

Trends in global development paradigms and the ramifications in Ghana (1950–2015)

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Abstract

This paper addresses the ramifications resulting from implementation of global development paradigms in Ghana from pre-independence to the present. An attempt is made to match development paradigms to development decades, identifying evolving key issues from decadal paradigms and relating the issues to the previous dominant paradigm(s). A qualitative methodology based on desk review of literature and personal observations is used. The results reveal a paternalistic, colonial administration; a quasi-paternalistic, state-led government; and a progressive desire to remove by any means 'oppression' as concomitant inheritance from colonialism. The recent Sustainable Development Goals draw from the antecedents of colonialism, economic growth and development, people-centred development, sustainable development, and globalization. The implications for policy are key issues in regard to the analytical meaning of the co-existing paradigms and the destination at which Ghana hopes to find itself at the end of implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals.

Key words: development paradigm, growth, sustainability, globalization, goals, Ghana

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Introduction

Development either in thinking or in practice is in a constant flux. The goalposts of development keep shifting. Nonetheless, number one on the agenda of most countries is to sustain or attain development. It comes as no surprise that several development decades have not measured up to expectations, particularly in Africa, and Ghana is no exception (Pieterse, 2010: 1). The prospects of Ghana attaining development were very bright even at the beginning of the 1900s. However, periods of growth and of stagnation in growth alternated: 1900–1925 was a growth period, followed by stagnation from 1925 to 1945; then came the cocoa boom in the 1950s, with unprecedented prosperity (Hymer, 1968: 1). At independence, Ghana's income per capita was the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa, at 70 GBP (Pickett & Shaeeldin, 1990; Oteng-Ababio et al., 2016: 5). Since the 1950s, Ghana has rolled out a number of development paradigms in a bid to attain development. For the sake of clarification and easy identification, we can summarize six development paradigms as follows: colonial economic growth in the 1950s; economic growth and development in the 1960s; the basic needs approach in the 1970s; economic growth and development again in the 1980s; sustainable development (SD) in the 1990s; and globalization with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the period 2000–2015. Ellis and Biggs (2001) noted that 'it is superficially neat to characterize the 1960s as modernization, the 1970s as state intervention, the 1980s as market liberalization, and the 1990s as participation and empowerment'.

This study aims to analyse and present the most dominant paradigm for each development decade. In so doing, a caveat is that scientific knowledge develops and accumulates through gradual processes in which changes are permitted (Thomas, 1997). Hence, implementation of new paradigms is supported by accumulated knowledge from previous paradigms. Specifically, the study seeks to address the six separate development paradigms and bring out the nuances of each paradigm's expression.

The meaning of 'development' is a socially constructed one. Over the years the meaning ascribed to the term development has prevailed and continued over time. However, the degree to which the composite term 'development paradigm' keeps changing over time is not based on empirical validity, but rather on the vagaries of social processes. The present paper discusses the time series of 'development paradigm' as socially created, maintained and destroyed, or abandoned. The paper

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argues that ‘development paradigm’ is contingent upon human culture, progress, and decisions, which are in turn dependent upon theories, conventions, practices, conceptual schemes, and malleability of collective action. The paper draws relevance from the fact that there have been six development paradigms preceding the recent Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), one of which was SD in the 1990s. Hence, the SDGs are not altogether new since their bedrock, SD, had been implemented for a decade earlier. Like the economic growth which began in the 1950s and returned strongly in the 1980s, the history of development paradigms, particularly that of the 1990s SD, has many lessons to guide the present SDGs.

The paper is divided into six sections. This introduction and statement of the aim of the paper is followed by a section on theoretical reference, which uses the general systems theory owing to the multifaceted nature of development. The third section reviews the literature on the meaning of development, paradigms, political regimes, and various development plans used by Ghana. The section ends with a summary of gaps which the present study seeks to fill. The next section presents results and discussion by matching development paradigms to development decades and is subdivided into seven sub-themes. Lessons for future development programmes constitute the fifth section, with the sixth being a conclusion.

Systems approach

Development is a systemic challenge due to its deep-rooted, complex, interrelated processes that operate across and between different scales, from global to local. Hence, development cannot be understood by separating the issues out for analysis; a systems approach is valuable in this regard (Halliday & Glaser, 2011: 1). The general systems theory which is adopted for analysis in this study refers to the expression of complexity in an all-embracing way. ‘A system is a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes’ (Hall & Fagen, 1956: 18). ‘A system may be defined as a complex of interacting elements, together with their attributes and relationships’ (Mabogunje, 2010: 13).

Major tenets of the general systems theory are discussed in von Bertalanffy (1972) as follows:

- Aristotle’s notion that ‘the whole is more than the sum of its parts’

- Hierarchical order
- Opposition: the struggle among the parts in the whole
- Process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis
- Can be a living organism, a social group, or even an atom, organized entities
- Seeks to resolve and reduce complex phenomena into elementary parts and processes
- In order to understand an organized whole, we must know both the parts and the relations between them
- Open system, that is, systems exchanging matter with environment as every ‘living’ system does
- Closed systems can always be obtained from open ones by equating transport variables to zero.

The author indicates that system laws manifest as analogies. An example is the analogy between the general systems theory and spatial processes of rural–urban migration in Africa (Mabogunje, 2010). In this example, no attempt is made to use formal mathematical formulae; rather, emphasis is placed on verbal analysis of ways in which systems operate as well as a system’s schematic representation (Mabogunje, 2010: 3).

Figure 1 follows the example in Mabogunje (2010) and shows a system of development paradigms and the operation within a social and biophysical environment. The biophysical environment represents Ghana’s territorial space, including air, land, and oceanic spaces—broadly, Ghana’s biosphere. The social environment as sub-system of the biosphere involves the larger Ghanaian society. The first development paradigm, colonialism, was built on the social sub-systems and effected a series of changes in the social structure of Ghana. Economic growth and development which were institutionalized with colonialism became the sole development paradigm after independence. However, Ghana’s relationship with the colonial system continued under different arrangements. The 1970s basic needs approach operated from the development foundations that had been built over the previous decades. Structural adjustment did not come to remove old development structures, but rather to tune the structures to function better. SD was superimposed on the existing structures as the need to broaden the relationship with other international systems became necessary under globalization. The need to measure progress of development in under-developed systems led to the establishment of MDGs and measurement targets. Just as the time

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period for the MDGs elapsed, a successor, SDGs, was planned and built on what had been achieved thus far. And future development choices will be overlaid on the existing structure.

Hence, the system of development paradigms is composed of sub-systems of decadal development paradigms, represented by rectangles imbedded in one another (Figure 1). Each paradigm consists of various elements. The elements within a paradigm relate to each other and other elements of previous paradigms. Together, the elements of the previous paradigms and current paradigm interact with elements of the social and biophysical environment. By so doing, both positive and negative feedbacks become transport channels between the elements, sub-systems within the system.

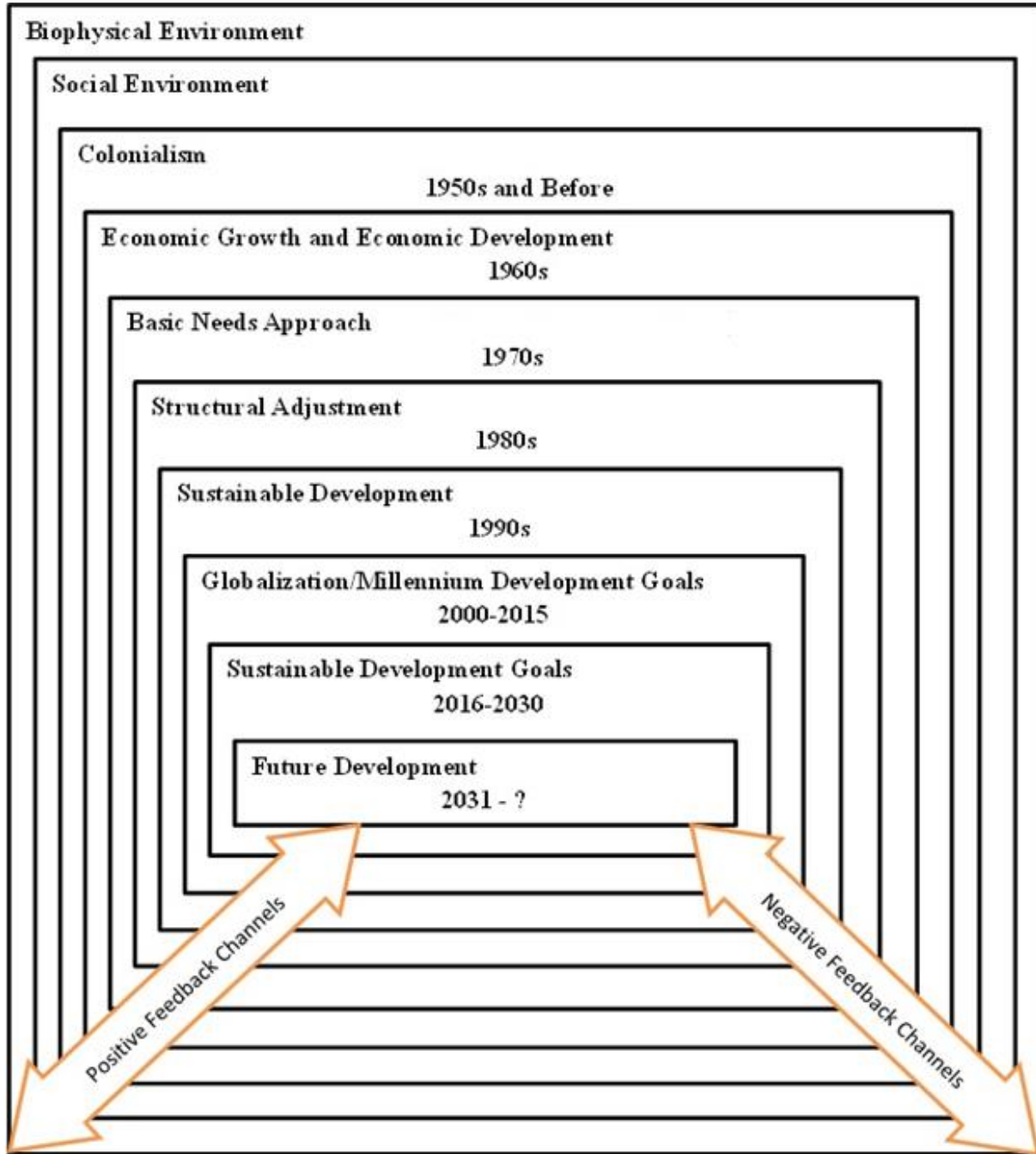


Figure 1. Systems approach to trends in development paradigms in Ghana

Source: Adapted from (von Bertalanffy, 1972; Mabogunje, 2010)

Review of development thinking and practice

To question development is to ask whether development pursues modernization, catching up with advanced countries, or Westernization. The other viewpoint is development in crisis; hence, what lies beyond development, that is, post-development. If questioning, rethinking, and crisis are intrinsic to development, then critique and probing for alternative options should be ongoing. Pieterse (2010) discusses these issues to improve understanding of development in constant flux. The flux is related to time and different stakeholders claiming to pursue development in one way or the other (Owusu et al., 2017). By way of definition, development refers to Western conceptualization of progress or intellectual expression of progress. Development is ‘the organized intervention in collective affairs according to a standard of improvement’ (Pieterse, 2010: 3). With respect to territory, development implies social and economic advancement of countries (UN, 2007a). For people, development indicates improvement in the standard of living (Sen, 1985). For the UNDP, human development is the process of enlarging people’s choices and the level of their achieved well-being (Srinivasan, 1994; Alkire, 2010: 4). For social science purposes, development involves increase in material goods, enlargement of social and cultural opportunities, and widespread access to education, health, and recreational facilities (Havinden & Meredith, 1993: 5). The meaning of development can be discussed in four different ways (Benneh, 1999: personal communication). First, there are two main groups of people in the world: the few, very rich people and the many, very poor people. Development seeks to improve the lives of the many very poor people. Secondly, development intends to improve the standard of living for all people, including the rich and the poor. Thirdly, development concerns the creation of new opportunities to improve living conditions of people. Finally, development means the generation of alternatives which permit people to make choices to satisfy human needs. Development is big business involving many different stakeholders, such as the governments of poor countries, governments of rich countries, international institutions (e.g. the World Bank, International Monetary Fund), charitable groups, and the poor (ibid.).

At this juncture, it suffices to define a few key terms in relation to development. Economic growth refers to a process of increasing the size of national economies, especially Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, in a positive direction, not zero or negative growth. And economic development is a process of attaining economic, social, quantitative, and qualitative changes which represent a

cumulative and durable increase in real national product (Haller, 2012). Gross National Income (GNI) is the total value of goods and services produced within a country (i.e. its GDP), together with its income received from other countries (notably interest and dividends), less similar payments made to other countries (OECD, 2003).

The use of the term ‘paradigm’ is in accordance with Kuhn (1962) and refers to shared ideas, beliefs, procedures, values, world views, assumptions, practices, propositions, standards, concepts, and sets of theories held by a scientific community for problem-solving purposes (MacKenzie & House, 1978; Krauss, 2005; Pajares, 2006; Goldstein, 2012). A transition from one paradigm to another is a paradigm shift. The shift occurs because the previous paradigm is stricken with crises or anomalies leading to paradigm malfunction (Goldstein, 2012). In the specific case of Ghana, development paradigms are blueprints used to achieve national development.

Ghana’s political trajectories have been discussed previously (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2016). In the period 1957–1966, Ghana began with Dr K. Nkrumah. A military–police government under the National Liberation Council (NLC) ruled 1966–1969. The Progress Party government under Dr Kofi Busia remained in office 1969–1972. Between 1972 and 1979, there were two military leaders: Col. I. K. Acheampong of the National Redemption Council (NRC) and Gen. Akuffo. Another military leader, Flt Lt J. J. Rawlings came to office in 1979. A civilian president, Dr H. Liman, ruled from 1979 to 1981. Flt Lt J. J. Rawlings again came to office in 1981 and remained in office until 1992. A constitutional democracy began in 1992 and has continued to the present, beginning with Flt Lt Rtd J. J. Rawlings (1993–2000); Mr. J. A. Kuffour (2000–2008); Prof. J. E. A. Mills (2008–2012); Mr J. D. Mahama 2012–2016; and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (2016–date) (Killick, 2010). There was a progressive desire to remove ‘oppression’, as a concomitant inheritance from colonialism, by any means.

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Under the various leaderships, several development plans were rolled out in Ghana, such as the following:

- The First Ten-Year Development Plan (condensed into a Five-Year Plan 1951–1956)
- The Consolidation Development Plan 1957–1959
- The Second Development Plan 1959–1964
- The Seven-Year Development Plan 1963/64–1969/70
- The Two-Year Development Plan 1968/69–1969/70
- The One-Year Development Plan July 1970–June 1971
- The Five-Year Development Plan 1975/76–1979/80
- The Economic Recovery Program 1984–1986
- The National Development Policy Framework: Long-Term Development Objectives (Ghana-Vision 2020) (1996) (Vordzogbe & Caiquo, 2001: 5)
- First Medium-Term National Development Plan (1997–2000)
- Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (2003–2005)
- Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (2006–2009)
- Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (Act 805) (2010–2035)
- Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2010–2013)
- Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2014–2017)

Previous studies on Ghana's development paths were not exhaustive in terms of the temporal and subject matter scope. There is a discussion of Ghanaian political trajectories from 1980 to 2010, involving social, political, economic, and institutional performance in relation to crime (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2016). A brief political history of Ghana, average sizes of selected macro-economic indicators for Ghana from 1957 to 2005, and growth model analysis of economic development from 1966 to 2000 were presented by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) Ghana (IEA, 2006). Industrialization of the Gold Coast since 1952 and that of Ghana since 1960 were discussed in relation to Ghana's economic performance from 1970 to 1982, with presentation of growth rates for 1950–1960, 1960–1970, and 1970–1980 involving real GDP, agriculture, manufacturing,

population, real exports, real imports, gross domestic investment, and GDP deflator (Pickett & Shaeeldin, 1990). The growth records of Ghana from 1960 to 1996 (GDP87G) from World Bank data were discussed, with tables and graphs providing deep insight, in addition to the various political regimes, the leading figures (heads of state), and the economic stances taken (Fosu, n.d.). The gaps in data include limited or near neglect of comparisons of both inter- and intra-decadal development paradigms. Good attempts have been made with some quantification of the period 1950–1980, as well as qualitative analysis of the period 1980–2010. The pre-colonial economy has also been discussed in relation to cocoa (Green, 1988; Pickett & Shaeeldin, 1990). The present paper is intended to fill in the gaps.

Regarding study methods, research on development trends has a number of shortcomings. The trend shows an absence of relative values and magnitudes. The results and discussion are contextual. ‘Certain trends may well be significant, but without a quantitative analysis this remains inevitably impressionistic.... There is no methodology to achieve this in a neat and clean fashion’ (Pieterse, 2010: 11). For the present paper, a qualitative methodology based on desk study was adopted and the development literature was interrogated. The reason for adopting this method was the historical nature of the study and the need to determine what has been achieved in such development paradigm studies. Key words for the search were derived from the six development paradigms outlined above: colonialism, economic growth, economic growth and development, basic needs approach/human-centred development, structural adjustment, SD, globalization/MDGs, and SDGs. ‘Ghana’, as well as 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 2000, and 2015, was sometimes attached to the key word to deliver specificity. ‘Global development debated’ and ‘Ghana economic development history’ were equally useful search terms. ‘Pdf’ was used at the end of the search term to produce pdf copies of the literature files. Relevant literature was captured in Endnote X2 for electronic referencing. The literature accessed and used for the study is listed in the References’ section. This literature was supplemented with personal observations based on knowledge gained over the years from development studies’ learning and practice. Therefore, the study methodology borders on insider/outsider dichotomy but is skewed in favour of an insider’s interpretations and views (Bryman, 2004). In this context, the issue of reflexivity, in which the researcher is part of the research object, is fundamental to the present study (Peprah, 2014).

Matching development paradigms to development decades

Colonization of the 1950s

Officially, colonization of Africa (European imperialism) began with the partition of Africa in 1844 (Koponen, 1993). The main participating nations were Portugal, France, Denmark, Sweden, Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands, regarded at the time as developed countries. The booty to be divided up was Sub-Saharan Africa, considered as an amalgam of least-developed and primitive colonies. Hence, the aim of colonization as a development paradigm was to ‘civilize’ these primitive societies (Koponen, 1993). The agenda for the decade was to attain a civilizing mission. After the Second World War, France and Britain emerged as the two main colonial powers, especially in Africa. France pursued an assimilation agenda, while Britain used a dual mandate through an indirect rule approach. During this era, the concept of development began to form, and most colonies aspired to develop. A systematic approach was very much needed, and Rostow’s stages of economic growth provided the direction (Rostow, 1960). The colonial powers sought to achieve economic growth for some colonies so as to raise revenue to cater for the cost of administration and provision of social services. As such, the colonies were converted to primary producers of raw materials for industries in Europe and were strictly attached to the apron strings of the metropolitan governments in the primary commodity trade.

This would enable the developed countries to extract food and raw materials cheaply, and to sell some surplus production in Third World markets, but would not allow the development of competing industries or trade and financial networks. It is true that breaking out of their relative dependence will not be easy for Third World countries. (Havinden & Meredith, 1993: 2)

A brief colonial history of Ghana shows that the first contact with Europeans (Portuguese) was in 1471. Colonialism involved hard-won experience spanning over a century (1850–1950). There was an initial Danish linkage, but the English rather built a lasting relationship. Britain defeated the Asante in 1873–1874, and the proclamation of the ‘Crown colony’ of the Gold Coast in 1874 marked the beginning of nationhood. However, the early stages saw a fairly laissez-faire ‘plan’. Later on, the 1880s plans were more positively oriented. The 1920s plans were described as quite ambitious and far-reaching for colonial economic development (Havinden & Meredith, 1993). A

case in point is the Guggisberg seven-year development plan for the Gold Coast (1919–1928). Another important period for colonial development was supervised by governor Sir Alan Burns (1942–1947). This period witnessed the integration of many Ghanaians in the civil service. Also, the independence struggle was tolerated to a large extent. Hence, the decade of the 1950s represents the tail-end of colonialism in Ghana. During the period, development was measured on the basis of economic growth (GNP or GNI). The measure was inappropriate for the colonies due to the large presence of the subsistence and non-market economy, in addition to the unaccountable damage caused to the natural environment. Also, colonial economic development was saddled with income inequalities between British workers, traditional rulers, primary producers (e.g. cocoa farmers), and wage labourers. The wealth generated from customs duties were channelled into provision of social and welfare services, such as hospitals, electricity, piped water, drainage, and schools (ibid.). After the Second World War, chiefs and the elites of the colonies, supported by returnee soldiers from the war, increased the tempo of political independence struggles. The colonial powers, the hegemony and the colonial economic approach were challenged; in Ghana, the first constitution was promulgated in 1951. With the colonial governor as chair, an executive council consisting of three ex-officio members (English) and eight Africans operated with a national legislative assembly. Following the first general election, Dr Kwame Nkrumah became leader of government business—and, later, prime minister (Dra, 1992). Consequently, self-rule was attained by some colonies at the end of the decade, notably Ghana in 1957. At the time, Ghana was the most economically developed of all West African countries, with a dependence on cocoa beans, of which Ghana produced about half of the world's output. Gold was equally prominent in Ghana's exports (Havinden & Meredith, 1993). 'In 1953 Nkrumah confidently stated: Our economy is healthy, as good as any for a country of our size. In many respects, we are much better off than many sovereign states' (Dra, 1992: 18). The desire of the newly independent African states to change their fortunes to become like those of their colonial masters or even better was very much evident.

Economic growth of the 1960s

Abandonment of colonization at the end of the 1950s required a new development paradigm for the newly independent states of Africa. The industrial revolutions underway in Europe and China at the time provided the new direction. The major tenets were based on economic growth and

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development of nation states. African countries had to choose between evolutionary or revolutionary development. The evolutionary approach was considered as requiring a lot of time to evolve, and revolutionary change was considered by some to be the better option. At the same time, the Cold War was raging. A choice between capitalist (Right) or socialist (Left) economic and political models was inevitable. The divide between developed and developing countries was clearly drawn. The Cold War required allies, and so African capitalist, socialist, and later non-aligned countries emerged on the battlegrounds in a global ideological struggle (Sachs, 2005). The difficult choices were aggravated by the polarization of African countries. The introduction of political party democracy was the result of division in African nation states: ruling government versus opposition. In Ghana, Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP) depended on the 'masses' or 'people' and favoured radical democracy (one party), unlike the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the traditional rulers (chiefs), who opted for constitutional democracy (multi-party). However, the UGCC failed to make any headway with the people (Dra, 1992: 15).

The newly independent state of Ghana followed a state-run, socialist-inclined policy (Swoyer et al., 2011). At the time, Ghana's GDP was said to be at the same level as South Korea (Acemoglu et al., 2003: 62). 'Until the 1960s the Black Star, the symbol of Ghana, stood for steady rise in output, in investment, in education, in apparent mass prosperity and social welfare' (Green, 1988: 8). New industries and government corporations sprang up in addition to the continuation of exports of primary products to Europe. The development of public infrastructure and social services were given a greater boost. Elsewhere, the evolutionary approach was followed, and foreign direct investments were encouraged (e.g. Cote D'Ivoire). The attainment of high GNI was the intended goal.

By the mid-1960s, anomalies in the paradigm in Ghana started with the near collapse of the cocoa industry, the lagging of food production behind increasing population growth, and an explosion in the inflation rate (Green, 1988). The hopes of African people began to dwindle, as it became evident that the goals of development were unlikely to be achieved in the foreseeable future. The neglect of the physical environment, increased pollution, and depletion of natural resources were topical issues. In 1966 changes of governments by *coup d'état* took place in Nigeria and Ghana. The period 1966–1969 witnessed the intervention of World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) advice on stabilization, which was successful up to a point and led to partial recovery of the

cocoa industry (Green, 1988). At the global level, a development concern for human well-being rather than just national economy had emerged.

Basic needs approach of the 1970s

The human-centred development paradigm of the 1970s was summarized in the Cocoyoc Declaration of October 1974.

Our first concern is to redefine the whole purpose of development. This should not be to develop things but to develop man. Human beings have basic needs: food, shelter, clothing, health, education. Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfilment—or, even worse, disrupts them—is a travesty of the idea of development. (UNCTAD & UNEP, 1974)

The basic needs approach, as it was known, challenged economic growth and development. The 1970s development paradigm was concerned with human well-being, political structure, empowerment, quality of the physical environment, and distribution of development benefits. It emphasized consumption of goods (e.g. food, clothing, shelter), along with basic services such as education, health, and the right to participate in one's own development. The emphasis was laid upon individual human beings' development in terms of physical, mental, and social development. Hence, there were requirements to undertake needs assessment and mobilize resources for individuals and groups rather than on the basis of per capita income. This human-centred approach looked at the positives, such as distribution of wealth (development gains), not the negatives, such as eliminating poverty or reducing unemployment (Streeten, 1979).

Ghana sought to sustain higher consumption, restore public services, and return to a high investment or growth strategy (Green, 1988: 8). Ghana's position as the world's leading producer of cocoa ended in the 1970s (Green, 1988). The cocoa industry declined and picked up again. There was a cocoa boom in 1974, and then the economy took a downhill turn in terms of investment in basic needs such as public services, personal services, personal consumption, economic balance, political credibility, and public morality. 'The hopes and expectations of 1957 indeed seemed to be a fading illusion and a distant memory of a betrayed past' (Green, 1988: 8).

Among the flaws in the paradigm were the lack of a method to measure basic needs and the focus of the paradigm on wealth creation. The 1970s witnessed oil price hikes by OPEC members and global food shortages resulting from droughts. According to Sachs and Warner (1997), many

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African countries paid a huge economic price owing to distorted trade policies applied in the 1970s. The economic decline at the end of the 1970s ushered in a shift in the development paradigm.

Economic growth again in the 1980s

The need to adjust to changing global trends, correct past policy mistakes, and improve resilience to external shocks saw the emergence of another development paradigm. However, the main focus reverted to economic growth and development for the 1980s. With the help of the World Bank and the IMF, new sets of policies and measures were rolled out to induce African economies to change positively. The reforms were captured under a structural adjustment programme. In Ghana, the programme had two phases: stabilization and rehabilitation (1983–1986), and liberalization and growth (1987–1989) (Vordzogbe & Caiquo, 2001). Consequently, there were fiscal policy discipline, monetary reforms, trade liberalization, and foreign exchange market liberalization. In addition, there were divestiture of state-owned industries, redeployment, a medium-term agricultural development plan, and an industrial sector policy framework. The particular gains were realized at the macro-economic level: increased exports, reduced inflation, and a rise in real per capita income. The programme appeared to have produced some successes in 1984 and 1989. Generally, Ghana's structural adjustment case is considered by the World Bank as one of the prominent success stories (Mosley & Weeks, 1993; Tetteh, 1993). However, the adjustment created considerable social disequilibrium, widening the gap between the rich and poor. In response, the government of Ghana implemented a 'Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment' (PAMSCAD) (Vordzogbe & Caiquo, 2001). In spite of the successes of structural adjustment and attempts to mitigate its downsides, political liberalization and improvement in skilled labour were still lacking in Africa. And already in 1987 a report by the Brundtland Commission had signalled a global transition to a new development paradigm.

Sustainable development of the 1990s

The World Commission on Environment and Development were tasked to provide 'global agenda for change'. It came up with the concept of SD, which proposed long-term environmental strategies for achieving SD by the year 2000 and beyond. The 1990s' development paradigm offered a common global future of prosperity, justice, and security. Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland Commission,

1987). By way of explanation, the phrase SD can be split into two concepts. The first, sustainability, involves literal (sustaining anything), ecological (sustaining the ecological basis of human life), and social (sustaining the social basis of human life) dimensions. The second, development, entails processes (growth and/or change) and objectives (basic needs, etc.). Together, SD means sustaining growth and achieving traditional objectives, including economic, ecological, and social sustainability (Lele, 1991). In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Agenda 21 entreated all countries to adopt SD and formulate a national strategy for SD (NSSD) by 2005 to ensure sustainable production and consumption (UN, 2007b).

In Ghana, the NSSD considered Ghana-Vision 2020 as the broad vision of development goals and poverty reduction. After ten years of SD implementation, the Ministry of Environment Science and Technology (2012: 5) noted:

Ghana has made progress in the formulation and implementation of SD strategies since the Rio conference. There is now a considerable knowledge and understanding of SD. Institutions for Sustainable Development have been established while SD as a tool for development has been recognized and is being implemented. Analysis of findings on the three pillars of sustainability indicates that the country has made some gains in the social and economic fronts. However, the gains made are marginal and can dissipate with little shock. Specifically, stable governance has led to a stable average growth rate of about 5% since 1990. However, a lot remains to be done on the environmental pillar where depletion, degradation and pollution are still major challenges.

At the end of the 1990s, economic growth in Ghana was modest, with rapid exchange rate depreciation, high inflation, very low external reserves, and an unsustainable balance of payments deficits (Bank of Ghana, 2005).

There was a need to move information and goods faster around the globe than ever before. This was realized by the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission, 1987). However, this specific need was the fulcrum of the subsequent development paradigm shift.

Globalization/Millennium Development Goals: 2000–2015

Globalization is dynamic, in that it involves processes—not static and entailing a single change. The processes embody nodes (countries, regional blocs, and cardinal points) and

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interconnectedness (as in networking including relationships among the nodes). Globalization bridges the deep divides between countries, continents, and developed and developing nations, as well as political Right and Left. In spatial terms, it is often considered as one big global village, where all global citizens live and operate. The purpose is simple: increased international flows of goods, services, and finance, driven by new information technologies, transportation means and systems, corporate strategies, financial flows, new production and distribution systems, and new rules in international economic relations (Borrell, 2006: 6).

Globalization has had a large impact on the performance of the economy of Ghana owing to greater relationships with other economies. The benefits of globalization to Ghana include better external trade, capital flows, aid, technology transfer, and international migration and the associated remittances (Aryeetey, 2005). On the downside, Aryeetey noted that the impact of globalization on rural poverty has not been good: the supposed improved crop varieties are in fact ‘wiping out’ traditional foods; familiarity with storage and handling of traditional foods has not been passed on to present-day farmers; and the new food varieties come with storage and associated risks which sometime aggravate the poverty situation of rural people.

In addition to globalization development agenda, there were eight goals termed MDGs:

- Goal 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- Goal 2. Achieve universal primary education.
- Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women.
- Goal 4. Reduce child mortality.
- Goal 5. Improve maternal health.
- Goal 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.
- Goal 7. Ensure environmental sustainability.
- Goal 8. Develop global partnerships for development.

For MDG 1, Ghana is 10 percentage points away from reaching the target. Ghana is supporting poverty reduction by the establishment of social safety nets, such as emergency food distribution to support orphans, widows, and the elderly, and strong investment in agriculture and social protection to reduce rural poverty. Ghana is one of the four countries in Africa that has achieved the MDG related to hunger. Goal 2’s achievement level is about 81.7% net school enrolments in 2012. However, a drawback in Ghana’s case is the use of unqualified teachers. For MDG 3, women in Ghana earn about 75% of male wages for doing the same job. In 2013, female parliamentarians were a little over 10%. In terms of MDG 4, there has been great improvement in investment in child health care. Regarding MDG 5, about 68.4% of births were attended to by skilled health

personnel. For MDG 6, Ghana reduced its tuberculosis prevalence rate between 1990 and 2011 by 68%. With respect to MDG 7, Ghana met the water target by 2012, with urban (92.5%) and rural (81.3%) safe drinking water at a total of 87.2%. As regards MDG 8, Ghana has ratified the Economic Partnership Agreement, which replaces the Lome Convention between the European Union and African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries. Also, Ghana is one of the countries that operates at a post-completion point in regard to the highly indebted poor countries' (HIPC) initiative in Africa (UNECA, 2014: 26, 34, 36, 48, 57, 77, 85, 95).

During the period 2000–2015, the globalization development agenda and the attainment of eight MDGs were national priorities in Ghana. Biney (2012: 130) wrote on globalization:

Globalization is positive when it enhances human communication, improves levels of human productivity, enhances our awareness of being inhabitants of a fragile planet, and facilitates empathy between societies across vast distances, contends Mazrui. Furthermore, globalization is negative when it allows itself to be handmaiden to ruthless capitalism, increases the danger of warfare by remote control, deepens the divide between the haves and have-nots, and accelerates damage to our environment. In our current epoch, the negatives of globalization appear to outweigh the positives.

Sustainable development again in 2016–2030

SD, as already seen, was a product of the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. Its popularity during the Earth Summit in 1992 as the development paradigm for that decade cannot be overemphasized. In 2012, the United Nations initiated another move at the Rio+20 Summit, aimed at generating SDGs as possible replacements for the MDGs.

A summary of the 17 goals of the SDGs is as follows:

- Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere.
- Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture.
- Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.
- Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
- Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.

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- Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.
- Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all.
- Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all.
- Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation.
- Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries.
- Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.
- Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.
- Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.
- Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development.
- Goal 15. Protect, restore, and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems. Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, and halt biodiversity loss.
- Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels.
- Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development.

Ghana's commitment to implementing the SDGs has been seen in several areas. Ghana kick-started Africa's discussion and contribution to the SDGs in 2010.

The process of articulating the Common African Position (CAP) on the post-2015 Development Agenda began in July 2010 by decision of the Executive Council of the AU (Decision EX.CL/Dec.561 (XVII)) in which the Council requested the AUC, in collaboration with partners ECA, AfDB and UNDP-RBA, to commence reflections on the MDGs for the period beyond 2015. Initial consultations began in November 2011 in Accra, Ghana, where stakeholders agreed that the successor framework should build on the MDGs by taking into account emerging issues such as climate change, structural economic transformation, as well as science, technology and innovation. Subsequent consultations reaffirmed the importance of these broad priorities for Africa. (UNECA, 2014: 103)

Lessons for future development programmes

At least one lesson each can be drawn from each of the six development paradigms implemented in Ghana since the 1950s, for the successful implementation of the SDGs and other future

programmes. The development paradigm of the 1950s was not accountable to the beneficiaries of the development. The beneficiaries were considered primitive and uncivilized; hence, they were recipients of development and had no role to play. There were racial and human colour issues, bordering on notions of superiority and inferiority. The beneficiaries were encouraged to grow cocoa and other exported agricultural commodities. They also provided labour for gold mining. The inputs and outputs of economic growth were the business of the colonialist. It was also a colonial responsibility to share the outcomes of economic growth. This was a development paradigm composed of development powers and development beneficiaries, in which the powers were absolute and not accountable to the beneficiaries. From this, there arose a desire to end the dominance of one group over the other. The struggle to control development or cause it to happen became a contest and a forceful one, until colonialism ultimately lost the fight. Undoubtedly, this is the foundation upon which future development is to be built.

The paradigm that followed in the 1960s could be described as a period of unsustained hope. Instead of reflexivity between development powers and beneficiaries as one inseparable group, there were clear distinctions between the ruling group and the ruled group. Economic growth was achieved, but the dichotomized relationship established by colonialism was maintained. The ruling group walked in the shoes of the colonialist. Even though there were no human colour issues, tribal and partisan differences emerged. Desire to do better than the colonialist inspired proliferation of development projects, but there were management and supervisory issues to deal with in these projects. An extended arm of colonialism (neo-colonialism) showed that the previous paradigm could not be done away with completely. International trade imbalances and internal conflicts, as well as mismanagement, caused the hopes and expectations of the beneficiaries of development to decline.

In the 1970s, the basic needs approach or human-centred development with special reference to Ghana ended woefully with serious public infrastructural degradation and no repairs. There was a greater emphasis on national pledge and other slogans rather than on development theory and practice. The colonial approach of 'do it for them' was used; therefore, there was no deviation from the well-established norms of previous paradigms. The beneficiaries who should have been at the centre of development were at the periphery as mere recipients; hence, they merely received development and used it without feeling the need for maintenance. There was a failure on the part

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of the beneficiaries to ‘own’ development, and development projects and issues were considered as belonging to the government.

In the 1980s, economic growth came back to the top of the development agenda. There was a clear-cut schedule to achieve economic recovery through implementation of a structural adjustment programme. In addition, the political will was strong to get development beneficiaries to participate in development activities. The tailored approach required that beneficiaries pay their way through development. There were tailored prescriptions to cure specific economic malaises, such as the ‘cash and carry’ principle used in health delivery. Feasible charges were levied for all utilities and hospital usage. The economy was brought back onto a sound footing. However, retrenchment of workers meant urban–rural migration in some instances and poverty for others. There were attempts to address the widening gap between the rich and the poor. At the same time, the natural environment which supported the tailored development paradigm was left seriously damaged. Once again, development originated from a blueprint developed by the World Bank/International Monetary Fund and was implemented by the ruling group for the benefit of the ruled group (beneficiaries).

The so-called triad development paradigm was followed in the 1990s to ensure that the three pedestals of development—ecological, economic, and social/cultural—were handled sustainably. Minimal gains were made in two of the pillars: economic and social/cultural sustainability. Ghana failed badly with ecological/environmental sustainability, because development in the country still depended heavily on the production of primary products from the natural environment. Once again, the colonial legacy of primary production continued. However, the approach of ‘do it for them’ changed, and beneficiaries were considered participants/stakeholders in development.

In the background of these five development paradigms came the targeted approach supported by globalization. Performance of the country was graded on percentage points. At the end of the 15 years, more gains were made in many of the targets. Presently, there is a return to the triad development paradigm once more. This time it is for 15 years and not ten years. There are targets to be achieved, just like its predecessor. Running concurrently is the economic growth which started in 1950 and continued in the 1960s. Even though it was eased in the 1970s in favour of the basic needs approach, it is a very prominent and key indicator of the SDGs. At the end, human beings, and not only the nation, must be sustainably better off in development for the next 15 years.

Conclusion

Ghana exhibits a lack of political accountability and shows an entrenched institutionalization of forceful (violent) takeover as a concomitant inheritance from colonialism.

[W]ith the institutions and the social structure Ghana inherited from the British colonists, there was no way of constraining politicians, ensuring adequate enforcement of contracts and property rights, and preventing various social groups from engaging in chronic political fights to take control of the society's resources. (Acemoglu et al., 2003: 51)

Economic growth and economic development appear to be the mainstream development. The key issues are whether colonialism (neo-colonialism), basic needs approach (people-centred development approach), structural adjustment, SD, and globalization (and the MDGs) operate within economic growth and development. The implication for policy formulation in Ghana is a key issue. 'The question is what these positions tell us analytically and where they lead us in terms of policy' (Pieterse, 1998). There are three choices available to Ghana: positive, zero, or negative input and resultant output.

The various development paradigms that came after economic growth and development, such as the basic needs approach to development, structural adjustment, SD, and globalization/MDGs, are neither alternatives to economic growth and development nor substitutes for each other. Rather, all development paradigms are fundamentally geared towards achieving development in general and economic growth and development in particular.

Globally, there appears to be a shift from a development decade (ten years) to 15 years, as exemplified by the MDGs 2000–2015 and the SDGs 2016–2030. If the goals turn out to be achievable, the benefits of the paradigm will include a long time period to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries, participants, and stakeholders. However, if the unexpected occurs, whereby the development goals become unachievable, the supposed beneficiaries, participants, and stakeholders will have a longer period to suffer the consequences. In any case, the time for implementation is subject to amendment and can be reduced, or the paradigm can be replaced should undesirable anomalies arise.

Generally, the civilizing mission of colonialism operated within the paradigm of economic growth and development. Arguably, the people-centred development of the 1970s did not achieve the

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targets set in Ghana owing to the neglect of economic growth and development and the political choices at the time—hence, the refocus on growth and development in the 1980s. At the same time, the basic needs concepts could not be thrown away, even with the subsequent development paradigm of SD in the 1990s. All the same, the 2000s ushered in globalization and the consequent establishment of the MDGs. Going forward, the goals of development have to be sustainable. Therefore, the civilizing mission, economic growth and development, people-centred development, SD, and globalization have all contributed in the mainstreaming of SDGs and will run concurrently with their implementation.

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