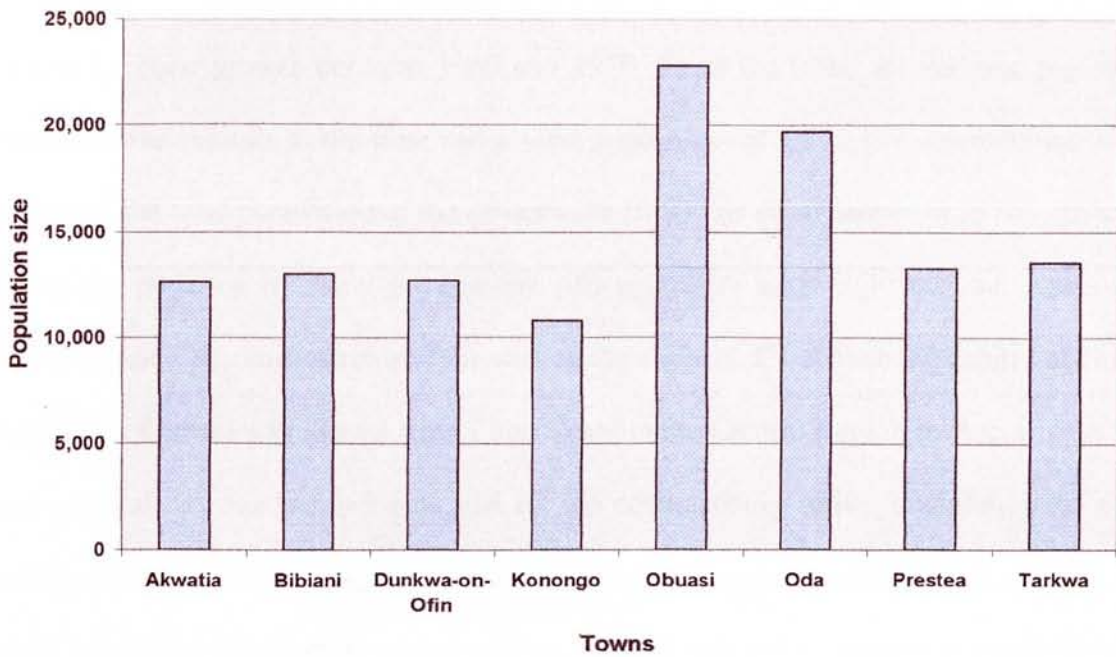


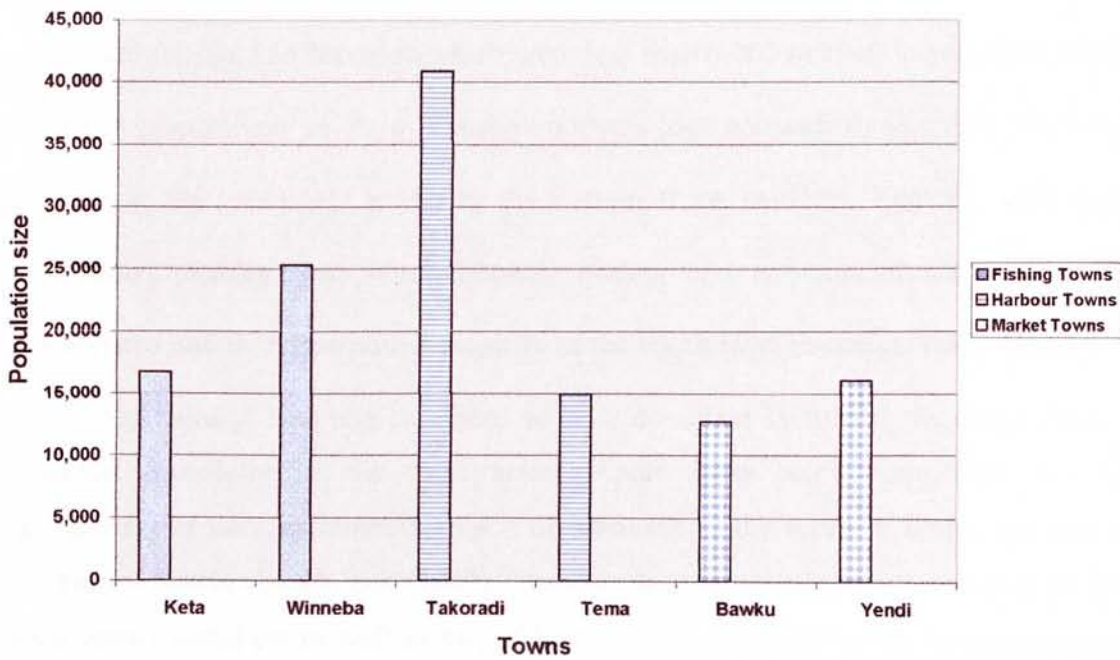
Figure 2.3 Population of Agricultural Towns in 1960



**Figure 2.4 Population of Mining Towns in 1960**



**Fig 2.5 Population of Fishing, Harbour and Market Towns in 1960**



## 2.5 Growth of Towns between 1960 and 1970

Table 2.2 presents the population growth of Ghanaian towns and the plausible reasons for their growth between 1960 and 1970. From the table, all the nine regional administrative capitals at the time had a total population of 1,255,139 representing 64.2 percent of the total population of the towns with 10,000 or more people in 1970. This is due to the presence of many government offices couple with high level of economic activities especially commerce and services in the capitals. Ever since the capital of Gold Coast (now Ghana) was moved from Cape Coast in the Central Region to Accra in 1877, Accra capital city has become a magnet for the economically active, including local and foreign industry owners, manufacturers and workers. Its status and location resulted in Accra becoming the leading administrative, educational and commercial centre in the country. This, however, led to Accra becoming the primary destination for most Ghanaian internal migrants which resulted in a population growth from 347,000 in 1960 to 678,000 in 1970 – an increase of 95 percent.

Bolgatanga and Navrogo which were less than 6,000 in 1960 increased to 18,896 and 11,031 respectively in 1970. These two towns together with Bawku, Wa and Yendi were among the prominent towns in the current three Northern Regions, with much infrastructure development which boosted trading and commercial activities in the various towns and therefore pulled majority of the youth from the neighboring villages.

Agricultural land use continues to be a dominant factor for the distribution of population especially in the rural areas. Apart from being responsible for the establishment of new settlements, it is a determinant of the types of spatial patterns of distribution. Studies by Hunter (1967) demonstrate that constant fragmentation of land among family members as well as lost of land fertility compelled some farmers to move with their families to other towns with higher agriculture productivity. Majority of

Ghanaian towns with populations of more than 10,000 in 1970 were mostly cash crops like cocoa farming localities. Towns like Berekum, Wenchi, Bekwai, Mampong and Ejura which are cocoa farming localities, have their populations increased to 10,000 and more in 1970.

All the agricultural towns listed in the table except Nyaakrom had increased in size as expected with Mampong having the highest increase of 75 percent over the period. Nyaakrom which is an old farming locality has decreased by 16.4 percent between 1960 and 1970 probably due to out-migration. Most of the youths in the town might have migrated to the nearby towns in search for better job opportunities and better living conditions. The agricultural towns identified in 1970 as having more than 10,000 people represents 12.3 percent of the total population of 1,955,258.

After agriculture, mining is the most important activity in Ghana in terms of its contribution to export revenue. The discovery and development of minerals in the country was one of the spectacular developments that affected population distribution. The development of “modern mining” encouraged movement of people into mining areas in search of jobs. Other pull factors that might have encouraged people to move into these mining areas included the social services these areas provide such as free housing, health, transportation and education. The principal gold fields in the 1960s include the land areas around Prestea, Tarkwa, Obuasi and Konongo all in the forest zone.

Akwatia and Bibiani however, were the only mining towns that declined over the period. Akwatia, Ghana’s largest diamond producing town as far back in the 1950’s slightly declined in population by 3.3 percent during the first inter censal period of Ghana. The diamond mine was then jointly owned by the United Kingdom and Ghana Governments. A change in the management of the company after Ghana’s independence or depletion of the diamond might have resulted in a decrease in the mining output of the company which could in turn affect other commercial activities in the town and hence

population of the town during the period. Bibiani might have also declined in population during the period as a result of a drastic drop in the deposits of the minerals compelling some miners to migrate to other localities for higher production. Konongo, another old mining town had also recorded a low growth of population over the 10 year period.

Fishing in the fresh water bodies and in the beaches also continue to influence population distribution in Ghana. Major towns along the Coast and the Volta Lake had experienced rapid population growth between 1960 and 1970 as a result of increased opportunities for fishing in the country. Notable among them are Elmina, Moree, Winneba and Saltpond which are all major fishing towns increased in population by 33, 32, 21 and 20 per cent respectively. Keta is another major fishing town in the country.

According to Nukunya (1999), Keta which is noted for its large scale lagoon fishing, was the largest, not only in Anlo but also in the Ewe speaking Ghana. Besides being a port for small cargo ships, it is the commercial and administrative centre of the Anlo district and had large European stores, several Government offices and a large market which attracted traders and customers from all over Ghana, Togo and Dahomey in the early 1950's. Keta however, decreased by 13.6 percent between 1960 and 1970 due to the increasing menace of sea erosion as most youth continue to migrate out of the town for better job opportunities in the cities of Accra, Kumasi and Tema. Anloga, the traditional capital of Anlo, grew by 27 percents during the same period at the expense of Keta.

Techiman and Yendi are Ghanaian towns with major market centres in the 1960s. Techiman whose population was 8,755 in 1960 increased to 12,068 in 1970 – an increase of 37.8 percent within the period. This increase might be as a result of growth of a large market centre that trades in agricultural products such as yam, maize, cassava and groundnut which were largely cultivated in rural settlements around Techiman. Dzodze and Bawku can also be sited as towns whose population growths were largely influenced

by the trading activities along their borders. For instance, Dzodze with a population less than 6,000 in 1960 grew to almost 11,000 in 1970.

Tema, an industrial satellite township planned by Doxiades and Associates also grew in the wake of independence. Coupled with industrial growth and development, a good natural port and fishing harbour and as a nucleus for local industries, Tema also became a primary destination for Ghana's internal migrants resulting in population increase of 15,000 in 1960 to 61,000 in 1970 - an increase of over 300 percent. Ashiaman and Tema New Town which were old settlements around Tema township, increased tremendously mainly as a result of population pressure on Tema as majority of the casual workers of the harbour and other industrial companies in Tema were accommodated in these rural settlements. Ashiaman for instance, which was regarded as a squatter settlement due to its unplanned nature grew from less than 3,000 in 1960 to little over 22,000 in 1970 - an increase of over 750 percent. The total population of the above dormitory towns increases from 20,453 in 1960 to 66,371 in 1970 and represent 3.3 percent of the total population of all the towns with 10,000 or more people in 1970.

New Takoradi, which was not in existence at all in 1960 grew drastically to a little over 10,000 in 1970. This town emerged as a residential area for the workers of the harbour and the industrial city of Takoradi. The growth of New Takoradi might be as a result of overcrowding in the industrial and regional capital. Effia-Kuma which is situated between Sekondi and Takoradi also almost doubled in size between 1960 and 1970 not only due to overcrowding in the twin city, but also probably as a result of lack of land for building in Sekondi due to sea erosion. Consequently, the population of Sekondi declined by 2.3 percent during the inter censal period.



Table 2.2

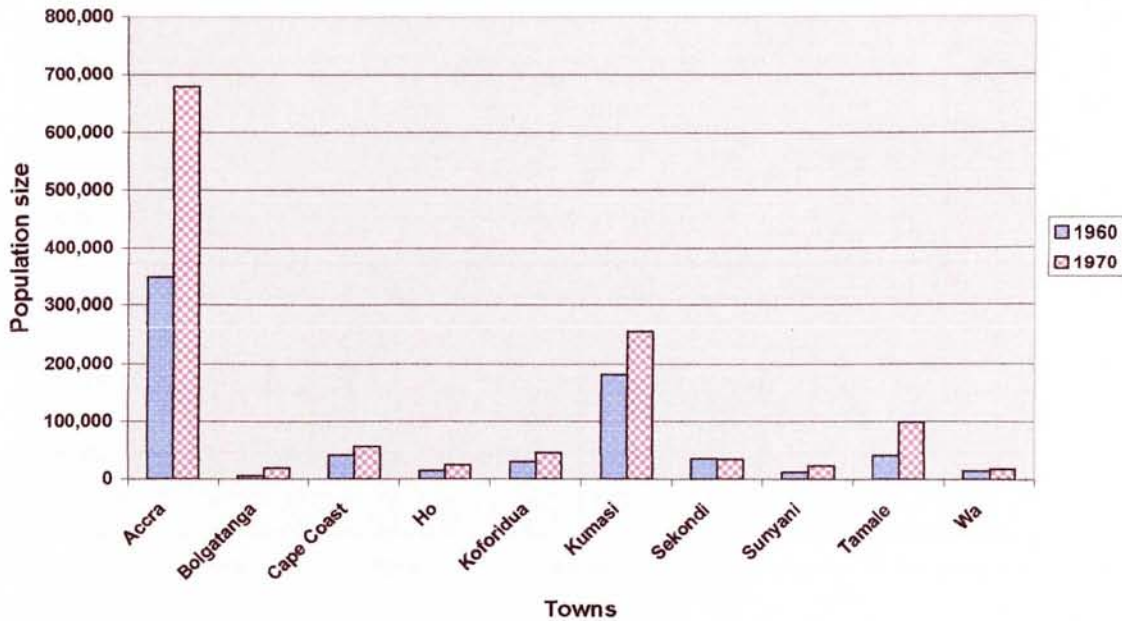
**Population Growth of Ghanaian Towns and Reasons for Growth: 1960 - 1970**

Reasons for Growth /Towns	Population		Percentage Increase
	1960	1970	1960 -1970
<b>Administrative</b>			
Accra	347,815	678,595	95.1
Bolgatanga	5,515	18,896	242.6
Cape Coast	41,230	56,601	37.3
Ho	14,519	24,199	66.7
Koforidua	29,849	46,235	54.9
Kumasi	180,642	256,781	42.1
Sekondi	34,513	33,713	-2.3
Sunyani	12,160	23,780	95.6
Tamale	40,443	98,514	143.6
Wa	14,342	17,825	24.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>721,028</b>	<b>1,255,139</b>	<b>74.1</b>
<b>Agriculture</b>			
Agogo	10,356	14,710	42.0
Agona Swedru	18,293	21,522	17.7
Anloga	11,038	14,032	27.1
Asamankese	16,718	16,905	1.1
Begoro	9,289	11,043	18.9
Bekwai	9,093	11,287	24.1
Berekum	11,148	14,296	28.2
Ejura	7,078	10,664	50.7
Hohoe	9,502	14,775	55.5
Kpando	8,070	12,842	59.1
Mampong	7,943	13,895	74.9
Navrongo	5,543	11,031	99.0
New Tafo	10,557	11,114	5.3
Nkawkaw	15,627	23,219	48.6
Nsawam	20,242	25,518	26.1
Nyaakrom	13,467	11,252	-16.4
Suhum	10,193	12,421	21.9
Wenchi	10,672	13,836	29.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>204,829</b>	<b>241,166</b>	<b>17.7</b>
<b>Mining</b>			
Akwatia	12,592	12,177	-3.3
Bibiani	12,942	9,691	-25.1
Dunkwa-on-Offin	12,689	15,437	21.7
Konongo	10,771	10,881	1.0
Obuasi	22,818	31,007	35.9
Oda	19,666	20,957	6.6
Prestea	13,246	15,143	14.3
Tarkwa	13,545	14,702	8.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>118,269</b>	<b>129,995</b>	<b>9.9</b>
<b>Fishing</b>			
Elmina	8,534	11,401	33.6
Keta	16,719	14,446	-13.6
Moree	7,634	10,088	32.1
Saltpond	9,869	11,849	20.1
Winneba	25,376	30,778	21.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68,132</b>	<b>78,562</b>	<b>15.3</b>

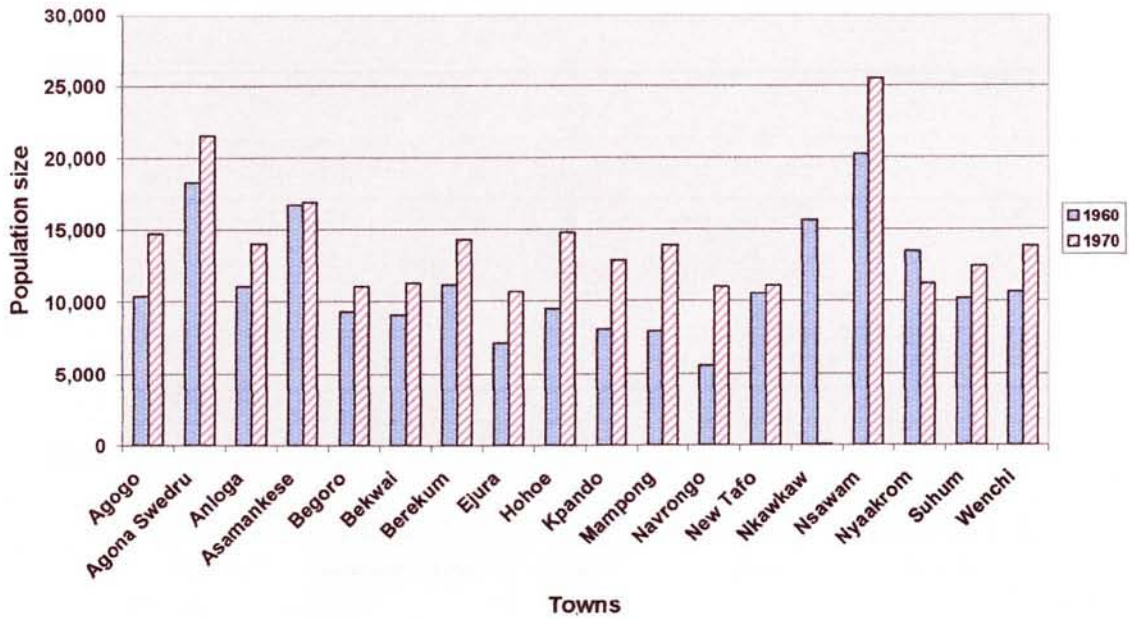
<u>Market Centre</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1960-1970</u>
Techiman	8,755	12,068	37.8
Yendi	16,096	22,072	37.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24,851</b>	<b>34,140</b>	37.4
<u>Border towns</u>			
Bawku	12,719	20,567	61.7
Dzodze	5,776	10,390	79.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18,495</b>	<b>30,957</b>	67.4
<u>Dormitory towns</u>			
Ashiaman	2,624	22,549	759.3
Effia-kuma	10,167	20,182	98.5
New Takoradi	-	10,464	-
Tema New Town	7,662	13,176	72.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20,453</b>	<b>66,371</b>	224.5
<u>Harbour</u>			
Takoradi	40,937	58,161	40.1
Tema	14,937	60,767	306.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>55,874</b>	<b>118,928</b>	112.8
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1,231,931</b>	<b>1,955,258</b>	58.7

Source: Derived from 1960 and 1970 Population Census Reports of Ghana.

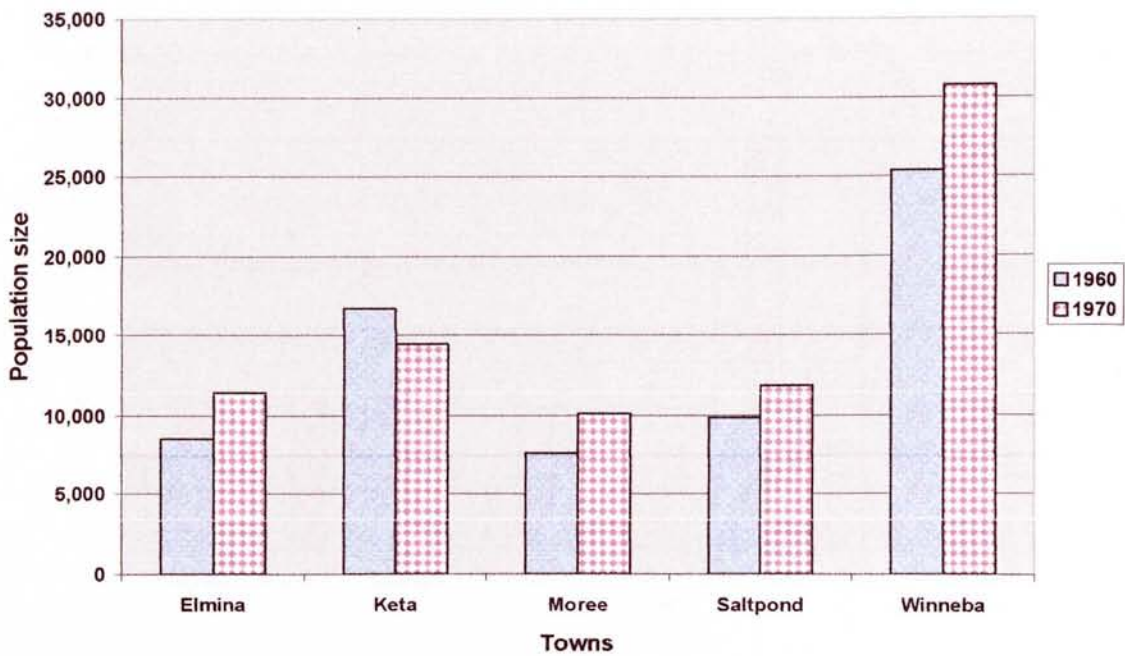
Fig 2.6 Population Growth of Administrative Towns Between 1960 and 1970



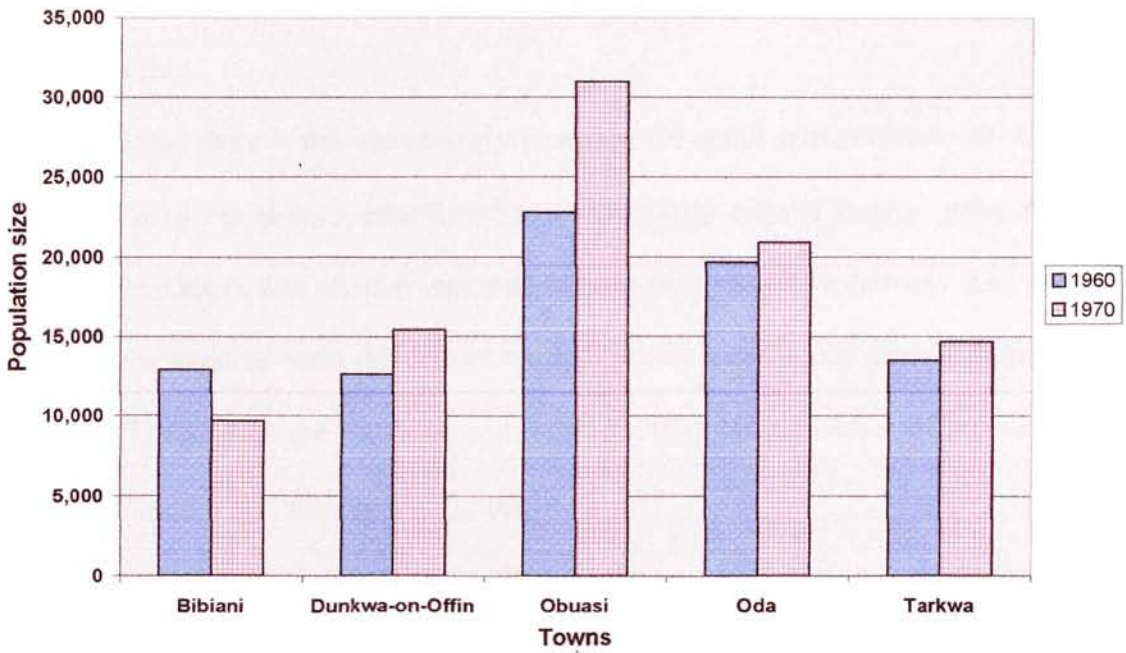
**Fig 2.7 Population Growth of Agricultural Towns Between 1960 and 1970**



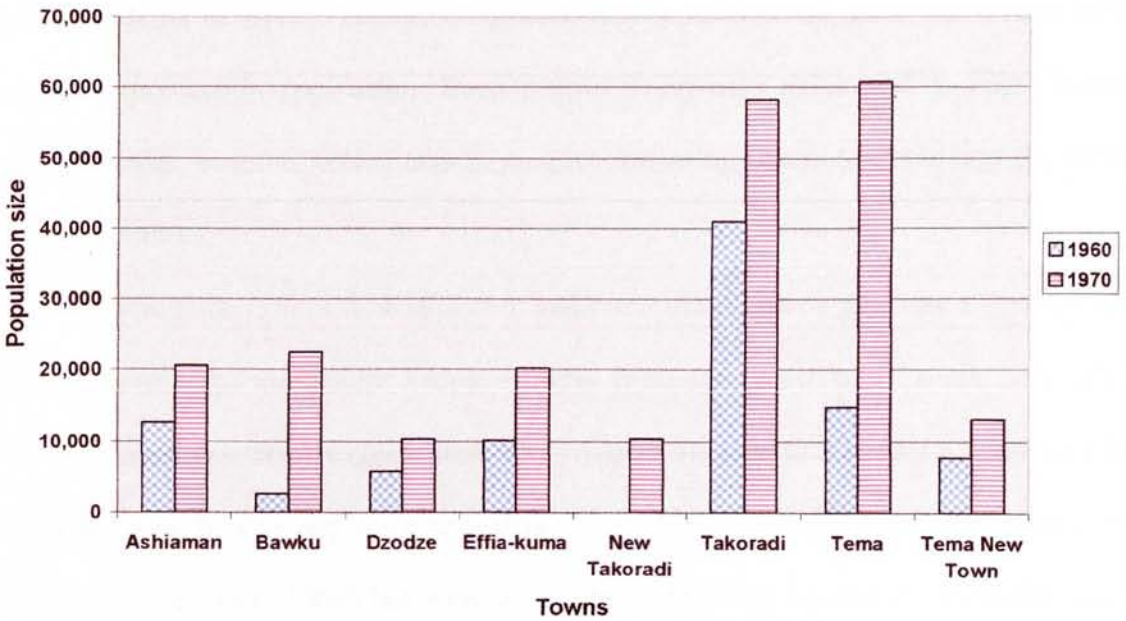
**Fig 2.8 Population Growth of Fishing Towns Between 1960 and 1970**



**Fig 2.9 Population Growth of Mining Towns Between 1960 and 1970**



**Fig 2.10 Population Growth of Harbour, Market and Dormitory Towns Between 1960 and 1970**



## CHAPTER III

### THE POPULATION PATTERN OF GHANAIAN TOWNS: 1970-1984

#### 3.1 Introduction

In Ghana, there is the increasingly tendency for small settlements to develop into towns and for towns already established to continuously expand in size. After political independence, Ghana was divided into nine regions with sixty-five districts. The regional capitals towns together with the district capitals where most social amenities and other infrastructural facilities are provided continue to attract large number of people due to their administrative and commercial functions.

As economic development takes place, towns grow because they are economically more efficient. They bring together both the producers and consumers of a variety of goods and services. By mobilizing the raw materials, labour and the financial capital necessary for the production of goods and services in one area, cities and large towns reduce cost and increase the benefits accruing to industry. These benefits translate into higher standards of living. Hence, as cities/towns industrialized, their death rates fall, leading to increase in population. Even people living near cities tend to enjoy better health and other benefits, which acts as magnet, attracting others to move into the more successful centres.

Additionally, both industrialization and commercialization generate a demand for jobs and create opportunities for people to move from agrarian to urban areas. Data from other developed countries suggest that third –world urbanization is more a function of opportunities in the city and town than it is of population pressure from the countryside (Kelly and Williamson, 1984) but it cannot be discounted that adverse rural conditions in

other circumstances do make an important contribution to rural-to-urban migration (Firebaugh, 1979). Thus, both rural push and urban pull continue to explain migration to cities in developing countries like Ghana.

### **3.2 Growth of Towns between 1970 and 1984.**

The growth of Ghanaian towns between 1970 and 1984 had been greatly influenced by the economic and political reforms of the nation. From the period 1970's, Ghana experienced an economic crisis of an unprecedented magnitude (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000). This was manifested in a balance of payments deficit, growing unemployment and social malaise. The decline of the economy made Ghana unattractive to both foreigners and citizens. By the end of 1980, many Ghanaians were traveling outside the country in search of jobs. A majority of these emigrants were professionals such as teachers, lawyers, and administrators, some of whom were invited by countries such as Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia to assist with their national development after independence (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al. 2000).

Generally, the contribution of net migration to the growth of urban towns in Ghana over the period 1970 to 1984 was low compared to that of between 1960 and 1970. According to Nabila, (1992), net migration contributed 54 percent to urban growth between 1960 and 1970, and contributed only 18 percent between 1970 and 1984. According to the author, the reason for the reduction of net migration to urban growth in Ghana was partly due to the establishment of World Bank Support agricultural projects such as the Upper Regional Agricultural Development Project in 1977 (URADEP) and the Volta Regional Agricultural Development Project (VORADEP) in 1979.

Both URADEP and VORADEP have Farmers Services Companies (FASCOM) attached to them. The main objective of these projects is to foster integrated development strategy involving the provision of needed agricultural inputs of all types, rural water supply and storage facilities. Although, these projects have not achieved the desired maximum results, their impact on keeping rural people at home areas have been significant. Anarfi et al (2003) revealed that, Volta, Northern and Upper regions usually received rather few migrants from other regions. They are the major out-migration regions. Basically, Ashanti, Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo regions are predominantly immigrant areas, while Eastern, Central and Western regions constitutes regions with considerable inward and outward migration. This could be attributed to the existence of social infrastructure, employment opportunities and agricultural activities in these areas.

Cocoa production in Ghana which became an important commercial activity after its introduction in the country continue to change the agricultural landscape of many localities in the forest belt and above all, created a new economic impetus which set in motion significant shifts in population distribution (Nabila, 1992). For example, after major successes had been achieved by the Akwapims in growing the cocoa crop on the Akwapim Ridge where it was first introduced, they were motivated to move into the Akim Abuakwa traditional area in search of forest lands for cocoa and food crops. The Krobos and Shais also moved into the same traditional area of the Akim Abuakwa State to purchase land. Consequently today, there are numerous settlements in the forest belt of the country which are occupied by land hungry migrant cocoa farmers.

The contribution of natural increase to the growth of urban towns in Ghana cannot as well be over emphasized. Mortality levels in rural areas are considered consistently higher than in urban areas. For instance, under-five mortality in the rural areas is 118 per 1,000 live births compared to 93 for urban areas. (GDHS 2003). This trend is not surprising because, most health centres in the urban areas are well equipped than rural areas. Again, most of the health facilities are sited in towns. For example, the 2 major teaching hospitals are cited in the first two largest cities of Accra and Kumasi and are well refurnished than that of all government hospitals in the country.

According to Nabila (1992), natural increase contributed as much as 74 per cent to urban growth in Ghana between 1970 and 1984. This implies that contribution of net migration to the growth of Ghanaian towns is relatively smaller than that of natural increase between the period 1970 and 1984. It also implies that the contribution of migration to urban growth in Ghana from 1960-1984 has been on a downward trend while that of natural increase has been experiencing an upward trend. Number of factors may have been responsible for this trend.

Firstly, in the immediate post independence Ghana, there were a lot of economic opportunities in the urban centres which attracted migrant workers. Secondly, the relatively better infrastructure facilities available at the urban centres might have pulled prospective migrants. However, as the country began experiencing economic crisis in the mid 1970s up to early 1980s, some migrants possibly returned to the rural areas or left the country all together to escape the harsh economic conditions.

In the early 1980s, unofficial figures put the average number of Ghanaians who migrated into Nigeria at about 300 per day and as of December 1980, about 150,000

Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos. (Anarfi 1982). The nature of the migration was such that the country lost much of its trained personnel. It was also estimated that about 50 per cent of the architects from the University of Science and Technology had migrated to Nigeria. Similarly, the 1975 Census of Cote d'Ivoire recorded over 42,000 Ghanaians and in 1986, the number of Ghanaians in Cote d'Ivoire was estimated to be between 500,000 and 800,000 (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare et al, 2000).

### **3.3 Plausible Reasons for Growth of Ghanaian Towns, 1970-1984**

Table 3.1 shows the population growth of some Ghanaian towns and the plausible reasons underlying their growth over the period 1970 and 1984. From the table, administrative towns continue to increase drastically mainly due to the convergence of transport (especially road) networks on these towns and the presence of other economic infrastructure such as banks and telecommunications facilitate active and relatively bigger economic and commercial activities in these towns (Owusu and Lund, 2004). Few other towns with populations far below 10,000 in 1970 increased suddenly to over 10,000 as a result of citing the town as a district capital. The population of administrative towns identified in 1984 was 2,028,160 out of 3,175,033 representing 63.9 percent. This also shows an increase of 57 percent between 1970 and 1984. Towns like Hohoe, Kpando, Assin Foso, Somanya, Savelugu, Berekum, Wenchi, Suhum and Agona Swedru, which were major agricultural towns, grew during the period probably due to the district administrative functions that they were made to serve at the time.

It is however worth noting that the Western regional administrative capital, Sekondi, declined by 5.3 percents while Takoradi increased by only 5.7 percent over the

14 year period. The abysmal growth of population in the two towns above indicates that, there might have been a massive out-migration from these towns during the period, which had even affected the natural population growth in the localities. The serious economic crisis experienced by Ghana during the same period and which affected most industries in the country forced many Ghanaians to travel outside the country in search for jobs. The decline in Sekondi's population size from 33,700 to 31,900 between 1970 and 1984 might be probably due to the construction of Tema harbour which led to the transfer of main port activities from Sekondi-Takoradi to Tema. The industrial crisis that hit the Sekondi port in the mid 1970's could also compelled management to lay off most workers of the port who must then move out in search for jobs elsewhere.

The population congestion in the twin city of Sekondi-Takoradi with its associated high cost of rent and land for building might also contribute to the rapid growth of Shama to a medium-sized town since it shares common boundary with Takoradi. As indicated earlier, the flourishing nature of Tema port in the early 1970s shifted the focus of migration from Sekondi-Takoradi deep sea port back to the Tema port and township with its heavy industrial activities. The growth of Accra and Kumasi which are the two largest cities in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century are becoming quality residential sprawl with uncentric tendencies rather than either a deconcentration of urban functions or a fusion of urban and rural functions. The two cities increased by 308,000 and 231,000 peoples respectively over the 14 year period predominantly from in-migration, mainly from rural areas, but increasingly from small and medium sized towns (Yankson et al, 2005).

For the agricultural towns, land which served as a basic requirement for both food and cash cropping, has been and continues to be one of the major determinants of the migration of farmers in this country. The migration of farmers in search of new and unoccupied land for growing food and/or cash crops has been a long process in Ghana. According to Nabila 1992, migrant cocoa farmers from the Akwapim Ridge, Krobo and Shai lands moved into the forest belts of the Ashanti Region, Brong Ahafo, Eastern and the Western Region especially Wassa Amenfi and Akim Abuakwa traditional areas in search of land for cultivating cocoa and other cash crops. This might contribute to the growth of some major agricultural towns like Berekum, Wenchi, Manpong, Bekwai, Akomadam, Ejura, Peki and Suhum.

Nsawam is the only agricultural settlement that decreased from 25,000 to 20,000 during the 14 year period. Kade, Damango and Achiase joined the threshold of 10,000 or more in 1984 for peculiar reasons. Damango for instance, in addition to its agricultural activities also has a tourist centre “mole national park” which boosts commercial activities in the town. Kade is also noted for its palm plantation. Achiase however increased abnormally from 1,000 to a little over 10,000 within the 14-year inter-censal period. One possible reason could be the citing of Military training ground in the area that might have attracted traders and other commercial service providers to the locality. As a farming community, there could also be an increase in the demand for farm products pulling neighbouring villagers to the area.

Very low level of population growth over the 14 year period can be clearly observed in notable fishing settlements like Winneba and Saltpond. Winneba increased by as low as 74 people while Saltpond went up by just 673 people within the 14 year

period. The reasons for the low increase might be equally due to the economic hardship in the country then which forced the fishermen to migrate to the neighbouring countries of Cote d'Ivoire and Togo (Abdulai, 1999). The central regional administrative capital, Cape Coast also a coastal town increased from 56,600 to 65,700 – an increase of 16 percent over the period. Compared to other regional capitals in the country, the population growth of Cape Coast during the period is relatively low. Keta, another fishing town and the first centre of missionary activities with two large Government Secondary Schools equally continue to decline in population from 14,400 to 12,600- a percentage decrease of 13 per cent. The decline is certainly as a result of continuous sea erosion at Keta which has displaced many residents compelling them to migrate to other towns in search for jobs.

For the towns in northern region, apart from the two towns, Tamale and Yendi which were identified in 1970 as large towns, four additional towns, namely, Damango, Salaga, Bimbila and Savelugu are also marked in 1984 as having population of more than 10,000. Generally, the Northern part of Ghana has, until quite recently, been a net out migration area. With its seasonal rainfall and absence of any large scale industrial activities, and general neglect, the area has provided labour for cocoa and the mining industries in the middle zone as well as the developed coastal areas. Hence, any medium-size town with some level of infrastructure development in the region itself attracts majority of the youth from the rural settlements. This might be the reason why the regional administrative capital, Tamale increased from 98,000 in 1970 to almost 168, 000 in 1984. Salaga and Yendi which are large market centres have also seen a major increase in their population over the period. Trading activities stimulated flows of traders from

neighbouring territories, who bring ivory, kola nuts, cattle, sheep, hides of wild animals and cloths to Salaga market for sale.

The table also revealed growth of some towns located at the borders of the country. Even though Ghana shared boundary with several towns and villages in the Eastern, Western and Northern corridors, there are few prominent towns that are growing rapidly due to trading activities along the borders. Aflao a major border town with a lot of trading activities along the Togo border grew astronomically from 1,397 in 1970 to 20,904 in 1984 – an increase of almost 1,400 percent. Part of the reason might also be the return of the deportees from Nigeria in 1983 just before the Population Census in March 1984. Majority of the Ghanaian returnees could not travel beyond Aflao either due to lack of finance or inability to locate their origin since most of them were born in Nigeria or taken their as kids. Another plausible reason might have been the presence of number of refugees from Togo as a result of the 1972 *co de tat* in Togo.

Tema, Ashiaman and Tema New Town continue to attract more migrants from all over the country for job opportunities at the Tema harbour and the heavy industries at Tema. The rapid population growth in Ashaiman which incidentally is a slump town and only 2 kilometres from Tema, might have been caused by a possible spill-over effect of the massive migration to Tema. Tema New Town as the name suggests, is a relatively new settlements which shares common boundary with Tema. The town is therefore likely to receive surplus population, especially from Tema and Accra.

Table 3.1

**Population Growth of Ghanaian Towns and Reasons for Growth: 1970-1984**

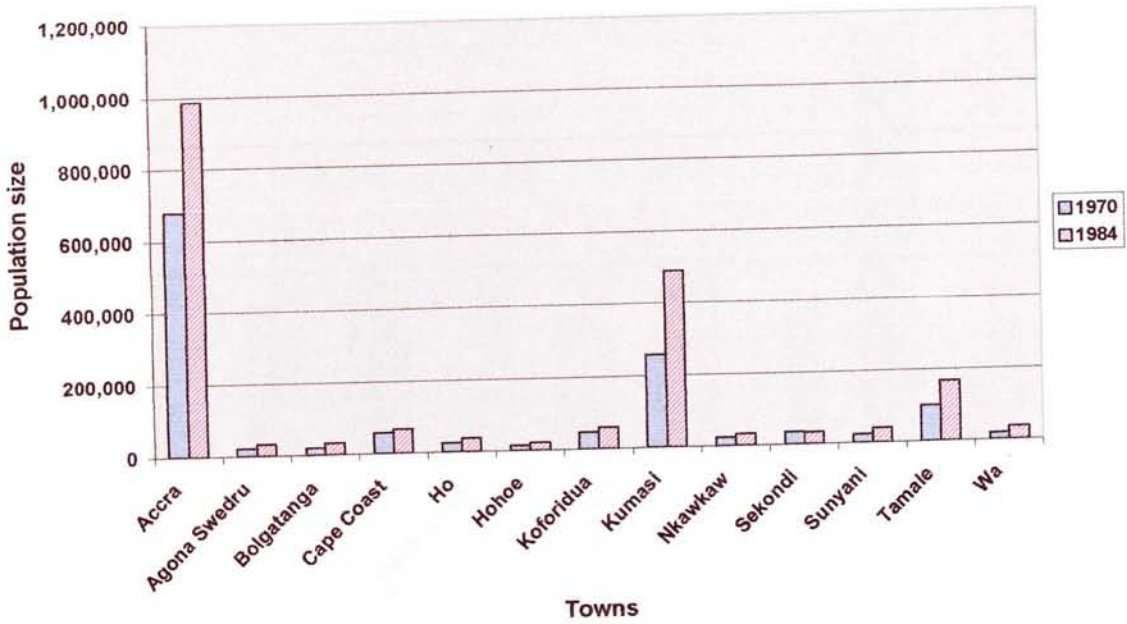
Reasons for Growth /Towns	Population		Percentage Increase
	1970	1984	1970 - 1984
<b>Administrative</b>			
Accra	678,595	987,290	45.5
Agona Swedru	21,522	31,226	45.1
Bolgatanga	18,896	32,495	72.0
Cape Coast	56,601	65,763	16.2
Ho	24,199	37,777	56.1
Hohoe	14,775	20,994	42.1
Koforidua	46,235	58,731	27.0
Kumasi	256,781	487,504	89.9
Nkawkaw	23,219	31,785	36.9
Sekondi	33,713	31,916	-5.3
Sunyani	23,780	38,834	63.3
Tamale	98,514	167,778	70.3
Wa	17,825	36,067	102.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,291,459</b>	<b>2,028,160</b>	<b>57.0</b>
<b>Agriculture</b>			
Achiase	1,122	10,164	805.9
Agogo	14,710	18,879	28.3
Akomadan	7,310	10,234	40.0
Asamankese	16,905	23,077	36.5
Assin Foso	7,249	10,425	43.8
Axim	8,107	13,109	61.7
Begoro	11,043	16,890	52.9
Bekwai	11,287	12,169	7.8
Berekum	14,296	22,264	55.7
Bimbilla	8,064	10,775	33.6
Damango	7,760	12,522	61.4
Ejura	10,664	18,775	76.1
Kade	6,627	10,196	53.9
Kpando	12,842	15,717	22.4
Mampong	13,895	20,228	45.6
Mim	9,630	13,102	36.1
Navrongo	11,031	19,690	78.5
New Tafo	11,114	13,455	18.4
Nkoranza	7,191	15,065	109.5
Nsawam	25,518	20,439	-19.9
Nyaakrom	11,252	11,639	3.4
Peki	8,054	10,777	33.8
Savelugu	9,895	16,965	71.5
Somanya	9,326	13,216	41.7
Suhum	12,421	19,298	55.4
Wenchi	13,836	18,584	34.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>273,042</b>	<b>397,654</b>	<b>46.6</b>

<b><u>Mining</u></b>	<b><u>1970</u></b>	<b><u>1984</u></b>	<b><u>1970-1984</u></b>
Akwatia	12,177	15,007	23.2
Bibiani	9,691	10,182	5.1
Dunkwa-on-Offin	15,437	16,905	9.5
Konongo	10,881	13,677	25.7
Obuasi	31,007	60,617	95.5
Oda	20,957	24,629	17.5
Preastea	15,143	16,922	11.8
Tarkwa	14,702	22,107	50.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>129,995</b>	<b>180,046</b>	<b>38.5</b>
<b><u>Fishing</u></b>			
Apam	8,903	13,423	50.8
Elmina	11,401	16,970	48.8
Keta	14,446	12,595	-12.8
Kwesimintsim	9,747	13,854	42.1
Moree	10,088	13,061	29.5
Saltpond	11,849	12,522	5.7
Shama	7,739	11,268	45.6
Winneba	30,778	30,852	0.2
Yeji	5,485	11,144	103.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>92,950</b>	<b>135,689</b>	<b>46.0</b>
<b><u>Market</u></b>			
Salaga	6,413	11,355	77.1
Techiman	12,068	25,264	55.7
Yendi	22,072	31,633	43.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40,553</b>	<b>68,252</b>	<b>68.3</b>
<b><u>Border</u></b>			
Aflao	1,397	20,904	1396.3
Bawku	20,567	34,074	65.7
Dzodze	10,390	14,174	36.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>32,354</b>	<b>69,152</b>	<b>113.7</b>
<b><u>Dormitory Towns</u></b>			
Ashiaman	22,549	50,918	64.6
Effia-Kuma	20,182	23,796	17.9
Madina	7,480	28,364	279.2
Tema New Town	13,176	31,466	138.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>63,387</b>	<b>134,544</b>	<b>112.3</b>
<b><u>Harbour</u></b>			
Takoradi	58,161	61,484	5.71
Tema	60,767	100,052	64.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>118,928</b>	<b>161,536</b>	<b>35.8</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>2,042,668</b>	<b>3,175,033</b>	<b>55.4</b>

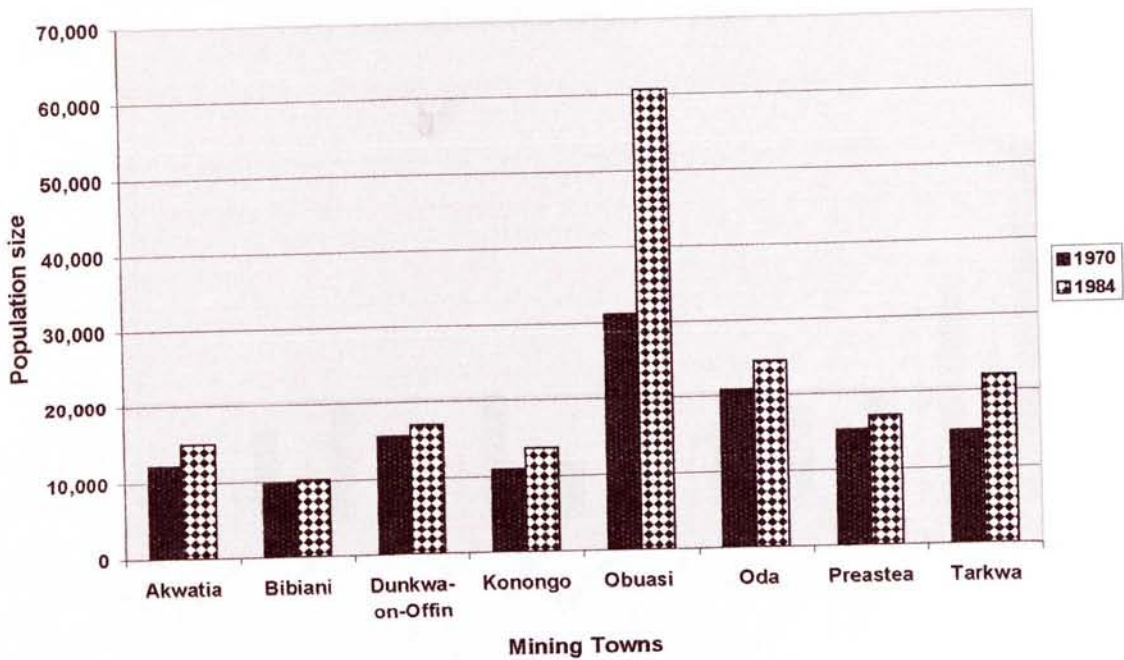
Source: Derived from 1970 and 1984 Population Census Reports of Ghana.



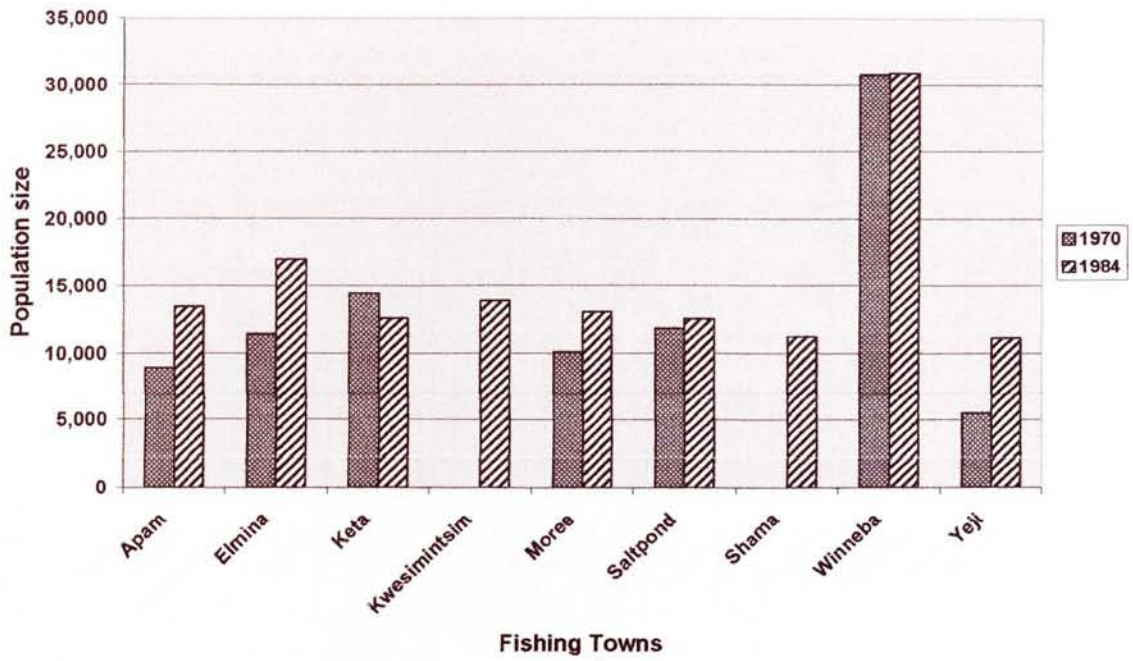
**Fig 3.1 Population Growth of Administrative Towns Between 1970 and 1984**



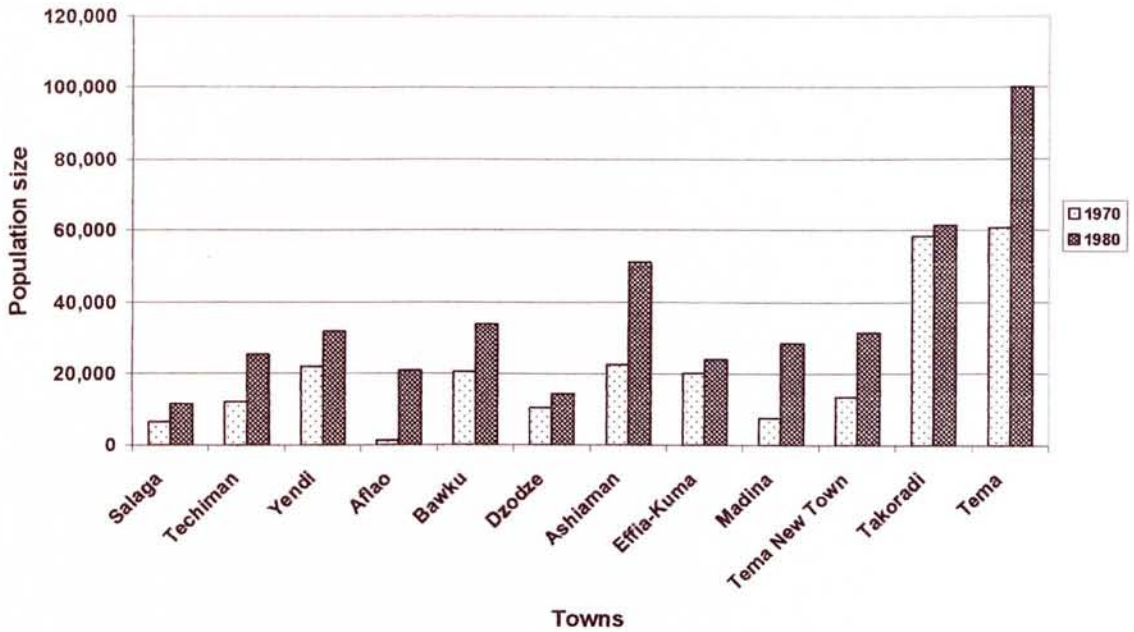
**Fig 3.2 Population Growth of Mining Towns Between 1970 and 1984**



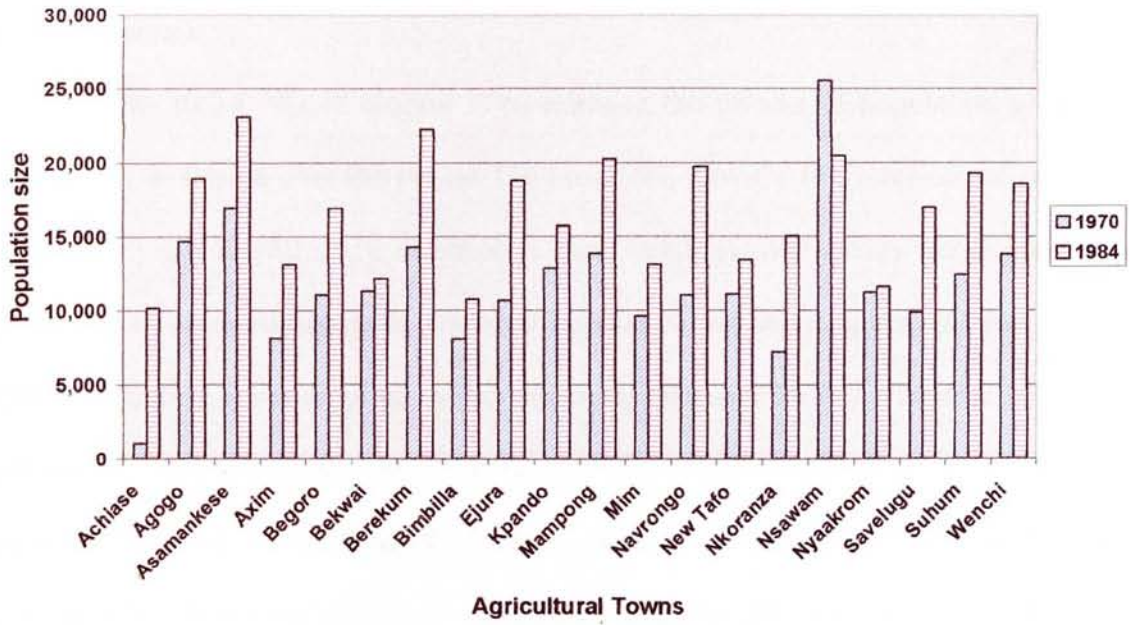
**Fig 3.3 Population Growth of Fishing Towns Between 1970 and 1984**



**Fig 3.4 Population Growth of Market, Border, Dormitory and Harbour Towns Between 1970 and 1984**



**Fig 3.5 Population Growth of Major Agricultural Towns Between 1970 and 1984**



## CHAPTER IV

### POPULATION PATTERNS OF GHANAIAN TOWNS: 1984 – 2000

#### 4.1 Introduction

The thrust of this chapter is to examine the pattern of population growth in some towns in Ghana over the period 1984 to 2000, thus the last inter-censal period of Ghana. For a meaningful study, selection is made of all towns in Ghana whose population are 10,000 or more according to the 2000 Population and Housing Census Report. The 2000 Population Census reported the population of Ghana as 18,912, 079 which shows an increase of 53.8 percent over the 1984 figure of 12,296,081. In 1960, there were only 34 towns in Ghana with population of 10,000 or more. This number rose to 50 in 1970 and to 71 in 1984. This trend continued to be eminent as the 2000 Census Report shows an increase from 71 towns with the population size of 10,000 or more in 1984 to 140 towns.

Urbanization can occur mainly through increased net in-migration and natural increase. The process of urbanization in the developing countries today differ in two respects from that experienced by the developed countries some decades ago. First, in developed countries, the process of urbanization is closely associated with industrialization. Second, in contrast to the experience of the more developed countries, rural-to-urban migration is occurring in large volumes without a consequent depopulation in the rural areas. The reason, of course, is the difference in the rate of natural increase in the less developed countries compared with the rate in the more developed countries. In Ghana, as in many other African countries, little attention was paid to the process of urbanization until very recently. In general, urban growth was not viewed as a threat to

national development (Mbamaonyekwu, 2001). As a result, rural development and agro-base strategies of production were implemented without attention to urban growth.

#### **4.2 Growth of Ghanaian Towns between 1984 and 2000.**

While several historical dimensions have been well-noted by many writers on the population growth of Ghanaian towns, more contemporary factors acting on these historical conditions and shaping the current urbanization process involve the impact of the economic and political reforms of the last two decades. These are the World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF) inspired Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as well as the decentralization and local government reforms introduced at the end of the 1980s.

Besides these broader factors in the context of Ghanaian towns, there are also regional or local factors, such as peasant agricultural expansion and commercialization combined with favorable location factors, including location on main trunk roads, location closer to mining activities, and spillover effects from large urban centres. It must, however, be stressed that these factors have not been the cause of the present urban form but they have acted upon and shaped the existing historical and socio-economic situation. Again, it must be emphasized that the influence of these factors are not uniform. In other words, while the broader factors may be very important for some small towns, for other centers the influence of local or regional factors may be the key to their growth or decline. Determining which factors are more or less important would require the study of specific towns in the country.

#### **4.3.1 Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)**

In 1983, following a period of lengthy consultation with the IMF and World Bank, Ghana became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to undergo Structural Adjustment (SA). Throughout the country's SA campaign, which has been sub-Saharan Africa's largest and undoubtedly most ambitious; the government has worked diligently to improve the investment climate within all sectors of the economy. Its principal aim has been to attract foreign investment, which it viewed at the outset as a panacea for revitalizing the economy. According to Owusu 2005, these reforms involved economic liberalization and privatization, and a general restructuring of the state's role in the economy.

The implementation of these measures has restored some level of economic growth and sanity at the macroeconomic level. However, this has come at a high social cost due to the fact that most vulnerable groups have been adversely affected both directly and indirectly by measures such as the withdrawal of subsidies on social services, retrenchment of labour, and the general increases in prices of goods and services. SAPs had also been criticized as only stimulating economic activities in the traditional resource-rich regions and relatively developed the south, especially the cocoa and coffee, mining and timber regions. This, the author argued, has further widened the gap between the north and south.

Owusu further stated that, notwithstanding the criticisms of SAPs, the removal of subsidies which for a long time largely benefited the urban population; the shrinking of the formal sector which was largely concentrated in the larger urban centres and the high cost of living in these centres have reduced the attractions of the leading cities in the

country. The impact of SAPs on the growth of Ghanaian towns can be linked to the improvement in the infrastructure base of rural areas and lower urban centres, such as electrification exercises and road rehabilitation, which have opened up these areas and allowed the rural population to enjoy amenities long considered the privilege of those living in the large towns.

Several settlements in the country with populations less than 10,000 in 1984 grew to join the threshold in 2000 probably due to the economic and political policy reforms initiated in the country in early 1980s. Policy reforms initiated in 1983 altered the domestic terms of trade in favour of the rural sector. This encouraged reversed migration as some urban dwellers returned to the farm. Some rural towns such as Asawinso, Abuakua, Agona Nkwanta, Bawjiase, Besease, Techimantia, Nkwanta, Wamfie, Nsuatre, Chiraa, Kunbugu, Walewale, Tuobodom and more others, whose population sizes were below 8,000 in 1984 increased to over 10,000 in 2000. The Structure Adjustment Programmes tried to stimulate economic activities in these resource-rich localities, especially the cocoa, coffee and timber regions and hence kept the youth in the rural areas to take active part in agricultural activities. A survey by the Ghana Statistical Service published with the World Bank on current and prior employment for over 8,000 individuals who have changed occupations during the period, those moving from non-agricultural jobs into agricultural jobs out numbered those moving in the opposite direction by a ratio of two-to-one (Abdulai, 1999).

### **4.3.2 Decentralization Policy**

In 1988, Ghana embarked on its decentralization of administration and development programmes to encourage a greater degree of local autonomy and make district administration and development more efficient. To a greater degree, the decentralization programme is a logical continuation of the broader Structural Adjustment effort, a reaction to the changes in the broader economic and ideological environment. Under the programme, district assemblies were established and given more responsibilities and power as the highest political, administrative and development authorities in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

Even though Ghana's decentralization programme has several objectives, a basic goal is rural development as a means of reducing migration to the large towns and cities, generally redirecting population movement from areas of over-concentration to other areas previously regarded as deprived. The establishment of additional districts meant that new district capitals had to be founded and assigned. This in itself provided the basis for the growth of hitherto rural settlements into urban centres and increased in the number of large towns. Administrative status tended to attract public infrastructure and influx of population allowing centres to develop rapidly into large towns.

In addition, the decentralization programme has resulted in several initiatives from government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and donor agencies as a way of enhancing participatory democratic development and the capacity of local institutions. Some of these programmes and projects specifically targeting district capitals include the introduction of the District Assemblies' Common Fund (DACF), a constitutional provision that allocates 5% of the total national revenue to District Assemblies and the

World Bank and United Nations Development Programme's, targeting roads and sanitation problems in rural areas. Others are, European Union (EU) micro-project schemes; and the German Agency for Technical Assistance (GTZ) project titled 'Promotion of District Capitals' (PRODICAP).

It has also been the policy of central government and the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development to provide each district capital with a specific range of amenities such as, electricity, telephone, district referral hospital, potable water, a model secondary/technical school, and accessible road links.. These improvements or increased transfer of resources to the districts has contributed immensely to the growth of district capitals and other settlements within the districts.

One remarkable operation of the decentralization was the changing of the number of District Assemblies from 65 to 110 in 1988. The policy has been pursued with the basic aim of rural development and facilitating a balanced spatial distribution of the population. The programme seeks to improve rural livelihoods as a means of reducing the rural-urban drift and the growth of few small towns. New district administrative capitals which must have some basic amenities such as district assembly hall, district hospital or health centre and offices for all departments and agencies as well as worker's bungalows had to be chosen for all the 45 newly created districts. The policy therefore had improved the basic infrastructure in the various selected district administrative capitals which in turn pulled many youths from the neighboring villages to the towns in search of jobs and to engage in commercial and trading activities.

Most of these towns (Table 4.1), like Nsawam, Axim, Mim, Dorma Ahenkro, Savelungu, Asankragwa, Bibiani and Atebubu which were noted for there large scale

agricultural and mining activities in the 1970s, had their structure changed to administrative and medium-size commercial towns. These towns have undertaken development projects such as the construction and maintenance of feeder roads, schools classrooms blocks, clinics and markets as well as the provision of water and electricity. These infrastructural developments helped in no small way to keep at home, the majority of the youths whom otherwise might have traveled to the big cities during the period.

Table 4.1

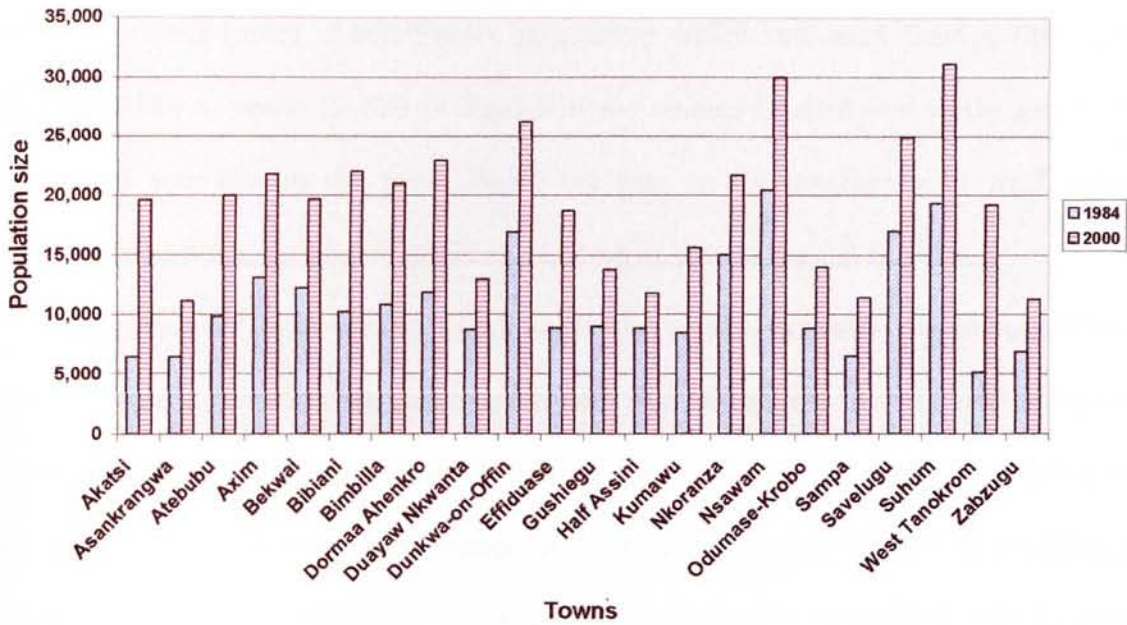
**Population Growth of Towns under Structural Adjustment and Decentralization Policy, 1984-2000**

Reasons for Growth /Towns	Population		Percentage Increase
	1984	2000	1984 -2000
<b><u>Decentralization Policy</u></b>			
Akatsi	6,428	19,617	205.18
Asankrangwa	6,363	11,106	74.5
Atebubu	9824	20,022	103.8
Axim	13,109	21,768	66.1
Bekwai	12,169	19,679	61.7
Bibiani	10,182	21,989	116.0
Bimbilla	10,775	21,016	95.0
Dormaa Ahenkro	11,778	22,913	94.5
Duayaw Nkwanta	8702	12,921	48.5
Dunkwa-on-Offin	16,905	26,215	55.1
Effiduase	8,887	18,700	110.4
Gushiegu	8,945	13,693	53.1
Half Assini	8,816	11,734	33.1
Kumawu	8409	15,634	85.9
Nkoranza	15,065	21,715	44.1
Nsawam	20,439	29,986	46.7
Odumase-Krobo	8,779	13903	58.4
Sampa	6469	11,348	75.4
Savelugu	16,965	24,937	47.0
Suhum	19,298	31,044	60.9
West Tanokrom	5,140	19,217	273.9
Zabzugu	6,846	11,269	64.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>240,293</b>	<b>420,426</b>	<b>75.0</b>

Source: Derived from 1984 and 2000 Population Census Reports of Ghana.



**Fig 4.1 Population Growth of District Capitals Under Ghana's Decentralization Policy Between 1984 and 2000**



**4.4 Growth of Agricultural, Mining and Fishing Towns between 1984 and 2000**

Table 4.2 shows the population growth of selected Ghanaian towns grouped under Agriculture, Mining and Fishing as the plausible reasons cited for their growth between 1984 and 2000. As already stated, agriculture land use in Ghana is a dominant factor for the distribution of population especially in the rural areas. The availability or unavailability of fertile agricultural land in a particular settlement continues to be the major determinant of the patterns and character of population distribution and hence responsible for the establishment of new settlements.

From the table, the large old agricultural towns such as Wenchi, Nyaakrom, Tafo, Agogo, Mim, Atebubu, Akomadam, Axim and Kade just to mention a few, continue to grow in their population as most of them have moved from the olden

subsistence level of farming to commercial farming. Assin Foso and Kade for instance are noted for their large scale palm plantation that has attracted more people from nearby villages to these towns. Assin Foso's population which increased from a little over 10,000 in 1984 to nearly 23,000 in 2000 however cannot be attributed to the growth of agricultural activities in the town alone, but also to the emergence of trading and commercial activities as a result of citing the town as district capital in 1988.

Among all the towns listed under agriculture as the plausible reason behind their growth, Kente, a rural farming settlement of less than 900 people in 1984 has the highest percentage increase of 1180, as it grew to a population of 10,600 in 2000. Nevertheless, two major agricultural towns, Navrongo in the Upper west and Begoro in the Eastern region, had declined by 18.8 and 5.6 percent respectively, over the period 1984 to 2000. Navrongo's population might have decrease as a result of out-migration by the youth to the southern part of the country. Nsawam and Aburi both of which are very close to Accra and therefore have received a sizeable proportion of in-migrants who commute daily to Accra for work to avoid the acute shortage of housing in Accra.

Development of modern mining in Ghanaian towns such as Tarkwa, Prestea, Obuasi, Akwatia and Konongo continue to affect the pattern of population distribution in the country. The capability of "bright light concept", sending remittances back home by the migrants in these mining towns all led to the continues influx of people into them. The rate of population growth in these towns however depends on the intensity of mining and its ability to attract ancillary activities in the town. It can be revealed from the table that, Obuasi, Tarkwa and Konongo has increased tremendously over the 16 year period. Odumase in the Ashanti region had also increased during the period, probably due to its

manganese production. The extension of railway to these areas led to another phase of immigration into the towns, since this linkage with the “big” towns like Takoradi, Accra and Tema, created other developments which helped facilitates economic ventures such as trade and commerce.

Some fishing towns identified in 1984 also continue to grow in size as expected. It is however worth noting that, new settlements hardly emerge to join the threshold of 10,000 people. This might be probably attributed to the nature of fishing communities in Ghana as they are usually villages with huts scattering along the coastal areas. Saltpond, Yeji, Awutu Senya and Apam however, might have increased as a result of being district administrative capitals. Two old important fishing towns Keta and Shama, however, declined over the period by 35 and 12 percents respectively.

Table 4.2

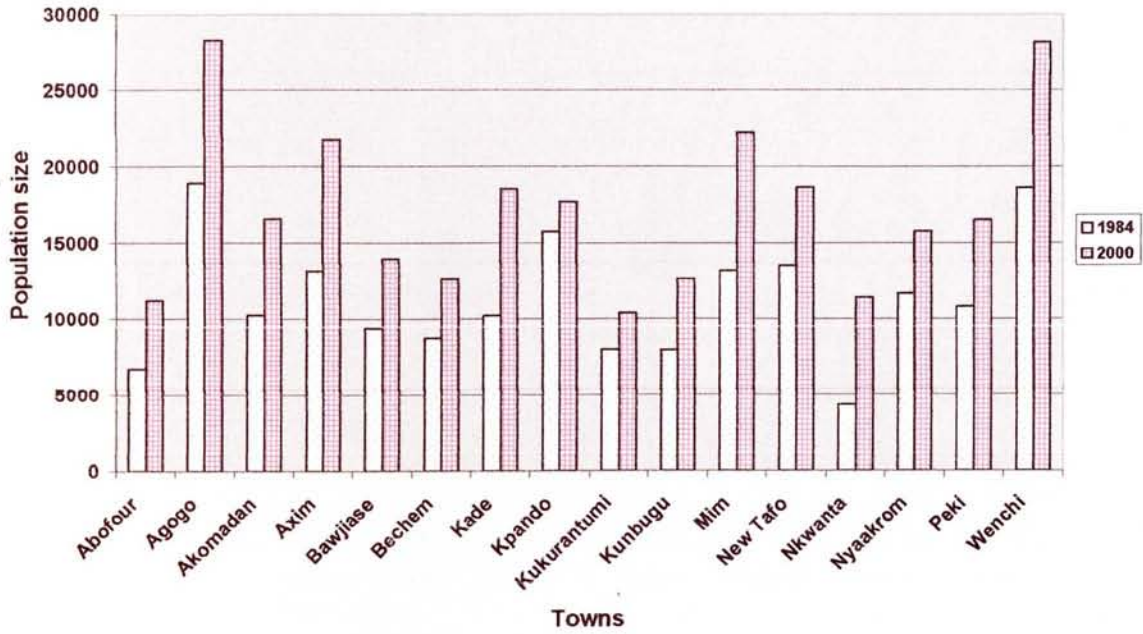
**Population Growth of Agriculture, Mining and Fishing Towns: 1984 - 2000**

Reasons for Growth /Towns	Population		Percentage Increase
	1984	2000	1984 -2000
<b>Agriculture</b>			
Abofour	6727	11,177	66.2
Abuakwa	3,581	16,582	363.1
Aburi	7,520	10,071	33.9
Achiase	10,164	14,236	40.1
Adoagyiri	11,531	13,058	13.2
Agogo	18,879	28,271	49.8
Agona Nkwanta	3,979	10,031	152.1
Akomadan	10,234	16,562	61.8
Asawinso	5,478	13,166	139.4
Asawinso	5,478	13,116	139.4
Assin Foso	10,425	22,837	119.1
Axim	13,109	21,768	66.1
Bawjiase	9,413	13,958	48.3
Bechem	8,751	12,591	43.9
Begoro	16,890	15,941	-5.6
Besease	9,322	10,502	12.7
Chiraa	9,569	15,183	58.7
Damango	12,522	14,442	15.3
Ejura	18,775	29,478	57.0
Essikado	7,668	11,344	47.9
Kade	10,196	18,545	81.9
Kenten	828	10,599	1180.1
Kpando	15,717	17,684	12.5

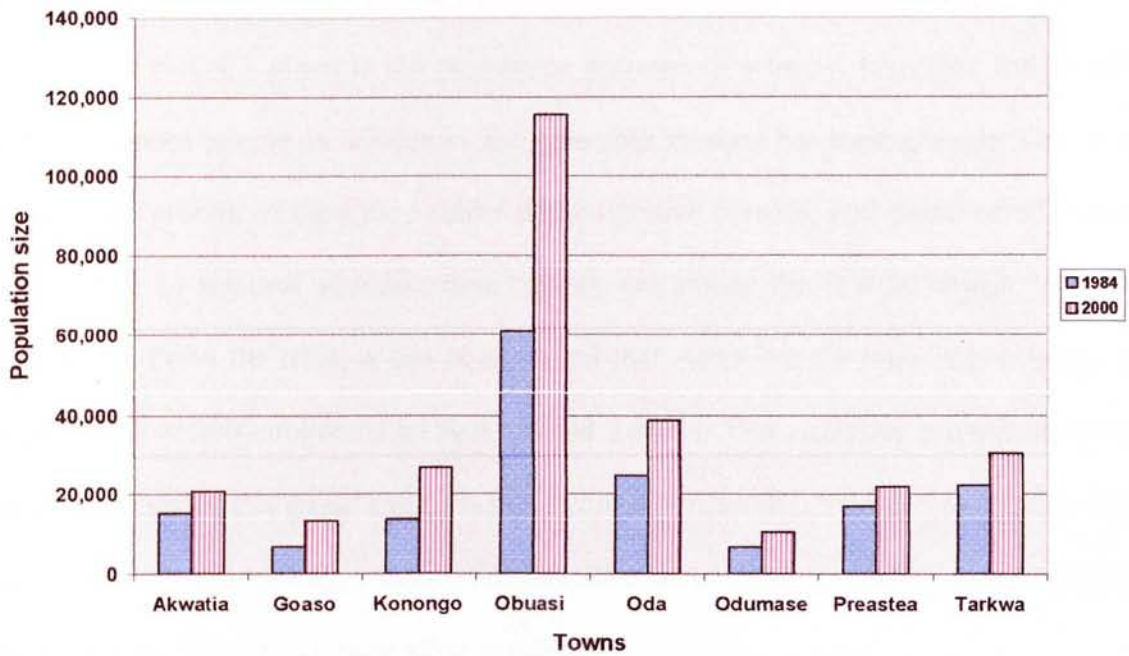
<b><u>Agriculture Continued</u></b>	<b><u>1984</u></b>	<b><u>2000</u></b>	<b><u>1984-2000</u></b>
Kukurantumi	8,019	10,373	29.4
Kunbugu	7,994	12,598	57.6
Mim	13,102	22,212	69.5
Navrongo	19,690	15,983	-18.8
Nelerigu	7,546	10,698	41.8
New Tafo	13,455	18,635	41.7
Nkenkaasu	6,893	10,014	45.3
Nkwanta	4,334	11,367	162.3
Nsuatre	9,773	18,931	93.7
Nyaakrom	11,639	15,750	35.3
Odumase	6,708	12,167	81.4
Peki	10,777	16,497	53.1
Prampram	6,017	10,317	71.5
Sekodumase	6,903	10,085	46.1
Somanya	13,216	15,600	18.0
Techimantia	9,636	12,261	27.2
Tuobodom	6,871	10,409	51.5
Walewale	7,900	13,558	71.6
Wamfie	7,620	11,121	45.9
Wenchi	18,583	28,141	51.4
Wiamoase	9,965	12,651	26.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>433,397</b>	<b>660,510</b>	<b>52.4</b>
<b><u>Mining</u></b>			
Akwatia	15,007	20,723	38.1
Goaso	6,870	13,371	94.6
Konongo	13,677	26,735	95.5
Obuasi	60,617	115,564	90.7
Oda	24,629	38,741	57.3
Odumase	6,850	10,582	54.5
Preastea	16,922	21,844	29.1
Tarkwa	22,107	30,631	38.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>166,679</b>	<b>278,191</b>	<b>66.9</b>
<b><u>Fishing</u></b>			
Apam	13,423	16,494	22.9
Awutu Senya	13,012	15,908	22.3
Elmina	16,970	21,103	24.4
Keta	12,595	8,101	-35.7
Moree	13,061	17,761	36.0
Saltpond	12,522	16,212	29.5
Shama	11,268	9,855	-12.5
Yeji	11,144	18,593	66.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>103,995</b>	<b>124,027</b>	<b>19.3</b>

*Source: Derived from 1984 and 2000 Population Census Reports of Ghana.*

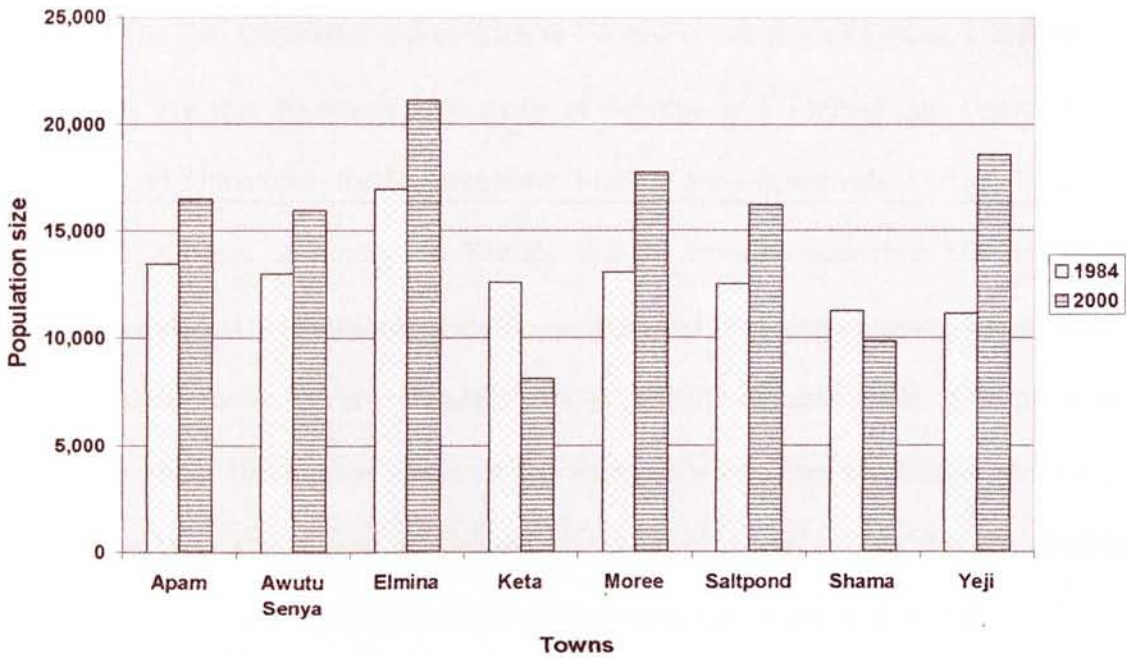
**Fig 4.2 Population Growth of Some Major Agricultural Towns Between 1984 and 2000**



**Fig 4.3 Population Growth of Mining Towns Between 1984 and 2000**



**Fig 4.4 Population Growth of Fishing Towns Between 1984 and 2000**



#### 4.5 Growth of Administrative and Market Towns between 1984 and 2000

Table 4.3 presents the population patterns of selected Ghanaian towns with 10,000 or more people in 2000 and the plausible reasons for their growth. The table grouped the growth of the towns under administrative reasons, and presence of market centres. The 10 regional administrative capitals are among the first 20 largest towns in the country. From the table, it can be observed that Accra has the highest population of 1,658,937 as at 2000, followed by Kumasi and Tamale. The escalating growth of all the towns listed under this group can be attributed to the massive infrastructure development in terms of road, electricity, schools and hospitals which act as pull factors in attracting migrants as well as the administrative workers.

For example, each of the 10 regional administrative capitals has regional hospitals, Polytechnics and regional headquarters of all Ministries, Departments and Agencies. The five traditional universities in Ghana; University of Ghana, University of Cape Coast, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, University of Education and University for Development Studies are respectively located in Accra, Cape Coast, Kumasi, Winneba and Tamale. All the workers with their families in the various educational institutions, Health centres and the departments automatically migrate to these towns thereby expanding the population in these towns. One important observation about these large towns is the emergence of large markets in the towns. Sekondi, the Western regional administrative capital is the only town that has declined from 31,916 to 29,247 – a decrease of 8.4 percent over the inter-censal period.

Few other prominent towns like Winneba, Nkawkaw, Hohoe, Agona Swedru, Berekum and Asamankese which are not regional administrative capitals but Municipal Centres had also grown over the period as a result of their basic administrative functions and the implied commercial activities. Winneba for instance, which increased by just 74 people from 1970 to 1984 suddenly shot up from 30,000 in 1984 to 40,000 in 2000. The drastic increase might be probably due to the establishment of University of Education in the town in the mid 1980s.

For the traditional market towns such as Techiman, Salaga, Yendi, Kintampo and Tepa, their populations continue to increase as usual. However, new market towns like Kasoa, Kpassa and Mankesim grew rapidly over the 16 year period. Kasoa for instance, which was less than 3,000 in 1984 suddenly shot up to 34,719 in 2000 – an increase of 1236 percents. Kpassa and Mankesim both of which were just around 8,000 in

1984 also increased to 18,000 and 25,000 respectively in the year 2000 as a result of flourishing markets in them. The recent high increase in the population of Kasoa could equally be attributed to the spill-over of the population growth of Accra as many workers prefer to stay in the town and commute daily to Accra for work to avoid the acute shortage of housing in the Accra metropolis.

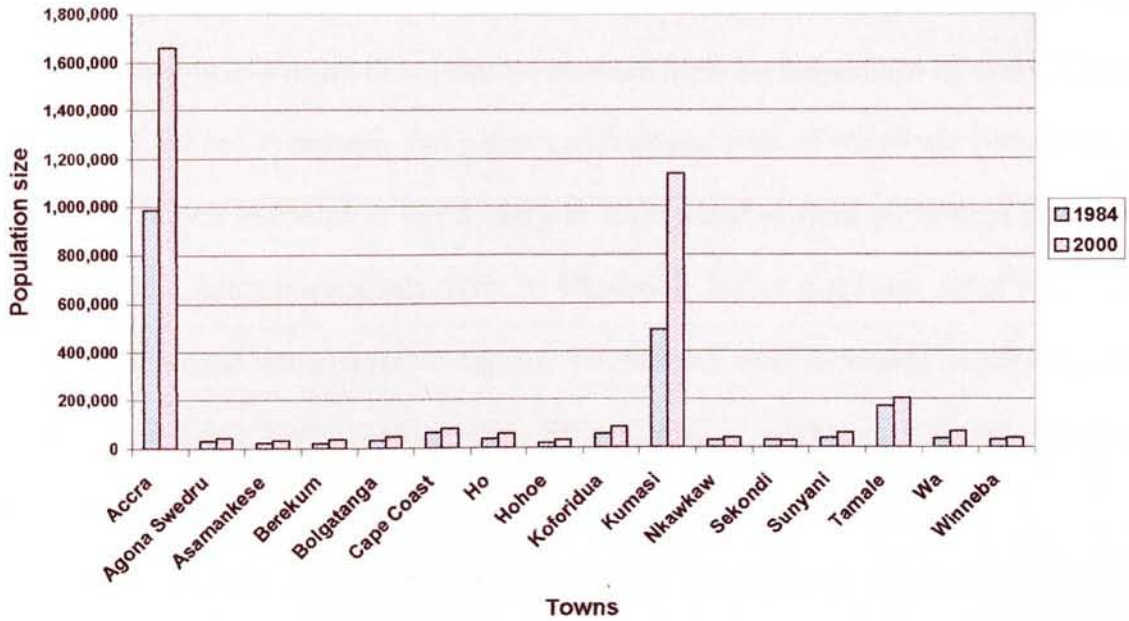
Table 4.3

**Population Growth of Administrative and Market Centres: 1984 - 2000**

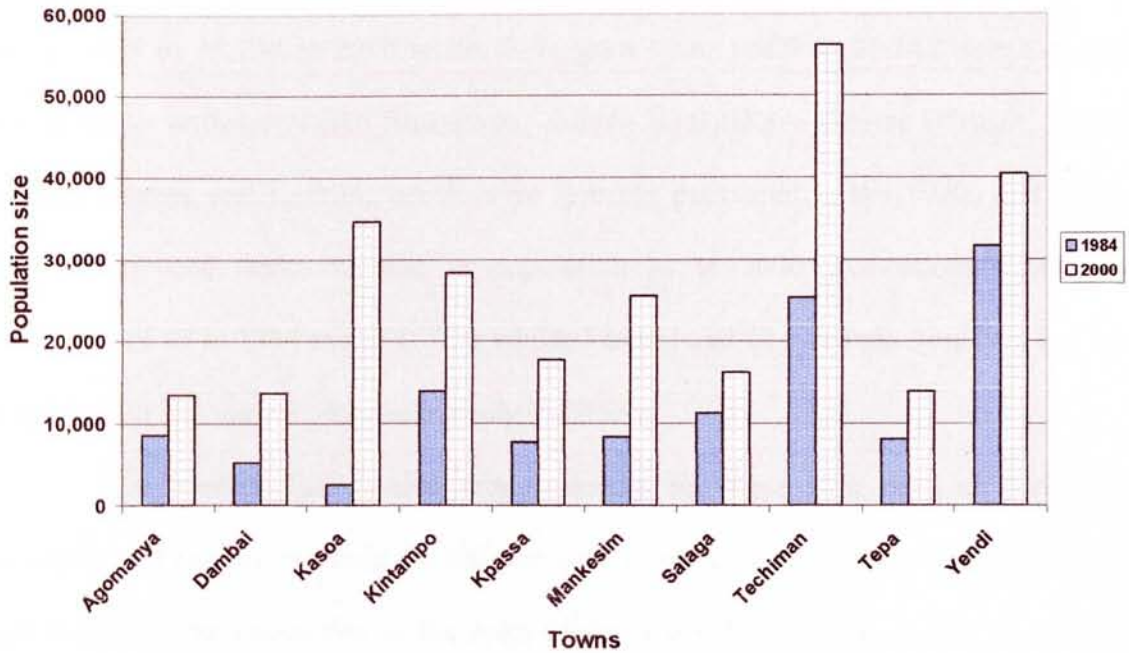
Reasons for Growth /Towns	Population		Percentage Increase
	1984	2000	1984 -2000
<b>Administrative</b>			
Accra	987,290	1,658,937	68.0
Agona Swedru	31,226	45,614	46.1
Asamankese	23,077	34,855	51.0
Berekum	22,264	39,649	78.1
Bolgatanga	32,495	49,162	51.3
Cape Coast	65,763	82,291	25.1
Ho	37,777	61,658	63.2
Hohoe	20,994	35,277	68.0
Koforidua	58,731	87,315	48.7
Kumasi	487,504	1,136,064	133.0
Nkawkaw	31,785	43,703	37.5
Sekondi	31,916	29,247	-8.4
Sunyani	38,834	61,992	59.6
Tamale	167,778	202,317	20.6
Wa	36,067	66,644	84.8
Winneba	30,852	40,017	29.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,104,353</b>	<b>3,674,742</b>	<b>74.6</b>
<b>Market</b>			
Agomanya	8,600	13,508	57.1
Dambai	5,210	13,768	164.3
Kasoa	2,597	34,719	1236.9
Kintampo	13,943	28,276	102.8
Kpassa	7,736	17,693	128.7
Mankesim	8,386	25,481	203.6
Salaga	11,355	16,196	42.6
Techiman	25,264	56,187	122.4
Tepa	8,089	13,826	70.9
Yendi	31,633	40,336	27.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>122,813</b>	<b>259,990</b>	<b>111.7</b>

Source: Derived from 1984 and 2000 Population Census Reports of Ghana

**Fig 4.5 Population Growth of Major Administrative Towns Between 1984 and 2000**



**Fig 4.6 Population Growth of Market Towns Between 1984 and 2000**



#### **4.6 Growth of Dormitory Towns in Ghana between 1984 and 2000**

Table 4.4 below reveals the group of Ghanaian town that grew between 1984 and 2000 possibly as a result of population pressure from the large cities of Accra, Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. Ashiaman and Madina, both of which are listed among the first 11 largest localities in the country in 2000, resulted from population pressures from Tema and Accra respectively. Ashanti Mampong, Juaben and Ejisu, all of which are currently municipal administrative capitals might have also increased rapidly due to population pressure from Kumasi city. Effia-Kuma, a suburb of Sekondi-Takoradi equally increased drastically over the period.

Apart from the above mentioned towns under the spill-over effect, the rest of the towns listed under the same reason are suburbs of Accra most of which are not even in the existence in the 1960s and the 1970s. New areas such as Chantan, Santa Maria, Sowutoum, Awoshie and Taifa which as at the 1960s were unknown have opened up as a result of the continuous rise in population of Accra. Awoshie for instance, increase from 105 in 1984 to 15,738 in 2000 while Taifa grew from 1,009 to 26,145 over the same period. Other settlements like Amanfrom, Adenta West, Dome Gbawe Ofankor, Anyaa, Ashaley Botswe and Lashibi, which were sparsely populated in the 1970s and 1980s, have experienced rapid increase in population as at 2000. For example, Anyaa's population of 39 in 1984 rose to 15,738 while Lashibi and Gbawe rose from 507 and 837 in 1984 to 30,193 and 28,989 respectively in 2000.

The possible factors that might account for these high rates of population increases in these towns could be the population pressure in Accra which results into spill-over, the continuous rise in the price of the few available land as well as the high

cost of rent in the city centre. Inadequate accommodation for the large chunk of migrant workers in Accra compelled most people to move and settle in these towns where building plots are comparatively cheaper and hence abnormal percentage increase in population of these towns.

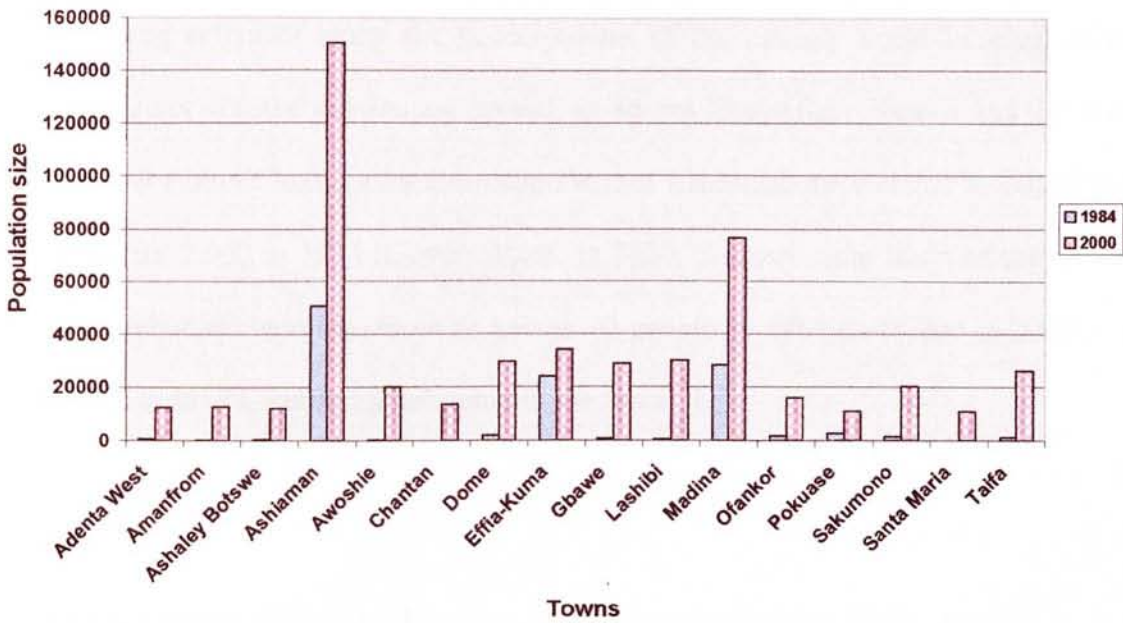
Table 4.4

**Population Growth of Dormitory Towns: 1984 - 2000**

<b>Reasons for Growth /Towns</b>	<b>Population</b>		<b>Percentage Increase</b>
	<b>1984</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>1984 - 2000</b>
<b>Dormitory Towns</b>			
Adenta East	-	31,070	-
Adenta West	587	12,559	2039.5
Amanfrom	293	12,803	4269.6
Anyaa	39	15,738	40253.8
Ashaley Botswe	440	11,974	2621.4
Ashiaman	50,918	150,312	195.2
Atimatim	1,223	14,017	1148.2
Awoshie	105	19,890	18842.9
Chantan	-	13,585	-
Dome	1,954	29,618	1415.8
Effia-Kuma	23,796	34,307	44.2
Ejisu	5,133	10,923	112.8
Gbawe	837	28,989	3363.4
Juaben	7,658	11,425	49.2
Kpone	6,933	11,230	62.0
Kwesimintsim	13,854	20,024	44.6
Lashibi	507	30,193	5855.2
Madina	28,364	76,697	170.4
Mampong	20,228	31,740	56.9
Ofankor	1,649	16,177	881
Pokuase	2,527	10,858	329.7
Sakumono	1,386	20,172	1355.4
Santa Maria	-	10,775	-
Sowutuom	-	12,520	-
Taifa	1,009	26,145	2491.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>169,440</b>	<b>663,741</b>	<b>291.7</b>

*Source: Derived from 1984 and 2000 Population Census Reports of Ghana.*

**Fig 4.7 Population Growth of Dormitory Towns in Accra Between 1984 and 2000**



**4.7 Growth of Border, Harbour and Industrial Towns in Ghana, 1984-2000**

Tema and Tema New Town both of which are harbour and industrial towns continue to be primary destination for the country’s internal migration resulting in population increase in the two towns. Takoradi, another harbour town however decreases from 61,500 to 54,700 over the period probably due to the dying nature of the port and the harbour. The growth of New Takoradi, Shama and Effia-Kuma might also be at the expense of the industrial city of Takoradi. The growth of Juapong from little over 5,000 to 13,000 between 1984 and 2000 could be attributed to the revamping of Juapong Textiles Company which attracted a lot of workers with implied commercial activities to the town during the period. Akosombo and Kpong grew as a result of the construction of Volta dam at Akosombo with its power generating sub-station at Kpong. Komenda, a

district administrative capital and sugar manufacturing town also joined the threshold of 10,000 or more in 2000.

Trading activities along the border towns of the country could be cited as an important factor for the continuous growth of towns like Aflao, Bawku and Dzodze. Elubo, a major transit and border town experienced a tremendous increase in population from less than 2,000 in 1984 to over 10,000 in 2000. A spectacular town of the central region, Buduburam, increases from as low as 40 people in 1984 to 18,700 in 2000 as a result of location of Liberia refugee camp in the town.

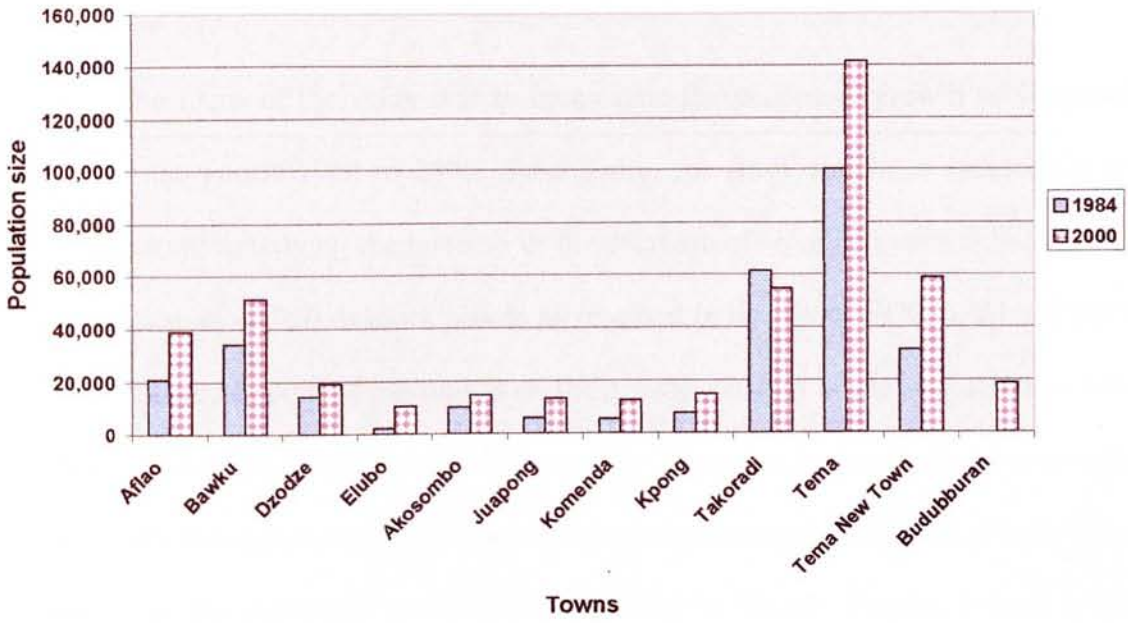
Table 4.5

**Population Growth of Border, Harbour and Industrial Towns: 1984 - 2000**

Reasons for Growth /Towns	Population		Percentage Increase
	1984	2000	1984-2000
<b><u>Border</u></b>			
Aflao	20,904	38,927	86.2
Bawku	34,074	51,379	50.8
Dzodze	14,174	18,957	33.7
Elubo	1,984	10,428	425.6
TOTAL	71,136	119,691	68.3
<b><u>Harbour/Industrial</u></b>			
Akosombo	9,820	14,429	46.9
Juapong	5,699	13,103	129.9
Komenda	5,287	12,278	132.2
Kpong	7,435	14,725	98.0
Takoradi	61,484	54,772	-10.9
Tema	100,052	141,479	41.4
Tema New Town	31,466	58,786	86.8
TOTAL	221,243	309,572	39.9
<b><u>Refugees</u></b>			
Budubburan	40	18,713	46682.5

Source: Derived from 1984 and 2000 Population Census Reports of Ghana.

**Fig 4.8 Population Growth of Border and Industrial Towns Between 1984 and 2000**



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary

The focus of the study was to investigate the pattern of growth of Ghanaian Towns over the period 1960 to 2000. Specifically, the study sought to investigate the plausible reasons underlying the increase or the decrease of selected towns in the country with population of 10,000 or more people as reported in the 1960, 1970, 1984 and 2000 Population Census Reports. Emphasis is on the growth patterns of the selected towns for each of the three inter-censal periods of the country. The work is also designed to identify the impact of natural resource utilization as well as the economic and political reforms of the country on the pattern of population distribution in Ghana. Finally, it is of prime interest of this paper to identify the key determinants of population distribution in the country and to make suggestions and policy recommendations that are likely to promote an even population distribution in the country.

The process and patterns of population distribution today have their roots in the past historical and socio-economic development trends based on the availability of resources. Available related literature on the subject indicates that, early contact with Europe and later colonial rule which led to the introduction of cash crops, mining, modern commerce and improved transportation net-work made areas in the southern sector of Ghana more densely populated than the northern sector. Increased agricultural activities in most towns like Berekum, Wenchi, Nkawkaw, Nyaakrom and Agona Swedru just to mention a few, largely accounts for the upsurge in their population numbers. (Nabila, 1992). It is thus, the movement of farmers to the relatively new agricultural areas

which will continue to determine the pattern of population densities in the towns. Introduction of cocoa production in Ghana for instance, completely changed the agricultural landscape of such towns like Mampong, Aburi, Asamankese, Akomadam, Akim Abuakwa and Kenten in the forest belt and hence created a new economic impetus which set in motion, significant shift in population distribution.

Nabila 1992, in his work on Population Distribution and Resource Utilization in Ghana, stated that, construction of roads, railway lines and ports or harbours to facilitate effective exploitation of resources as well as promote economic development has also influenced population distribution in Ghana. Railway lines and roads which were built to ensure maximum exploitation of such precious minerals (gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite), cocoa and other cash crops, affected patterns of Ghanaian towns either through the establishment of new settlements along the railway lines or in the promotion of rapid population growth of existing settlements through migration. As already noted, population is generally very dense within the Kumasi-Accra-Sekondi/Takoradi railway triangle. The growth of Sekondi-Takoradi and later Tema has largely been due to the construction of the harbours there.

It is observed from the study that, individual or voluntary migration continue to be the major means by which population is re-distributed in the country. It is through this process that some towns have come to gain additional population from less advantaged ones. Accra and Kumasi metropolis as well as all the regional administrative capitals are good examples of the advantaged towns with social amenities that attracts youths from the rural areas. Generally, it is the rural-urban type of mobility which accelerates urban growth in Ghana. However, the economic crisis of the latter 1970s and early 1980s



reduced the contribution of net-migration to urban growth since rural-urban migration reduced and some urban dwellers returned to the rural agricultural areas or left the country.

From the study, one other important factor that has contributed immensely to the patterns of population distribution in Ghanaian towns is the country's Decentralization policy. The country's decentralization policy that has created growth centres as district capitals has brought in its wake, towns of attraction with their "pull" factors. The selected district capitals most of which were hitherto been small towns with agriculture activities became places of population concentration within the neighbourhood. This is due to the fact that migration of the youths to the so called, "big" cities in search of job opportunities and to enjoy city amenities drastically reduced. Such towns like Akatsi, Atebubu, Duayaw Nkwanta, Half Assini, Dormaa Ahenkro, Asankrangwa, Gushiegu, Zabzugu and Sampa all of which are district administrative capitals created in 1988 under the decentralization policy reform have grown over the years as a result of improvement in their basic amenities and infrastructure.

It is worth noting however that, the pronatalist attitudes of many Ghanaians for a long time made the contribution of natural population increase high and this affected both the rural and urban populations of the country. In addition, the population of urban towns will continue to grow higher than the rural settlements as more of the urban residents settled down and contribute their fertility to the urban growth.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

In general, internal migration in Ghana flows in all directions but the more urbanized towns with much infrastructure developments and job opportunities as found in regional administrative capitals, mining towns, industrial areas as well as commercial towns continue to attract a more proportionate share of the migrants. Major differences in urban functions such as administrative, commercial, manufacturing, construction services, transport and communication, agriculture and mining as well as educational institutions in the various large towns have to a large extent been responsible for the different rates of urbanization and growth of towns in the country.

This is clearly indicated in the large disparity between the population of the first largest town (Accra) and the twentieth largest towns (Nkawkaw); and even between the two largest towns (Accra and Kumasi) and the third largest (Tamale) as at 2000. The population of Accra has been 39 times as large as Nkawkaw and 8 times that of Tamale.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

Even though data on migration were lacking, migration of most people especially the youth from other parts of the country in search of jobs plays a major role in influencing the population of the country especially the few satellite/dormitory towns of Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. The government and stakeholders need to provide a counter rapid urbanization scheme in the country. This could include opening of more job opportunities especially in the rural areas to reduce the extent of migration into Accra and its environs as a way of easing the population pressure.

There is also an urgent need of counter migration and urbanization scheme in the oil found localities of the country, as the flow of migration in the country might change soon towards the oil deposit localities. Besides, the three components of population change especially migration, should be studied critically to enable the government know the direction and flow of the people. This will make it clear to know the problems existing in both sending and receiving areas for appropriate measures to be taken both at the national and local levels. In addition, the government should revisit the idea of establishing satellite towns as it was done in the 1960s so as to absorb the large proportion of migrants. This will help decongest the city centres which have been grappling with rapid population growth and the limited available resources.

Infrastructure development in the rural areas should also be given priority as a counter-urbanization scheme. Indeed, one of the apparent reasons why people leave the rural areas is lack of basic social amenities like schools, hospitals, electricity, recreational facilities and communication. It is hoped that this measures when well planned and executed, will reverse the rural-urban migration. While recommending that rural areas attract urgent attention, problems confronting the urban centres should be given equal consideration.

Rural development programmes must widen the scope of development to bring within it, the agricultural problems and also address it to those needs such as provision of social amenities like health facilities, road networks, electricity and provision of potable drinking water which the rural folks urgently need.

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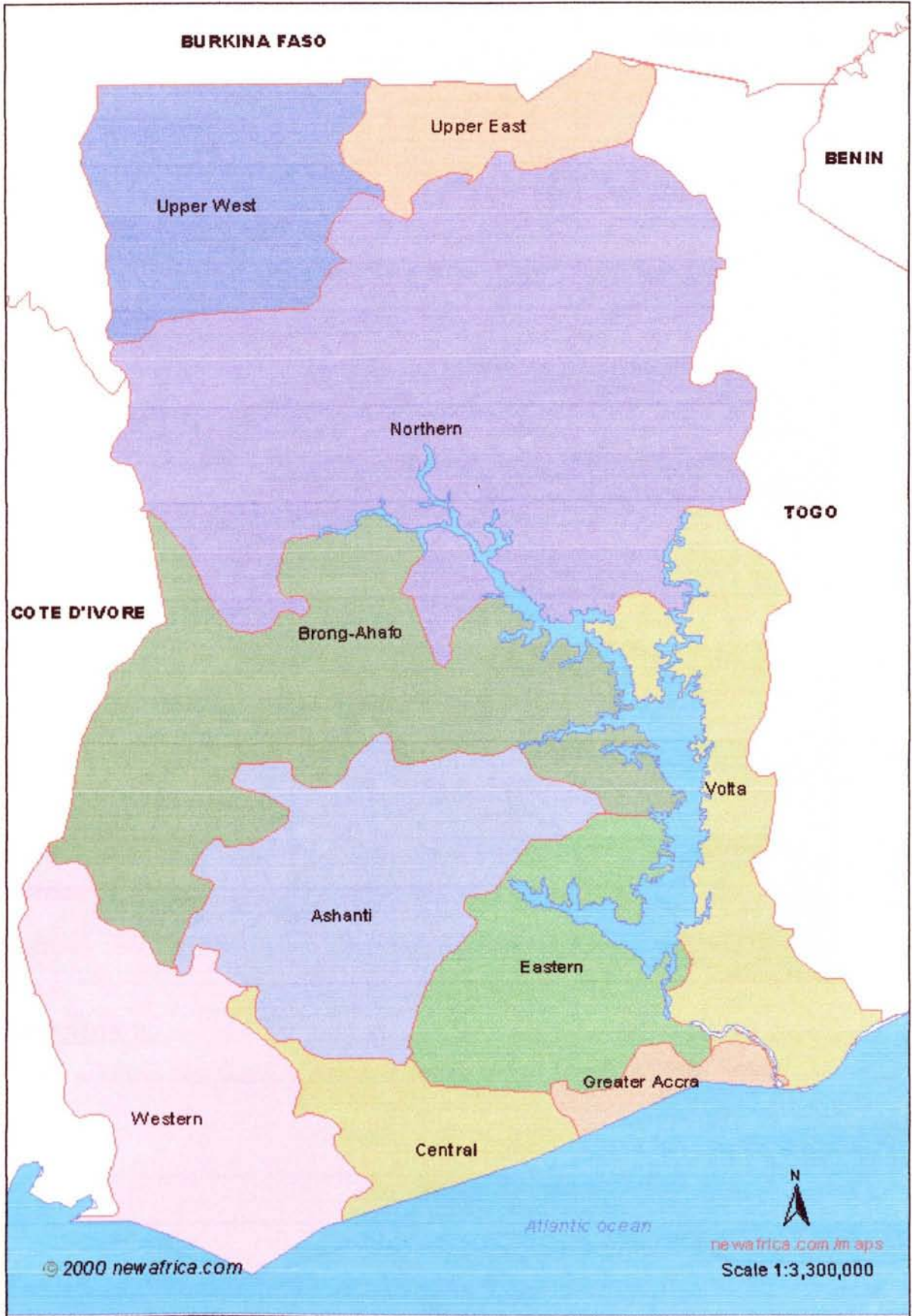
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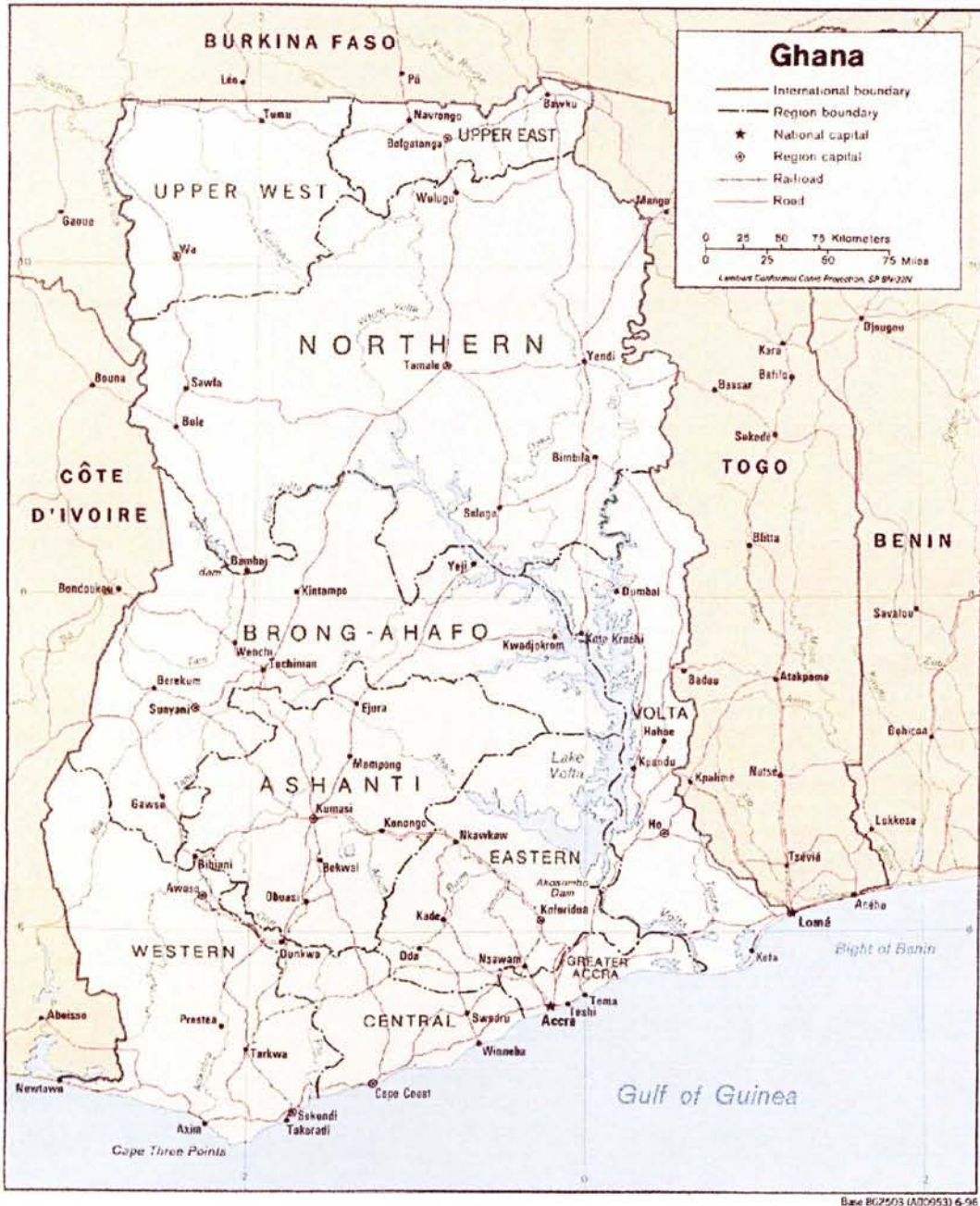
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### GHANA ADMINISTRATIVE MAP





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**APPENDIX B.**

A Map of Ghana Showing the Regional Capitals and all Towns on Major Roads