

**STRENGTHENING THE CAPACITY OF RURAL SERVICE CENTRES FOR
LOCAL LEVEL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF YILO KROBO
DISTRICT, EASTERN REGION, GHANA.**

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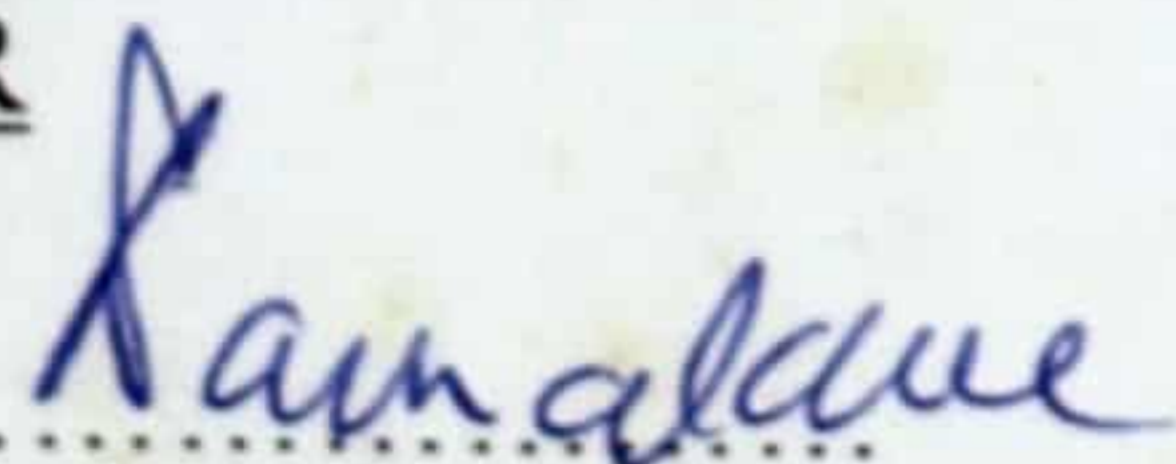
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JULY 2000

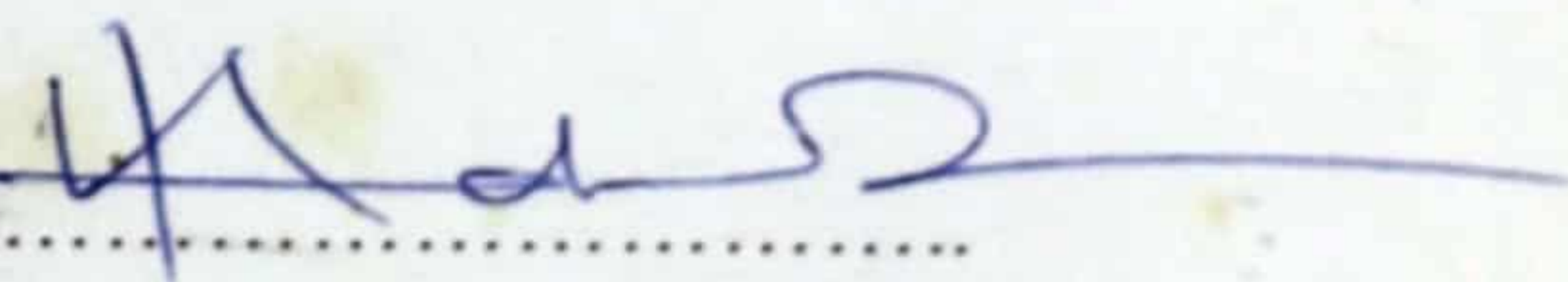
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Abstract

Governments in the developing world face a major challenge in the provision of goods and services to their people, especially those in the rural areas. Resources are scarce and development cannot take place everywhere at the same time. This has a direct impact on local level development. Most of the strategies that have been implemented in the past have not been overwhelmingly successful because, among other things, they have not been designed to solve peculiar problems experienced by specific centres, but have rather been blanket measures.

Rural service centres in Yilo Krobo district experience a myriad of problems such as a poor economic base, inadequate infrastructure and land, and uncoordinated development. All these problems have resulted in a failure by the centres to act as engines of growth and development in the rural areas.

In order to address these problems, there is need to come up with strategies which are applicable in the context of Yilo Krobo district. Strategies discussed range from promoting both agriculture and non-agricultural enterprises, undertaking radical changes to the current land tenure system, especially as it relates to land at and near the rural service centre. Another strategy is the promotion of local public-private partnerships between the district assembly and the people living at the rural service centres.

If these strategies are implemented, then the rural service centres will be able to fulfil their potential role as engines of growth within the local and national economy. This would help in propelling Ghana to achieve its goal of becoming a middle income country by 2020.

Acknowledgements

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- *The long suffering masses in the developing world...None but ourselves!*

All the errors and mistakes, big and small are mine, and mine alone.

VITA

Joseph Kamuzhanje was born on Christmas Day in 1967, in Marondera, 70km to the east of Harare, Zimbabwe to Tizai and Prisca Kamuzhanje. He attended primary school at Dombotombo Primary School between 1975 and 1981. He then proceeded to St. Augustine's (Tsambe) Mission in Penhalonga, near Mutare for his secondary school education between 1982 and 1987.

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Joseph is happily married to Sharon, and the couple has two children, Ashleigh and Dionne. His hobbies include sports, reading, watching TV, music, and travelling.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

One of the numerous challenges facing governments in developing countries is how to improve the access of the rural population to basic goods and services, thereby improving the standards of living of the people. The provision of goods and services is generally regarded as a first step towards local level development. Historically, rural areas in the developing world have been deprived of meaningful development. This phenomenon can be traced back to colonial times, when the governments of the day deliberately designed and implemented policies that were meant to stifle rural development. However, even with independence, most developing countries are still largely rural. The rural areas are still suffering from underdevelopment. Therefore, it is no surprise that rural development is a major policy concern for governments in developing countries.

Efforts to improve access to goods and services are hindered by such factors as existing settlement patterns, limited resources as well as other social, political, and economic priorities. By their nature, the goods and services can only be located at some points in space. The challenge, then, is how to efficiently and effectively provide goods and services to the people in the rural areas.

One method that has been used to address this problem is to establish service centres in rural areas, based on a hierarchy of settlements and functions. Theories such as those postulated by Christaller and Lorsch have been used as a basis for establishing central places, of which rural service centres form a part.

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According to Rondinelli¹, besides serving as points for the provision of goods and services, another function of rural service centres is to decentralise and integrate the distribution of the settlement structure in the space economy to promote economic growth and social equity.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Whilst the importance of rural services in local level development cannot be overemphasised, it is also indisputable that the majority of these centres have failed to perform their functions effectively, or at least to reach the expected standards. In Ghana, the failure of the centres to fulfil the tasks for which they were established is succinctly highlighted in Ghana Vision 2020 (The First Step: 1996-2000)². The document points out that these centres have not adequately fulfilled their potential role as engines of growth and development, both within the local and national economy.

A lot of reasons have been given to explain the failure of rural service centres to perform their tasks. The reasons range from a blanket application of the theories and strategies to promote rural service centres without paying attention to the local conditions of each particular centre, inadequate infrastructure, services and facilities, as well as transport and communication linkages that are needed to promote growth. Another reason is that the nature of the relationship between the centres and their hinterlands, which is crucial for local level development, is such that it promotes the exploitation, rather than the development of human and physical resources in the rural areas. Increasingly, however, a major problem identified as abetting the failure of the centres is the apparent lack of institutional capacity, and in some areas, commitment to support the growth of the rural service centres. This lack of institutional support is evident at both the national and local levels of government.

¹ P.J. Swan (1984): Equity With Growth? Planning for Small Towns in Developing Countries (Bangkok, AIT, 1984).

² Government of Ghana: Ghana Vision 2020 (The First Step: 1996-2020), (Accra, Government Printers, 1995).

In whichever way the problems resulting in the failure of rural service centres to effectively perform their tasks are looked at, the fact remains that a lot of pressure is brought to bear on government structures at both the national and local levels. The challenge, then, is to look for solutions to improve on the performance of these centres.

It is important, therefore, that appropriate strategies are devised. The strategies should have the express purpose of enhancing the capacity of rural service centres to promote local level development.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

This research seeks to address three main objectives. These are to:

- identify the existence and functions of rural service centres in Yilo Krobo District
- assess the strengths and weaknesses of rural service centres as engines of growth and local level development in Yilo Krobo District
- suggest appropriate strategies for strengthening the capacity of rural service centres for local level development in Yilo Krobo District.

1.4 Justification of the Objectives

A lot of work has been done on human settlement systems and patterns. Discussions on the merits and de-merits of the theoretical basis for the establishment of rural service centres have been the focus of many a workshop, seminar and conference worldwide.

In Ghana, since 1988, there has been a thrust towards decentralisation, with trends increased towards devolution of powers from central authorities and greater local action in development decision making. Some of the issues the decentralisation policy is aimed to address are to:

- bridge the disparity between the respective district capital of each district, and the rest of the district
- reduce poverty, unemployment, underemployment and inequality in the district

- reach the villages with amenities of modern living
- halt the rural-urban drift of the population, especially the youth

According to Ahwoi³, one of the most promising and basic ways of addressing these issues is to embark upon a deliberate and consistent policy of promoting service centres in the rural areas. This concept seeks to develop rural service centres containing basic services to cater for rural areas within some reasonable travelling distance from the centre. The purpose is to bring the rural inhabitants as close as possible to modern services, so as to improve upon their standard of living.

A study of the nature proposed here would help in coming up with strategies that enhance the capacity of rural service centres to better perform their tasks under the decentralisation policy. Carrying out a study targeted at specific centres in a district context such as Yilo Krobo will provide valuable information that can be used to generalise about other centres in similar circumstances. This research study will contribute a little towards such a goal.

This research study is particularly useful to Yilo Krobo District Assembly. The district is still relatively young, having been established in 1988. The strategies that will be discussed in this paper will assist the District Assembly to focus on the critical issues as it attempts to raise the standard of living of its inhabitants.

1.5 Research Methodology

In order to deal exhaustively with all the issues pertaining to rural service centres, their roles and problems, and to be able to formulate appropriate strategies to enhance their capacity to promote local level development, it was necessary to use a combination of research techniques during the research process in Yilo Krobo District.

³ Government of Ghana: From Centre to the Grassroots: Excerpts from Selected Speeches on the PNDC's Decentralisation Policy - 1988/1991, (Accra, Government Printers, 1991).

A lot of insight on the roles, problems and strategies associated with rural service centres was obtained from secondary sources of information. In this respect, literature review formed an important component of the research process. The secondary information was obtained from planning publications, theses, government publications and other related reports. The idea here was to establish a theoretical basis for the study, as well as to develop a conceptual and analytical framework within which the strategies to enhance the capacity of rural service centres as engines of local level development would be evolved. The review of literature was also used to set the stage for the data collection exercise by providing pointers to the major issues that had to be addressed during the field study.

The second part was the field study that provided primary data for the research. Two main techniques were used during the field study. The first involved formal institutional interviews. The interviews were held with officials from both the Yilo Krobo District Assembly and the Department of Town and Country Planning. These are the two most important institutions in the development of rural and other service centres in the district, and most of their functions are geared towards activities that promote rural service centres. Although the interviews followed an interview schedule, there was room to probe further on some of the issues raised, and in some cases, new ideas, which had not been previously considered, were also discussed. This open-mindedness made it possible for a lot of valuable information to be included in the scope of the study.

The institutional surveys were used to validate and crosscheck the data collected during the household and entrepreneur surveys.

The second technique involved the administration of household and entrepreneur questionnaires at four selected centres: Oterkpolu, Nkurakan, Obawale and Agogo. At each of the four centres, ten (10) household and ten entrepreneur questionnaires were administered. The households and entrepreneurs included in the survey were selected using the simple random selection method in order to give all the households and entrepreneurs at any particular centre an equal chance of being interviewed. Two locals

who spoke *Krobo*, the local language, administered the questionnaires. Whilst this was adequate for the questionnaire, there were obvious problems when it came to probing further on some of the questions. This was because there had to be a translation from English to Krobo and then back to English again. It is possible that a lot of valuable information could have been lost as a result.

As far as the selection of rural service centres that were used in the study for specific analysis, the scalogram method was used. In addition, there was set criteria that the centres also had to fulfil.

The research process also utilised personal observations at each of the four centres visited. In some instances, these observations removed the need to ask what could have been considered as "embarrassing" questions.

At each level, the research process was enriched by very in-depth discussions with other SPRING participants on the situation in their respective countries pertaining to human settlements in general, and rural service centres and their role in local level development, in particular.

1.6 Organisation of the Paper

This research paper is divided into five broad chapters. The first chapter gives a general introduction to the paper. The areas covered in this section include the statement of the research problem, the research objectives and their justification, and a discussion of the methodology that was used in conducting the research.

The second chapter is devoted to a discussion on the concepts and theories that are aligned to human settlements in general, and rural service centres in particular. Christaller's Central Place Theory forms the backbone of the discussion. A greater part of the chapter discusses some normative roles of rural service centres and the strategies that have been used in countries such as Zimbabwe, Tanzania, India and Ghana, to

promote their development and enhance their capacity as engines for local level development.

CHAPTER TWO

One of the main components of the research process was the field study conducted in Yilo Krobo District. Chapter Three introduces the district and the centres that were used for specific analysis, as well as the institutions that were part of the institutional survey. The rest of the chapter discusses the main findings from both the household and entrepreneur, and institutional surveys.

Chapter Four discusses the roles that rural service centres play in Yilo Krobo and the problems that they experience. This provides a background for the strategies that are suggested to enhance the capacity of the centres to promote local level development in Yilo Krobo District. Chapter Five summarises the major issues emerging from the research.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTS OF SIZE, FUNCTIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS

2.1 A Review of Some Spatial Development Theories

This section reviews the theory of hierarchy of settlements, and related concepts, with a view to outlining the roles and functions of rural service centres in the process of promoting local level development. These theories and concepts will be useful in the analysis of the situation that pertains as far as rural service centres are concerned in Yilo Krobo District.

2.1.1 The Central Place Theory

Walter Christaller, a German geographer, working in the south of Germany in the 1930s, developed the central place theory. It is the most important theory in service provision. The basic tenet of the theory is that, in each region, there is a hierarchy of service centres performing different functions and providing different services. There are two important concepts related to the theory: the threshold and range of a good or service⁴. Simply put the threshold of a good or service is the minimum sales level required in a central place to make it economically viable to provide the good or service. Closely related to the threshold of a good or service is the range of a good or service. This is the maximum distance that a consumer is prepared to travel to a central place in order to purchase a good or service.

The concepts of threshold and range of a good or service have important implications for both the well functioning of a settlement hierarchy and the provision of goods and services. This is because the population of a particular service centre and its hinterland must be large enough to entice entrepreneurs to provide a wide range of goods

⁴ See also the work on the same subject by W.L Garrison and B.J.L Berry, in J.H Johnson: Urban Geography: An Introductory Analysis (Oxford, Pergamon, 1972).

and services at that centre. In Yilo Krobo, most of the settlements have very few inhabitants. This means that very few goods and services would be provided if an analysis is done on a centre-by-centre basis. That is why it is inevitable, in the final analysis, that a number of centres would have to be selected where goods and services would be provided and the inhabitants of other centres would have to travel to the selected centres in order to enjoy the goods and services. The challenge, then, would be to reduce the distances that people would have to travel to enjoy the goods and services. This requires that a thorough analysis of all the service centres in the district would have to be carried out in order to determine the service centres which would be best placed to adequately service the maximum number of people. These are the centres that would then be designated as rural service centres for the district.

This analysis is supported by Woodruffe⁵. He contends that the central place theory assumes that the focussing of goods, services, facilities and employment in one selected settlement will satisfy the essential needs of the hinterland. In the long term, such concentration is deemed more economically viable than the dispersion of goods and services.

2.1.2 The Growth Pole Theory

This theory, espoused by the Frenchman, Perroux, is closely related to the central place theory. It is based on the assumption that it is better to concentrate investment, finances and infrastructure into a few existing centres that demonstrate the potential to stimulate economic growth. The understanding is that once these centres grow, then there will be ripple effects to the hinterland, which will also benefit in terms of development.

The theory is also an instrument for developing growth centres as countermagnets against existing fast growing centres and can, therefore, be used in designating some centres as rural service centres. In this respect, the theory is appropriate for this study

⁵ B.J Woodruffe: Rural Settlement Policies and Plans (Bristol, Arrowsmith, 1976).

since Somanya is growing at a very fast pace which the other centres in the region cannot match.

The theory is also premised on the fact that development cannot take place everywhere at the same time. The resources are simply not there. Perhaps the major shortcoming of the theory is that there is no defined time period after which development is supposed to spread from the central places in a particular region to the smaller centres in the hinterland. The case of Somanya bears out this argument. The district capital has continued to grow more than, and at the expense of, the other centres in the district. In 1996, for example, the primacy rate for Somanya was 1.57, and it rose to 2.05 in 2000⁶.

The growth pole theory has important implications for local level development. This is because a positive and symbiotic relationship between the rural service centres and their hinterlands will result in the promotion of the growth and development of the latter.

2.1.3 Agropolitan Development and Selective Closure

These two concepts of spatial development were extensively dealt with by Friedmann⁷. The argument behind the concepts is based on three factors which have been used to explain the underdevelopment of rural areas, in general, and their service centres in particular. First, the core-periphery relationship is such that there is a transfer of surpluses from the periphery to the core, but with no positive returns to the periphery. Second, the periphery is caught up in an external economy with reference to both the national and international trade. This destabilises the rural economy, and subjects it to a situation of unequal and unfavourable exchange. Third, the already well developed core economy displaces the local economy by flooding it with cheaper goods, thereby making it difficult for enterprises in the periphery to be competitive.

⁶ See the draft Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005 (SPRING-unpublished), KNUST, Kumasi.

⁷ S. Etse: Bridging the Rural-Urban Development Gap in Ghana: Some Spatial Development Strategies. Unpublished SPRING seminar paper (Kumasi, KNUST, 1997).

According to Friedmann, there are two ways of resolving these issues. The first is through the promotion of agropolitan development. This is related to the promotion of endogenous development. This could be done through encouraging self-reliance, the mobilisation of the entire region's natural and human resources, the promotion of small-scale economic activities that are meant to satisfy basic needs, and the use of appropriate technology.

The second is to come up with policies aimed at selective territorial closure. The idea is to ensure that locally produced surpluses are retained. This, however, has to be supported by policies that encourage diversification in production.

Whilst agropolitan development and selective territorial closure have obvious advantages for local level development, it is important to realise that the local economy does not operate in a vacuum. Therefore, there should be a compromise between the benefits to be derived from the integration of the local economy into the mainstream economy, and from "protecting" the local economy.

These two concepts can be used to come up with strategies to enhance the capacity of rural service centres to promote local level development in Yilo Krobo District. The district is largely agricultural based, with other natural resources such as the Krobo Mountains, the Boti Falls and the large limestone deposits. These, together with the fledgling small-scale industries, can be used to diversify the economic base of the district. This diversification will promote the local economy of the district.

2.1.4 Polarisation Reversal

This refers to a situation where there is a shift from concentrated growth in one, or a few centres, to the promotion of rapid growth in other lower order centres. In order for this to happen, there maybe the need to have a deliberate and conscious policy to relocate

At first glance, this concept has important implications for local level development in Yilo Krobo District where, as has already been pointed out, the district capital, Somanya, has developed far more than all the other centres. Therefore, the strengthening of rural service centres in the district may actually serve as a catalyst for the polarisation reversal of the settlement hierarchy away from Somanya.

2.1.5 Friedmann's Concept of Settlement Hierarchy

In any defined region, service centres are of different sizes and they perform different functions. This comes about as a result of the evolution of the settlement hierarchy in that particular region. According to Friedmann⁸, the development of the settlement hierarchy follows four main stages, and these are shown in figure 1.

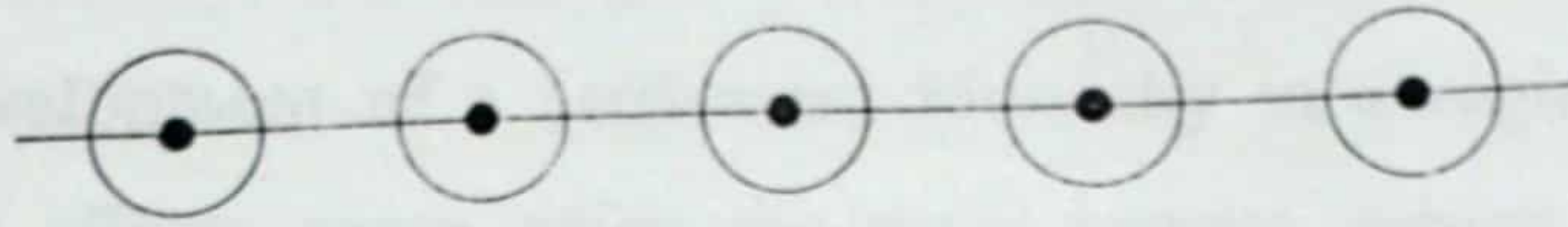
The first stage is closely associated with external factors. In the developing countries in general, and in Africa in particular, the external factors are usually the colonial powers of the past. The first stage is characterised by a scattered settlement pattern. Another factor associated with this stage is a situation whereby the colonial powers set up industrial and urban centres for the purposes of handling and promoting trade with other countries. The urban centres in the region in question have no recognisable links with each other, less so with their hinterlands.

In the second phase, industrialisation comes to the fore, although it is concentrated in one or two main centres in the region. The centre-periphery relationship between the service centres in the region is heavily skewed in favour of the centre. Resources continue flowing from the periphery to the centre without any tangible benefits going in the opposite direction. In most cases, this leads to the emergence of one strong centre in the region.

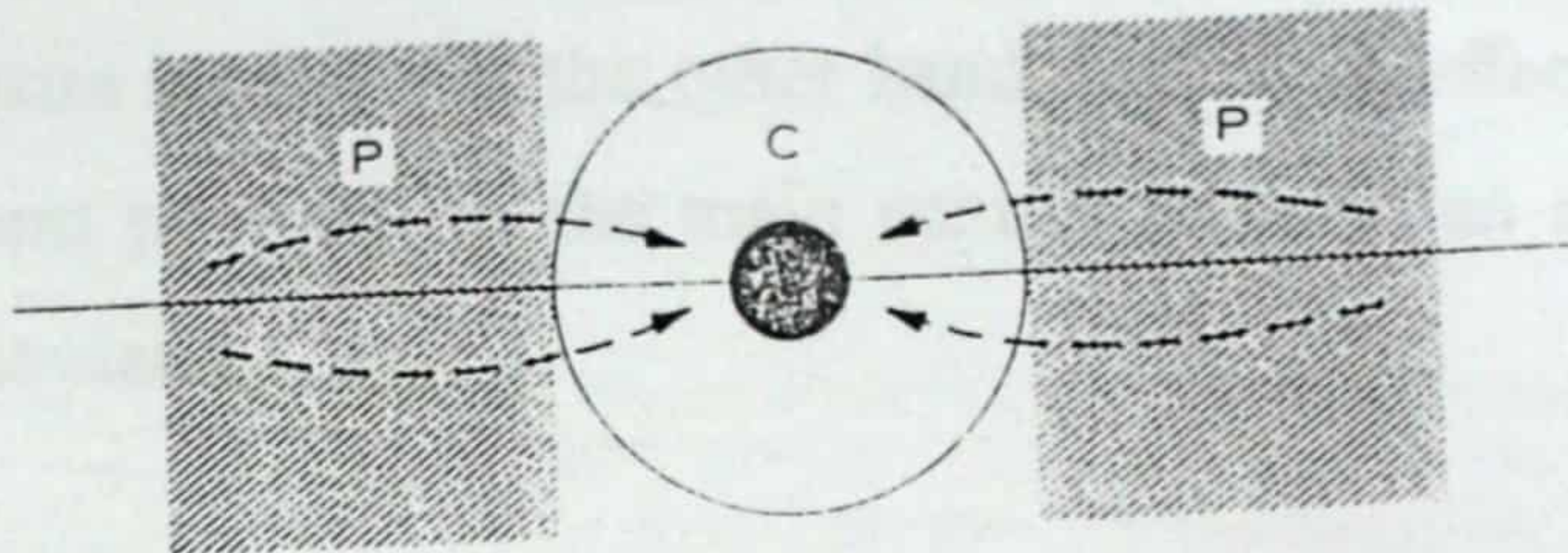
⁸ See the discussion in A. Gilbert and J. Gugler: Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanisation in the Third World (London, Oxford University Press, 1981).

FIGURE 1: DEVELOPMENT OF A SETTLEMENT HIERARCHY

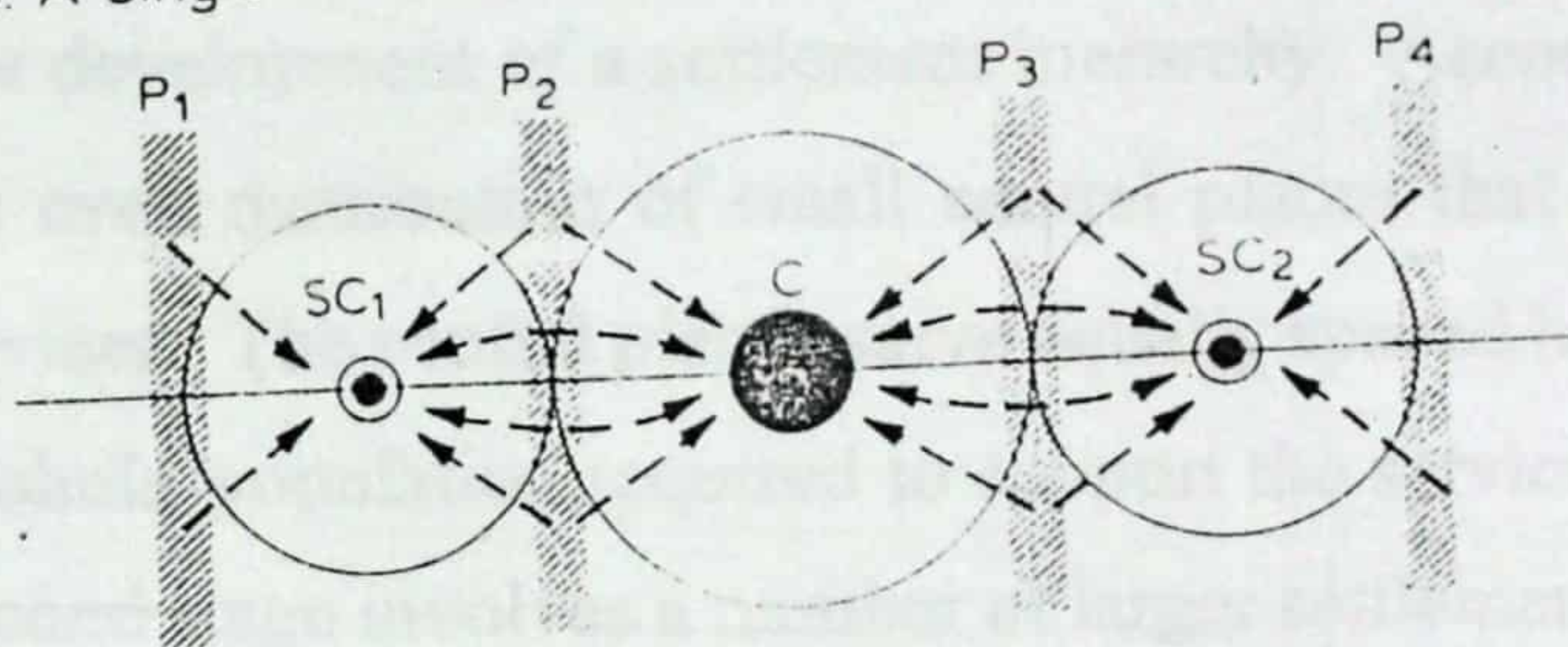
1. Independent local centres, no hierarchy



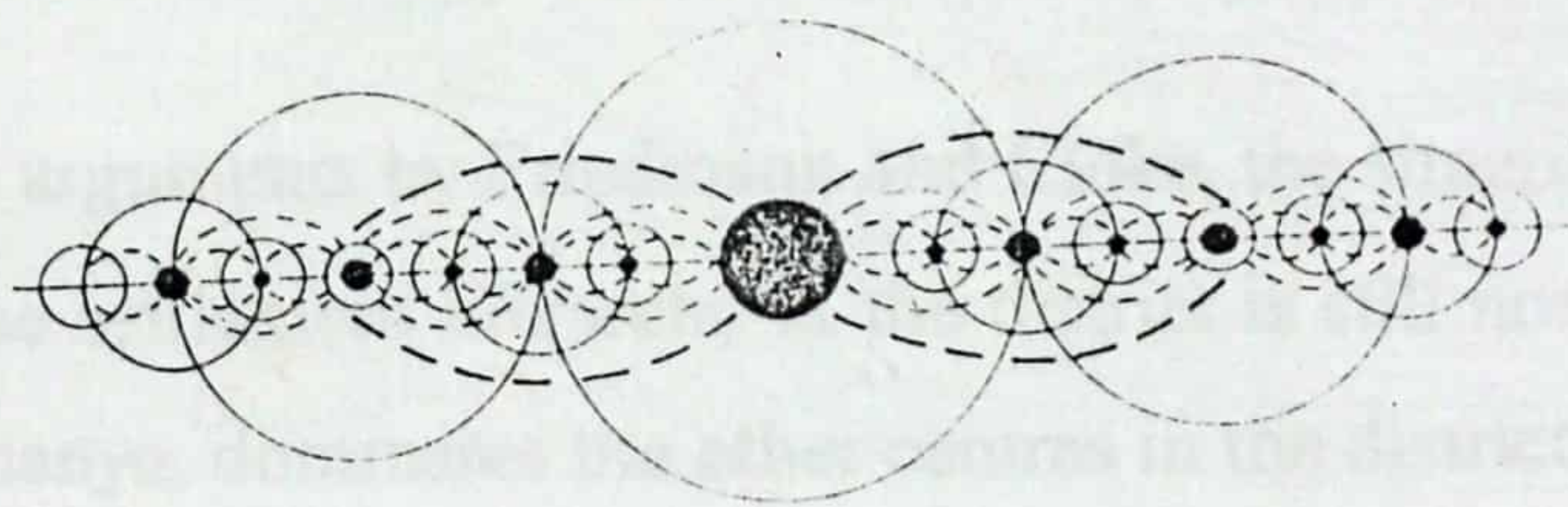
2. A single strong centre



3. A single national centre strong peripheral subcentres



4. A functionally interdependent system of cities



Source: Adapted from Gilbert and Gugler (1981).

The third stage in the development of a hierarchy of settlements is the reduction in the dominance of the strong centre because of mainly deliberate policies by the authorities to promote development in other parts of the region. Urban centres develop in other parts of the region, thereby promoting spatial balance. In the fourth and final stage

of the development of a settlement hierarchy, there is a fully integrated settlement pattern with each centre having both forward and backward linkages with other centres in the hierarchy. In this direction, the concepts of "spread and backwash"⁹ effects become important in the development of a settlement hierarchy in a region. In local level development, spread effects occur when the main centres, which would have been stimulated by forward and backward linkages, promotes agricultural production and manufacturing in its hinterland, and in the lower order centres by providing the main centres with the requisite inputs. On the other hand, backwash effects occur when the centralised development potential in the main centres leads to an additional drain of resources from the hinterland.

The development of a settlement hierarchy, as espoused by Cloke¹⁰, is along the same lines as described by Friedmann. However, instead of four stages, Cloke identifies only three stages in the development of a settlement hierarchy. According to Cloke, in the first stage, there is even distribution of small central places that provide common levels of goods and services. The central places serve equally spaced hinterlands that are determined by the threshold population required to support the services that are offered by the centres. The second stage involves a number of larger settlements that develop to provide a wider range of services and functions. In the third stage, there is the development of even larger settlements that have greater levels of service provision.

Looked at from the arguments by Friedmann and Cloke, the situation in Yilo Krobo points to the fact that the settlement hierarchy in the district is still not well developed. The district capital, Somanya, dominates the other centres in the district. In addition, the population at the centre, which is almost five times more than that of the next biggest centre, Nkurakan, and the number of functions at the centre, far outstrips the centres below it such as Klo Agogo, Oterkpolu and Sawyer.

⁹ UNCHS HABITAT: Population and Urbanisation: A Review of Policy Options, Kenya, (1985).

¹⁰ P.J. Cloke: An Introduction to Rural Settlement Planning (London, Methuen, 1983).

2.1.6 Location Theory

Although modern technology and telecommunications have altered and reduced the significance of specific locations for the production and distribution of goods and services, location theory still plays an important role in local level development.

The main principle behind the location theory is that investors tend to minimise their production and distribution costs by selecting locations that maximise their profits¹¹. According to the principle, and everything else being equal, the best location would almost always be on the cheapest transport link between raw materials and markets. However, it is also important to realise that the production process is such that most investors require different mixes of locational attributes in order to be competitive.

The locational attributes include, among others:

- a recognisable economic base
- abundant labour
- favourable physical characteristics such as good soils and gentle gradient
- reasonable existing infrastructure and other development
- competitive costs of labour and energy
- education and training facilities, and
- water sanitation

Two factors become important in local level development as far as the location theory is concerned. Location theory is related to the area of influence or market areas of service centres. It is almost impossible to find a centre with all the locational attributes highlighted above. Therefore, local authorities must find ways of managing the location attributes at their disposal to attract investors so that centres in their regions become the destinations of industrial enterprises. The second factor is that the rural service centres have to be looked at in terms of the value of their individual locational attributes in

¹¹E.J Blakely: Planning Local Level Development: Theory and Practice (New Delhi, Sage, 1989).

combination with other resources that their respective hinterlands may possess. This further strengthens the critical relationship between the centres and their hinterlands.

2.1.7 Functional-Spatial Integration

The concept is based on the premise that the development of a well-articulated system of growth centres of different sizes and functional characteristics can play a dominant role in facilitating more widespread regional development. One of the most important tenets of the concept is the belief that regional development must be through agricultural, rather than industrial development. This development is highly dependent on a well-articulated and integrated system of settlements in which goods and services are efficiently located, and to which the rural population has easy access.

This concept is important for local level development in the African rural context, but more so in the case of Yilo Krobo District whose economy is largely agricultural. All that needs to be done is to ensure a well-articulated settlement system with a well-defined hierarchy of service centres is in place.

Building on this concept, Rondinelli¹² argues that, on a national level, each country must attempt to shape its settlement system to meet its own economic and social objectives, within its own resource constraints, and at pace with its own economic, administrative and technological capacities. This can also be true for the subnational levels such as district assemblies, of which Yilo Krobo is one.

¹² D.A. Rondinelli: Secondary Cities in Developing Countries: Policies for Diffusing Urbanisation (Beverly Hills, Sage, 1983).

2.2 Definition of Terms

Development

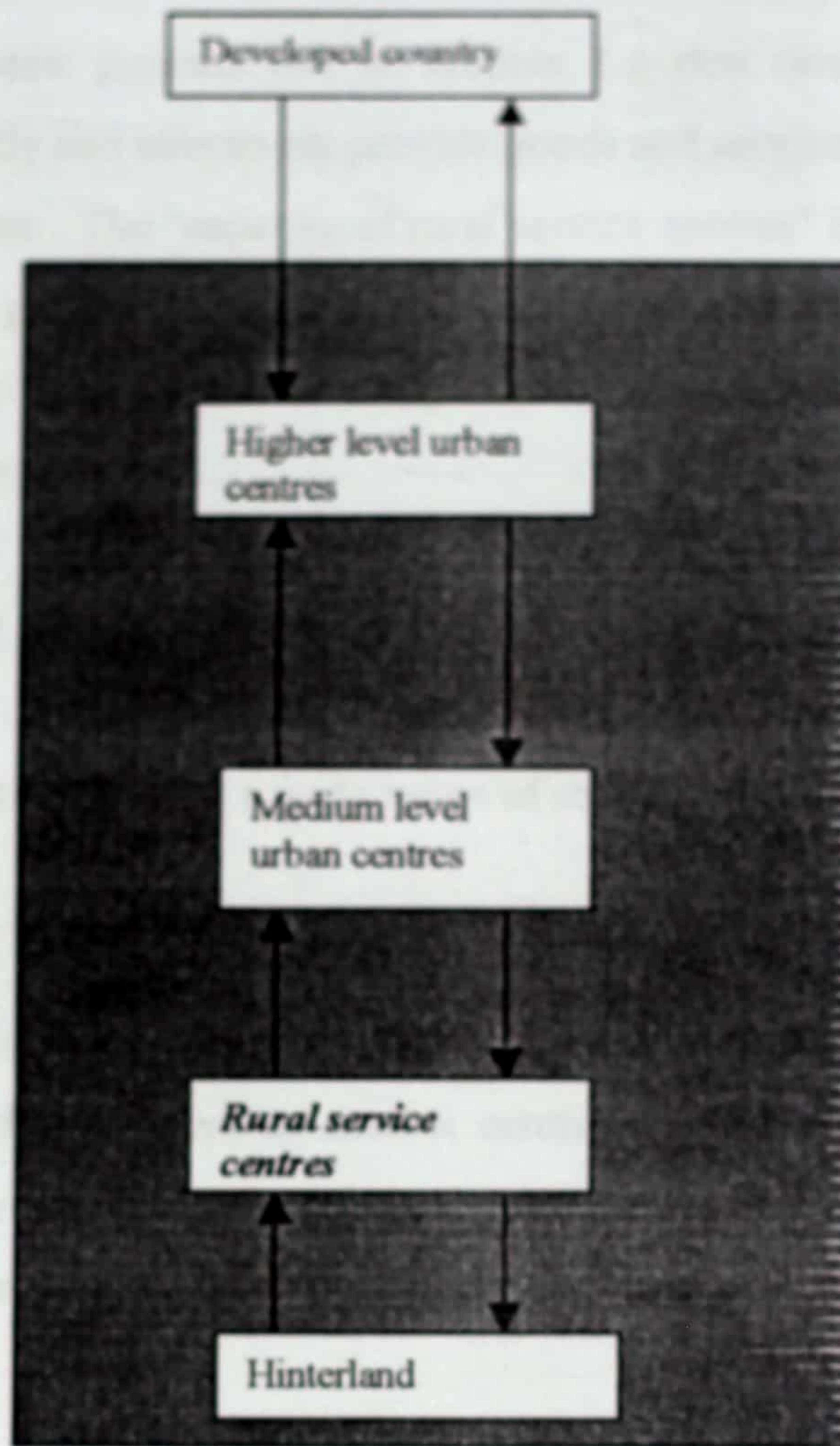
According to Southall¹³, development can be defined as the outcome of a series of quantitative and qualitative changes occurring among a given population, and whose converging effects indicate, in time, a rise in the standard of living and favourable changes in the way of life of the people concerned. Southall further contends that development, especially in a rural context, is all about dealing with how to efficiently spread goods and services, so that some areas are not found wanting, whilst others have things in abundance.

Rural Service Centres

In Ghana, population is one criterion used in defining the hierarchy of settlements. Only those settlements with a population of over 5,000 people are regarded as urban. Settlements with population lower than 5,000 are regarded as rural. Some of these centres can be regarded as rural service centres on the basis of the services and functions that they provide. Rural service centres are also viewed in the context of a hierarchy of settlements and the functions and services that they provide. As has already been discussed in *section 2.1.5*, and according to Friedmann, due to the colonial legacy, centres in developing countries are closely linked to the developed countries, through their higher level urban centres and through international trade. The relationship between the centres, both internally and externally, is shown in the following diagram.

¹³A. Southall: Small Urban Centres in Rural Development in Africa (University of Wisconsin African Studies Program, 1979).

FIGURE 2: LINKAGES BETWEEN SERVICE CENTRES



Source: Author's Construct

The focus of this paper will be on the rural service centres.

Local Level

In this paper "local level" will be understood within the context of subnational units such as districts. The term will also be used interchangeably with "rural areas". This is based on the understanding that rural service centres are to service the needs of the rural population. In Yilo Krobo, the local level refers to all parts of the district other than Somanya, which is the only urban area in the district.

Capacity of Rural Service Centres

It has already been pointed out in *section 1.1* that rural service centres are established to efficiently and effectively provide goods and services to the majority of the people in the rural areas. The "capacity of rural service centres" is defined as the ability of the said centres to politically, economically, socially and administratively, carry out this task. The capacity is assessed in an integrative and co-ordinated, rather than isolated and individualistic manner.

2.3 The Role of Rural Service Centres in Local Level Development

Rural service centres perform a wide range of roles as they serve as engines of local level development.

According to Hinderink and Titus¹⁴, rural service centres are considered as engines of growth, and their development as market centres helps to increase the productive capacity of rural producers. It also promotes the commercialisation and specialisation of agriculture in the framework of national development.

Closely associated with the above is the view by Rondinelli¹⁵ that rural service centres help to transform the economies of rural regions by providing enhanced access for rural people to services, facilities and non-agricultural job opportunities, as well as providing incentives for the commercialisation of agriculture.

In a well-articulated settlement pattern, rural service centres offer sufficient economies of scale to allow the location of small-scale industries within them. They, thus, become sources of off-farm employment and, consequently, provide supplementary

¹⁴ J. Hinderink, and M.J. Titus: *Paradigms of Regional Development and the Role of Small Centres*, in *Development and Change*, Volume 19, Number 3, July 1988.

¹⁵ See P.J. Swan: *Equity With Growth? Planning for Small Towns in Developing Countries* (Bangkok, AIT, 1984).

incomes for the rural people. The centres become the focal points of economic life in the rural areas.

Rural service centres normally act as centres of transportation and communication. This is especially so in most developing countries where the centres are usually located on major transport routes. Lots of roads begin or end at the centres, and a lot of traders take advantage of this by locating their markets at these centres.

In most cases, rural service centres have been used as political and administrative centres. This is especially true in those countries such as Ghana, which have embarked on decentralisation policies. A lot of administrative functions have been decentralised to lower order centres. This makes it unnecessary for people to travel to the district capital every time they have to resolve even the smallest of administrative issues with the district assembly. Not only has this meant a great reduction in transport costs for the rural people, but also it has tremendously reduced the development pressure on the larger urban centres.

Rural service centres have also played a political role in local level development. The centres have been used as points for the redistribution of national wealth. As has already been stated in this paper, resources are simply not there, which would result in ubiquitous development at the same time in any defined region. So the tendency in most developing countries has been to allocate resources to develop the rural service centres as focal points, in the hope that, in time, growth and development will be dissipated to the hinterland and ensure balanced spatial development in the region.

Jenssen¹⁶ contends that rural service centres act as places for the organisation of cultural and social change and exchange, and can be viewed as islands in the rural areas where social control is comparatively diminishing. Rural service centres have also become centres of hope, expectations and despair. Already, debate is raging whether or

¹⁶B.J. Jenssen: Planning As A Dialogue: District Development Planning and Management in Developing Countries (Dortmund, SPRING, 1998).

not by promoting rural service centres, governments in the developing world are not actually creating microcosms of large urban centres. This is because economic growth and development at the rural service centres has given rise to, and is almost getting outstripped by, such problems as unemployment, inadequate infrastructure, housing and other facilities as well as vices such as crime and prostitution. This state of affairs puts a lot of pressure on district assemblies to do all in their power to promote the development of rural service centres so that they are able to meet the needs of most, if not all, of their inhabitants.

2.4 Criteria for Selecting Rural Service Centres

In any defined region, there are a lot of service centres performing different functions. The nature of investment that is required to enhance the capacity of a rural service centre to act as a focal point for local level development is sometimes very huge. This makes it necessary for a set of criteria to be developed to assess the adequacy of a service centre to be selected for purposes of serving as a rural service centre.

Rondinelli¹⁷ identifies four criteria that can be used in choosing centres for concentrated investment. These are:

- *location*: this is measured both in terms of physical characteristics of the site as well as its location in terms of communication and transport routes, and its linkages with other higher and lower order centres. In most cases, locational factors play a crucial role in helping to reach a decision as to whether or not a service centre is selected as a rural service centre or not.
- *human and economic resources*: the desire to create job opportunities in rural areas must be matched by the availability of adequate, appropriately trained labour force. More important, however, is the fact that for a service centre to be considered as a

¹⁷ D.A. Rondinelli: Secondary Cities in Developing Countries: Policies for Diffusing Urbanisation (Beverly Hills, Sage, 1983).

rural service centre, it must possess a recognisable economic base to supplement outside investment, and to sustain the development of the centre.

- *service capacity*: service centres to be considered as rural service centres should have an appreciable level of services and facilities already in place. This will reduce the need to expend a lot of usually scarce resources in order to provide even the most basic of services and facilities.
- *past growth performance*: if rural service centres are to act as engines for local level growth and development, then, they themselves must exhibit the potential to grow. This can be shown by the past development trend of the service centres. The development potential can be in the form of population, services and economic activities.

It may be almost impossible to find an ideal service centre that exhibits all the criteria highlighted above. However, for any centre to be selected as a rural service centre, it must fulfil as many of the criteria as possible.

2.5 Criteria for Assessing the Performance of Rural Service Centres

Rural service centres are supposed to act as engines of growth for local level development. That being the case, it should be possible to judge the performance of these centres in that respect against set criteria. Some of the criteria that can be used to assess the performance of these centres are listed below. The centres should:

- be easily accessible
- provide the range of goods and services applicable to their position on the settlement hierarchy
- be convenient, i.e., they should allow a consumer to combine as many activities as possible in one trip
- generate employment opportunities for the population of the centre and its hinterland
- promote the growth and development of their hinterland

- promote linkages between the centres themselves, and other centres in the settlement hierarchy

It is not possible to have a rural service centre satisfactorily fulfilling all the above criteria. However, a rural service centre must be able to satisfy most of the criteria for it to be adjudged to be working effectively as an engine of growth for local level development.

2.6 Country Experiences With Strategies to Enhance Rural Service Centre Capacity For Local Level Development

The period after independence in most developing countries has witnessed concerted efforts by respective governments to promote local level development. A number of strategies, which have met with mixed levels of success, have been implemented.

When Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, one of the first policy moves by the government was to launch the growth point strategy, modelled along the growth pole theory, as a way of developing the rural areas, which had been, hitherto, marginalised by successive colonial governments¹⁸. One of the major steps taken in the strategy was to designate some service centres as rural service centres in all the fifty-seven districts in the country. In a three-phase programme, each of the centres was to be provided with infrastructure such as water, roads, sewerage and electricity. These utilities were meant to attract investment. Local authorities were encouraged to put in place incentives ranging from lower tax rates, low water charges and reduced land prices.

The Zimbabwean government went further to direct enterprises to locate their activities in these centres. In order to make it easier for the industrial investors, the local authorities put up factory shells and market structures in the designated growth centres.

¹⁸ For a full discussion on the Zimbabwean experience, see N.D. Mutizwa-Mangiza: Rural Development in Zimbabwe (Chichester, Averbury, 1991).

Until 1990, the growth point strategy was highly successful. A large number of rural service centres completed the three-phase infrastructure programme. Small-scale industries sprouted and flourished at most rural service centres in the country. More goods and services became available to the rural people. Centres such as Gokwe, Gutu-Mupandawana, Murehwa and Nkayi recorded growth rates, even higher than some middle order urban centres such as Chegutu, Bindura, Rusape and Masvingo.

However, the successive droughts between 1988 and 1992, coupled with hostile internal and external macro-economic conditions exposed the vulnerability and fragile nature of the growth point strategy that depended so much on central government support and agriculture. The Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank-induced Trade Liberalisation and Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), that the government embarked on in 1990, which were based on the principles of a free market economy, sounded the death knell for the rural service centres. This is because most of the industries moved from the rural service centres and relocated to the urban areas, where they were assured of a large and consistent market for their goods and services. The situation worsened in 1993, when the government, under the decentralisation policy, withdrew most of its financial and institutional support from the local authorities. This meant that the local authorities, with their meagre resources, could no longer be able to offer attractive incentives, leading to the exodus of even more small-scale industries.

Only now are some of the rural service centres emerging from the doldrums and are beginning to record positive growth.

In Ghana, since 1996, the government, through its Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, has sought to improve the capacity of rural service centres as engines of local level development. This has been done in close collaboration with the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) and the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development (KfW). This is with particular reference to the district

capitals. A pilot programme, "Promotion of District Capitals", has been initiated. The programme is all encompassing with six key result areas:

- a better network of the procedures of development planning, on one hand, and the planning of the districts, on the other
- improved systems for operations and maintenance of public infrastructure
- an improved waste management system
- mobilisation of the potentials of disadvantaged groups
- increased support for small and medium scale industries
- strengthening the capacity of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development to support district capitals

Whilst it may be too early to assess the success of the overall programme, the fact that discussions are already going on between the government and the donors to expand the programme indicates that the preliminary results have been encouraging.

One strategy that has been used in developing countries is the "key settlement" concept. According to Woodruffe¹⁹, the main principle behind the concept is to concentrate the limited financial and other resources on a few selected centres, rather than dispersing the resources throughout a whole range of settlements. The key settlement strategy is pursued with the full understanding that if it is to succeed, then the selected settlements will prosper at the expense of the other settlements in the region. This is so because, for effective development and economic provision of goods and services, the threshold populations have to be relatively large, and this can only be done by including the populations of the other settlements into that of the key settlement.

In Tanzania, the 1974-76 Villagisation Programme was based on the settlement concept. In the programme, a few large, strategically located and fast growing villages were selected as rural service centres. The villages were used to facilitate the realisation of rapid and broad-based local level development. The villagisation programme is

¹⁹ B.J. Woodruffe: Rural Settlement Policies and Plans (Bristol, Arrowsmith, 1976).

credited with facilitating the provision of clean and safe drinking water, education and health facilities, roads and shops.

Another strategy that has found favour with most governments is that of integrated rural development. The main focus is on agriculture. The idea behind the strategy is that if the rural areas are well developed and agricultural production is boosted, then, there will be the establishment of agro-industries in the rural service centres. The industries will generate incomes in the form of wages and salaries and, consequently, a market for the produce. With a good road network, some of the produce could even be "exported" to other parts of the district, and the country.

The integrated rural development strategy was implemented in India, where, according to Sundaram²⁰, agricultural and rural development has stimulated urban economic growth. Rising agricultural productivity in rural areas due to the application of the "Green Revolution" technology created demand for farm supplies and farm equipment produced in the urban areas. This generated more trips by the farmers to the urban centres, and increased the frequency of visits for shopping, business and entertainment. This forged closer economic relations between the rural sector and the urban sector. Moreover, the growing prosperity of the rural areas led to the diversification within villages, encouraged rural industrialisation, and created the need for urban markets, raw materials, technical know-how and skilled manpower. This led to closer interaction of the rural areas and the urban areas.

²⁰ K. V. Sundaram: Growth Foci as Instruments for Modernisation (New Delhi, Sage, 1978).

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF RURAL SERVICE CENTRES IN YILO KROBO DISTRICT

3.1 National, Regional and Local Context

Yilo Krobo is one of the fifteen districts in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The district covers an estimated area of 805 square kilometres, constituting 4.2 percent of the total area of the Eastern Region. The district is bounded in the north and east by Manya Krobo district, in the south by Akwapim North and Dangbe districts. On the west are the New Juaben and Fanteakwa districts.

For administrative purposes, the district is divided into seven area councils, namely, Somanya, Oterkpolu, Boti, Nkurakan, Nsutapong, Klo Agogo and Obawale.

According to a household survey conducted by the SPRING Programme in December 1999 for the preparation of the 2001-2005 Yilo Krobo District Development Plan, the district has a population of 120,880. This is projected to grow to 132,000 in 2005.

3.2 The District Settlement Hierarchy

The district has about two hundred settlements. According to a scalogram analysis of twenty-nine centres with a population above 500 people, only Somanya has a population above 5,000. It is thus the only urban settlement in the district according to the definition of urban settlements in Ghana. Below Somanya, which is on the first level of the settlement hierarchy, there are three other levels of settlements.

Since this research paper is concerned with devising strategies to enhance the capacity of rural service centres as engines of growth and development, Somanya will not be considered in the analysis since it is an urban centre. However, because it is the

FIGURE 3: YILO KROBO DISTRICT IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

FIGURE 4: YILO KROBO IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

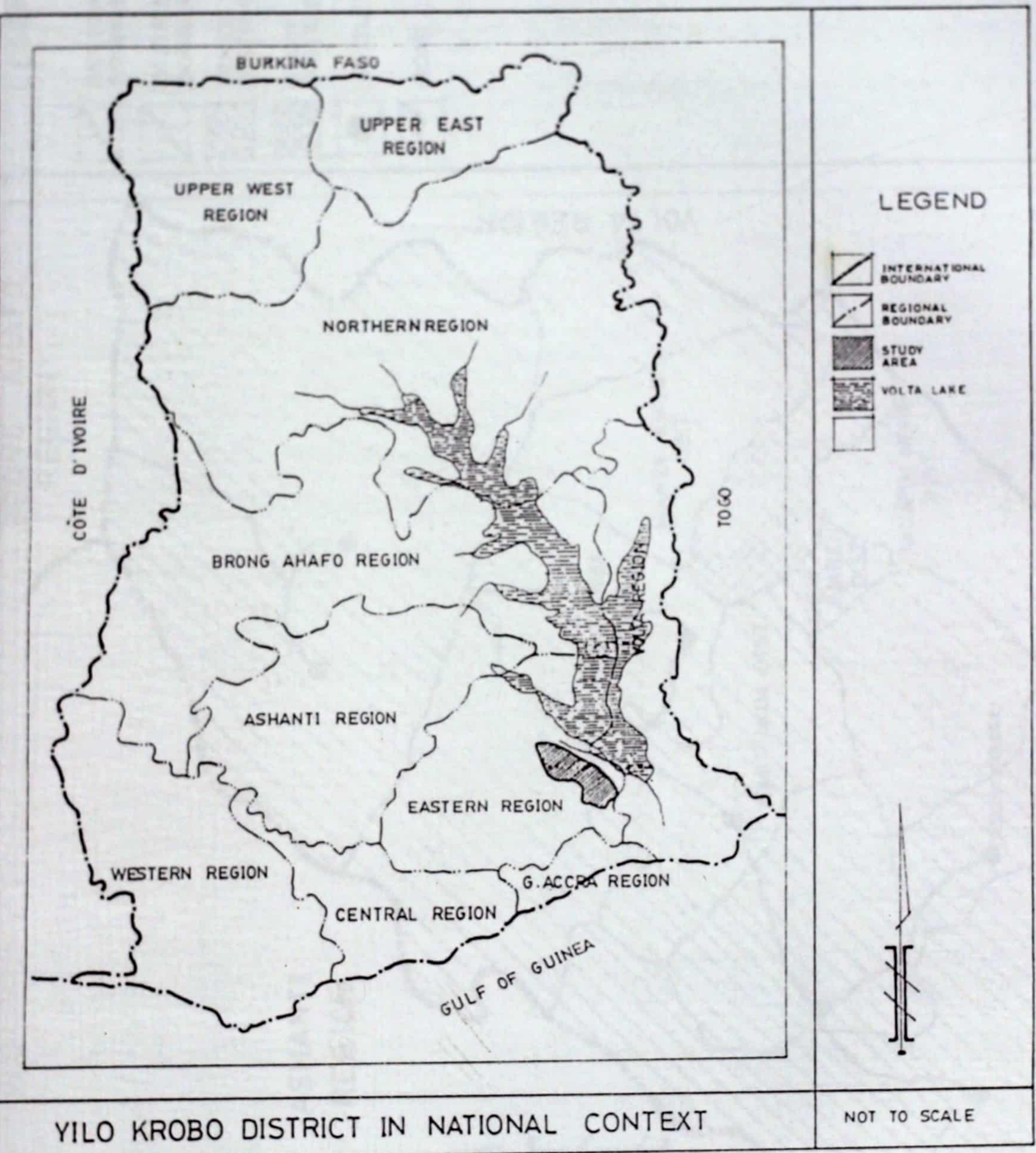
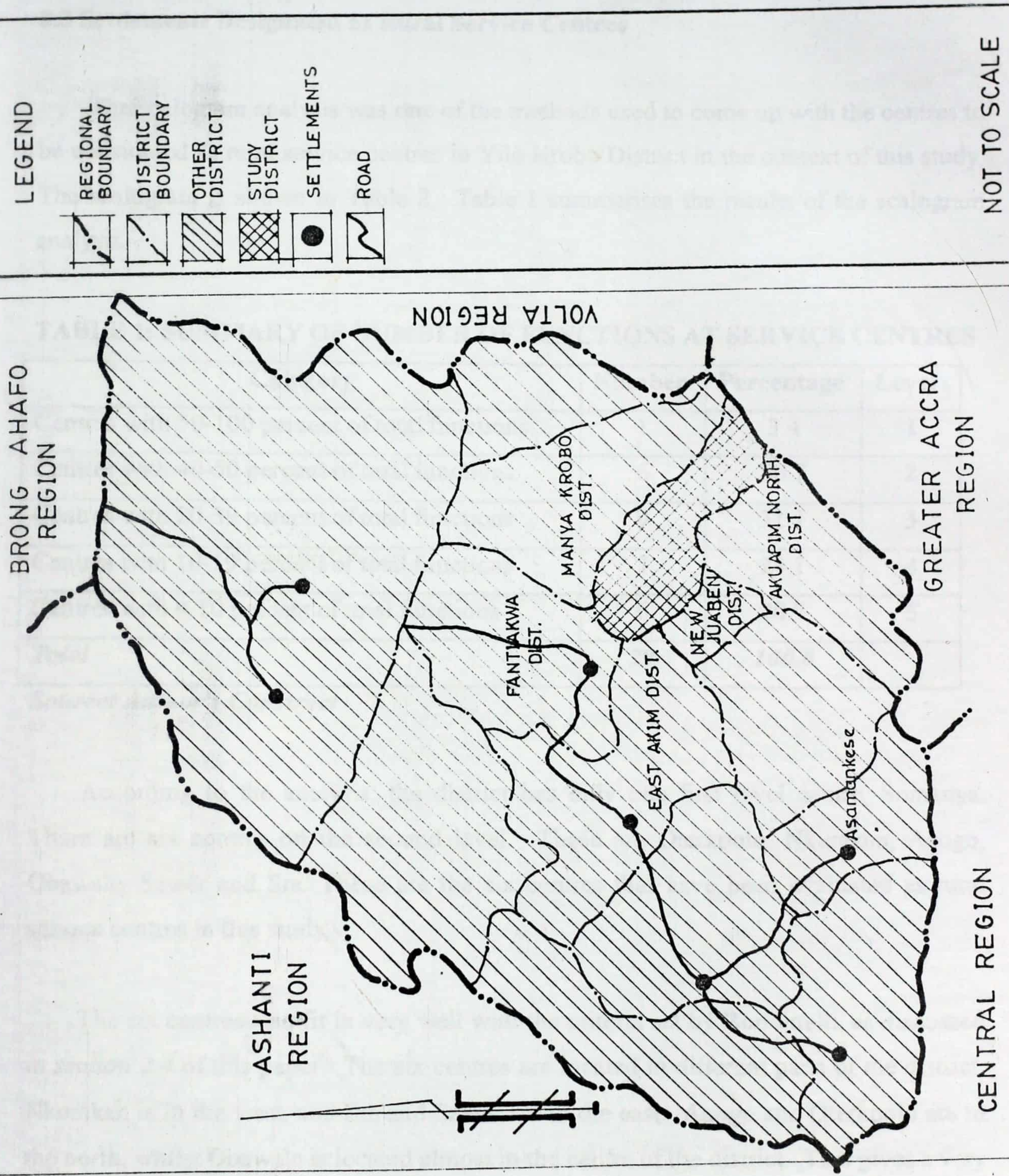


FIGURE 4: YILO KROBO IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT



district capital, Somanya has a lot of strong links with the rest of the centres in the district.

3.3 Settlements Designated as Rural Service Centres

The scalogram analysis was one of the methods used to come up with the centres to be considered as rural service centres in Yilo Krobo District in the context of this study. The scalogram is shown in Table 2. Table 1 summarises the results of the scalogram analysis.

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF FUNCTIONS AT SERVICE CENTRES

| Category | Number | Percentage | Level |
|--|-----------|--------------|-------|
| Centres with 50-100 percent of total functions | 1 | 3.4 | 1 |
| Centres with 40-50 percent of total functions | 6 | 20.7 | 2 |
| Centres with 20-39 percent of total functions | 9 | 31.1 | 3 |
| Centres with 10-19 percent of total functions | 7 | 24.1 | 4 |
| Centres with < 10 percent of total functions | 6 | 20.7 | 5 |
| Total | 29 | 100.0 | |

Source: Author's Construct

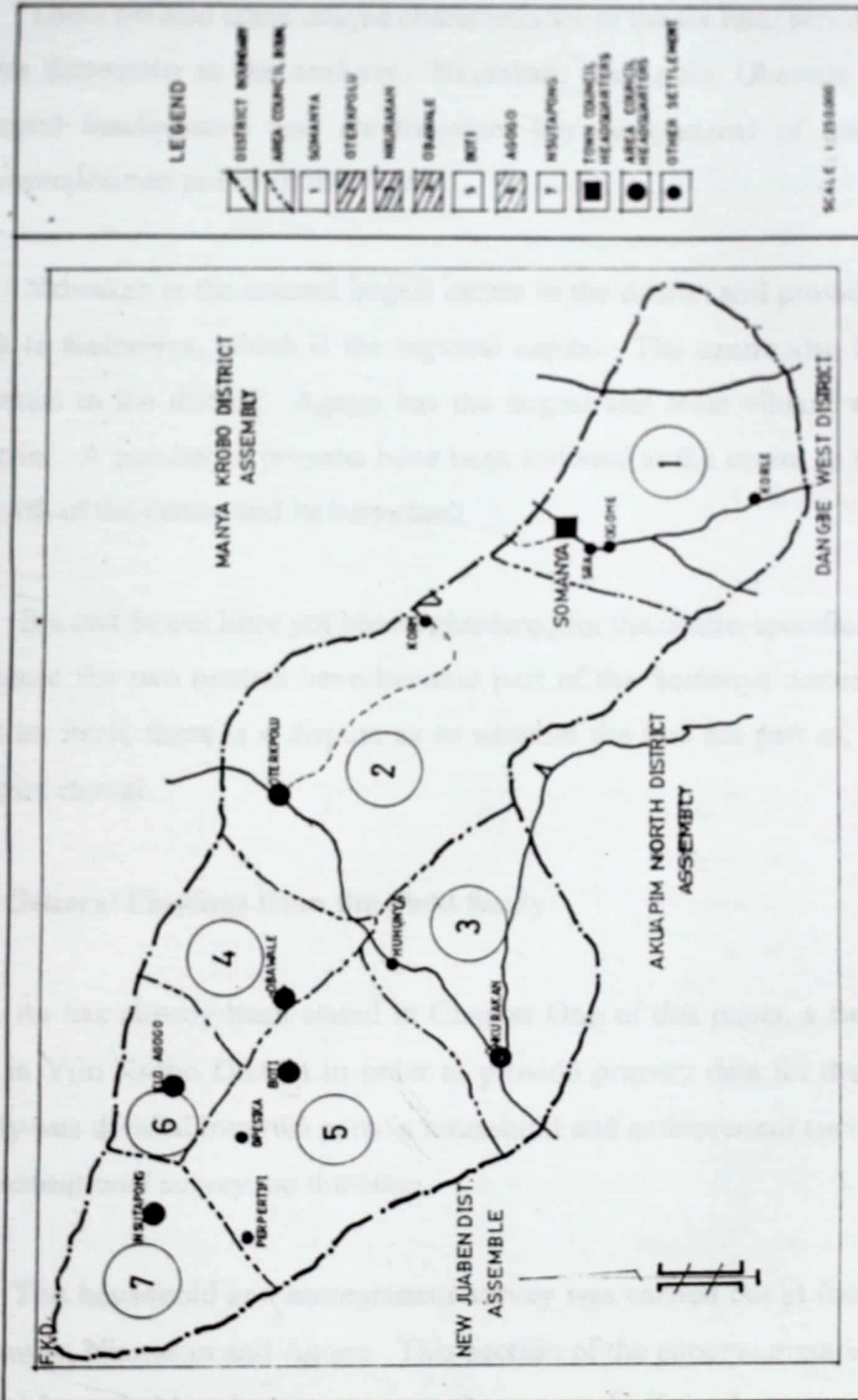
According to the analysis, the district has only one first level centre, Somanya. There are six centres on the second level. These are Oterkpolu, Nkurakan, Agogo, Obawale, Sawyer and Sra. These are the six centres that have been evaluated as rural service centres in this study.

The six centres also fit in very well with the criteria set by Rondinelli, as discussed in *section 2.4* of this paper. The six centres are located in different parts of the district. Nkurakan is in the west, and Sra and Sawyer are in the east. Agogo and Oterkpolu are in the north, whilst Obawale is located almost in the centre of the district. This gives a very balanced spatial distribution of the settlements under study.

TABLE 2: SCALOGRAM OF SERVICE CENTRES IN YILO KROBO DISTRICT

| Settlement | Population | Education | | | | Health | | | | Economic Activities | | | | | | | Service | | | | | | | Inst/Soc. Facilities | | | | Total no. of Functions | % of total | Index Centrality | Level of Hierarchy |
|-------------------------|------------|--------------|------------|-----|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|------------|-------------|--------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|----|------------------------|------------|------------------|--------------------|
| | | Nursery & KG | Prin. Sch. | JSS | SSS/Tech./Voc. | Health Post | Private Clinic | Bore Hole/Well | Pipe Borne Water | Weekly Market | Retail/Wholesale | Agro industry | Wood Work Ind. | Comm. Bank | Repair shop | Mining | SS Industry | Electricity | Post Office | Postal Agency | Fuel station | Police station | Dist. Ass. Office | Magistrate court | Comm. centre | Lorry Park | | | | | |
| Somanya | 19015 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 21 | 84 | 20 | | | |
| Nkurakan | 4323 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 12 | 48 | 20 | | | |
| SRA | 3774 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 12 | 48 | 20 | | | |
| Klo Agogo | 1139 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 13 | 52 | 20 | | | |
| Otekpeli | 2005 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 11 | 44 | 20 | | | |
| Sawer | 3382 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 12 | 48 | 20 | | | |
| Obawale | 1849 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 11 | 44 | 20 | | | |
| Nsutapong | 1800 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 8 | 32 | 20 | | | |
| Boti | 1220 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 6 | 24 | 20 | | | |
| Ahinkwa | 679 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 6 | 24 | 20 | | | |
| Okomya | 1500 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 8 | 32 | 20 | | | |
| Gbekonya | 1800 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 8 | 32 | 20 | | | |
| Samlesi | 605 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | 20 | 20 | | | |
| Huhunya | 1752 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | 20 | 20 | | | |
| Adjilpo | 2310 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | 20 | 20 | | | |
| Okunuya | 1489 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | 28 | 20 | | | |
| Ardakorfe | 1300 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | 16 | 20 | | | |
| Akwapim | 1403 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | 16 | 20 | | | |
| Alpese | 1600 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 2 | 8 | 20 | | | |
| Ogom Dorsi | 1022 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | 12 | 20 | | | |
| Sikabeng | 1020 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | 12 | 20 | | | |
| Aboa | 794 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | 12 | 20 | | | |
| Akparnu | 593 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | 12 | 20 | | | |
| Opesika | 586 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | 12 | 20 | | | |
| Samlesi | 605 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 2 | 8 | 20 | | | |
| Owulahia | 1219 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 2 | 8 | 20 | | | |
| Konu | 871 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 1 | 4 | 20 | | | |
| Apesua | 692 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 1 | 4 | 20 | | | |
| Perchuri | 644 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 1 | 4 | 20 | | | |
| Total No. of functions. | | 27 | 22 | 21 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 12 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 11 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 4 | | | | | |
| Total Centrality | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 25 | | | | |
| Freq. weight | | 3.7 | 4.5 | 4.8 | 20 | 16 | 25 | 83 | 10 | 25 | 33 | 50 | 100 | 100 | 11 | 33 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 100 | 20 | 33 | 20 | 14 | 33 | 100 | 25 | | | | | |

FIGURE 5: RURAL SERVICE CENTRES CONSIDERED IN THE STUDY



The centres also have a comparatively large number of functions, taking up 48 percent of the total number of functions in the district used in the scalogram analysis. These range from social, economic, service to institutional functions.

There are also some unique characteristics of the six rural service centres that add an extra dimension to the analysis. Nkurakan, Oterkpolu, Obawale and Agogo are area council headquarters and are therefore key components of the administrative and decentralisation policy in the district.

Nkurakan is the second largest centre in the district and provides the district with a link to Koforidua, which is the regional capital. The centre also has one of the major markets in the district. Agogo has the largest and most vibrant weekly market in the district. A number of projects have been initiated at the centre to help in achieving the growth of the centre and its hinterland.

Sra and Sawyer have not been considered for the centre-specific analysis in this study because the two centres have become part of the Somanya conurbation. Even in the district itself, there is a dispute as to whether the two are part of, or separate from the district capital.

3.4 General Findings from the Field Study

As has already been stated in Chapter One of this paper, a field study was carried out in Yilo Krobo District in order to provide primary data for the research. The field study was divided into two parts: a household and entrepreneur survey, on one hand, and an institutional survey, on the other.

The household and entrepreneur survey was carried out at four centres: Oterkpolu, Obawale, Nkurakan and Agogo. This section of the paper summarises the main findings of the household and entrepreneur survey at each of the four centres that were studied.

Whilst the findings are presented on a centre-by-centre basis, comparisons will be made with other centres where that becomes necessary.

3.4.1 Oterkpolu Rural Service Centre

Oterkpolu Rural Service Centre is the headquarters for the Oterkpolu Area Council. The centre is located about thirty kilometres to the northwest of Somanya, the district capital. The road linking these two centres is being surfaced, and only a few kilometres outside Oterkpolu remain unsurfaced. The centre is also located on a surfaced road linking Bukunor and Koforidua, the regional capital. Oterkpolu is only three kilometres from Bukunor, an important fishing village on the shores of Lake Volta.

Oterkpolu has a population of just over 2,000²¹, making up 25 percent of the total population of the area council. Although the population of the centre has been growing steadily since 1960, the population for the whole area council has been decreasing over the same period from 10,900 in 1960, 8,700 in 1970, down to 7,040 in 1999²². A number of reasons have been proffered to explain the situation. The first is that a great number of people have moved out of the area council because of the effects of the artificial lake that was created by the Volta River Authority during the construction of Lake Volta. Some of the affected people were resettled at New Somanya near the district capital. The second reason is that the agricultural and cultural practices of the locals such as shifting cultivation have pushed out some of the people.

Arguments that emerged during the household and entrepreneur survey at the centre were that Oterkpolu used to be a very important and busy market centre in the district. The centre would have had more people and would have been bigger and more developed were it not for the construction of the road between Somanya and the northern part of the district, which by-passed the centre. As the influence of the centre waned, so did some people move out to other parts of the district and beyond.

²¹ See draft Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005 (SPRING-unpublished), KNUST, Kumasi.

²² *ibid.*

There are a number of services and facilities at Oterkpolu. These range from educational (kindergarten, primary and secondary), a health post, some small-scale industries and a postal agency. The centre is also well serviced with electricity. There is also a market that operates on Tuesdays and Fridays. The market has remained small and its influence minimal because its market days coincide with those of Agogo Rural Service Centre, which is the biggest and busiest market in the district.

FIGURE 6: PART OF OTERKPOLU RURAL SERVICE CENTRE



3.4.1.1 Household Survey

From the survey conducted at Oterkpolu, most of the households indicated that they bought most of their basic food items such as bread, sugar and milk at Koforidua, which is almost twenty kilometres away. The main reason for this is that the respondents find it cheaper and easier to buy their supplies in bulk.

The scenario was the same as far as health services were concerned. Although there is a health post at Oterkpolu, the residents still found it more convenient to travel to Koforidua to access health services. The close association between Oterkpolu and

Koforidua can be primarily explained by the good road link between the two centres, and also by the fact that there is no district hospital at Somanya, or indeed at any centre in the district. It remains to be seen whether the impending completion of the surfacing of the road between Somanya and Oterkpolu will do anything to change the situation.

The household survey at Oterkpolu also indicated that there is a strong attraction between the residents of the centre and the district capital, Somanya. Out of the ten respondents, nine indicated that they visited Somanya at least once a month. The reasons for visiting the district capital range from calling on relatives (4), shopping (1) and attending social occasions such as funerals, weddings and church services (4). Interestingly, none of the respondents attested to visiting Somanya to deal with administrative issues with the District Assembly. At face value, this may be explained by the fact that Oterkpolu is an area council headquarters, and the area council committee is supposed to handle most of the administrative issues on behalf of the District Assembly. In this respect, almost half of the respondents professed satisfaction with the level of services offered by the area council committee.

In contrast, only three respondents were satisfied with the level of service provision at the centre. The major area of concern was that the centre did not offer a lot of choice in terms of basic goods and other social facilities.

Because Oterkpolu is located in a mainly agricultural area, most of the economically active people are engaged in farming activities. However, indications from the survey are that farming is not considered as "employment", and as a result, seven (7) of the respondents interviewed during the survey had members of their household who had left Oterkpolu to look for employment elsewhere in the country. Interestingly, none of those who had migrated from Oterkpolu had gone to a centre within Yilo Krobo District. The most popular destinations were Accra, Tema, Suhum, Koforidua and Kumasi.

All the respondents, except one, had access to electricity, water, market, toilet and refuse disposal facilities. Although these utilities were not necessarily present in

individual households, they were still accessible to the respondents. Concerns were however raised about the adequacy and quality of water, toilet and refuse disposal facilities.

Of interest during the household survey was to establish whether the inhabitants of the centre were prepared to contribute towards the development and growth of their centres. Two issues were probed. The first was to do with whether respondents had ever contributed financially or materially towards the provision of services such as water, roads and electricity. In this respect, nine (9) out of the ten respondents had contributed financially or through the provision of labour towards the development of the centre. The second issue pertained to whether, if approached, the respondents would be willing to provide part of their land for the expansion of the centre. Here again, nine respondents expressed their willingness to provide land. The overriding reason given for this was that the respondents felt that, by contributing materially or financially, they would be helping in efforts to develop the centre. Strategies to enhance the capacity of rural service centres like Oterkpolu for local level development can actually exploit this goodwill on the part of the centres' residents.

3.4.1.2 The Entrepreneur Survey

The entrepreneur survey conducted at Oterkpolu Rural Service Centre revealed some interesting findings. The people at the centre are involved in a variety of activities ranging from carpentry, vehicle repairs, dressmaking, druggery and "chop bar" operations.

All the entrepreneurs interviewed during the survey indicated that they employed at least one person on their enterprise. Whilst the household survey revealed that people were actually migrating from the centre to look for employment elsewhere, half of the respondents (5), did not employ any locals at all. Whilst this could be easily brushed aside as the freedom of movement of labour, the situation could also reveal a perception

by the locals that the jobs generated at the centre were not attractive enough for them, or that they did not possess the requisite skills for the jobs.

Eight (8) of the respondents interviewed during the survey indicated that they acquired supplies or their raw materials that they used in their operations outside Yilo Krobo District, in places such as Accra, Tema and Koforidua. This has major implications on the relationship between the centre and its hinterland in terms of the positive development of both the centre and its periphery.

The results of the entrepreneur survey followed the trend established in the household survey as far as the satisfaction with the level of service provision and making voluntary financial and material contributions towards the development of the centre is concerned. In the case of the former, half of the respondents professed dissatisfaction, whereas in the latter, the respondents had all previously contributed to wards efforts to develop the centre.

3.4.2 Nkurakan Rural Service Centre

Nkurakan Rural Service Centre is the second largest settlement in Yilo Krobo District after Somanya. The centre is located forty kilometres to the west of the district capital. Nkurakan is only seven kilometres from Koforidua, the regional capital.

According to a survey conducted for the preparation of the Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005²³, Nkurakan has a total population of 4,300, which makes up 19% of the Nkurakan Area Council's population of 22,147.

There are a number of services that are available at the rural service centre. These include schools, a private clinic, a weekly market, a fuel station, a police station and some mining ventures on the outskirts of the centre. Nkurakan is also the headquarters of the Nkurakan Area Council.

²³ see the Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005 (SPRING-unpublished), KNUST, Kumasi.

The centre has utilities such as electricity, water, and toilet and refuse disposal facilities. The centre is at the intersection of the Koforidua-Somanya and Koforidua-Oterkpolu roads and has a fair amount of surfaced roads.

Nkurakan also has the advantage of being the only other centre in the district besides Somanya, which has an operational layout plan prepared by the district's Department of Town and Country Planning.

However, Nkurakan is perhaps most famous for its weekly market which is the second largest and busiest after the Agogo market. The market days are Mondays and Thursdays. On these days, the number of traders averages between 1,000 and 1,500. The traders come from Huhunya, Oterkpolu, Boti, Abrewankor, Amaganya, Koforidua, Azza, Tema, Accra, Pleyo and Bosomtwe. The market generates monthly revenue of 2 million cedis for the District Assembly.

3.4.2.1 Household Survey

Almost all the respondents acquire their basic food items from Nkurakan itself. This is in contrast to the situation at Oterkpolu, where most of the people get their food supplies from Koforidua. The situation that obtains in Nkurakan could be an indication of better services at the centre. Nine of the respondents interviewed during the survey indicated that they have to go to Koforidua for health services.

Despite the obvious strong link between Nkurakan and Koforidua, the respondents conducted during the household survey at Nkurakan said that they regularly visit Somanya for a variety of purposes. In fact, half of the respondents visit Somanya more than five times in a month.

There was unanimity among the respondents about their dissatisfaction with the services provided at the centre. This unanimity extended to the services provided by the

area council committee. When probed further about how communal labour was being organised in the absence of effective leadership from the area committee, the respondents revealed that these responsibilities were being taken over, in some instances by the traditional chief elders, and in others, by volunteers.

Nine out of the ten respondents attested to the fact that they had at least one member of their family who had left the settlement to go and look for employment elsewhere in the country. This is in tandem with the situation experienced at Oterkpolu Rural Service Centre.

The fact that Nkurakan is the second largest centre in the district after Somanya should translate into the presence of a lot of basic utilities at the centre. More importantly, most of the people at the centre should have access to the utilities. The household survey revealed otherwise. Whilst all the respondents had electricity in their houses, only five had access to potable water. The rest got water for domestic purposes from a small stream that passes through the centre. As if to give himself a source of comfort and reassurance, one of the respondents remarked about the water from the stream: *"you may not believe it but the water is actually very good, and we use it for almost everything"*.

Half of the respondents had access to toilet facilities, whilst the other half used the two public toilets at the centre, or resorted to indiscriminate urinating and defecation, otherwise known as "free range". The situation is even more serious when it comes to the issue of refuse disposal. Only three of the respondents had access to proper refuse disposal facilities. The rest of the respondents resorted to indiscriminate dumping.

The pattern established at Oterkpolu in connection with the respondents' willingness to contribute materially and financially towards the provision of basic utilities such as water and roads at the centre was also evident at Nkurakan. All the respondents interviewed pledged their willingness to contribute as they felt that they would be assisting efforts to develop the centre. The same overwhelming response was recorded

on the willingness of the respondents to provide land, if need be, for the expansion of the centre.

3.4.2.2 Entrepreneur Survey

The respondents who were interviewed during the entrepreneur survey at Nkurakan Rural Service Centre were engaged in a variety of activities. Some of them carpentry, hairdressing, dressmaking, electronics, druggery and "chop bar" operations.

Except for only one respondent, the rest employed at least one employee. In fact, four of the respondents employed more than three employees. In terms of the origin of the labour, the pattern established at Oterkpolu also existed at Nkurakan, where more than half of the respondents employ non-locals. Along the same lines, eight (8) of the respondents acquire their raw materials and other basic supplies from outside the settlement.

Nine out of the ten respondents interviewed indicated that they had made financial and material contributions towards efforts to develop the centre. Such a positive situation could actually be used as a launching pad for further efforts to involve the community in the growth and development of not only Nkurakan Rural Service Centre, but also of its hinterland.

3.4.3 Agogo Rural Service Centre

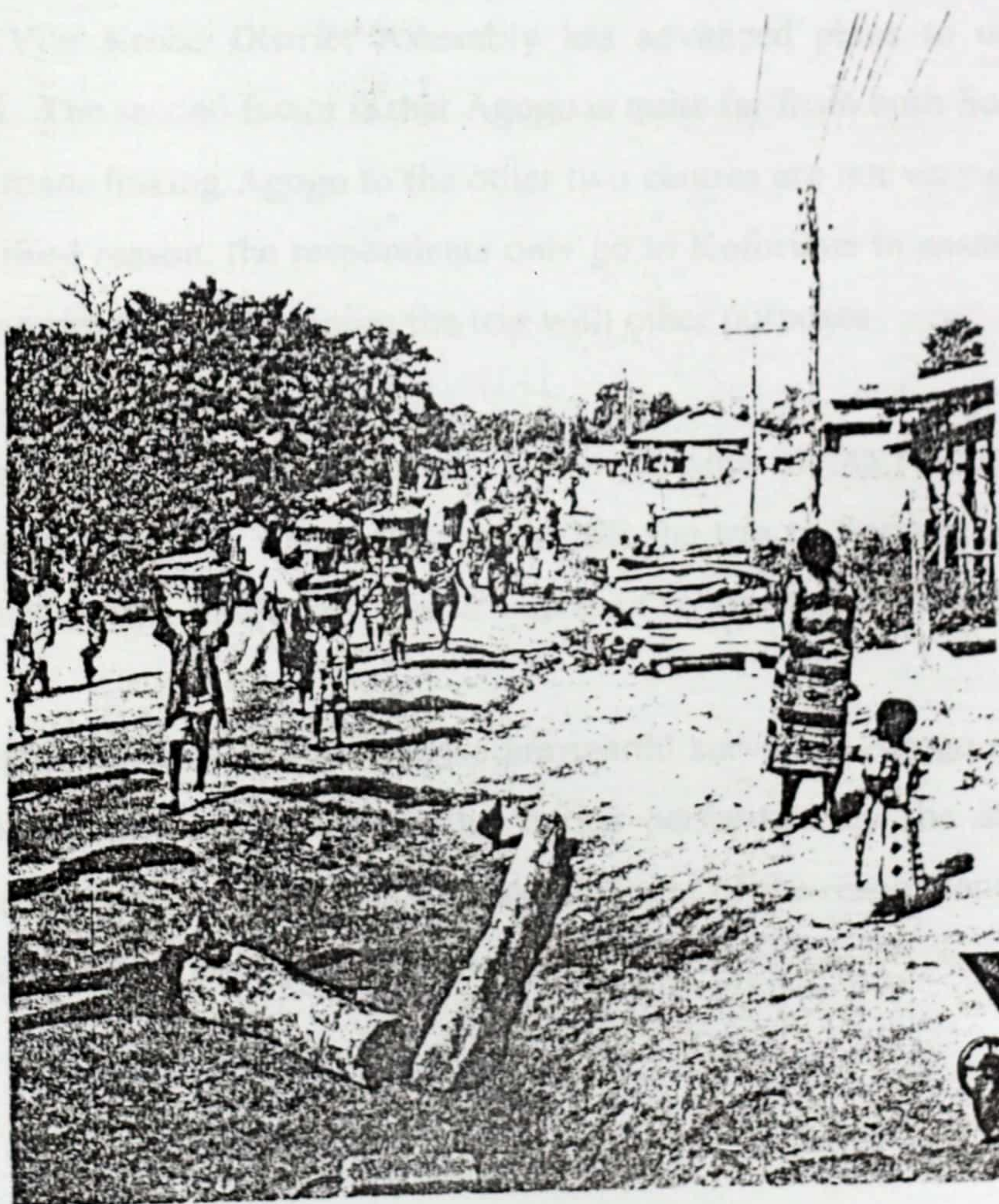
Agogo Rural Service Centre is the council area headquarters for the Klo Agogo Area Council. The rural service centre is sixty kilometres to the north east of Somanya, making it the farthest of all the centres considered in the study, from the district capital.

Agogo has a population of 1,140, thus making up just over 11 percent of the total population of the area council.

There are quite a number of services that are available at the centre. These are schools (Agogo is the only other centre in the district besides Somanya with a senior secondary school), a government-run health post, a private clinic, small-scale industries, electricity, a postal agency and a lorry park.

Perhaps the centre is most famous for its weekly market. With market days on Tuesdays and Fridays, the Agogo market is the biggest and busiest in the district. On a normal day, the market attracts around 2,000 traders, which is almost twice its population. The market generates an average of 3 million cedis a month for the District Assembly, making it one of the most prolific revenue earners for the Assembly. The major items sold at the market include, among others, maize, vegetables, fish, second-hand clothes and cosmetics. The traders that use the market come from areas such as Koryere, Boti, Tsotsunya, Obawale, Huhunya, Apersua, Nsutapong, in the district, and Tema, Accra and Koforidua, outside the district.

FIGURE 7: MARKET DAY AT AGOGO RURAL SERVICE CENTRE



Despite the apparent satisfaction with the level of services at the centre, seven of the respondents had relatives who had left to look for employment elsewhere in the country. The most favoured destinations in this respect were Koforidua, Accra, Tema, Somanya and Kumasi.

All the respondents contacted during the survey affirmed that they had access to electricity, water, market, toilet and refuse disposal facilities. All the respondents had either materially or financially, contributed towards the provision of utilities such as water, roads and electricity. All but one of the respondents expressed their willingness to provide land for the expansion of the centre if they were asked to. In both cases, there was concurrence among all the respondents that they had contributed financially and materially, and were willing to contribute land towards the development of the centre.

3.4.3.2 Entrepreneur Survey

The respondents contacted during the survey were engaged in activities ranging from dressmaking, carpentry, metalwork, hairdressing, commerce, fitting and shoemaking.

Whilst seven of the respondents indicated that they had at least one employee, Agogo also had the highest number of respondents who, either had no employee (4), or who employed non-locals only (6). Whereas six of the respondents acquired their raw materials from outside the centre, outside the district even, only three respondents got their raw materials from around the centre.

Just as in the case of the household survey, nine of the respondents contacted during the survey indicated that they were satisfied with the services provided at the centre. The same number had made voluntary material and financial contributions towards the growth and development of the centre.

3.4.4 Obawale Rural Service Centre

Obawale Rural Service Centre is located fifty kilometres to the northwest of Somanya. The centre is eight kilometres to the southeast of Agogo Rural Service Centre. Obawale is located in the agricultural hub of the district.

With a population of 1,849 Obawale is the fifth largest settlement in the district. The centre's population is 21 percent of the total population of the Obawale Area Council, of which it is the headquarters.

Obawale possesses most of the services and facilities at the other rural service centres such as Oterkpolu and Nkurakan. These services include schools, a health post, small-scale industries and commercial enterprises, a postal agency and a police station. Although the postal agency is in a state of disrepair, plans are at an advanced stage to rehabilitate the facility²⁴.

3.4.1.1 Household Survey

The respondents contacted during the household survey at the centre met all their basic needs at Obawale. They got their basic food items such as sugar and bread, their children attended and got medical services at the centre. However, as far as the issue of health is concerned, most of the factors highlighted for Agogo fully apply in the case of Obawale. These are satisfaction with the service provided, the distance from both Somanya and Koforidua and the poor state of the road, and the need to combine the trip with other activities.

Whilst all the respondents maintained that they had links with the district capital, they however visited the capital once a month only. The purpose of the trips ranged from visiting relatives (8), administrative (1) and shopping (1).

²⁴ See the proposed Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005 (SPRING-unpublished), KNUST, Kumasi.

Seven of the respondents were satisfied with the level of services at the centre as well as the services provided and duties performed by the area council committee.

More than half of the respondents indicated that at least one member of their household had left the settlement to look for employment elsewhere. Most of those who left went to Accra, Somanya, Koforidua, Akosombo and Afienya.

Whilst all the respondents had access to electricity, water and toilet facilities, they had no access to a market and a well-designated refuse disposal site. The issue about the market was rather strange bearing in mind that, as has already been discussed in *section 3.4.4*, Obawale is located in the centre of the most agriculturally productive part of the district.

As was the case in the other three centres in which the study was carried out, the respondents were unanimous in their willingness to contribute financially and materially or to donate land to enable the centre to grow and develop.

3.4.4.2 Entrepreneur Survey

The entrepreneurs who were interviewed during the survey at Obawale Rural Service Centre are engaged in a number of income generating activities. Some of them are blacksmithing, "akpeteshie" distilling, beadmaking, carpentry, welding, corn retailing, palm oil extraction, lumbering and commerce.

Seven of the respondents had at least one employee, whilst three respondents did not employ additional labour on their enterprises. Of the seven who employed additional labour, four of them employed non-locals only.

The analysis of the four rural service centres shows that Obawale is the only centre where most of the entrepreneurs (7) get their raw materials or other supplies that they use from around the settlement.

3.4.5 Institutional Survey

One of the most important components of the field study was the institutional survey. The survey was meant to serve two important purposes. The first was to establish government policies and plans with respect to the growth and development of human settlements as engines of development of rural areas. The second was to validate the information gathered during the household and entrepreneur surveys. In this respect, two institutions that are directly involved in the planning and development of service centres were included in the survey. These are the Yilo Krobo District Assembly and the Department of Town and Country Planning. This part of the paper summarises the major points that emerged during the survey.

3.4.5.1 The Yilo Krobo District Assembly

One of the major components of the Decentralisation Policy embarked on by the government of Ghana in 1988 is the transfer of the planning and development functions to the district assemblies. This is with a view to allow local authorities to deal more effectively and quickly with the development problems in areas under their jurisdiction.

According to the Local Government Act, 462 of 1993²⁵, the district assemblies have a number of functions that they are required to perform, some of which are to:

- formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies for the effective mobilisation of the resources necessary for the overall development of the district
- initiate programmes for the development of basic infrastructure services in the district, and

²⁵ Government of Ghana: Local Government Act, 462 (Accra, Government Printers, 1993).

- *be responsible for the development, improvement and management of human settlements and the environment of the district. (my emphasis)*

In Yilo Krobo, the District Assembly is responsible for the provision of facilities and utilities such as schools, health posts, electricity, water, toilets and roads at rural and other service centres. In addition, the District Assembly is supposed to be at the forefront of efforts to attract investment into the district, in general, and to rural service centres in particular.

The District Assembly's Planning Office is responsible for the implementation of the District Assembly's plans and programmes. According to the National Development Planning (System) Act, 480, of 1994²⁶, the Planning Office is responsible for, among others:

- co-ordinating the planning activities of sectoral departments in the district responsible for economic production, social services, technical infrastructure, environmental management and other appropriate agencies connected with the planning process
- synthesising the strategies related to the development of the district into a comprehensive and cohesive framework

As far as the development of rural service centres is concerned, the Yilo Krobo District Assembly is involved in a number of activities that are aimed at raising the development profiles of the centres. These include, among others:

- directing development projects and other socio-economic facilities to be established at the centres
- compiling data on the investment potentials of the district in general, and the rural service centres in particular. The idea is to post the data on the internet, thereby widening the catchment area of the district

²⁶ Government of Ghana: National Development Planning (System) Act, 462 (Accra, Government Printers, 1994).

- liaising with the communities at the rural service centres on development issues, and impressing upon them that they have a crucial role to play in the development of not only the centre, but its hinterland as well.

The District Assembly is also liaising with central government on issues pertaining to compensation in those cases where land has been acquired at rural service centres for the express purpose of the expansion of the centre, and the provision of socio-economic facilities.

3.4.5.2 The Department of Town and Country Planning

The Department of Town and Country Planning is one of the government departments that have decentralised to the district level. The Department is manned by the District Town and Country Planning Officer. The Officer is assisted by three technical officers who serve as draughtsmen. The Department's administrative staff is made up of an executive officer, a typist and a messenger.

Two major functions of the Department are local level planning and siting of development projects. In the former, the Department is supposed to prepare layout plans for the major centres in the district. So far, the efforts of the Department have concentrated on Somanya and Nkurakan, which are the only centres in the district with layout plans. In both cases, the layout plans are not approved legally, and are thus only operational plans. The Department is responsible for siting facilities such as schools, health posts and churches. The main responsibility of the Department has been to ensure that the new structures are in keeping with the general planning principles, and that they relate positively to existing development, and would be supportive of any future development at the respective centres.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 The Performance of Rural Service Centres in the Local Level Development of Yilo Krobo District

The household, entrepreneur and institutional surveys conducted at Oterkpolu, Nkurakan, Agogo and Obawale, and with the District Assembly and the Department of Town and Country Planning, brought out the fact that the rural service centres in Yilo Krobo District perform most of the normative functions discussed in *section 2.3*.

From the survey, it came out that all the rural service centres provide a wide range of facilities, and goods and services ranging from education, health, economic activities, and institutional and administrative, and basic food items such as bread, milk, sugar and salt. A number of reasons have been proffered to explain why residents of some of the centres do not utilise these goods and services, preferring to access them at other centres. However, this does not take anything away from the fact that the centres are playing one of their roles in local level development.

The rural service centres are also major points of communication. This is because centres such as Nkurakan, Obawale and Oterkpolu are located on some of the major roads that traverse the district. A centre such as Oterkpolu, for example, stands to benefit immensely from the surfacing of the road linking it to Somanya. Because the centres are on major roads, this gives them an added advantage because passing traffic contributes greatly to the number of people who consume the goods and services offered by the centres. A case in point is Oterkpolu Rural Service Centre, which is still trying to recover from the combined effects of having been by-passed by a major road, and being linked to other major centres in the district by very poor roads.

Most of the rural service centres are also important market centres. Yilo Krobo is a largely agricultural district with the agricultural sector employing at least 80 percent of the district's economically active population. The farmers, personally or through middlemen, sell most of their surplus produce at the markets. Whilst only Obawale does not have a market, Nkurakan, Agogo and Oterkpolu have bi-weekly markets. As has already been stated in *section 3.4.4.1*, the absence of a market at Obawale is rather surprising given that the centre is in the agricultural heartland of the district. The markets have become very important and popular to the extent that the traders come from as far as Accra, Tema, Koforidua and Suhum to trade their wares. Market days have also evolved into important social occasions where people get the opportunity to discuss common issues that affect them. As far as the Yilo Krobo District Assembly is concerned, the markets are the most important source of internally generated revenue.

The following table shows a comparison of revenues generated by the major markets in the district with fifty-one other sources between 1996 and 1999.

TABLE 3: MARKET REVENUES AND OTHER INTERNAL SOURCES: 1996-1999 ('000 CEDIS)

| Source | 1996 | | 1997* | | 1998 | | 1999** | |
|------------------|----------------|------------|---------------|------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| | Amount | % | Amount | % | Amount | % | Amount | % |
| Market | 70,787 | 67 | 71,083 | 73 | 71,867 | 51 | 64,820 | 62 |
| 51 other sources | 34,778 | 33 | 25,088 | 27 | 71,087 | 49 | 40,677 | 38 |
| Total | 103,666 | 100 | 96,171 | 100 | 143,674 | 100 | 105,497 | 100 |

* As at October 31st, 1997.

** As at August 31st, 1999.

Source: Yilo Krobo District Assembly Trial Balance

The table shows that during the period, revenues generated by the markets always outstripped the other internal revenue sources. This trend is set to continue once the rehabilitation and upgrading of the Nkurakan, Somanya and Oterkpolu markets starts.

The rural service centres have become important centres of employment creation. There are a lot of small-scale industries at the rural service centres. This has managed to reduce the high unemployment level in the district that now stands at 20.7 percent. The small-scale industries have also managed to reduce the migration of those in the economically active age groups to urban and larger centres, where there are better chances of getting employment. However, more importantly, the small-scale industries have led to more incomes being generated at the local level. This has created effective demand and improved the local economy. However, despite all this, an interesting trend emerged during the household and entrepreneur surveys. Twenty-nine of the respondents in the household survey in the four centres indicated that members of their families had left their respective settlements to other centres in and outside the district. On the other hand, twenty-one out of the thirty-seven respondents interviewed during the entrepreneur survey indicated that they did not employ any locals at all on their establishments. Whilst this can be explained as the free movement of labour, it must also be looked at in the context of the non-locals remitting some of their earnings out of not only the centres, but the district as well. This has obvious negative implications on the district and local economies.

The rural service centres are also important administrative focal points. Nkurakan, Agogo, Obawale and Oterkpolu are the headquarters of their respective area councils. The Yilo Krobo District Assembly has delegated some of its administrative functions to the area councils. This means that people do not have to travel to Somanya for every administrative issue. Whilst this reduces the development pressure on the district capital, it gives an opportunity to the lower order centres to expand the range of facilities, goods and services that they offer. It also means that the people can save a lot of money that they were using for transport to Somanya, or even spend it at their local service centres. If the indications from the household survey are anything to go by, then the area council committees at the rural service centres are performing their roles to expectations. Out of the forty respondents interviewed during the household survey, only one respondent attributed one of his trips per month to Somanya to deal with the District Assembly on

administrative issues. In fact, the most popular reason given by the respondents to visit Somanya was to see their relatives and friends.

The District Assembly does not have the resources to provide facilities at every service centre in the district. The Assembly therefore uses the rural service centres in the district as focal points of growth and development. A lot of infrastructure has been provided at these centres. A case in point is Nkurakan that is reasonably well serviced with roads. At Agogo, the market, which is the busiest in the district, was recently rehabilitated under the Agricultural Sector Investment Programme (ASIP). Although it is conceded that the level of infrastructure is inadequate, and the surveys confirmed this, at least it provides a starting point in the further development of the rural service centres and their hinterland.

The rural service centres also serve as points of cultural and social interaction. Most of the cultural festivals take place at these centres. A lot of social occasions such as AIDS, and other awareness campaigns, entertainment activities and religious festivals are held at these centres. The fact that a lot of people congregate at these centres regularly means that business-owners benefit from the extra demand generated by the people.

Perhaps one of the most important roles played by rural service centres as engines of local level development is to enable the growth and development of their hinterlands²⁷. This is achieved by the creation and promotion of a symbiotic relationship between the rural service centres and their hinterlands. This would mean the utilisation of local resources, be they human or natural at the centre. In return, the hinterland would benefit from improved service levels. In the case of rural service centres in Yilo Krobo District, this could be done by the exploitation of the agricultural base of the hinterland. Whilst the centres could be, and indeed are market centres where the farmers sell their produce, they could also be agro-industrial centres where the agricultural produce from the hinterland is used as raw materials. Not only would the small-scale industrialists at the

²⁷ J. Adraki: *The Role of Medium Size Centres in National Human Settlement Policy*. Unpublished SPRING seminar paper. (KNUST, Kumasi, 1999).

rural service centres benefit by selling the processed products, the farmers in the hinterland would also get more income for their produce. Once the economy of the hinterland is strengthened, then the continued survival and development of the rural service centre would also be assured.

4.2 Problems of Rural Service Centres in Yilo Krobo District

Rural service centres in Yilo Krobo District, individually, and collectively, experience a number of critical problems. This reduces their impact as engines of growth and local level development.

As has already been stated in *section 4.1*, Yilo Krobo is a predominantly agricultural area. The hinterlands of Oterkpolu, Obawale, Nkurakan and Agogo are agricultural areas. It would be expected, therefore, that agriculture would provide support to, and be an economic base for, the rural service centres. This could be done through the establishment of agro-industries in the form of processing industries for the agricultural produce, and input supply centres so that farmers could have easier access to farming implements. This is not the case in Yilo Krobo District. During the survey, agro-industries were largely conspicuous by their absence at each of the four centres studied. Whilst this could be as a result of the fact that farming in the district is mainly for subsistence purposes, and table 4 confirms this, the little that finds itself at the marketplace is bought by traders who come from outside the district, and it is "exported" in its raw form.

TABLE 4: AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS IN YILO KROBO DISTRICT (%)

| Activity | Nkurakan | Oterkpolu | Klo Agogo | Boti | Nsutapong | Obawale | District |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Subsistence | 41.5 | 54.1 | 50.0 | 20.6 | 50.0 | 62.5 | 46.5 |
| Livestock | 39.0 | 37.8 | 16.7 | 35.3 | 34.4 | 37.5 | 33.5 |
| Cash crops | 19.5 | 8.1 | 33.3 | 44.1 | 15.6 | — | 20.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Household Survey, December 1999.

Because most of the traders who come to buy the goods are middlemen, they drive very hard bargains in order to maximise their profit margins, in the end they pay very low prices for the farmers' produce. The result is that the farmers do not have enough money to access some of the services offered at their respective rural service centres, thus further depressing the local economy.

This weak link between the centres and their hinterlands is even evident in those small-scale industrial enterprises that are operating at the rural service centres. As far as raw materials are concerned, only thirteen (13) out of the thirty-eight (38) respondents get their supplies from around the centre. This trend is maintained in the employment pattern at the centre, where twenty-one (21) of the entrepreneurs employ non-locals only. In both cases, incomes that are supposed to support the local economy of the rural service centres and their hinterlands are being remitted outside the district.

A common problem identified by respondents as hampering the development of rural service centres was the failure by the centres to generate employment opportunities. During the household and entrepreneur survey, the respondents consistently drew the attention of this researcher to the plight of young men and women, who spent the whole day milling around the centre or playing "*oware*", a popular local game. The failure by the rural service centres to create employment opportunities has resulted in the migration of the young people out of the centres to look for employment elsewhere. This has affected agricultural production, where more than 40 percent of the farmers are over sixty years old.²⁸

Land plays a major role in hindering efforts to enhance the capacity of rural service centres to effectively act as engines of growth in the district. The type of land ownership in Yilo Krobo differs very much from what obtains in most parts of Ghana. This is because most of the land (45 percent) in the district is family-owned, and a meagre 1.4 percent is owned by chiefs. There are two critical issues. The first is that private

²⁸ See the proposed Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005 (SPRING-unpublished), KNUST, Kumasi.

landowners are reluctant to release land for the growth and expansion of the rural service centres. The reasons are varied, but three are prominent. First, land is a symbol of wealth and people are not willing to give it up even if they are not using it. Second, people hold on to land for speculative purposes. Third, in those instances where the landowner is willing to release the land for development, the process of compensation is long and strenuous. In most cases, the funds for compensation are simply not available.

The second problem is that the land tenure system, known as the "*huza*" system, where families settled on their plots are not obliged to develop them, does not promote co-ordinated development. As a result, at most rural service centres, development is scattered. The cost of providing such utilities as roads, water and electricity becomes prohibitive. During the survey, all the respondents expressed their willingness to provide land for the development of rural service centres. However, and the District Assembly acknowledged this point too, the issue of compensation dampens this enthusiasm.

Rural service centres in the district also suffer from inadequate and sometimes complete lack of infrastructure. Whilst all the area council headquarters have electricity, only Nkurakan has surfaced roads. Whilst the respondents interviewed indicated that they had access to utilities such as water and toilet facilities, they were quick to point out that these were wholly inadequate. Cases in point are Otekpolu where only two public toilets are supposed to cater for a population of 2005 and Nkurakan where, because of the chronic water shortages due to inadequate water points, the residents have to resort to a nearby stream to augment their water requirements.

There are no telephone facilities in the district. Somanya depends on two communication centres that use radio links, and even then, reception is very poor. There is a Motorola radio facility used by the District Assembly to link up with the other district assemblies and the Regional Co-ordinating Council in Koforidua.

The lack of infrastructure makes it difficult for the district as a whole and the rural service centres in particular to attract external investment. The lack of investment in turn

puts efforts to reduce unemployment at risk. The lack of telephone facilities, for example, also has a social dimension. It is extremely difficult, almost impossible, to get assistance during emergency situations such as serious illness and fire outbreaks.

The district capital, Somanya, has also played an important role in fomenting the problems experienced by rural service centres in Yilo Krobo district. The centre has a population of just over 20,000. This is about 16 percent of the district's total population. The next highest populated settlement, Nkurakan, has just over 4,000 people. As a result, a lot of development attention is paid to Somanya at the obvious expense of the other centres. Financial allocations from the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF), by area council, for development projects are heavily skewed in favour of Somanya. Allocations from the District Assembly Common Fund by area council for development projects ranging from schools, health posts, roads, markets, water points and electricity for 1998 are shown in the table below.

TABLE 5: DISTRICT ASSEMBLY COMMON FUND ALLOCATIONS BY AREA COUNCIL (1998)

| <u>Area Council</u> | <u>Allocation (million cedis)</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Somanya | 560 |
| Boti | 105 |
| Nkurakan | 66 |
| Oterkpolu | 75 |
| Klo Agogo | 80 |
| Nsutapong | 30 |
| Obawale | 45 |

Source: Yilo Krobo District Assembly (Annual Estimates, 1998)

Whilst the table is admittedly inadequate in establishing a trend because the information on the other years is not available in a disaggregated form, the picture presented is not healthy. Predictably, infrastructure and service provision is better in Somanya as compared to the rest of the district. People therefore move to the district

capital not only putting the centre's social facilities under tremendous pressure, but also ensuring that fewer and fewer financial resources are made available to develop the rest of the district.

One of the problems highlighted as being responsible for the failure of rural service centres to promote local level development in Yilo Krobo District is that the District Assembly itself has not made any deliberate and conscious efforts to develop centres other than Somanya. This stance is explained by the fact that the Assembly gets most of its revenue in the form of property taxes, rates and licences from the residents of the district capital. Table 5 seems to bear this argument out.

The ability of rural service centres to effectively perform their roles as engines of local level development invariably hinges on the ability of those institutions involved in the development process to support the centres. In Yilo Krobo District, the District Assembly and the Department of Town and Country Planning are responsible to oversee the development of human settlements in the district. However, due to a number of problems, these institutions have not been able to effectively perform their tasks.

Not only is the Department of Town and Country Planning understaffed, with only one professional planner instead of three, it is also under-equipped, lacking some of the most basic but critical tools such as tacheometric base maps. This has led to very weak physical planning in the district. For a district with over two hundred settlements, only Somanya and Nkurakan have operational layout plans. Even then, the plans are not approved and therefore developers are legally not obliged to follow their provisions. As a result, development at all the centres in the district is haphazard and *ad-hoc*. There are also some institutional and operational problems. One of these is the weak relationship between the Department and the Lands Commission, The Stool Lands Administration and the Survey Department, which are major players in issues relating to land. The other problem is associated with the Department's weak position in implementing legislation pertaining to development control, especially in a situation where the government delays

the payment of compensation for land acquired, or where the District Assembly does not have money to construct proposed roads in order to guide development.

The Planning Office carries out development planning functions in the District Assembly. However, the Office faces a number of formidable problems. First, there is no proper information management system that allows data on the condition of settlements in the district to be readily available. Although moves to establish this data bank are advanced, until such a time that the information is readily available, the problems and potentials of rural service centres will continue to be speculated upon. Second, within the District Assembly's budgeting system, there is no specific allocation for the Planning Office. This means that there is never enough money for the Office to perform its duties. Third, the Office also suffers from lack of co-operation from other departments, both within the District Assembly itself and in other government and non-governmental institutions. This makes it very difficult for the Office to fulfil its mandate to co-ordinate development activities in the district. Perhaps one of the most serious obstacles facing the Office is lack of transport to allow the Planning Officers to monitor development projects more regularly. This problem was clearly spelt out by one official in the Planning Office: *"if there is a vehicle, then there is no fuel; if there is fuel, then there is no vehicle. Otherwise both the vehicle and the fuel are not available."*

4.3 Strategies to Enhance the Capacity of Rural Service Centres in Yilo Krobo District

So far, based on the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter Two and the analysis of the rural service centres in Yilo Krobo in Chapter Three, this chapter has discussed a number of critical issues. The role of rural service centres in the district and the problems hindering their ability to effectively promote local level development have been outlined. The general performance of the rural service centres has been assessed based on set criteria. In view of all these issues, appropriate strategies have to be devised to address all these issues.

One of the problems identified pertains to the poor economic resource base of the rural service centres in the district. This is because agriculture is mainly practised on a subsistence basis. Two strategies can be used to address this situation. The first is to support agricultural development in the district with deliberate emphasis on cash crops. The potential for cash crops exists in the district and, according to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the district²⁹, crops such as cashew nuts, black pepper, pineapples, pawpaws and okra can be grown on a cash basis. The crops can even be exported outside the country, bringing in income not only for the district, but also for the country as a whole.

The second strategy is based on the premise that the relative importance of agriculture in the national economy is declining. There is therefore need to promote off-farm small-scale enterprises. Not only does this reduce the unemployment level in the district which currently stands at 20.7 percent, it also widens the income base of the district. The potential for small-scale enterprises exists in the district as evidenced by the many establishments at most rural service centres. The Yilo Krobo District Development Plan: 2001-2005 realises this fact, and one of the most important recommendations in the document is to come up with strategies to promote industry as the district's lead sector.

One of the major findings from the field survey is that although Yilo Krobo is an agricultural district, very few small-scale industries are agro-based. In general, very few enterprises utilise local resources as raw materials in their operations. It is imperative that most of the industries that will be established at the rural service centres in future should be agro-based, or at least be seen to be utilising local resources. This will go along way in strengthening the relationship between the rural service centres and their hinterland.

The opportunities presented by electricity in the district are numerous. The District Assembly should impress upon the entrepreneurs in the district the need to diversify and move into fields such as welding and blacksmithing.

²⁹ Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Somanya District): Monitoring and Evaluation Report, Somanya.

The opportunities presented by electricity in the district are numerous. The District Assembly should impress upon the entrepreneurs in the district the need to diversify and move into fields such as welding and blacksmithing.

One of the greatest challenges facing local authorities in developing countries is how to attract investment to their service centres. Yilo Krobo is no exception. Experience has shown that infrastructure, however basic, is one of the key determinants used by investors in reaching a decision on whether or not to invest in a particular area. Therefore, the District Assembly must do everything in its power to provide infrastructure at its rural service centres. It is conceded that this is a very expensive exercise, and the District Assembly cannot fund the infrastructure provision from its own resources. That is why it is suggested that the Assembly take advantage of the currently running national programmes such as the Community Water and Sanitation and Village Infrastructure Projects (VIP).

Another avenue that could be explored in the provision of infrastructure is a localised form of private-public partnership. This involves the District Assembly and the communities at the rural service centres. The people could be mobilised to meet part of the cost of infrastructure provision. This would be on the understanding that, in any case, if the centre develops then it is the local people who stand to benefit most. Indications from the household and entrepreneur surveys suggest that mobilising the community would not be difficult because they have already done so in the past, and expressed their willingness to do it again. As part of its contribution, the District Assembly could plough back some of the revenues from the markets into the development of the rural service centres.

The household survey revealed that the people at rural service centres are willing to give up part of their land for the purposes of developing the centres. However, compensation is a major stumbling block. The District Assembly must set up a revolving fund to use to pay compensation to those people from whom land would have been acquired. The revolving fund will become even more crucial if plans by central

government to make local authorities responsible for the payment of compensation for all land acquired in their areas of jurisdiction are approved.

As has already been mentioned in *section 4.2*, the land ownership system in the district where most of the land is individually owned does not promote a conducive environment for the development of rural service centres. This is because the individuals may not be willing to develop their land to acceptable standards, or they may not release when it is required. In order to circumvent some of these problems it is suggested that the government designate land around rural service centres as state land. This will give the District Assembly more power to control development at the centres. This strategy has been implemented with some measure of success in Zimbabwe where legal instruments are used to demarcate boundaries for land that will be used for the expansion of service centres. In Yilo Krobo this may mean altering the land ownership structure. This requires a lot of awareness campaigns so that landowners are educated on why it is necessary for the government to take such seemingly drastic courses of action. However, the success of this strategy hinges on the availability of funds for compensation since it is not expected that people will give up their land for free. It should be emphasised that the government should put in place a legal framework that will allow for the acquisition of land.

The gap between Somanya and the rural service centres in the district in terms of population and the services provided is a major cause for concern. The situation does not even favour Somanya itself. This is because the more developed it becomes, the more attractive it becomes relative to other centres in the district. People will move to the centre and put a lot of pressure on the services and facilities at the centre. On the other hand, the lower order centres are likely to experience negative growth. One strategy that should be adopted is to reduce the dominance of Somanya through localised polarisation reversal. Instead of concentrating growth and development at Somanya, the District Assembly has to make a conscious effort to promote the growth of centres such as Oterkpolu, Nkurakan, Agogo and Obawale. This will also help in the development of the

hinterland of these centres, thereby achieving one of the main objectives of promoting rural service centres.

The Department of Town and Country Planning is a major stakeholder in the development of rural service centres to enhance their capacity as engines of local level development. However, the institutional survey brought out the fact that the Department is riddled with serious operational problems. At the same time, the field survey indicated that there is need to strengthen physical planning in the district. For orderly development to take place it must be guided by the provisions of approved layout plans. It is therefore suggested that layout plans be prepared for all rural service centres in the district. Efforts must be made to get the plans to be approved to ensure that developers comply with their provisions. However, as a first step, there is need to strengthen the Department. This should be done through the recruitment of more professional staff and the provision of logistical support such as drawing and surveying equipment, and transport to allow the officers to monitor development at the rural service centres more regularly. The Department must also receive support from the District Assembly and other institutions in the district to allow it to perform its tasks more effectively.

In the same vein, the District Assembly's Planning Office has a crucial role to play in the development of rural service centres. The District Assembly must therefore ensure that the Office is well supported so that it carries out its mandate. In addition, the preparation of the data bank on the development situation of rural service centres in the district must be speeded up. The data bank will be used to assess the centres that have unique problems and potentials, and guide development efforts to those centres.

Experience has shown that for development efforts to be sustainable there is need to involve the people who are supposed to benefit from such efforts. If rural service centres in Yilo Krobo are to achieve their maximum growth potential, then the local people should be involved. In Zimbabwe, for example, there are development committees at all rural service centres. Their main task is to co-ordinate development at the rural service

centres. In Yilo Krobo, the unit committees could be strengthened to allow them to co-ordinate development efforts at the rural service centres.

One area of concern that emerged from the field survey was the apparent discontent of the people about the performance of area council committees. At Nkurakan, for example, the role of the committee has been taken over by chief elders and volunteers. There is need to strengthen the area council committees by ensuring that they have human, material and financial resources that they require to perform their task as the first port of call for issues relating to the development of rural service centres.

There is need to look at these strategies in a global and co-ordinated manner because, if applied individually, they may not achieve the desired results.

All strategies discussed in this section can only succeed if there is commitment on the part of the District Assembly. In that respect, the local authority has to play a more prominent role in promoting the development of its rural service centres. The other institutions must also be involved in the issues that pertain to the development of rural service centres.

It is also clear that some of the strategies proposed especially those pertaining to land and infrastructure are beyond the scope of Yilo Krobo District Assembly. They are better dealt with at the national level. However, it is the responsibility of the Assembly to bring the issues to the attention of central government. At the local level, the District Assembly must endeavour to do all in its powers on those issues that it has the capacity to resolve and support.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Conclusions

Governments in developing countries face a major challenge in the provision of goods and services to their people, especially in the rural areas. This problem is compounded by the fact that the rural areas were marginalised during the long period of colonial rule. Added to this is a situation where the greater majority of the people live in the rural areas, often in scattered settlements. Resources are scarce and development, by its nature, cannot take place everywhere at the same time. This has a direct impact on the level of local development. The task for the governments, then, is to overcome all these problems and develop the rural areas to acceptable standards.

A theoretical basis exists to give development agencies pointers on how they can manipulate the situation they find themselves in order to accomplish their task. The Central Place Theory on the hierarchy of settlements developed by Christaller, and further work by the likes of Perroux, Lorsch, Friedmann and Rondinelli, have been used in a number of countries such as Zimbabwe, India and Tanzania to devise strategies to develop and provide rural areas with requisite facilities, goods and services.

This study has also attempted to apply similar principles for the development of rural service centres in the Yilo Krobo District of Ghana. Four centres, Nkurakan, Oterkpolu, Obawale and Agogo were studied. Areas covered in the study included access to basic goods and services, employment generation capacity, administrative and institutional support, views from the residents on problems hindering the development of the centres and linkages with other centres in the settlement hierarchy. The study showed that rural service centres in Yilo Krobo possess great potential for growth. However, the study also showed that the centres experience a myriad of problems such as a poor economic base, inadequate infrastructure and uncoordinated development mainly due to

unsystematic release of land because of the land ownership structure and a long and complicated compensation process. The study also revealed that the two institutions responsible for overseeing the development of rural service centres are themselves mired with serious operational problems. The problems range from inadequate staff, equipment, financial resources and support from other institutions to allow them to carry out their duties effectively.

In order to address these problems, there is need to come up with strategies which are appropriate in the context of Yilo Krobo District. The strategies would be based on the roles that rural service centres play in the district, the problems that they experience and a general performance of the centres based on set criteria. Strategies proposed range from promoting both agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises, and undertaking radical changes to the current land tenure system especially as it relates to land at, and near the rural service centres. Other areas covered include speeding up the compensation process, utilisation of local resources, strengthening the linkages between the rural service centres and their hinterland, and strengthening the capacity of the District Assembly's Planning Office and the Department of Town and Country Planning.

If these strategies are implemented and, assuming that micro and macro-economic and political conditions remain positive and favourable, then the rural service centres will be able to fulfil their potential role as engines of growth within the local and national economy. This would help in developing the rural areas and propelling Ghana to achieve its goal of becoming a middle income country by 2020.

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Information of District Capitals

Table 1. District Capitals

| District | District Capital |
|--------------|----------------------|
| 1st District | 1st District Capital |
| 2nd District | 2nd District Capital |
| 3rd District | 3rd District Capital |
| 4th District | 4th District Capital |
| 5th District | 5th District Capital |

Information of District Capitals

| Reference | Our Reference | Page | Date |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-------------|
| | 1002 14 | 11 14 | March, 1914 |

1st District Capital

APPENDICES

Promotion of District Capitals I



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Prof. Tamakloe

Department of Planning

UST

KUMASI

Your Reference

Our Reference

File

Date

spi0214

11.1.1

Kumasi, 07-11-97

Subject: Project description

Dear Prof. Tamakloe

Mr. Schäfer asked me to send to you the latest version of the description of the Promotion of District Capitals Project (MLGRD/GTZ). Please, find it enclosed. In case you wish to get more information, we will be pleased to be at your disposal.

Yours faithfully

Melnhof Spiekermann

☎ urban management adviser

C:\PDC\ID11GHCON\ID111COMP\UST\SPI0215.DOC

Project Name

PROMOTION OF DISTRICT CAPITALS

SHORT OVERVIEW

The project is conceived to strengthen the district capitals of Atebubu, Ejura-Sekyedumase, Kintampo, Nkoranza in the Brong Ahafo and Ashanti Regions in their function as market and administrative centres. This is to be achieved through a co-operation project between the German Agency for Technical Co-operation GTZ and the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development KfW on the German side and the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development MLGRD and 4 District Assemblies on the Ghanaian side. The project contributes to further strengthen the capacities of the Local Government System of Ghana on both district and national levels thus supporting the implementation of Ghana's decentralisation policy.

Within this co-operation project KfW's role is to build or upgrade certain urban infrastructure facilities in 4 District Capitals whereas GTZ's role is inter alia to support operation and maintenance of these facilities. Besides, the district administration and selected target groups in the district capitals will be supported by GTZ in order to strengthen the local economy, the financial sector and the provision of public services.

The project works on two levels: at the district level the District Assemblies, the private sector and citizens' groups are supported; at the same time the experiences gained at the local level will be introduced into the day-to-day work of the MLGRD in order to be disseminated to other districts of the country.

OBJECTIVE

The objective of the co-operation project is to strengthen capacities of Local Government in administrative, planning, managerial and developmental terms.

The achievement of this objective will be measured as follows:

- District Assembly staff and decision makers at local level use appropriate planning tools and management instruments
- Districts' own revenues have increased in real terms
- Contributions from small-scale local enterprises to district revenues have increased in real terms
- Districts implement projects which have grown out of the demand of poorer sections of the population.

30.10.1997

Map with project location
(will be provided by us)

Please mark the following districts:

- Atebubu
- Ejura-Sekyedumase
- Nkoranza
- Kintampo

ACTIVITIES:

The project objective shall be achieved by a multisectoral approach through capacity building and concrete measures of urban development. Consultancies and practical training activities will play a pivotal role. The project works in 6 areas; it therefore gears towards the following 6 results:

Result 1 **Procedures of development planning and budget planning of the districts are better networked.**

Planned activities comprise to improve the districts' financial management methods, to review and restructure the data base for revenue collection, to make the District Planning and Co-ordination Units (DPCU) functional and to introduce appropriate methods for monitoring physical development of the district capitals. All these activities will be accompanied by training.

Result 2 **Improved systems for operation and maintenance of public infrastructure (O&M) are introduced; this comprises markets, lorry parks, slaughter houses, surface drainage, urban roads and public toilets.**

Planned activities are to support the districts in the identification of O&M needs, to find out which self help potentials exist within various groups in the district capitals with regard to O&M and to design and introduce improved O&M systems. This will be done together with relevant actors in the district capitals. Training will play a prominent role in the introduction of these systems.

Result 3 **An improved system of waste management is introduced in each of the 4 district capitals.**

Project Name:
Sector:
Counterpart Institution:
Start of Project:
Duration of Actual Phase:
GTZ Team Members:
Address:

Phone/Fax/E-mail:

**Promotion of District Capitals I
Decentralisation and Urban Development
Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
February 1996
2/96 - 1/99
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Planned activities comprise to analyse current practices of waste handling by the districts, to identify basic options for re-organising the districts' waste management, to elaborate detailed proposals and action plans for improved waste management. The districts will be supported in the implementation of these new systems in terms of contributing to acquisition of improved tools, training and sensitising the urban population for waste issues.

Result 4 Urban small and medium scale industries (SMI) are supported.

Planned activities concentrate above all on supporting the 4 districts to set up a joint Business Advisory Centre (BAC) in one of the district capitals. The districts will be supported by local consultants in creating the organisational, administrative, financial and manpower framework for the BAC. The establishment of the centre will also be supported by contributing to its equipment. Activities of this centre for promoting SMI's in the districts will also be supported. In case a viable organisation can be identified the establishment of a small revolving credit fund might be undertaken.

Result 5 The potentials of various disadvantaged groups are mobilised.

Activities planned in this area are geared towards helping District Assemblies to better care for disadvantaged groups living in the district capitals. Micro-projects for supporting these groups might be co-financed by the project.

Result 6 The capacities of the MLGRD to support district capitals are strengthened.

The MLGRD shall be supported in the elaboration of working materials in the fields of development and budget planning, financial management of districts, operation and maintenance of public infrastructure, waste management and promotion of the districts' economies. These working materials shall be based on the experiences gained in the 4 districts; they should be used by other districts as well. Besides support should be given to the MLGRD in organising the Institute of Local Government Studies.

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| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Project Name: | Promotion of District Capitals I |
| Sector: | Decentralisation and Urban Development |
| Counterpart Institution: | Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development |
| Start of Project: | February 1996 |
| Duration of Actual Phase: | 2/96 - 1/99 |
| GTZ Team Members: | Mr. H.-J. Schäfer, Mr. M. Spiekermann |
| Address: | Coordination Office Accra: 8th Av. Ext., North Ridge, ☐ -Box. 9698 K.I.A |
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PROPOSED URBAN V PROJECT
CONSULTING SERVICES FOR ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AND
INVESTMENT PROSPECTUS IN 23 URBAN TOWNS

TERMS OF REFERENCE

Background and Introduction

1. Following the implementation of 4 previous urban projects in Ghana with IDA support and funding, the Government of Ghana plans to continue the rehabilitation of essential municipal infrastructure and services in urban towns in line with Ghana's Development Strategy outlined in Vision 2020 to remove infrastructure bottlenecks and thereby enhance revenue mobilisation of District Assemblies, increase confidence of the people of Ghana in the democratised local government system and accelerate the full realisation of the decentralisation process, as well as enhance good governance at the local level.
2. The proposed Urban V project will seek to replicate interventions being undertaken in eleven towns, under the Urban 3 project, in the 23 remaining urban towns using experiences gained in the preparation of the ongoing project to improve the design and implementation of the urban V project. This would result in full coverage of all 34 urban towns in Ghana. The project has been identified by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, supported by technical staff of the District Assemblies, the National Development Planning Commission, and relevant sector Ministries.
3. The 23 towns proposed for inclusion under the project constitute the next largest towns with acute infrastructure rehabilitation needs, after the 11 that were covered under the urban 3 project. Profiles of each town have been prepared, consisting of
 - (a) Annual local Revenues for the period 1990-95
 - (b) Projections for annual local revenues for 1996-2000
 - (c) Situational analysis of basic infrastructure, social services and sanitation facilities
 - (d) Status of town roads, markets, lorry parks, street lighting, drainage, and water supply.
4. These Terms of Reference relate to the first phase of studies to be conducted for project preparation and appraisal, and involves situational analysis, assessment of development needs and investment prospectus for each of the underlisted 23 towns.

| <u>REGION</u> | <u>DISTRICT</u> | <u>TOWN</u> |
|---------------|--|---|
| VOLTA | Keta Hohoe Kpando | Aflao Hohoe Kpando |
| ASHANTI | Asante Akim North Asante Akim North Sekyere West Adansi West Ejura Sekyere-Dumase | Agogo Konongo Odumase Mampong Obuasi 2 Ejura |
| EASTERN | Birim South Kwaebibirem West Akim Fanteakwa Kwahu South Akwapim South Suhum/Kraboah/Koltar | Akim Oda Akwatia Asamankese Begoro Nkawkaw Nsawam Suhum |
| BRONG AHAFO | Berekum Wenchi Nkoranza | Berekum Wenchi Nkoranza |
| WESTERN | Wassa West Wassa West | Tarkwa Prestea |
| NORTHERN | Yendi Savelugu Nanton | Yendi Savelugu |
| CENTRAL | Awutu/Efutu/Senya Upper Denkyira | Winneba Dunkwa |
| GREATER ACCRA | Ga | Madina |

Aims and Objectives

The study aims at:

- (i) Preparing a situational analysis on basic infrastructure, social services, institutional capacity, financial management and environmental management for each of the 25 towns.
- (ii) Assessing the development needs and an investment prospectus for each of the 25 towns.

Scope of Services

The consultant shall, inter alia:

1. Review the existing base maps of the subject towns and upgrade to sufficient details for assessment of basic infrastructure requirements.

2. Review the existing status of land management and development control especially as they relate to provision and maintenance of infrastructure.
3. Review the performance of the respective District Assemblies in revenue and expenditure management over a five year period.
4. Provide basic demographic statistics as per census information for each subject town.
5. Assess the structure and capacities of relevant institutions related to decentralisation in general and infrastructure delivery in particular.
6. Assess the existing situation of supply and demand for basic infrastructure comprising:-
 - (i) municipal amenities - markets, lorry parks, slaughter house, human excreta management, solid waste management, internal roads and road side drainage;
 - (ii) primary infrastructure, notably water, electricity, drainage, telecommunication and truck roads.
7. Assess the internal management arrangement of the District assemblies especially relating to financial management and infrastructure management.
8. Provide baseline data on status of social services delivery in the District and subject towns.
9. Collect all relevant data on options for the District Assemblies to participate in maintenance of basic infrastructure.
10. Assess options for management of the project, in view of the large number of towns and districts involved.
11. Collect data needed to calculate the following indicators for each DA
 - (a) the amount of own source revenues (OSR) as a percentage of the DA s total revenue for 1994, 1995, and 1996.
 - (b) the amount of OSR per capita for 1994,1995, and 1996
 - (c) number of formal sector wholesale and retail enterprises per capita
 - (d) number of bank branches per capita
 - (e) number and/or floor area of actively used warehouses per capita
 - (f) status as District Capital (yes/no)
 - (g) rate of town's population growth, estimated from local records (not extrapolated)

Projects Outputs

The following will be the outputs:-

1. An Inception report (20 copies) indicating the consultants assessment of the adequacy of the TORs, methodology and overall project objectives. The inception report will be presented within four weeks of project commencement.
2. Draft report (20 copies) on findings of the field investigations in terms of comprehensive baseline information and highlights of priorities for formulation of proposals. The draft report will be presented three months after project commencement.
3. A final report (20 copies) incorporating comments in the draft will be presented within four months of project commencement.

Facilities to be Provided by Client

The Client shall make available to the consultant all data and reports in his custody relevant to the study, including profiles of each town with information on

- (a) Annual local Revenues for the period 1990-95
- (b) Projections for annual local revenues for 1996-2000
- (c) Situational analysis of basic infrastructure, social services and sanitation facilities
- (d) Status of town roads, markets, lorry parks, street lighting, drainage, and water supply.

Consultant Staffing and Responsibilities

It is envisaged that key staff in the following disciplines would be required, Development Planning, Civil engineering, Land Economy, cost analyst, Sociology, Municipal Finance and Human Resource Development.

It is estimated that the study will require 355 man-months for the twenty-five (25) subject Towns.

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DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING
SPRING PROGRAMME: 1999 - 2000

Head of Household Survey

Name of Settlement Name of Respondent

Name of Interviewer Date

1. Where do you buy basic food items such as bread, sugar, milk, etc.
.....(*please state name of centre*)
2. If not within this settlement, how far is the centre from here
3. Where do your children attend school
(a) primary *distance*
(b) JSS *distance*
(c) SSS *distance*
4. Where do you get health services from
(*please state name of centre*) *distance*.....
5. How many times do you visit Somanya in a month
 none
 once
 twice
 three times
 more than three times
6. What is your purpose for visiting Somanya

shopping

visiting relatives

administrative issues with the district assembly

other (*please specify*)

7. Are you satisfied with the services provided in your settlement

yes

no

8. If no, what other services would you like to be provided

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. Are you satisfied with the services offered by the area council committee

yes

no

not aware of such a committee

10. If no, what other services would you like them to provide

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Are you:

employed

self-employed

unemployed

12. If you are employed, or self-employed, in which sector are you working

agriculture

industry

commerce

other (please specify)

13. Has any member of the family left the settlement to look for employment elsewhere

yes

no

14. If yes, to which settlement did they go

.....

.....

15. Do you have access to:

a) electricity yes no

b) water yes no

c) market yes no

d) toilet facilities yes no

e) refuse disposal yes no

16. If you were asked to contribute financially or materially towards the provision of services such as water, roads, and electricity would you agree

yes

no

17. If yes, state your reasons

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. If no, please state your reasons

.....
.....
.....
.....

19. If you were asked to provide land for the expansion of the centre would you agree

yes

no

20. What do you think are the problems hindering the development of this centre

.....
.....
.....
.....

21. How can these problems be resolved

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much for your time and best wishes

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DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING
SPRING PROGRAMME: 1999 - 2000

Strengthening the Capacity of Rural Service Centres for Local Level Development: A Case of Yilo Krobo District, Eastern Region, Ghana.

Entrepreneur Survey

Name of Settlement..... Name of Respondent.....

Name of Interviewer..... Date.....

1. Sex

male

female

2. Age

3. What type of business activity are you engaged in

4. How many people do you employ

5. Of the total number of your employees, how many are locals

6. How did you acquire the land that you are using

7. If you bought the land, from whom did you buy it

chief

government

community member

other (please specify)

8. Where do you get the supplies or raw materials from

around the settlement

within the district *please state where*

outside the district *please state where*

9. What support do you get from the district assembly

.....
.....
.....
.....

10. What support would you like the district assembly to provide

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. What problems do you experience in your business

.....
.....
.....
.....

12. How do you think that the problems can be resolved

.....
.....
.....
.....

13. Are you satisfied with the services provided at the centre

yes

no

14. If no, what other service would you like to be provided

.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Have you made any voluntary financial or material contributions to the development of the centre

yes

no

16. If yes, how have you contributed

.....
.....
.....

17. If no, would you be prepared to contribute to the development of the centre

yes

no

18. If no, please state your reasons

.....
.....
.....

19. What do you think are the problems hindering the development of the centre

.....
.....
.....

20. How do you think the problems can be solved

.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much for your time and good luck

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Interview Schedule: Yilo Krobo District Assembly

- what roles do rural service centres play in the overall development of the district
- who is responsible for providing facilities such as schools, health posts, and utilities such as electricity, water and roads at rural service centres
- what role do communities at the centres play in the overall development of the centres
- what is the district assembly doing to attract investment to the district in general, and to rural service centres, in particular
- how much is spent on the development of Somanya Town in a year in comparison to the other centres in the district
- how is the District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF) distributed among the area councils
- what is the district doing to promote development in centres other than Somanya
- how feasible is it for centres such as Nkurakan, Oterkpolu, and Klo Agogo, to retain some of the revenues generated by the markets, to be used for the development of those centres
- how do people acquire land for development at the rural service centres
- what problems are associated with the acquisition of land and how can they be resolved
- what other problems hinder the development of rural service centres in the district
- how can these problems be resolved

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SPRING PROGRAMME: 1999 - 2000

Interview Schedule: Department of Town and Country Planning

- what role is the department supposed to perform in the development of the district
- do you have all the staff that you need in order to adequately perform your functions
- do you have the necessary logistical support, e.g. maps, surveying equipment, etc, for you to effectively carry out your work
- how many centres in the district have approved layout plans
- how is development carried out in those centres which do not have layout plans
- what roles do rural service centres play in the development of Yilo Krobo District
- what problems hinder the development and proper functioning of these centres
- what can be done to resolve these problems
- does the department have any building standards and who is supposed to monitor them
- what kind of support would you like to receive from the District Assembly