

Department of European Studies

The EU Policy as a Mechanism for Ensuring Even Development; the Case of Ghana



*Master's Thesis*

Author: **Nanje Delphine Ule**

Supervisor: **Prof. Wolfgang Zank. PhD**

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# Abstract

Ghana’s present status as a democratic state, with growing economic success is worthy of interest. Compared with other Sub Sahara African countries, Ghana seems to record an image of peace and stability, with democratic practices of free and fair elections. The country is experiencing a fast growing economy with the support from international donors like World Bank (WB) United States Agency for International Development (USAID), African Development Bank (AfDB) and most especially the European Union. Nevertheless, the uneven development in the different regions of Ghana has become a cause of concern. This study thus attempts to account for the political economic and social evolution of Ghana, leading to democracy and economic growth. Inequality in regional development tends to occur mainly out of the variation in economic development, most especially with the capability of natural resources. The north- south regions of Ghana represent a glaring case of inequality leading to regional imbalance. Several studies have highlighted the disparities between the north and the south in a general perspective of economic development and the quality of lifestyle, resulting to the backwardness of the north compared to the south. However, to further enhance understanding on the dynamics of the developmental gaps between the northern and the southern regions of Ghana, this thesis adopts some relevant strategies and suggests measures at addressing them. A number of studies have pointed out the importance of redressing the issue of regional imbalance particularly in nations that want to maintain economic growth, Ghana inclusive. Its consequences can lead to severe social tension such as intertribal war, which can end up disrupting the political stability and economic growth of a nation. The study further underlines the factors that influence the emergence of this phenomenon such colonial legacy, physical geography and market economy of agglomeration. The thesis seeks the use of two theories namely the colonial legacy, and the development theory in geography to analyse the problem of regional imbalance. The study further explores the role of the European Union in redressing this issue. It concludes by calling on the EU, in collaboration with the government of Ghana, and civil society to foster a development planning approach that will curb the issue in question and create even development countrywide. This requires investments in infrastructure such as education roads and health.

**Key Words: European Union, Ghana, Regional imbalance, Economic Growth, EU policy, Development**. ii

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# List of abbreviations

ACP - African Caribbean and Pacific

EU - European Union

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States EDF - European Development Fund

CPI - Country per capita Income

EPA - Economic Partnership Agreement

FTA - Free Trade Agreement

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GNP - Gross National Product

 GNI - Gross National Income

 MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

 NDC - National Democratic Congress

 NPP - National Patriotic Party

 UN - United Nations

 US - United States

WTO - World Trade Organization

WWII - World War II

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# Chapter One

## 1.0 Background

International cooperation facilitates development. Evidence from the Marshall Plan where the United States (US) provided both financial and non-financial aid to much of Europe after World War II underlines this fact; in the aftermath of the World War II where much of Europe laid in ruins, such strategic partnership contributed to Europe’s eventual recovery (The Marshal Foundation, 2009). This is also reflected in the story of Asian Tigers; whereby some East Asian nations were catapulted into high income and developed economies after less than fifty years of exceptional growth (Paldam, 2003). It is one of the reasons why the formation of a Global Partnership for Development is one of the themes of the Millennium Development Goals.

One area where such strategic win-win partnerships can turn around the fortunes of states is in the developing countries of Africa, one of such is Ghana. While one of European Union policy to Africa is that of development assistance, its external action is also greatly involved working in partnership (collaboration) with other international partners like the United Nations in carrying out policy effectiveness in what is known as "multilateralism".

## 1.1 Introduction

Attaining economic development or economic growth is one major challenge with developing countries. Although these concepts might sound similar they differ. A country may achieve growth but not sufficient for economic development. While growth is an increase in a country’s production or income per capita, economic development embodies "*economic growth, changes in output distribution and economic structure such as an increase in the living standard, a decline in the agricultural share of GNP, improve in education skill of the labor force, not living out increase in industries and services*"(Wayne,2012,pp: 14,17).

Additionally, closely tied to the challenge of attaining economic growth is ensuring that the economic growth is evenly distributed and shared nationwide so as to ensure that some parts of the country do not lacking behind the development process. After a review of several documents, a number of studies have pointed out the political stability of Ghana, and its glaring democratic practices which have contributed to the country's development. It is however worthy to note that this development is not evenly distributed in all the regions. Some regions are relatively poor creating a scenario of regional imbalance. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of *regional imbalance* is an enigma to governments of most countries with large geographical areas. This inequality is often seen as a risk to the political economic strength of a nation which might result to separation between the rich regions who view the poor regions as tying them down in their drive for prosperity, and the poor regions who views it as a manifestation of regional injustice. This normally results in ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious differences that could lead to intertribal wars and may disturb the stability of a country's economic growth (Shankar & Shah, 2009, p:2).

A number of scholars have explained the problem of regional imbalance as emanating from different aspects, one among which is the physical geography. According to Sachs(2005, p: 57,58) with reference to Adam Smith points out the variation in physical geography in regards to climatic condition, physical and natural resources as the mechanism to determine a region's growth or poverty rate. Regions with arid climatic condition whereas Tsuma(2010) emphasized on the colonial legacy as the root cause of regional imbalance. The market economy of agglomeration as further stated by Krugman(1991) is an underpinning factor to this phenomena. However, due to time limit, the thesis will explore whether the hypothesis of physical geography and colonial legacy could explain the issue of regional imbalance in a democratic nation like Ghana that has been enjoying economic growth for decades.

The EU as one of its objective in addressing this issue, came up with a regional development policy which was extended to Africa, known as the Strategic Partnership to Promote Peace, Security and Development. This strategy is regarded as an inclusive method aimed at avoiding conflicts that might lead to instability. As a democratic state, Ghana has received development aid assistance from the EU worth over 402millions in a bid to alleviate poverty and the gradual integration of Ghana in to the world economy (EU relation with Ghana n.d).

## 1.2 Research Questions

In order to address this phenomenon, the following research questions are formulated to guide the study.

Thus the main research question for the study is as follows;

1. ***Why is there regional imbalance in Ghana?***

 The next part of the research focuses on the European Union with the research finding as follows:

***ii. Has the EU policy been helpful in redressing this problem?***

According to World Bank definition, ‘*economic development’* is a set of structural changes required to sustain growth of output and to respond to the preferences of the society". Great attention was focused by the economist to the problems of less developed countries after the Second World War (WWII), to sustain and increase the gross national product per capita GNP (Mason and Asher,1973,p: 482). Thus the thesis will also explore the economic growth that Ghana has been enjoying for decades taking into consideration necessary components that support it. Moreover, the study integrates theories best explored with the research question which is regional imbalance or disparity in Ghana. However the causes of regional imbalance will be summarized together with the entire political and economic growth of Ghana in the overview.

## 1.3 Methodology

This section spells out the research design, research method, as well as outlines the steps employed in prosecuting the research questions.

### 1.3.1. Research Structure

The figure below encapsulates the study structure. The beginning chapter gives a general introduction of the study, and the guiding research objectives. It also explores the research methods that are used for the study; summarises the research design; procedures employed in addressing the research questions as well as the guiding concepts. Whilst chapter two narrows the focus of the study to the specific theories that are used for the study. An overview of Ghana’s economic growth, and the challenges faced, with much emphasis on the gap of inequality existing between the northern regions (Northern, Upper East, and Upper West) and the southern regions is analysed in chapter three. Chapter four explored the main research question of the thesis which is regional inequality with the application of theories. The following section of the chapter observed the EU policy toward Ghana. This allow the demonstration of the EU relation with Ghana, and its active involvement in the country's development process. The subsequent chapter (5) bring out the argument of whether EU policy has been helpful or not in solving this problem. Finally, the outcomes are reflected in chapter six which is the conclusion, then followed the reference list.

**Chapter**   **Purpose**

Outlines need for the research, method framework research structure& design

Introduction

presents the theoretical frame work,

Theories

Elaborate on the study background

Overview

Bring out the major problem & Show the result. EU policy helpful ?

Analysis I & II, & Discussion

Conclusion

Outline the main findings of the study

Sources

Brings out the Reference list

**Fig.1.3 Report Structure Source: Author’s construction**

## 1.4 Research Method

The thesis seeks to find out the persistent issue of regional imbalance. The study takes the form of a case study to explore the research theme which is regional imbalance. The research focuses on Ghana as a case study to examine the gap between the north and the south regions. According to Yin (2009) a case study model could take the form of an explanatory and descriptive approach. Therefore an explanatory approach has been applied to the research question to examine why there is regional imbalance or regional inequality in Ghana. As the country continues in its strides for economic growth, the curiosity to find out why some regions are poor and others rich, becomes vital in the process of understanding, to know which factors have contributed to regional imbalance.

The study employed the documentary method where different types of research documents and literatures have been reviewed to extract empirical materials relevant for the thesis. Amongst such are; numerous web based reports, Ghana government documents, EU commission documents, News papers, and Articles. Additionally, a number of journals and books from different authors were also studied to gain an insight into the dynamics of this phenomenon. To get an understanding of the research problem, and to know if the EU has been helpful or not in redressing this issue, several factors were highlighted among which were; the legacy of colonialism, physical geography of the region and the market economy of agglomeration. Based on the literature review, the theoretical part of this study was formed. Theories of uneven regional development such as; the colonial legacy, the theory of agglomeration on market economy and development theory in geography are seen important in understanding the issue in question. However, due to time limit, development theory in geography and the colonial legacy as the main theories of action applied in the analysis. The word regional imbalance, regional disparity and regional inequality are used interchangeably in this thesis to give the same meaning.

The next chapter outlines the major theories underlining the research.

## Chapter Two

This chapter details the main theories guiding the research.

## 2.0 Theoretical framework.

The nation of Ghana and the European Union share a common historical characteristic. Whilst 1957, marked a turning point in the history of Ghana in becoming the first country in Sub Saharan Africa to gain independence from colonial masters, a similar "fate" of event happened in the same year with the signing of the Rome Treaty that gave birth to the European Economic Community known today as the European Union. This long and fruitful journey of partnership between the EU and Ghana, has contributed immensely to the economic success that Ghana has so far been enjoying, playing an active role in enhancing democracy and poverty alleviation. (EU and Ghana n.d, p: 1). As cited by Glassman, J. 2001, "Development theory in Geography", in the international encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences", nations in the strive for economic growth end up creating uneven development in the regions.

Ghana like other developing nations, in the pursuit of economic growth, faces the problem of regional inequalities whereby development is concentrated in certain regions living other poor. In as much as the contributing factor to regional imbalance emerges from the pattern of administration adopted during the colonial era, that fails to be broken after independence, the variation in the geographical conditions, and the availability of mineral deposits in certain regions than others, could potentially lead to regional imbalance in development. The case of the north-south regions of Ghana has been chosen for this study to highlight the differences in terms of growth. None the less, the phenomena could not be well explained without the application of theories (ibid ). Therefore, three theories were found pivotal to explain this issue; the theory on colonial legacy, development theory in geography (physical geography) and the theory on market economy of agglomeration.

However, due to time limit, the theory on the colonial legacy and development theory in Geography are explored in the research questions.

## 2.1 The choice of Theories

In a review of a number of documents to answer the research question of this study, two theories were found relevant for this thesis. These theories are; the theory of colonial legacy, and the Development theory in Geography.

### 2.1.1 The Theory of colonial legacy

Colonial legacy has been cited by a number of scholars as the root source of inequalities existing in regions resulting to regional imbalance. The administrative, economic and political influence of the colonial masters can be viewed from pre colonial, colonial and post colonial period. Most of Africa’s territories received colonial administration during the colonial period. The diverse manner in which these territories were administered, and the experiences they acquired from the colonial economic policy influenced the rise and preeminence of certain ethnic groups in relations to others that began in the pre colonial era(Tsikata & sieni, 2004,).

Additionally, the slave trade phenomenon whereby European traders dealt in the buying and delivery of slaves to the Americas, instigated the subjugation of weaker ethnic group to their powerful neighbor through inter tribal wars, and handed to be Europeans for transportation. Hence it damaged the working force of the community and soured the inter-tribal relations to a state of conquest and migration(ibid). After the era of slavery and slave trade, the colonial ambition turned towards the restructuring of home industries that were damaged during the war. Hence a quest for economic interest in the extraction of raw material and some major produce like cocoa, gold diamond and timber, as well as the use of the port at the coastal area for cheap transportation of both imported consumers goods and the export of raw materials became vital. The availability of these facilities made these areas pivotal sites for colonial economic political and administrative venture(Tsikata & Sieni 2004).

Supportively to the above description has been the works (academic materials) of other scholars who viewed disparity between regions in countries that emanated from colonialism. Ndege (2009) cites colonialism to have been one of the source of inequalities in Kenya today where the elite who had special relations with the colonies inherited massive wealth in terms of fertile land after independence. Policies adopted after Kenya acquired independence did not seek to distribute the wealth equally. Lee & Schultz (2012) point out the core factor of inequality wealth and infrastructural development in Cameroon is as a source of the colonial pattern that has become difficult to terminate.

As indicated above, several scholars have argued that colonial legacy is the prime cause of inequality existing in most African Countries. Thus the colonial pattern of administrative setups in the core regions have become difficult to break even by the post independent leaders resulting to inequality in most Africa countries let alone Ghana.

## 2.1.2 Hypothesis

Seen in the light of this theory, a posit can be formulated that the problem of regional imbalance in Ghana is as a result of colonial legacy. As cited by Tsikata & Sieni(2004) the slave trade involvement of the European traders (Britain, Denmark and Netherlands) in the buying and shipping of slaves to the Americas instigated the emergence of intertribal wars. Weaker States were subjugated to their stronger neighbors, exchanged as slave and transported to the Americas.

A phenomena that did not only strain inter-ethnic relations but rather destroyed the working force, leaving the local communities with nothing other than migration and conquest. The underlying factor in regards to northern Ghana was observed on the raided Gonja Empire. Though the northern regions before then, enjoyed remarkable economic growth in its activities, during the Trans-Sahara trade, acting as middle men in the trade routes linking the South and the North Africa. Nonetheless, the emergence of the Eighteen century trade in slaves set the starting point that victimized the region rendering it poor and creating a wide gap of inequality compare with the south (ibid).

 Tsuma (2010) posits that the dynamic of colonialism has never escaped the minds of scholars. The colonial authorities introduced an administrative system that bestowed authority to the local traditional chiefs in decision making, collection of taxes and the supply of labor. In the colonies, chiefs who were mandated with such authority under the colonial rule, realized new opportunities to assume more power and bolster themselves against any challenges to their supremacy. The competency of the South Ghanaian chief that began since 1950s became favored by the colonial administrative system and were equipped under the custody of the colonial states than the north who were used as laborers in the plantations (Tsikata& Sieni 2004 ). It is further assumed that the colonial master, in securing absolute control of mineral resources and to avoid any confrontation with the local inhabitants as it happened quiet ago, placed or appointed the traditional chiefs as a source of authority over their subjects. This hence, empowered the southern chiefs supremacy, in contrast to the north where direct rule through the chiefs was preferable by the colonial elites (ibid). A number of Scholars have pointed out that, economic motive was the driving force for colonialism. The colonial quest for economic interest in "Resource Intensive" areas for the development of home industries after the war is a source of inequality of in region (Tsuma,2010).

In Ghana, the binary aspect in the production of goods and services has greatly influenced the north- south divide resulting in regional imbalance. The rich mineral deposits of the south in gold and other products like Cocoa, coffee, timber, and the use of ports for cheap and easy export and import of goods and services made the area core regions for colonial settlement. The rich fertile soil of the south suitable for crop cultivation, forest for the extraction of timber and other minerals and ports for import and export, became curved and known by the colonial authority as the "great triangle" contrary to the northern region that received little or no attention and deemed as labor force for migration. (La pierre2004) & (Tsikata& Sieni 2004). Hence from the above hypothesis it can therefore be concluded that Colonialism is an approach to explaining inequality in Ghana and also been used by Asante & Gyimah-Boadi (2004) indicating that it (colonialism) was the cause of the north-south divide being experienced today in Ghana.

### 2.1.3 Development theory in geography

The problem of regional imbalance seen in the light of the above theory is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon. A number of studies have pointed out physical geography as a source of inequality in regions. The development theory in geography is the next that can perhaps illustrate the issue of uneven development. As cited Glassman (2001p:3600)the geographical situation of a region could greatly determine its "development pattern" and also its relationship between the development processes". Sachs (2005 pp:53&58) in support of this argument alludes that the physical geography condition of a region could determine the region level of economic development. Regions with humid geographical condition (good climate and whether), with substantial rainfall, rich mineral resources for exploitation, fertile soil for crop cultivation, coupled with enormous rivers suitable for navigation, not leaving out natural ports that facilitate an implausible foundation for sea based-trade, definitely attract development. Contrarily, regions with arid climatic condition become impoverished. Most regions found under arid geographical conditions tend to suffer from persistent drought that render agricultural productivity low. The high temperatures and the limited rainfall, exposes the region to become a suitable zone for tropical disease like malaria fever emanating from mosquito's bite (ibid). Glassman (2001) further argues that, the role of the government in the stride of economic growth could not be ignored to have caused uneven development.

The concentration of development patterns and activities in particular core regions, and the neglect of others can result in inequality. The theory further holds the dynamic of capitalist development that initiated diverse contexts in power leadership as an aspect that cannot be left out when observing regional inequality . Hence the political and economic principles of a nation could determine or influence uneven development, which is not only applied to regions but also between power relations. This creates "opportunities" for a certain group of people, regardless of "class, race or ethnicity and sexual orientation". Additionally, the factors surrounding urbanization in developing countries such as possibility of jobs, better education, better medical facilities, good standards of living and many others is a phenomenon that often leads to uneven development (Glassman, J. 2001, P: 3601).

As specified above, it is assumed that physical geography is a source of inequality existing in most African Countries, that has been under colonial rule whose development approach considered certain factors like the geographical benefits of the regions.

## 2.1.4 Hypothesis

Seen in the light of this theory it can be formulated that Ghana’s problem of regional inequality is as a result of physical geography. Sachs (2005) states that, variations in the physical geography of regions in regard to climate weather and natural resources can determine the regions level of development and growth. Regions with arid climatic condition become vulnerable to persistent drought with low agricultural productivity. The high temperatures and limited amount of rainfall exposes the region to some tropical disease such as malaria fever. The arid climatic condition of the north, with prolonged in drought and limited rainfall has made agricultural productivity low only for subsistence's consumption. The topography and high transportation cost has made the development process towards the region slow. The geographical difference has enhance uneven development, giving rise to poverty and inequality. Regions with arid geographical conditions therefore tend to be poor. The north- south dichotomy in Ghana is a glaring example. The arid climatic conditions of the north temperatures and low the development process most often do no favor agricultural productivity due to the high temperatures and the minimum amount of rainfall recorded. The Mineral deposits discovered are found of no importance for exploitation to favor development in the region. The presence of the rich south soil for crop cultivation, mineral deposits like gold, diamond, bauxites, timber significant for exploitation, and the rich coastal port for cheap and easy export and import of goods and services has become core center for development and economic activities (ibid). As further posited by Glassman (2001) "the development theory in geography" present the quest for jobs, better living condition better medical facilities betters educations result to the migration in the core regions leading to regional imbalance. This emphasizes the significance of the role of geography which can be further appreciated when juxtaposed with the peculiarities of the study area.

The following chapter thus throws more light on the background of the study.

##

## Chapter Three

This section details and gives more insight into the study context.

## 3.0 Overview of Ghana development for the past years and it challenges

The Republic of Ghana is a country located in the west region of Africa. It is the first black Africa country to achieved independence from the colonial rule, under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The country for the past decades has recorded great success in democracy and economic growth. The success of this nation is however linked to the influence of international actors like the European Union. Despites the break through, the country is not free from a number of challenges amongst which is regional imbalance.

## 3.1 Political evolution of Ghana

Ghana in 1957 became the first Sub Sahara country in colonial Africa to gain independence. It is located in the coast of West Africa, boarded by the gulf of guinea with Togo and the Ivory Coast. It has an estimated surface area of 92000 square miles making it a bit bigger than its former colonial master Britain (Africa and the world n.d). The country has a population of 25,199,609 million people according to the latest estimate of July 2013, with Accra being the capital city. It adopts a constitutional democracy that set up structures, power, and limit of the president and the government dominance.

It has ten administrative regions, with several ethnic groups such as Akan Mole-Dagbon Ewe Ga-Dangme Gurma Guan Grusi Mande-Busanga. Apart of English which is the official language, several other languages like Asante, Ewe Fante, Boron (Brong) Dagomba, Dangme, Dagarte (Dagaba) Akyem, Ga, Akuapem and others are spoken (Cia facts). Ghana like other African countries is blessed with mineral resources such as gold, silver, petroleum bauxite, limestone, manganese, Timber and industrial diamond (Africa and the world n.d).

 A number of scholars have explained the uncertainty as to when the ruling Ghana dynasty began. As cited in the "free encyclopedia of Ghana empire", Muhammad Ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi in 830 AD, presented the first written source about the empire. Under the practice of Islam, camel were used to facilitate trading in gold ivory salt to north Africa middle east and Europe . The expansion of the trade in gold and salt through the trans-Sahara trade became thriving leading to the emergence of urban cities and territorial expansion( The free encyclopedia).

 Nonetheless the relationship took a different phase of uncertainty due to British measures to check the Ashanti expansion to the coast. The resistance of the Ashanti against these limits erupted to a series of confrontation between the two parties that finally led to the defeat of the Ashanti. By 1874, the coastal area was proclaimed by the British a colony of Gold Coast and further incorporated with the defeated great Ashanti empire in 1901, to become a British colony . Ghana under the charismatic leadership of Dr kwame Nkrumah and his conventional people party, made a triumphant negotiation with the British, to be the first Sub- Sahara African country to gain independence in 1957( Gocking, 2005 pg: 12, 13).

Few years later, Nkrumah was able to achieve political and economic stability. He established a stable political system where the citizens bestowed their loyalty and national identity towards their nation. The cost of living was relatively low and development was focused on public infrastructure. Nonetheless the mid 1960s called for unpopularity of Nkrumah leadership due to the drastic policies adopted and the high level of corruption practiced by the top officials of the CCP party (Laube, 2007,p:66). A heavy tax burden was levied on the producers such as the cocoa farmers and other related agricultural sector, in a bid to boost up "industrial projects and states farms" under a seven years development plan. This aspect that aim at coordinating economic activities of the countries with high inspiration to boost the economy however tend out to be unsuccessful as the government instead realized a massive losses of approximately fifteen million pounds, and the economy was at the verge of collapsing (Zank, 2007,p: 23).

His close ties with communist Russia leaders such as Khrushchev and Brezhnev, urged his optimistic view after a critical observation to the problem which it counterpart has effectively triumph over (Zank, 2007, P:17). Hence he adopted the socialist system that strongly rejected capitalism on grounds that it is "built on exploitation of the majority by the minority thereby creating an imbalance economy directed by high profit return rather than the logic of equitable distribution of wealth in the society". More to this, growth in the productive sector was neglected. A fixed exchange rate in the local currency, export and import prices was set upon. The tight security measures and control enforced by the government on the economy, particularly state owned cooperation, created all sort of illegal practices and contraband that reduced the value and availability of state resources through black market. Inflation stood at a very high rate, as the prices of cocoa and other related products that constitution a backbone of the economy has also fallen. Disunity among the citizens became the order of the day, as neighboring countries exercise tie control at their borders. These aspects generated an atmosphere of discontentment and political unrest that led to his over thrown in 1966 military coup by Lt general Joseph Arthur (Biney,2011,pp:105,106), (Zank,2007p:23) and (Laube 2007,p:66).

The nation of Ghana after the over thrown of Nkrumah, experienced a series of military coup, that came to a halt in 1981 with the ascension of Jerry Rawlings in power. Rawlings as the new leader, adopted changes that resulted in the banning of political parties and the suspension of the constitution. Nonetheless, in 1992, the political system saw the face of restoration with the creation of a new constitution that introduced multiparty system of politics (Banatu-Gomez,2011,p:156) .

Based on the procedures adopted in the new constitution of 1992, independent bodies were created for the separation of power that limit the power of the president. This enable the establishment of a successive free press, and autonomous judiciary. Following the procedures of the constitution, elections were organized that became even, regardless of the irregularities observed over tight control in the political process, which arouse the fear of another dictatorship in disguise. However, despite these hitches, in the election, Rawlings was elected the president and became eligible, and re-elected for the second mandate in 1996. His leadership in Ghana, set the pace for a successful democracy which the nation is enjoying today, as after the end of his second mandate in office, did not adopt the example of some African leaders in changing the constitution to favor him run for a third mandate (Aryeh,2008,p:2)

The accession John Agyekum Kufuor and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in the democratic presidential election of 2000 brought a change in the political system that created room for opposition party to survive without much difficulties. Traces of dictatorship which were common in certain areas like the press, were completely erased through the new political and economic reforms that were introduced. Much attention was given on economic development and freedom of press (Aryeh, 2008,p:2).

However, president Kufour inability to meet the demands of a wide range of the Ghanaian population led to the victory of John Atta Mill and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party in the presidential election of December 2008-January 2009. Ghana experienced a second democratic change in power under the leadership of president John Atta Mill. Although Atta Mill administration was considered to have a focus on the economic policy it however did not yield to pressure from its own supporter "to follow a more expansive course of expenditure". As Ghana continue to experience economic and political stability under Atta Mill, the cold hand of death did not allowed him to complete his first mandate in office as he died in 2012. Following the tragic incident of the death of president Atta Mill, his vice president John Dramani Mahama took the interim command of leadership (president) as accorded by the constitution, until elections were conducted that led to his victory and that of the NDC in July 2012 (Aryeh,2008,p:2).

An active participatory approach was introduced in the 1992 constitution under article 35, through which the administrative and financial system were decentralized in the regions and districts, given opportunity to Ghanaian of all works of life to participate in decision making of the country. Four independent bodies such as; the commission on human right and administrative justice, national commission on civic education, the national election commission and the national media commission were created to monitor the effective implementation of this approach (Leite, et.al, 2000,p:3).

This democracy practices in the political system of Ghana has contributed enormously to the economic growth and development the country has been enjoying for decades now.

## Fig.3.1 Map of Ghana



**source**: www.map of world .com

## 3.2 The Economic view of Ghana Development

A democratic environment supported by active participation of the government, civil society and international donors like the EU in decision making is a great ingredient for a sustainable economic development. Ghana’s democratic system sets up economic policies that enhance development. One amongst such policy goals set for 2020 vision was the reduction of poverty, economic growth investment in human capital, rural development, and a conducive environment for private entrepreneurships and investment (Leite et.al 2000, p:6).

The embodiment of these programmes in the five years development strategy paper placed much emphasis on human development aimed at improving the health situation of the country through the construction of hospitals, access to medical treatment, which may increase life expectancies and reduced extreme deprivation of development benefits. Job creation was a priority to reduce unemployment for both the poor in the rural and urban areas. The rural areas was given development assistance with the provision of basic public services such as portable drinking water, improvement of transportation network, and infrastructural development (Leite et.al, 2000, p:6). Below is a world bank statistic data that show a trend of Ghana development for the past five years ranging from 2008-2012

## Table 3.1 Ghana’s Developmental Trend from 2008-2012

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **2008** | **2009** | **2010** | **2011** | **2012** |
| GNI per capita, ppp (current international$)  |  1,500  | 1,540  | 1,630  |  1,820  | 1,940 |
| Population Total  | 23,110,139  | 23,691,533  | 24,262,901  | 24,820,706  | 25,366,462 |
| GDP,(Current US$)  | 28,528,046,011  | 25,977,853,492  | 32,174,210,793  | 39,564970070  | 40,710,781,539 |
| GDP growth (annual %)  | 8  | 4  | 8  | 15  | 8  |
| Life expectancy at birth total year  | 60 | 60  | 61 | 61  |  |

**Source**: **World Development Indicator**.

The figures above explain the economic growth of Ghana for the last five years, between 2008-2012. Although a drop was recorded in the gross domestic product of 25 billion $ US in 2009, it has however persistently been at a rise in the following years. In 2008, the GNI per capita stood at 1,500 and rises to 1,940 in 2012 showing a increase difference of 440dollars. The population of Ghana has also been on a rise from 23million in 2008 to 25million in 2012. Further increase in the gross domestic product is noticed ranging from 28 billion to 40billion US dollars. However inconsistency is noticed on the growth annual % of GDP, that stood at 8% in 2008, fall to 4% in 2009, rises to 8% in 2010,15% in 2011 and falls to 8% in 2012. Life expectancy has been on a rise from 60 to 61years indicating economic development on the provision of basic health facilities' and poverty reduction (World Development Indicator n.d).

The government has also taken on measure to improve the educational sector. A conducive atmosphere for teachers and pupil in the primary education has been provided to enjoy free education, free meals at school and free transportation opportunities for both the rich and the poor. Thus leading to a gross increase in the number of pupils leaving the primary school to secondary schools. Scholarships are also allocated to meritorious students in the form of cash by the local chiefs. This has thus reduced illiteracy rate, and has created equal study opportunities to both boys and girls (Bertelsmann, 2012, p:6). Beside the education sector, the health sector has also witnessed a great improvement. Hospital have been constructed and access to medical facilities has been available to the inhabitants and thus have raised the life expectancy to 61years.

An great increase in the production of cocoa coffee and gold created a boom in the economy that did not witnessed the world wide economic crisis of 2009. The persistent "economic growth stands at an increase of 5% measuring 8.4% in 2008, 2.7% in 2009 and 6.6% in 2010". However these figures are expected to rise with the oil inception of oil production. Furthermore a spontaneous support from donors and a high level of remittances from abroad has further boosted the economy of Ghana. This has increase the inflation rate to 10% and has affected the manufacturing sector which embodies the exportation of finished goods and importation of capital investment (Bertelsmann, 2012, p:10 ).

The great influences from private sectors towards the development of Ghana did not only create a conducive business environment with a minimum increase in bank lending and capital inflow, but rather kept the economy firm and booming. None the less, the fragile external balances and weak fiscal stance poses challenges to the economy. The country accumulated domestic payment arrears, in new public sector pay policy, and huge budget expenses that threatens macroeconomic stability. However, this could be avoided if revamped afford are made to enhance domestic resource mobility. Below is an explanation of a macroeconomic indicator for Ghana from 2009-2012.

##  Table 3.2 Ghana’s macroeconomic indicator from 2009-2012

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **2009** | **2010** | **2011** | **2012** |
| RealGDP Growth | 4.7  | 5.9  | 12 | 11 |
| CPI Inflation  | 19.3  | 8 | 8.5  | 6.9 |
| Budget balance % GDP  | -7.6  | -7.9  | -7.7  | -5 |
| Current Account % GDP  | -8.1  | -7.6  | -6.4  | -2.5 |

**Source:** National Authority Data, in (Africa Economic Outlook, 2011, p:182)

The table above shows a persistent increase in growth of the economy of Ghana from 2009-2012. While the real GDP growth stood at 4.7 in 2009, it kept increasing each year until 11 in 2012. CPI inflation that was high in 2009, falls to 6.9 in 2012. Improvement was also measured on the budget balance that dropped from -7.6% to -5%. Progress was noticed in the current account that stood at -8.1% to -2.5%. Besides this, the Foreign Direct Investment of the country has been on an increase of more than 10% GDP. However with the country's new status as an oil producing nation, these figures are expected to change in the nearest future. Although no concrete statistic has been taken in regards to employment as cited by Bertelsmann, the country's economic growth has been on the rise above the population, and there is great probability that this will attract migrants from neighboring countries like Nigeria to settle in Ghana (Bertelsmann,2012.p: 10).

## 3.3 Social Aspects

Besides the political and economic achievement mentioned above, the country economic growth could not have been complete without the social aspect. Taken into consideration the educational system of the country during the pre-colonial colonial and post independence great improvement had been achieved by the government to reduce illiteracy. Educational institutions have been constructed. Teachers are employed to teach, placed on a regular salary to follow a standard curriculum introduced by the government, with equal opportunities given to both boys and girls. Parents for primary pupil do not need to pay fee, as they equally received free meals in school and free transportation (Ibid).

These initiatives have witnessed a great enrollment that encouraged a remarkable increase in the secondary education. Scholarships are also offered to meritorious students in the form of cash from their "traditional leaders". These aspects increased the enrollment in the education of a girl child in secondary school to 55%. Although much still need to be done in the tertiary level where insufficiency in the quality of staff is predicted in an emerging economy, great improvement has so far been recorded to alleviate illiteracy (Bertelsmann BTI 2012, p:6).

## Fig.3.2 School Enrolment in Ghana compared to peers



 Ghana

 Sub Sahara Africa(Developing countries )

 lower middle income

 **Source**: Data from World Bank

The diagram above shows an improvement in the educational sector of Ghana. The government with the support of international donors embarks on certain educational measures that help to boost up the educational situation of the country hence reducing the rate of illiteracy. The above data from the World Bank statistic shows a constant increase of school enrollment in Ghana as compare to other Sub Sahara countries. According to the world bank data above, school enrollment in Ghana stood at 80 percent in 2003, and it witness a continues increase in 2012 that goes above 100 %, fall to 100 % in 2000,and rises to 110 in the in 2012.

Ghana’s health sector has also experienced a drastic transformation. Health facilities were provided in most regions to carter for the health of the citizens. Doctors nurses and drug were available for patient. women were given proper care during delivery that reduces infant mortality and increase life expectancy at birth. This helps to increase the life expectancy of the Ghana. Below are the statistical figures from the Ghana health service highlighting development recorded in the health sector a marker for economic growth.

## Fig.3.3 Health Status Indicators for Ghana

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Indicator** | **1988** | **1993** | **1998** | **2003** |
| Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)  | 77 | 66 | 57 | 64 |
| Under 5 Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)  | 155 | 119 | 108 | 111 |
| Neonatal Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)  | 44 | 41 | 30 | 43 |
| Post-Neonatal Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)  | 33 | 26 | 27 | 21 |
| Crude Birth Rate (per 1000)  | 47 | 44 | 39 | 33 |
| Crude Death Rate (per 1000)  | 17 | 12.5 | 10 | 10 |
| Life Expectancy at birth (in years)  | 54 | 55.7 | 57 | 58 |
| Total Fertility Rate  | 6.4 | 5.5 | 4.6 | 4.4 |

**Table 3. Source : GDHS,1988,1993,1998,2003**

## 3.4 EU Policies and Ghana

 The EU aspiration of becoming an important player in the international scene began with the European community in 1958 (Olsen 2008, p:158). It adopted a foreign policy that has far reaching effects across the globe, contributing to more than half of the world's ODA. Being the biggest world donor, it is acting as a potential source of funding to nearly all United Nation Organizations and it partners countries all over the globe. Hence It is therefore clear without any reasonable doubt, this, evidently illustrates that, the MDGs may well not be achieve without it support (The house of Lords, European Union Committee 2005,p:88).

EU Acts as an important market for African goods, a key partner for African regional organization, as well as promote economic and political growth in the regions. It created a common partnership agreement with ACP to reduce the level of poverty, sustain development and their gradual integration in to the economy (The EU and Africa n.d p: 12).

 One of EU policy in Africa let alone Ghana was that of development assistance. The Union seeks interest to improve political and economic situation of Africa, security, global challenges such as climate change, migration and the fight against terrorism. A frame work of action was adopted under three main aspects such as ; the Cotonou Agreement, the Economic Partnership Agreement and the Joint Africa European Strategy (ibid,p:24).

## 3.5 The Cotonou Agreement

The long and outstanding relationships connecting the European Union (EU) and sub-Saharan African countries could be traced back to the successive Yaoundé Conventions (1963-75), followed by the four subsequent Lomé conventions. The acceptance of the British to the European Communities in 1973 extended or widened the geographic capacity of the partnership to the Commonwealth countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, in this became known as the African Caribbean and pacific (ACP ) group of states (The EU and Africa n.d, P:12).

This Union known to be the largest in the world with it blend of small -island states, land locked countries and the developed countries became one of its kind in the world history. The partnership based on the conception of aid and trade agreement completed between 77 ACP states and 15 European Community member states (EU), built up three structures for development such as the Cotonou Agreement , the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and the Joint Africa Strategy Partnership (The EU and Africa n.d, p:12).

The Cotonou agreement signed in June 2000 had as it objective to reduce and ultimately eradicate poverty while assisting sustainable development and the gradual integration of the ACP States into the world economy. The agreement was based on three main pillars amongst which are; economic and trade cooperation, development cooperation and political dimension (Ibid, p: 12).

In respect to the principles of the agreement, four legal essential aspects were set up binding the role and regulation of the agreement. Amongst were; "the equality of partners and ownership of development strategy". This calls for an active participation of actors such as the government, civil society, and private sectors towards development. political dialogue and the respect of human rights was mandatory. A development strategy was approved upon to suit partners level of development, due to the variation in cooperation existing in different countries and regions (ibid).

Moreover, the principle of democracy was seen as an underpinning aspect of the partnership through which core aspects like the respect of human rights and the rule of law could be valid, setting up sanction measures to the violations of these principles. The act of good governance was promoted through sanctions of corruption or corrupt practices such as bribery on grounds to suspend cooperation ties. The creation of joint management institution for the cooperation was a core factor emerging from the EDF resources which are jointly managed by the EU delegations and the authorizing officers concerned in the countries and regions of operation(ibid).

## 3.6 The Economic Partnership Agreement

The ACP-EU trade relationship marked a turning point with the introduction of the Economic Partnership Agreement. On as the Yaoundé Lomé and Cotonou agreement that sticks on preferential access of the ACP States to the EU market, the EPA agreement set out a different model based on the symmetrical trade liberalization between the ACP states and the EU. The different model came in to effect in the 1990s that set a growing hit, in its ability to attain more decisive goals for the cooperation, that robustly aroused questions and criticism to the third parties (countries which are not members of the ACP- EU trade agreement). The failure of the Lomé convention to produce the expected results, needed to maintain the ACP share (product) in the EU market and stimulate the production diversity in the ACP states, creates criticism for not conforming with the binding rules of the WTO (ibid,p:15) .

Nonetheless the model on trade was amended to meet the conformity of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2000. The model favored the negotiation of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) to be done under regional basis. The Free Trade Agreement (FTA) envisaged as an aspect of development, adopts measures for trade related issues given it a proliferation and broader scope of context. The influence of the economic partnership agreement to the gradual progress of negotiations for multilateral trade, has required to redressed pertinent aspect towards the WTO demands on the prices of export goods and the "Singapore Issue" of investment, competition policy, government procedures and trade facilities (The EU and Africa n.d P: 15) & (Martin Khor , 2007, p: 1).

Initially, the influence of contrary views on the principles of technical matters has failed the EPA negotiations to attain another level, as the official datelines set in most of the regions has been taken to a later date. According to the context of the Doha round, the EPA focuses mainly on the least developed countries that have concluded the criteria's for the agreements, given that they meet the obligations for trade liberalization. In the case Africa, 80% of its trade was required to be liberalized for over a period of 15 years by the EU. Looking on the development aspects, the EPA has initiated the creation of regional integration that provides an excellent opening in the vibrant of a realistic regional market (The EU and Africa n.d, p:15) .

## 3.7 The Joint Africa -EU strategy

The EU- ACP relation saw a new phase in the 2007, during the EU -Africa heads of states summit in Lisbon Portugal. A new policy framework was adopted that ‘took the Africa-EU relationship to a new strategic level aimed at strengthening political partnership and enhanced cooperation at all levels. It revealed a brave, ambitious and innovative aspects geared towards response of new challenges (Ibid, p:16). The partnership aimed at giving positive respond to the new geopolitical threats and realities of the emerging BRICS nations such as China Brazil and India excluding Russia, as their growing influence in the regions was a response that is perceived as threat. In an aspect to attain an overarching long-term framework for this partnership, a joint EU- Africa strategy was adopted. Eight thematic partnership and a successive plan of action was put in place to meet up to the agreed priorities and set up an associated Joint export Group. It later involved the participation of stake holder as it prioritized goal in the establishment of a complex institutional structure in the year 2008-2009 (ibid,p:16).

In addition to the above mentioned aspect of the policy, the promotion of good governance, democracy, respect of human rights and the rule of law was enforce. Whilst good governance was deemed necessary for a clear allocation of the economic and financial resources for equal benefit and for a sustainable development under the Cotonou partnership agreement, political dialogue was seen as an aspect that helps in enhancing the partnership there by bringing forward pertinent issues of mutual concern, that goes afar from the objective of aid, to peace security conflict prevention, which are viewed as important aspects for poverty alleviation and economic development. The joint strategy partnership adopted by the EU with Africa in 2007 on it part provide financial aid to Africa countries and Ghana in particular to ensure that the MDGs is achieve by meeting the expected target under health and education . Under the economic partnership agreement, measures like the rule of law, respect of human right and the practice of democracy were essential aspects that needs to be respected by the members states (The EU and Africa n.d, p:22-24).

After the 9/11 incident in the US, the EU development policy adopts a new strategy towards Africa whereby security measures were taken as a pre-condition for development. Hence peace and security was given a priority in the regions.

The strategy created a conducive environment for economic growth, trade that correlate with social unity. Microeconomic stability was encouraged through the creation of regional markets, to sustain and foster economic and social development in Africa, and their gradual integration into the world economy (The EU and Africa, n.d, p:9) & (Neubauer, 2010, p:3).

The dominant role plays by the EU in fostering economic growth in Africa let alone Ghana has impacted the continent greatly. The Union adopts a strategic framework through it development policy that focuses much attention on poverty reduction. In connection with other donors the EU provides budget supports to the Ghanaian government in fostering the country's in attaining the MDGs objectives for 2015. Public finance management, private sector development, trade facilities, and transport network connecting regional integration receives assistance. Environmental sustainability was also a priority aspect for the union. The EPA agreement setup measures that encourage democracy, good governance to the enhancement of decentralization and gender equality. (The EU and Africa n.d p:16). The European commission under the umbrella of the EU set up measures that reinforced the quality of aid in Africa through a policy cohesion in development. ( Carbone 2007 in Taylor & Francis).

Despite the many positive actions demonstrated by the EU in support of development in Ghana, the country still faces some challenges in certain areas like fostering and sustaining economic and social development, and the reduction of poverty in some regions.

## 3.8 The challenges faced by Ghana

After a close observation of Ghana economic growth under the various aspects explained above, a lot needs to be done as the challenges of the country in some regions goes beyond abject poverty and hunger, corruption, human right abuse, illiteracy, poor governance, lack of infrastructure and above all the issue of regional imbalance. With the amelioration of the teaching condition of the teachers who are placed on a regular salary scheme per month, corruption in this sector reminds a plaguing issue particularly in the rural areas that at time put in question the authority and image of states officials. The media communication also witnessed this social ill, were a talented journalist could possibly be given an attractive sum of salary as a means to oust them from the private media and to succumb to the norms and caprices of the government media, thereby retreating the vibrancy of private media outlets (Bertelsmann BTI,2012,p:3).

Furthermore the insufficient training of some security officers such as the police force often lead to human right abuses that put the security of the citizens in question, more efforts is needed by the government to increase the professionalism of the country's security skills (ibid,p:4). Although the country's population growth is on a continuous rise for a while now, a hand full of the population leaves under extreme poverty condition, with a glaring example seen from the northern regions (Ibid,p:6).

There is also a huge absence of infrastructural facilities, which placed the government under pressure to carry out infrastructural investment with the revenue amass from oil. Whilst the country strive to carry out reforms that will revamped the challenged areas of the country, competency in executing strong political decision of this reforms is lacking. In this regard, state resources tends to be wasted through corrupt practices such as embezzlement (Bertelsmann, BTI,2012,p:11,13).

Under the health sector, the absences of severe health hazards in Ghana, has recorded a remarkable progress with the establishment of medical facilities in most of the regions which has improved the life expectancy of the citizens. None the less, medical attention needs to be given in the northern regions where limited access to medical facilities is observed. The absence of basic health facilities has caused the loss of many lives from diseases which could be curable if the health facilities were available. This predicament has led to a decrease in the life expectancy of the northern regions compared to that of the southern regions. Besides this, the absence of basic amenities like good drinking water, sanitation in the rural areas and even in the capital cities like Accra is a plaguing problem with needs to be tackle. However, Jerry Rawlings during his tenure in office provided "boreholes and pipe born water", which helped to eradicate water born diseases (Africa and the world n.d) and (Jeffrey,2009).

This however did not completely curb the vulnerability of the inhabitants to diseases. Ghana also faces difficulties under the energy sector. Whilst most regions of the country are without electricity, areas with energy supply often experienced persistent power failure that kept them most often in darkness. Particular emphasis should be given to the poor quality of education in the northern regions that witnessed limited educational infrastructure and teaching facilities. Measures should be taken to encourage the education of a girl child and it awareness in sex education which could certainly reduced the HIV/AIDS infection (Africa and the world n.d).

Another challenging factor that is underpinning the government of Ghana is the ongoing political instability in the neighboring Cote D'ivoire. Although efforts from international bodies such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), Africa Union (AU)and ECOWAS have been witnessed in this country, there is still an uncertainty of insecurity, that might tend to be a financial and management burden to the government of Ghana (BertelsmannBTI,2012,p:16). Haven explore the various challenges facing the state of Ghana in the above paragraphs, this section of the study further explain the major problem which this thesis seeks to find out which is regional inequality or regional imbalance between the southern and the northern regions of Ghana.

 3.9 Regional imbalance

Scholars like Nandan notes that, regional imbalance is the "inadequacies in the development pattern of a nation that commence from the colonial rule, and has failed to be corrected after independence. In another words it is the unfinished task in a nation building". (Nandan 2010, p:3). Regional imbalance tend to arise due to uneven distribution of economic activities and to a greater extend mineral resources that influence development . It is however observed, as a general tendency in most developing countries in the struggle to attain economic growth, often end up with inequality in the development trend of the regions. This uneven distribution of economic development and natural resources often emanate to poverty. Poverty at it extreme can create social tension which could distort the political and economic stability of a nation. This segment of the thesis explains the pattern of regional imbalance, underlying it processes with the various concepts as physical geography (climatic conditions), natural resources, political economic and social aspects not living out the ethno religious demography to compare the south - north regions of Ghana (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

In Ghana the uneven distribution of wealth and income between the north and the south is alarming. Several studies have presented a wide gap of disparity existing between the north and the south regions emanating from the political perspective. Seen in the light of this, the north region has remind backward in many political activities which are very much significant in the growth of a region. Comparatively, looking on the political involvement of these two regions in the decision making of the country, there is no doubt that the influential participation of the south is far beyond that of the north. Seven out of the ten administrative regions of the country are base in the south, and the north comprising of solely three regions (Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions), could not be merged with the south (Tsikata, & Seini, 2004, p:6 in Songsore, 1983 & 1989 ).

This differences provided the south with an edge of dominance in the political circle of the country over the north. Additionally, in view of the colonial policy enacted by the elites during the colonial era, the southerners (south regions) were bestowed with the authority to act as foremen and intermediaries in the colonial administration. This hence boost their political competency and influence in decision making of the country leading to the growth of south against the north stagnancy in political activities and more involved in the provision of industrial labor (Tsuma, 2010, p:33). The attachment of the Ashanti kingdom to the British colonial elites, and it policy, playing as an intermediary in the implementation of rules and collection of taxes empowerment influenced he north-south disparity which still exit till date(Tsuma, 2010,p:34).

Though some changes were noticed under Nkrumah administration that involved the political and economic participation of the north, it was however short lived as the pursue of colonial pattern was established by his predecessor that has become uneven to break. An endogenous measures were adopted by the government, laying emphasizes on investment and economic activities of the South (Mine, Y. et.al 2013,p:87) and (La Pierre, 2004,p:62). The uneven distribution of natural resources is a pertinent aspect in the North -South disparity. The south blessed with a variety of mineral resources such as gold, bauxite, copper, diamond, manganese and many others, seen vital for exploitation and development of the economy, the north on it part has few with are term not valuable for the economy, are not exploited to influence the development of the region (La Pierre, 2004, p:62).

Additionally, the geographical differences of the regions could not be ignored in explaining the long persistence phenomena of regional imbalance. The rich fertile soil emanating from the swampy and grassland feature, covered with thick rainforest, has made the South an attractive environment for crops cultivation such as cocoa banana cassava coffee groundnuts, and a variety of horticultural crops. In contradiction, the north aridity with frequent drought and limited rainfall, often result to low yield in production of agricultural crops and cattle rearing, barely enough for subsistence consumption (Eguavoen 2008,p: 41).

Based on the immobility of the natural resources and it importance in the production sector, the south became an attraction for settlement and location of industries, for an easy extraction of the natural resources (raw materials) and it cheap exportation. Considering the economic objective of profit maximization in industries and country's growth, the south region became favored for investment and settlement of many major industries, such as refinery, sugar food processing, brewery industries cocoa processing that fosters the growth and empowerment of the region in economic activities as well as social infrastructural development, contrasting to the cotton industry located in the north of the region (La Pierre, Y. 2004, p: 59) & (Kwamina, B., 1969,p:173).

In support of this, the south became an opportunistic region for various social infrastructures such as good transportation network for easy accessibility of the region compare to the north were the poor transport network (road) with high cost hindered it accessibility, rendering it with limited social facilities such as hospitals, schools, good drinkable water and many others. In contrast, with the above explanation, the south receives good infrastructural development in several domain such as education sector, with quality education, good medical facilities, good living standard portable water supply and many jobs opportunities. The numerous beaches hostel restaurant and even football pitches found in the south did not only transform the region to a commercial center but rather a touristic site. Comparatively, the north-south gap of disparity seen on the social infrastructural development has considerably widened the poverty gap between the north and the south. With the limited medical facilities in the north, diseases that can be curable tends to kill many (Africa and the world n.d) & (Jeffrey, 2009 ).

 Following an investigation of two prime mechanism on development and welfare, (Tsikata and Seini 2004,p:7, in Songsore 1989) points out the differences in the social welfare and illiteracy rate between the north and the south, that illuminate the gap of inequality. According to their arguments the level of development and welfare services in the north is far below that of the south, as no district from the north region was found qualify for the ranking (ibid).

The same trend follow in the level of literacy compare with the south. On the part of education, the North-South inequality is influenced by the colonial policy that subjected the north region for a labor reserve region for the south plantations. Hence leaving the north with no major education facilities. The north were not given any right for decision making that could enhanced development but rather were provided with basic needs thus ignoring the development of the north in what was known as a paternalistic colonial form of government (shepherd, A. et.al 2006,p:13). The country's ethno-religious demography, further highlights the existence of regional imbalance between the north and the south. Whilst the South constitutes three out of the four major ethnic groups of Akan Ewe and Ga/Dangbe, the north is compile exclusively of Mole/Dagbani. The dominant 70% of the Christian south and 16% of the Muslim north projects the disparity between the two regions (Mine, et.al,2013,p:83). The numerous ethnic conflicts that erupts amongst the several sub-ethnic groups in the north makes it difficult for an active mobilization that could enhance the growth of the region (ibid).

As stated by Mine, et.al 2013,p:83, the introduction of multiparty system under Rawlings, set up a political structure that call for ethnic subordination, given preferences to some ethnic languages than other and the appointment of southerners to post of responsibility in the administration of the country (Lenz & Nugent 2000, pp: 22 in Mine 2013 pp: 84). This thus make the south more influential than the north leading to the gap in disparity.

Below is a graph showing the percentage of poverty per regions between 1998/1999 and 2005

## Table 3.4 INCIDENCE OF POVERTY PER REGION:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Regions**  | 1998-1999 % | 2005 %  |
| Western | 27.3 | 18.4 |
| Central  | 48.4 | 19.9 |
| Greater Accra  | 5.2 | 11.8 |
| Volta  | 37.7 | 31.4 |
| Eastern | 47.7 | 15.1 |
| Ashanti  | 27.7 | 20.3 |
| Brong Ahafo  | 35.8 | 29.5 |
| Northern | 69.2 | 52.3 |
| Upper East  | 88.2 | 70.4 |
| Upper west | 83.9 | 87.9 |

Source: **Data derived from Ghana Statistical Service, in Yoichi ,M. et.al, 2013 p: 89.**

## Fig. 3.5 Poverty Incidence by Region in Ghana

**SOURCE: Data derived from Ghana Statistical Service, in Yoichi ,M. et.al, 2013 p: 89.**

The graph above presents poverty incidence by region in Ghana in 1998/1999 and 2005. Taking a close observation of the table and graph , the percentage of poverty in each region is indicated. Although each of the ten regions recorded an incident of poverty, it is observed that the first seven regions beginning from the Western to the Brong Ahafo region that constitutes the southern region has a lesser percentage of poverty compared to the last three regions of the northern, upper East and upper West that constitutes the northern regions. Whilst the percentage of poverty in both years of our comparison (1999 and 2005) stood above 50% in the northern regions, the southern regions recorded below 50%. The region with the highest percentage of poverty recorded from the northern regions is the upper east, while for the south the region with the least percentage of poverty incidence is greater Accra. In 1998/99, the Upper east region recorded 88.2% in contrast to48.4% in the central from the southern region. In 2005, 87.9% was recorded from the Upper west region of the north, against 31.4% in the Volta region of the south. This goes to explain the gap in disparity existing between the north and the south. However, the subsequence pages of this thesis explains the glaring reasons for this long standing phenomena of regional imbalance between the north and the south.

The ensuing chapter does an assessment of the study outcomes.

## Chapter Four:

This chapter critical analysis of the case study findings.

## 4.0 Analysis of Ghana’s Major Problem

Developing countries in their stride for economic growth in one way or the other, fail to provide evenly distributed development countrywide resulting to regional imbalances. However, this could result in serious social problems that might distort the political and economic stability of a nation. In this chapter, the root causes of regional imbalance or regional inequality are made visible in the analysis with the interplay of the above theories such as colonial legacy, development theory in geography and the market economy of agglomeration are explore in this phenomena.

Regional imbalance can be explained in many ways one of which is the legacy of colonialism. Seen in the light of the theory, it can be posited that uneven development in Ghana has been the result of colonial legacy. Tsuma (2010), argues that the intent of colonialism was "resource intensive development". In Supportively to this argument, the colonial masters in pursuit of the intension, placed measures on each region geared towards the realization of its goal, in the exploitation of resources and local labor to the interest of their economy. Therefore the rich mineral deposit of the south region, called for the investment and settlement of the colonial master, who then set up mining plantations and industries for the extraction of raw materials and cheap export. However the northern region acted as a labor reserve zone for the above mining plantations and industries opened in the south (Tsuma, 2010).

## 4.1 Colonial legacy

Colonialism as cited by Tsuma (2010), can never be erased in the mind of many scholars. The root of Inequality existing in most African countries today is as a result of colonialism. The political economic and administrative policies enacted in Africa by the European during the pre-colonial ,colonial and post independence era has resulted to inequality in development, leading to regional imbalance in the most African countries (Tsuma 2010). In the case of Ghana, the trade in slave that started in the eighteen century by the European traders (British Denmark and Netherlands) in the buying and shipping of slaves to the Americas instigated the emergence of intertribal wars. Weaker States were subjugated to their stronger neighbours, exchanged as slave and transported to the Americas to provide labor in the plantations. Hence inter-tribal relations become sour, generating distrust, conquest and migration rendering the local community helpless with the captive of the work force. The northern Gonja empire became vulnerable to the superior south kingdom and has resulted to inequality in the ethnicity of Ghana (Tsikata & Seini 2004).

 After the pre-colonial era, the colonial quest for economic ambition in rebuilding damage industries of the war time period set out measures that bestowed power in the hand of the local chief. In Ghana, the British , trying to avoid another confrontation with the ethnic group as in the pre colonial era, delegated administrative authority to the local chiefs . Traditional leaders from the Gold Coast were recognised, equipped and given the mandate to act as intermediaries between the subject and the colonial master in the decision making, collection of taxes and the supply labour. Hence an image of supremacy was enacted on the local traditional chiefs against the northern chiefs who were received direct rule (ibid).

The approach created a society of "citizens" (leaders)and "subjects" (allies). Thus the so-called "citizens" gave preferential treatment to their so-called "subjects" who were often their allies and close interest groups, to the detriment of other areas who are then left with no options but to succumb to the decision. In Ghana, the hegemony of the Ashanti kingdom over other tribes has influenced the political and social system of the country giving investment and developmental preferences to certain regions than others. Similarly, Nkrumah in reducing the power and influence of the traditional authorities empowered his political allies to influence the control and decision making of the state.

Nonetheless, this pattern failed to continue after his reign as leaders adopted the colonial pattern of approach. Considering the insight and approach pattern of the colonial policy, it is assumed that, the failure of the post independence leaders to break even the colonial policy has probably resulted in unequal distribution of growth in the region, resulting to regional imbalance (Tsuma 2010, pp:32,33 in Meredith, 2003.) and (Eguavoen, 2008, p:13).

Furthermore, the diversity in context of power leadership that emerged from the dynamics of capitalist development is far from being ignored to be the cause of the north-south disparity. The variance in power relation of leaders tends to involved social inequality in the process of development. As opportunities or benefits are bestowed on a certain "group and class of people dependent" on their "class race and ethnicity"(Glassman 2001). Though efforts were made by Nkrumah and his government to break this pattern of approach to empower the political elite in decision making thereby reducing the power and influence of the local chiefs. This however failed to endure after his defeat, giving way for the colonial approach that has become difficult to break even Tsuma, (2010). Baltes & Smelser (2001), argue further in support, that the circumstances that encircle urbanization, particularly in the development process of most developing countries could result in uneven development in the regions. Given that certain regions are opportune for the availability of jobs, better education, better medical facilities, good drinking water good living standard and better infrastructures development will absolutely become an attractive canter for migrants, creating a gap of disparity in development resulting to regional imbalance. The north-south regions of Ghana give glaring view of this phenomenon (ibid).

The colonial legacy as explained above can be considered as the core factor that influences the regional inequality in countries. Seen in the application and understanding of the theory, it could be stated that regional imbalance emanated from the egoistic and negligible tendencies of the colonial policies that has found difficult to break even after independence. No doubt it is argue by one of the scholars that it memories have not been erase in the mind of researcher (Tsuma 2010). However the theory cannot be held responsible to the prolonged in equality in Ghana and most African countries why because there are countries that witness colonialism and it policies but are today experiencing even development. A good example is the United States of America.

## 4.2: Physical geography

The next theory that provide an insight to the problem of inequality in regions is the development theory in geography. Shepherd et.al( 2006) have showed that, the geographical location of a region can determine its development pattern. Seen in the light of this theory, whether or not, the north- south dichotomy in Ghana is due to physical geography will be explain in the subsequent analysis. The physical geography of regions in regards to weather climate and natural resources plays a dominant role in creating in equality in Ghana. The north -south geographical difference, with the arid north composed of constant drought accompany with high temperature has made agricultural production low enough for subsistence consumption. The swampy and grassland features of the south, couple with it thick rainforest for timber exploitation has made the south region significant for economic development. The extraction of gold, timber and other mineral, the diversity of crops in agricultural productivity like, cocoa, coffee, cassava, banana, groundnut, and the coastal advantage of ports which facilitates the cheap exportations of raw material and consumers goods makes the region a core centre for settlement, economic political and administrative purposes (La Pierre,. 2004) and (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

The immobility of natural resources in the south has attracted the location of industries to the region creating several opportunities for the southerners such as jobs availability, good medical facilities, good standard of living, better education opportunities and many others. These resources acting as a source of blessing to the region (south) has attracted the clustering of companies and have created several job opportunities, medical facilities, better education, leading to un even development in the north. However it could be better if policy makers of the country could carry out policy measures allocating some light industries that do not need much raw material to the north in order to balance development (ibid).

Contrarily, regions with arid climatic condition, composed of limited rainfall become susceptible to persistent drought that tends to produce low agricultural output. Unfortunately most of these regions become vulnerable to certain tropical conditions that favor the emergence of disease such as malaria fever, schistosomiasis that emerges from mosquito bites. The aridity of the north region, enveloped with the above characteristics has definitely not been a suitable region to attract economic activities leading to development (Adam Smith in Sachs, J. 2005).

 Physical geography as explained above tend to be an influential cause to regional inequality in Ghana. However the totality of this fact cannot be supported because countries can be located in arid zone and still experience even development. therefore the country pattern of development is vital in this case. Ethiopia is a glaring case of nations found in the arid region and is developed. Therefore if the government, the colonial masters and other world donors put money together and carry out irrigation plans and capital investment, then poverty will be eradicated in the region and subsequently lead to even development.

## 4.3.1 Analysis (b): The European Union Policy Influence in Ghana

Taking a close observation of the nation of Ghana several decades ago, a lot of changes has emerged from the political economic and social domain that has helped to change the status of the country. However, the active participatory role of the EU could not be ignored to the successful growth that Ghana has so far been enjoying. This section of the analysis therefore focuses on the EU policy in Ghana, taken a close look on how it has impacted the growth of the nation by solving some of the challenges faced by the government.

Studies have shown that, the EU is the biggest development aid donor in the world. In collaboration with many financial institutions and the UN, the union has taken upon the challenged to create and influence the world greatly by acting unanimously as one person with a single voices. Based on the world report for 2012, more than fifty percent of the world development aid was contributed by the EU and it member states in the alleviation of poverty, sustainability of economic and social development in developing countries ([http://eu2012.dk](http://eu2012.dk/)).

Ghana as a developing country has obtained substantial benefits from EU development policy through budget support to several developmental projects ranging from the construction of roads and bridges, schools hospitals provision of good drinking water and the fight against epidemic and diseases like HIV/AIDS and the guinea worm which is common in the northern regions. The inclusion of British and its common wealth colonies in the Lomé convention of 1975 marked a starting point of the long and cordial relationship existing between the EU and the republic of Ghana. The EU aim at achieving it development policy objective, entered into a partnership agreements with Ghana and the ACP states in what became known as the Lomé Cotonou EPA FTA.

A development framework was adopted based on the commitment of the member stated and the developing partners in enacting measures that will fortify the cohesion of development strategies in the various development countries, with respective accountability and priority to given sector, through the Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness(EU relation with Ghana 2013). Ghana like other ACP states through the development framework received EU assistance in achieving the Millennium Development Goals for 2015 by reducing poverty and solving other challenging aspects like conflicts migration and sustainable development ([http://eu2012.dk](http://eu2012.dk/)).

The EU through the new Cotonou agreement entrusted Ghana and the ACP states with a greater responsibility in development process through the fortification of political dialogue. A development strategy paper was adopted for Ghana through the EDF to finance diverse development projects and programmes ranging from rural to urban development, in infrastructures, water and sanitation, good governance private sector development . Studies show that most of the development assistance given by EU to Ghana comes through dialogue in support of the country's national budget, its expenditure achievement and reforms (ibid).

The EU through its policy implementation in areas like human rights good governance and democracy, human and infrastructural development, transport agriculture and rural development has enormously enhance the status of Ghana as a democratic country that has achieve a long standing success in economic growth (ibid).

The following does an assessment of the EU Policy in context of the study.

## Chapter Five

## Analysis II: EU policy helpful?

From the above explanation, this section of the analysis focuses on whether the EU policy has been able to achieved it desirable objective in Ghana such as the eradication of poverty sustainability and economic development, gradual integration of Ghana in to the world economic, promotion of good governance, respect of human rights and many other.

 Taking a comparison of post independent and the present day Ghana, studies has shown that the success that the Country enjoys today would not have been complete without the active role of the EU through it development policy. The union aimed at promoting good governance, enhanced the transformation of post independent Ghana that was composed of several political unrest accompanied with military coups and a dictatorial government to transform to a democratic state. With corruption being the order of the day, embezzlement and mismanagement at a high level, and the economy place at the verge of collapse. However the active involvement of the EU to meet up its objectives of assisting developing countries in the alleviation of poverty, sustained economic growth has contributed enormously to the development of the country. The democratic practices of good governance in a free and fair election has robust the political system of the country to be known as one of the best in south Sahara Africa (Banatu-Gomez,2011,p:156).

Moreover, the economic success that the nation of Ghana is enjoying today would not have been complete without the active contribution of the European Union. Known for it great impact in the world as the largest aid donor, in its contribution of more than fifty percent of the world development aid, is also Ghana largest trading partner. More than, half of the country’s total revenue is generated from the EU (Eu 2012.dk). The Union further encourage the gradual integration of Ghana into the world economy through the creation of economic regional grouping that enhanced economic development among regions. Under the social sector, Ghana received the assistance of the EU in infrastructural development. The EU embarks on the constructions of schools, hospital, bridges, road in both the urban and the rural areas. It great involvement in seeing that Ghana achieve the MDGs for 2015 through the eradication of poverty and the fight against disease like the HIV/AID and the guinea worm common in the northern regions could not be ignored (EU-Ghana, n.d). Although the EU development assistance has been explained to have influenced political economic and social growth of Ghana, there remain some challenges in these sectors that needs to be redressed. Corruption is still practiced in some sectors like the education (Bertelsmann 2012). Economic development is uneven in the region as the poor transport network in the Northern region remain an obstacle to development. If measures could be taken by the EU to ameliorate their aid mechanism to see that the aid allocated is monitored effectively then Ghana could experience even development.

None the less the EU effort to reduce poverty in the north could not be ignored in this section. A number of project from the north has been financed by the EU in an effort to reduce poverty and inequality in the region. The empowerment of women has been the target of the EU in Ghana. Women from the tamale bimbilla yendi saboba received support to participate in local and national governance of the north. Sustainable livelihood has been provided for the vulnerable communities of Karaja, Nanumba Gonja and many other. The northern Ghana received sustainable income generating activity to secure the livelihood of the community and alleviate poverty. The supply of good drinking water and sanitation facilities to eradicate the endemic of guinea worm in the north become the priority of the EU. The union further strengthened the involvement of civil society in the implementation and policy monitory of development projects (European Union-EEAS n.d).

## Chapter Six

## 6.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

This section of the thesis presents the summary of the study findings.

In review of several empirical documents for this thesis, it has been observed that Regional imbalance within countries is a significant socio-economic phenomenon which demands address for the benefit of sustainable development. Given that it repercussion can leads to severe consequences such as political and economic instability to a nation . Consequently, the study set out to explore the impact of EU policy, working in collaboration with the government of Ghana and other civil societies in bridging the disparity in development between the Northern and Southern Regions of Ghana as a case study. Seen in the light of variation in the physical geography of the regions policy measures could be adopted by the EU to set up irrigation method in the north to curb the aridity and favor the cultivation of crops for better agricultural productivity. Further measures can be taken for the decentralization of economic activities with the allocation of some light industries in the northern region to attract economic growth and even development in the regions. Moreover the religious differences between the regions can be a contributing factor to regional imbalance. The Christian population of the south are more open to innovation than the conservative Muslim north thus hindering the flow of development.

Education: "[*Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world*'](http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/n/nelsonmand157855.html) [Nelson Mandela](http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/n/nelsonmand157855.html) Education has an invaluable role in helping bridge the developmental gaps between the north and the south. From the colonial period, education has mainly been undertaken in the south. Most of the schools were concentrated in the south. This led to a situation where most of the educated populace are found in the south. These educated people act as change agents who bring their then bring advancement and development to their communities. Ignorance on the other hand has been a drawback to development in the north. The inadequate number of skilled resource persons to drive the development in the north has contributed to its lagging behind the south.

Cultural differences: cultural differences between the north and south can also be cited as a possible point. These cultural differences are also closely associated with the predominant religions in both regions. In the north, women education and empowerment is frowned upon based on Islamic beliefs contrary to the practice of encouraging the girl-child also pursue education and develop their innate skills. This situation has led to high levels of literacy in the south and less in the north. These educated people are then able to find and secure employment with implications for employment levels in both areas. To help remedy this situation, the first president initiated a policy of free education in the north.

Rural Urban Migration: the poor employment conditions of the north has led to a situation where there is mass migration of the region's youthful population to the south in search of employment. This drains the north of the needed human resource base to drive and maintain the needed development. On the contrary the south benefits from the abundant additional human resource skills flowing from the north to supplement its already rich base of human resources to advance development.

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