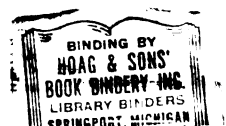


YOUTH IN DEVELOPMENT:
WORKERS BRIGADE AND THE
YOUNG PIONEERS OF GHANA

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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ABSTRACT

YOUTH IN DEVELOPMENT: WORKERS BRIGADE AND THE YOUNG PIONEERS OF GHANA

By

Diane Szymkowski

The central focus of this thesis is an examination of the relationship between the development of a large, unemployed youth cohort in African cities and the utilization of the youth sector in national development.

Certain consequences of the development of this cohort in the cities, such as acts of delinquency and riots in the towns, lack of sufficient manpower in the rural areas and strain on services within the cities, were perceived as a growing problem by the governments. There is a direct correlation between the governments' perception of the consequences of this youth cohort development and the enactment of programs for youth in national development. These programs served to re-direct the youthful activities into what the governments viewed as more acceptable channels.

In the introductory section, the appropriateness of the concept of youth cohort, as compared to other popular conceptions of youth, for this particular problem is examined. A general review of programs utilizing youth in

development in African nations is undertaken in order to demonstrate the connection between cohort development and the incorporation of youths into these programs.

The main body of this paper consists of a case study of the Workers Brigade and the Young Pioneers of Ghana with data for the case study being gathered from available resources in the United States. Since every nation has a particular notion of what development means, the study begins with a specification of the Ghanaian concept of development, which was a socialist model. In undertaking the path of socialist development, the Ghanaian Government aimed at full employment; freeing the economy from alien control; ensuring Ghana's participation in the Pan-African economy; and ensuring that the socialist policies of the nation were fully implemented.

It was found that in Ghana, the Workers Brigade and the Young Pioneers were begun as a response to rioting in Accra, and other perceived negative consequences of youth cohort development in the cities. Both organizations participated in socialist development, were closely connected with political activities and had projects designed for school leavers. While the Brigade was chiefly directed towards already existing problems of school leavers, the Young Pioneers was more preventative of such problems, attempting to ensure that they did not occur in such serious proportions, by working mostly with the very young who had not yet dropped

out of school.

Possibilities for youth in development as indicated by the Brigade and the Pioneers were two-fold--service to the community and benefits for the youths themselves. While the Brigade was involved in projects in agriculture, construction and industry; the Pioneers was largely concerned with smaller volunteer projects. Both provided some type of technical training, opportunities to make international contacts, and participation in different associational groupings. Although the Brigade and the Pioneers did not fulfill many of their goals, they did play an active role in the socialist development program of Ghana.

It appears that the cooptation of the youth into the Brigade and the Pioneers served effectively to divide the cohort into impotent units. As such the youths were no longer so problematic and were instead more responsive to the needs of the government. In effect, the overall national development needs were stressed more than the long-range needs of the youths. Hence, the problems of youths were used as an excuse to incorporate them into development projects which may very well have served chiefly for national purposes rather than their needs.

The overall conclusion from this study is that governments often incorporate youths into development projects, if their actions or the consequences of their actions are a hindrance to the governments' plans. Such social control

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of youths may prove disadvantageous to the long-range development of the youths.

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To Chris

in loving memory

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PART I. GENERAL ORIENTATION

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM: YOUTH IN CONFLICT AND CHANGE

Statement of the Problem

In the last decade in the United States, numerous efforts by governments have been focused upon youth unemployment. Riots in cities like Watts, Buffalo and elsewhere were undoubtedly strategic elements prompting the widespread enactment of programs like the Job Corps. For instance, in July, 1971, an advertisement appeared in Newsweek for the Mayor's "Give a Kid a Summer Program" of Detroit. Its message warned, "There will be over 200,000 kids age 13 to 20 on the streets this summer . . . 200,000 kids with nothing to do is not something Detroit needs right now."

Problems of civil disorder produced by mass unemployment have been typically handled by governments through public relief. As Piven and Cloward have shown in Regulating the Poor,¹ historical evidence demonstrates that in the United States and England, relief has served as a mechanism for social control for decades. Similarly, programs meant for unemployed youth often parallel relief as a tool for restoring order by keeping the youths employed.

Youth unemployment problems have been cropping up in

developing countries in much larger proportions than in the United States. Industrialization, urbanization and educational experiences further complicated an already explosive demographic situation in the 1950's and 1960's. In fact rioting by unemployed young men in Accra, Ghana, in 1957 prompted the move to establish the Workers' Brigade, a group used in national development.

During the 1960's youth became an integral part of development proposals throughout Africa. In spite of the fact that some proposals, which utilize youth in development, were motivated by long-range goals, many programs were regarded as temporary 'conflict-reducers.' The development of the youth cohort was perceived by the governments as a threat because they felt that the magnitude of youthful unemployment, in terms of duration and numbers involved, threatened national security and led to increasing crime and delinquency. To consider such proposals as solely initiative endeavors offered by the governments to activate youth is therefore misleading. In essence, African governments had acted in response to the perceived negative consequences resulting from the presence of large numbers of school leavers in the cities. Some of these consequences were: acts of delinquency in the towns, lack of sufficient manpower in the rural areas (because of the rural to urban migration), riots and other disturbances, and extra strain on services within the cities.

These perceived difficulties were complicated by the changing conditions of portions of traditional society as a result of industrialization and by changes due to independence. The latter is particularly important in that many economic problems of African society were directly related to the controls created by the colonial powers, followed by the changed economic strategies of neo-colonialism.

At times, the youth element has remained unactivated by the government or 'non-involved' in national and other concerns. Conversely, youth has often risen up through its own power and has become involved in deviant behavior. It is evident that,

In developing countries, youth participation represents, on the one hand, a tremendous political opportunity to raise the country to new levels of achievement and national growth and, on the other hand, a recurrent political threat for governments whose record of achievement may not be to the liking of its younger generation.²

This youth element has been utilized by the governments to introduce new modes of behavior and new normative systems, to demonstrate the benefits of innovations, to develop international relations, to work on national development projects, to build a political base and to ensure the future security of the nation.

The central focus of this paper is an examination of conflict and change in a developing country as seen by examining the relationship between the large, unemployed youth cohort in African cities and the utilization of the

youth sector in national development. In this paper, it will be demonstrated how the youth sector can, on the one hand, be affected by the processes of industrialization, urbanization, and educational transformations, and, on the other hand, how youth can be used to effect changes in development, as illustrated by the Workers' Brigade and the Young Pioneers of Ghana. It is hoped that by analyzing the Workers' Brigade and the Young Pioneers, the foundation will be laid for future comparative studies of youth and its role in development, within the developed as well as the developing countries.

In this introductory chapter, the advantages and implications of the use of cohort as a tool for analyzing youth in change will be reviewed. Consideration will then be given to selected African programs using youth in development.

Part II will be detailed study of the Ghanaian Workers Brigade and Young Pioneers, which were youth groups utilized for national development.

Conceptions of Youth

The mere specification of 'youth' can lead to needless bickering over biological boundaries, which are necessarily rigid. Zolberg, in "Youth in Tropical Africa," argues that the term youth should be defined in terms of a "relationship between a set of successive generations rather than absolute biological age. . . . These generations tend to be defined in terms of access to more or less specified

status positions in the relevant institutions of the society under consideration." He states that once the youth attain relevant positions and lose their status as youth the "cohort may retain its status as youth in relation to incumbents of longer tenure" yet will be regarded by "its own successors much as it earlier viewed its predecessors."³ The term youth is too general for the intent of this paper and distinctions based upon age boundaries conceal the degree of overlap between the age groups.

Age grade, as used by Eisenstadt and others is a "broad definition of human potentialities and obligations at a given stage of life."⁴ In a rapidly changing or highly mobile society, the obligations, at a given stage of life, are often diffuse and the age grade appears to be less relevant than in societies where obligations between different age groups are explicit.

Finally, the idea of a generation or generational conflict can be deficient in that conflicts arising in modern societies are not, strictly speaking, 'fathers fighting sons' or vice versa. Many other factors, such as the onslaught of wars or educational changes, cross-cut generations and negate its usefulness. Ryder clarifies this point:

Many writers have used the succession of cohorts as the foundation for their theories of sociocultural dynamics. This approach has been aptly labeled 'generationism', because the writers mistakenly transfer from the generation to the cohort a set of inappropriate associations. Some generationists maintain that there is a periodicity to sociocultural change caused by the

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biological fact of the succession of generations at thirty-five year (father-son) intervals. There is no such periodicity. Other generationists develop a conflict theory of change, pitched on the opposition between the younger and older 'generations' in society, as in the family. But a society reproduces itself continuously. The age gap between father and son disappears in the population at large, through the comprehensive overlapping of life cycles. The fact that social change produces intercohort differentiation and thus contributes to inter-generational conflict cannot justify a theory that social change is produced by that conflict.⁵

Since the concepts of youth, age grade and generation are inadequate for the purposes of this paper, the concept, youth cohort, will be employed. The concept of youth cohort has distinct advantages and provides an appropriate tool for analysis.

As defined by Ryder, a cohort is an "aggregate of individuals who experienced the same event within the same time interval."⁶ In other words, it is the coincidence among persons of some important life cycle event, sometimes the year of birth, but also such things as the year of entering the military service, or the year of the first vote.

Ryder suggests that the cohort can be "differentiated by the changing content of formal education, by peer group socialization and by idiosyncratic historical experiences,"⁷ as well as by the time of entrance into the labor market, by legislation that is age specific, by the size of the cohort relative to other cohorts and other factors. Moller⁸ narrows Ryder's concerns to one predominant factor, arguing that an unprecedented or overly large number of young people is a political and cultural force and supports his assertion

with examples from the Protestant Reformation, China's Student Movement and other youth movements.

Moller holds that ". . . As a rule, young people became conspicuous in public life in periods of rapid demographic growth."⁹ Cited as an example of his perspective is Egypt's first modern political party, which was composed of the political youth cohort which rioted in 1919. This same party was later attacked by younger street fighters and guerillas who wanted leadership to be in their (guerilla) hands.¹⁰ Moller emphasizes that the ". . . demographic factor operates independently of the industrial, modern or 'anti-imperialist' social context."¹¹ Still, it is apparent that the three later factors do complicate the demographic element.

Instead of being the standard bearers for a new industrial-urban order, the youth may instead spurn this role and filter into the ranks of criminals and juvenile delinquents. Though deviance is often conceptualized negatively as departure from norms, some deviance may be positively seen as innovative behavior. Thus, it should be remembered that youth may simply be enacting their role as change agents being directed toward normative ends through rejecting the normative means; or toward deviant ends while accepting the normative means.

Eisenstadt lists a number of possible ways of categorizing deviant youth groups and the conditions under which they arise. Relevant in this paper are the categories of,

"Unorganized youth delinquents arising in situations of 'culture contact'; and juvenile delinquent groups of different degrees of organization and cohesion."¹² While the deviance in the first is totally negative to the larger community and is largely unorganized or individualistic; the deviance in the second rejects the normative means while pursuing the normative goals of the larger society and has varying degrees of organization. The first usually results from culture contact, with the second being a common result from situations where families have migrated to more industrialized societies or urban centers in developing countries.¹³ These types have been reviewed in order to indicate some of the ways that youth becomes deviant and may then cause problems for the government.

When youth feels it necessary to rebel or publicly announce their dissatisfactions, they may appeal to others in more powerful positions to redress certain grievances. They may threaten to disrupt selected activities if the more powerful fail to comply. As Herbert Moller sees the problem, there are only two strategies available to the weak--guerilla warfare or insurgency and non-violent methods. He considers activist youth as weak and holds that, "Since activist youth are weak, facing established governments vastly superior in military power to their own, as in open battle, would be self-destructive."¹⁴ In strictly military terms, the youth may be weak, but in other ways, the youth may be strong

enough to coerce governments into responding to major societal needs. A pressing question at the initial stages of this project therefore was, what permits the youth sector to achieve consideration from the larger society in terms of its needs and desires? Is it because of the amount of visibility of the youth as, for instance, large numbers in the cities? Or does the youth sector pose a threat because of its size and potentiality for spontaneous actions? Perhaps the answer to these questions can be found by analyzing factors which affect the development of youth cohorts.

Cohort Development: Some Possible Sources

It might be hypothesized that the more factors there are which distinguish one particular cohort, the more likely it will be that this youth cohort develops a sense of consciousness and, hence, is capable of acting collectively. The African youth cohort developed as a result of rapid changes, economic, political and social, which were taking place within the countries. The major sources of cohort development are specifically tied to rural-urban migration, unemployment and educational experiences.

Rural-Urban Migration

Africa's rate of urban growth is the most rapid in the world and this is due largely to migration rather than natural increase. Most able-bodied, competent and progressive young men are leaving the rural areas and thus defeating

the governments' hopes of developing the agricultural sector in order to increase the standard of living. Once in the cities, the migrants have a much poorer chance of obtaining a job than people who have been long resident in the cities.¹⁵ In response to the rapidly growing problems of unemployment and rural decline, the governments began to implement various development schemes, which are "mainly agricultural projects aimed at keeping adult males and youths on the land, while, at the same time, increasing national income."¹⁶

The Economic Commission for Africa met in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1967 to discuss the exodus in African nations of young people from rural areas and the resulting wastage of talent. Participant nations included: Algeria, Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda and Upper Volta. The countries noted having the following elements in common: net increases in population (high proportion of children to total population, numerous young labor force entrants, and comparatively few labor force openings); relatively low average level of economic and social development; rapid urbanization; and heightened expectations of youth through education and the mass media.¹⁷

Unemployment

Employment opportunities are often the prime drawing factor of young people to the cities, and large numbers of unemployed youths in the cities are considered potential

threats to stability. It should be remembered that unemployment resulting from the large numbers of migrants, and, as dealt with in Western economies, does not fully clarify the extent of the problem in the African countries. Hanna reports that three types of underemployment are also widespread: partial, meaning the worker puts in less time than he is able; disguised, referring to low-intensity work; and potential, "when there is a substitutability of capital and labor."¹⁸ This point is supported by Birmingham who contends that "Unemployment in Western economies is measured by the number of people without jobs, who are actively seeking work. The application of this notion does as much to obscure the problem of underutilization of labour as it does to illuminate it."¹⁹ He suggests that the subconcepts of 'disguised unemployment' and 'underemployment' be used to present the problem more accurately. This should serve to alert the reader to the fact that the problem is even more crucial than available statistics would indicate.

Educational Experiences

Among the unemployed youths in the cities are two types of school leavers: those who have completed a certain stage of education and those who have dropped out before completion of a stage.²⁰ A school leaver may be further specified as one who could not afford to go further because of financial limitations or because of limited facilities for further schooling.

It is essential that one speak of unemployed school leavers rather than simply the unemployed because participation in an educational system awakens the students to new perspectives and gives them higher expectations. A. J. McQueen set up a typology of youth, which places students in four categories on the basis of their economic integration (high-low) and their socio-cultural integration (high-low). Of concern to us here is the category of persons in which there is high socio-cultural integration, as with the school leavers, and low economic integration, as with the unemployed. He holds that this group, the Stable Transitional Youth, will be "Strongly inclined to risk illegal and unconventional practices which are functional for gaining education and work."²¹ He further asserts that radical politics and crime are the possible outcomes resulting from the existence of marginal youth, which are of the greatest significance for African countries at present.²²

Abernathy feels that education increases the desire of the young to live in the city as well as raising their vocational aspirations. "The elements of the desire are well known: the excitement and variety of the city, the opportunity for more interesting and higher-paying work, the freedom from parental and small-community pressures, the possibilities of further education. . . ." In Nigeria he found that,

Because of the high concentration of school leavers in such cities as Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Onitsha,

Aba, Sapele, Benin and Enugu, their problems are highly visible. By the very act of migrating, many of these persons, formerly the underemployed of traditional agriculture, have become the unemployed of the modern city. The problem is aggravated by the desire of the young migrants to remain more or less permanently in the cities, rather than, as in previous years, to stay there for a limited time period only.²³

Rural-urban migration by school leavers is seen by Abernathy as the physical reunion of government leaders with the bulk of their populist agitation. This reunion can be both beneficial and detrimental.

Recognition of the gravity of the unemployment situation began in the late 1950's and continues until today. Reasons for the concern of African countries over young job seekers, with from four to ten years of formal education, include the fact that the magnitude of the unemployment, both in terms of duration and numbers involved, threatens national security and that the long period of youth unemployment leads to increasing delinquency and crime.²⁴

In this section some of the factors which reflect commonalities of experiences of the youth sector in various countries were reviewed. These factors were rural-urban migration, unemployment and educational experiences. With this background it is essential to look at some of the ways governments have responded.

Youth and Government: The African Example

Government reactions to deviant and rebellious actions by youth have assumed various proportions and forms. Some

nations have attempted to co-opt the youth and re-channel their energies; some others have struggled to repress the dissenters; and yet other countries have bided time until the discontent had passed.

At this point, specific examples of youth proposals will be cited as one instance of government reactions which attempt to co-opt the youth and re-channel their energies.

The first major inter-agency effort on youth work in Africa took place initially in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1967 and continued in Niamey, Niger, in May, 1968. Attention was directed towards the unemployed youths, with from four to ten years' schooling, because of these reasons: 1) the problem of more jobless youth in the cities was rapidly expanding; 2) aspirations are aroused through the process of formal education which cannot be realized; 3) too great an exodus from rural areas can lower farm production and delay modernization; 4) the rapid influx into the cities puts a squeeze on scarce amenities; and 5) investment in these youth (via education) is being wasted.²⁵

Both the report from the Niamey meeting and the UNESCO report, previously mentioned, indicate the need to depart from the past procedures of using youth programs as temporary conflict reducers. From Niamey, the conclusion reached is that the main effect of social programs dealing with youth unemployment has been to "reduce social tension."²⁶ Recommendations were that a stress be laid upon giving youth a

sense of social cohesion with the rest of the community and that social and economic programs be made more interdependent. Advice from the UNESCO report was that, "It is essential that a youth policy should be comprehensive rather than invoked by fears or sudden crises."²⁷ Instead of making policy statements either for or against comprehensive programs, the various youth policies, reviewed here, will be incorporated in order to illustrate the tacit and implicit aims and procedures of such programs.

The range of such projects in tropical Africa, which have been devised by governments to deal with the unemployment problem among school leavers are put into two categories by A. Gallaway. These are 1) the largely works schemes, which are usually of a temporary nature, and in which vocational training is sometimes provided; and 2) the largely specialized training schemes, which may include practical work.

Among the largely works schemes are, "National construction, human investment, workers brigades, compulsory national service and labour volunteers."²⁸ Youths are usually utilized in physical labor for national needs, such as assisting in construction of dams, roads and irrigation systems. Whatever experience is needed is generally gained while on the job. With these schemes economic appraisals are often less important than the recruit's development of personal discipline and more favorable attitudes toward society.²⁹

Specialized training schemes include ". . . youth centres, youth clubs, trade centres and trade schools." Recruitment is selective and voluntary. Some provide further training in skills, some further general education, some are 'correctional' and some are involved in self-help projects.³⁰ It is the aim of a few of the institutions of this type to remain self-supporting; the rest are financed by the local or central governments and by private sources.³¹

Togo began a program to instill into her youth a desire to 'return to the land' in 1962, called the Jeunesse Pionere Agricole (JPA). The bulk of the trainees are from sixteen to twenty years old and are given monthly stipends and food provisions. After a six-month training period in modern agricultural methods, during which time they run a farm on a commercial basis, they return to their own villages. Upon their return, many of them become involved in co-operative settlements and various self-help projects, such as helping to build roads and markets. Gilji, the location of the farm training school, has become a regional demonstration center for the Togolese peasants. Further instruction in new techniques is provided for the young people as they begin their own projects. Troubles with the youth "hanging around corners" have been decreased since its implementation, though no precise figures are available.³²

Farm settlement schemes in Nigeria's Southern Regions address themselves to similar purposes. The Western Nigeria

Settlement Schemes began in 1960 based upon the principles of the Israeli moshavim, i.e., individually owned and operated farms. Here the objectives were: to attract young, educated people to farming as an occupation and to demonstrate that farms can be operated effectively by young people. In Mid-Western Nigeria, farm institutes hoped to train young farmers to introduce new ideas and modern farming techniques. Mention is made in the Eastern Nigeria Projects, proposed in 1962, of the "attempts to reverse the trend of migration from rural to urban areas by making life more attractive . . . [and] to provide some employment and livelihood for primary school leavers who cannot be absorbed in industry, public services and commercial houses at the present level of the Region's development."³³ Initial results from the Nigerian Settlement Schemes proved disappointing on the basis of profitability of the farms. In 1966, it was concluded that, "The capital outlay per settler on the present Farm Settlement Schemes, renders it impossible to make any contribution to the unemployment problem in a country where the population is growing at the rate of some 1.1 to 1.4 million per annum. So far, there has been little to learn by adjacent farmers from the existing settlements and results from another major effort of the Schemes--the creation of a prosperous and enlightened class of farmers from primary school leavers--have been negative and expensive."³⁴

A 1967 doctoral dissertation by Dupe Olatunbosum dealt

with the performance of farm settlements as compared with the school leavers farms in Western and Mid-Western Nigeria. He explains that, "In making this evaluation, the regular farm settlement scheme is contrasted and compared with the less capital intensive schemes in the Midwest, the school leavers farms."³⁵ Employing three measures of performance, "the social psychological characteristics of the farmers, efficiency of tree crop production and internal rates of return on investment . . ." he found the school leavers farms to be superior. "The greater efficiency in the use of resources is due to the absence of a relatively unproductive large capital investment in housing and amenities."³⁶ Since the school leavers either lived with families, close to where they were working, or returned to their homes in the evenings, a saving on housing was possible.

Turning to Dahomey, one can see one of the African countries which appears to be least equipped for industrialization. An influx of young people into the towns has been substantial. It is reported that,

By 1964, Cotonou has increased its population six times over previous years to a total of 109,328; even Porto-Novo, which is expanding far less rapidly, doubled its population over the same period. . . . In the towns, where there is little industry, unemployment is substantial and steadily increasing. It is estimated that in 1963, there were 30,000 unemployed in Cotonou and Porto-Novo and that this number was growing by 5,000 a year. In Cotonou in 1964, there were 20,000 unemployed including 1,000 women. In the 15 to 19 age group, the proportion of unemployed in the towns rises to fifty per cent.³⁷

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Dahomey has had numerous campaigns to curtail unemployment and encourage young people to return to the land. Among the schemes sponsored by various private bodies and institutions there are the Young Christian Workers Movement, begun in 1954; the Catholic Scout Movement, 1956; the Back to Land Action Group (GRAJERET), 1959; the Anti-Employment League, 1959; and the Return Movement, 1964. The Ministry of Labour and Manpower Service established programs aimed at jobless citizens between the ages of 18 and 50, to enable them to work on projects of national importance. Due to the magnitude of the problem, the government has tried a variety of programs aimed at curtailing unemployment of youths.

Young itinerant groups of volunteers, called the Young Workers Brigades, carry out special assignments in remote areas. Another group, established by the government, was the National Workers' Employment League, 1960, by which the government took over both the GRAJERET scheme and the Anti-Employment League, which had both failed. The aim of the new organization was to abolish tribal and geographical distinctions, to teach the recruits a trade or enable them to improve their own land. One rather small-scale experiment is that developed at Agony, whereby the unemployed were each given a plot of land and, after a specified time, were entitled to two-thirds of the sales of their output.

Finally, the Dahomeyan armed forces initiated schemes

beginning in 1963 with the Army pioneers, the primary objective of which was to implant a sense of nationalism and unity into the young people. As for absorbing unemployment, another aim, the scheme had limited effects. Considering all the proposals begun in Dahomey, "None of the schemes, either past or present, appears to take account of the ethnic or sociological factors which might facilitate success."³⁸

Tanganyika (now part of Tanzania) and Nyasaland both proposed Workers Brigades. Tanganyika appropriated £10,000 for an experimental settlement in 1962, with the intention of creating a permanent Workers Brigade if the experiment proved successful.³⁹ Consideration of such proposals came as a result of rising unemployment in the country. In 1962, Nyasaland was planning a Brigade-type organization to meet rising unemployment in the cities.⁴⁰

Mali's Civic Service Program deals with present deficiencies in overall national development as well as providing a means of coping with potential increases in urban unemployment. Basically, the Service hopes to train young men to act as rural promoters of community works after they leave the service. Techniques are devised to rehabilitate young unemployed people in the towns, to improve the life of rural communities, and to develop the young person's national conscience. Activities of the Service are broadly placed under three headings: technical training, intellectual training and physical training. One preference derived

from the implementation of this service is that of recruiting young people who have not yet tried to abandon the land rather than those who have already done so and are more difficult to work with.⁴¹ Once again, the hope to forestall future unemployment and other difficulties is evident.

Supplementary to this is the "Work for Honor Programme" which persuades but does not force the masses to assist in small-scale development projects in their own communities.

After independence in 1962, a tea project was set up in Bonyoro, Uganda, as a settlement scheme for school leavers.⁴² High hopes for the project were based on the assumptions that young people, with some education, would be easily innovated and committed if given the opportunity to obtain their own land. Factors underlying the failure of this scheme indicate the complexity of problems which many African nations are facing. Selection of people from different tribal backgrounds meant that there was often a very minimal basis for common understanding or common normative rules. People were not obliged to stay on the farm, so many left after the harvest was over and they received their share of the profits. Most school leavers had no agricultural background and did not care for that type of work. People from neighboring areas felt that the government was stealing the land. From the technical point of view, the most important lessons learned were that the crop selected must ensure a sufficient profit for those involved and that more careful surveyance of land

should be undertaken to avoid poor sites.

The Nyakashaka scheme in Uganda took from 1963 to 1967 to attain a full settlement population. Settlers were to be supervised for three years and given their own land after this period. Again, the aim was primarily to provide opportunities for school leavers, though it was also a tool used to demonstrate to the peasants more recent methods of farming. Success with this scheme was attributed to the stringent selection of settlers, i.e., all of the settlers were in their own region and with members of their own tribal group, and to the close relationship between the manager and the settlers.⁴³ Additionally, caution was taken to sort out those who were interested in making farming a permanent career rather than simply a step to other educational and job opportunities.

Kenya Association of Youth Centres were organizations in Kenya which dealt with youthful unemployment. Some 11,000 young people belonged to such centers in 1966. Yet many of the centers have recently lost membership since the government reduced its contribution, holding that instructors were not well qualified; and because, for the young, there was an absence of any clear-cut rewards in terms of status or earning power.⁴⁴

A Joint Working Party of the Youth Department of Kenya began its report in March, 1966, acknowledging the serious crisis presented by the school leaver problem. Recommendations

from the Party, if enacted, would probably be the most comprehensive schemes for school leavers in all of Africa. A few of their many suggestions were: the establishment of a chain of frontier settlements for youths along the Kenyan border, to protect the country; better standards of rural living, to encourage the young people to stay in the country; and use of the school leavers in massive literacy campaigns.⁴⁵

In summary, African countries have responded to the existence of large numbers of school leavers in various ways. The similarity of the countries' concerns over youth unemployment was made explicit at the Niamey meeting of 1968. Among these concerns were: 1) rapid expansion of jobless youth in the cities; 2) arousing of aspirations, through formal education, which could not be fulfilled; 3) insufficient rural manpower; and 4) pressures on amenities in the cities. Such consequences of cohort development were perceived negatively by the governments, which then acted to control the youth sector. Specific illustrations from Nigeria, Dahomey, Tanganyika, Mali, Uganda and Kenya provided information on schemes ranging from collective farming and vocational instruction to military service. The remainder of this paper is devoted to an in-depth analysis of two youth schemes in Ghana: the Workers Brigade and the Young Pioneers.

Notes on Chapter 1

¹Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Regulating the Poor (New York, 1971).

²Commission for Social Development, Preliminary Report on Long-Term Policies and Programmes for Youth in National Development, 20th session, Jan. 7, 1969.

³Aristede Zolberg, "Youth as a Political Phenomenon in Tropical Africa," Youth and Society, I (Dec., 1969), 214.

⁴S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation (Glen-coe, Ill., 1956), p. 22.

⁵Norman B. Ryder, "The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change," American Sociological Review, XXX (Dec., 1965), 853. Cf. Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professions in Process," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (Jan., 1961), 325-34.

⁶Ibid., p. 845.

⁷Ibid., p. 843.

⁸Herbert Moller, "Youth as a Force in the Modern World," Comparative Studies in Society and History, X (April, 1968), 237-60.

⁹Ibid., p. 237.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 246.

¹¹Ibid., p. 240.

¹²Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 307.

¹³Ibid., p. 310.

¹⁴Moller, op. cit., p. 258.

¹⁵"Urban Growth and Social Development in Africa," in Urbanization: Development Policies and Planning. International Social Development Review, No. 1, 1968, pp. 39-47.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁷Social Welfare Services in Africa, No. 7, Youth Employment and National Development in Africa (New York, 1969), p. vi.

¹⁸William and Judith Hanna, Urban Dynamics in Black Africa, Center for Research in Social Systems (Washington, 1969), p. 72.

¹⁹Walter Birmingham et al., eds., A Study of Contemporary Ghana: The Economy of Ghana, Vol. I (Evanston, 1966), p. 147.

²⁰David Abernathy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education (Stanford, 1969), p. 42.

²¹Albert McQueen, "Education and Marginality of African Youth," Journal of Social Issues, XXIV (No. 2, 1968), 192.

²²Ibid.

²³Abernathy, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

²⁴Youth Employment, op. cit., p. 6.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., p. 22.

²⁷Preliminary Report, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁸Archibald Callaway, "Unemployment among African School Leavers," The Journal of Modern African Studies, I (No. 3, 1963), 253.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 253-55.

³⁰Ibid., p. 255.

³¹Ibid., p. 256.

³²"Togo's Youth Learn a Trade," Ghanaian Times (April 19, 1968), p. 7.

³³FAO, Agricultural Development in Nigeria: 1965-80 (Rome, 1966), p. 339.

³⁴Ibid., p. 347.

³⁵Dupe Olatunbosun, "Nigeria Farm Settlements and School Leavers' Farms--Profitability, Resource Use and Social-Psychological Considerations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967, p. 175.

³⁶Ibid., p. 347.

³⁷"Back to the Land: The Campaign against Unemployment in Dahomey," study prepared by E. Costa, International Labour Review, XCIII (Jan., 1966), 30.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹"Tanganyika May Set Up Workers Brigade," Ghanaian Times (Oct. 23, 1962), p. 12.

⁴⁰"Nyasaland to Have Brigade," Ghanaian Times (May 14, 1963), p. 12.

⁴¹"Civic Service and Community Works," study prepared by C. Rossillion, International Labour Review, XCIII (Jan., 1966), 50-65.

⁴²This information was derived from an interview with a Ugandan citizen.

⁴³Caroline Hutton, "Nyakashaka--A Farm Settlement Scheme in Uganda," African Affairs, LXVII (April, 1968), 118-23.

⁴⁴Christian Council of Kenya, After School What? (Nairobi, 1966), pp. 59-60.

⁴⁵Ibid.

PART II. CASE STUDY OF GHANA AND YOUTH COHORT DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 2

GHANAIAN SOCIALISM AND YOUTH IN DEVELOPMENT

Historical Background

With the colonial period, economic, political and social institutions based upon 'alien' models were transplanted into African societies. At first, conflicts arose between the indigenous people and the carriers of these institutions. Later a minority of the indigenous peoples were put into various positions in order to consolidate the hold of the mother country. There arose a new type of conflict between the elites, who had the influence and power and benefited from the new institutions, and the masses, who derived little benefit from the new institutions. Austin gives a very explicit description of the increasing disjunction between the young school leavers and the traditional authority structure. These young people who were, around 1950, without work, found very few outlets for their energies in the native authority and status systems. Meanwhile, the chiefs and elders watched the growth of the educated commoner class with suspicion and regarded them as malcontents or agitators. In this evaluation, the school leavers were seen as beginning to cohere as a distinct group, whose

common interests cut across traditional boundaries, who had English as a common language and who were dissatisfied with their lot. Most of them drifted to the cities in search of work and new opportunities, but stayed to become involved in serious political agitation.¹

The middle school leavers of Ghana mounted the threshold of the nationalistic surge, once they discovered how few of their hopes would be fulfilled under the administration of the colonial regime. Together with the discontented ex-servicemen, the school leavers became amassed under Nkrumah's party of the 'common man,' the Convention People's Party, which included under its wings such groups as clerks, drivers and school teachers.²

At first, Ghana realized some benefit from the school leavers' trouble-making sprees in the cities, since their agitations added to the general striving for independence. However, once Ghana attained nationhood in 1957, it was no longer the struggle of the unemployed school leavers and others pitched against the colonial government, but an urban uprising of discontents against their home government. Rioting by young people in Accra was the immediate precipitant of the establishment of the Workers Brigade in 1957.

The dimensions of the cohort of unemployed youth within the cities around the time of independence, can be discerned, in part, from the 1960 population census of Ghana.

The data in Table 1 were selected from the census

Table 1

Males and Females Ages 15-24 in Municipal and Urban Councils: Population and Unemployed

Region	Total population in region	Male and female population, ages 15-24 in region	Males and females, ages 15-24, as a per cent of total population in region	Males and females, ages 15-23, unemployed in region	Males and females, ages 15+, unemployed in region	Males and females, ages 15-24, as a per cent of unemployed in region	Per cent of 15-24 population unemployed
Sekondi-Takoradi	123,313	26,213	21.25	3,926	6,800	57.74	14.98
Cape Coast	56,914	11,669	20.50	1,761	3,416	51.55	15.09
Swedru	20,546	4,363	21.23	606	879	68.94	13.89
Nyakrom-Nkum	23,870	3,691	15.47	577	785	73.50	15.63
Tarkwa-Abosso	49,272	10,227	20.76	1,241	2,067	60.04	12.13
Asakra	388,396	87,120	22.43	13,733	23,419	58.64	15.76
Tema	27,127	6,287	23.17	758	1,274	59.50	12.06
Nsawam	29,793	5,218	17.51	720	1,113	64.69	13.80
New Juaben	53,815	11,161	20.74	1,255	1,721	72.92	11.24
Oda Swedru	52,539	9,365	17.82	1,182	1,796	65.81	12.65
Keta	29,711	5,389	18.14	454	718	63.23	8.42
Obuasi	26,578	5,723	21.53	570	914	62.36	9.96
Kumasi	218,172	49,915	22.88	6,871	10,550	65.13	13.77
Sunyani	15,810	3,163	20.01	315	492	64.02	9.96
Tamale	58,183	11,087	19.06	1,293	2,765	46.76	11.66
	1,149,629	250,590	21.79	35,262	58,709	60.06	14.07

for the urban and municipal councils. Although males and females, 15-24, usually composed about 20 per cent of the population in each council, they often represented over one-half of those unemployed in each council. If one considers the percentages of 15-24 year olds unemployed, the range is from about eight to 15 per cent. As mentioned previously, such unemployment figures do not reveal the full scope of the problem as would figures on 'disguised employment' and 'underemployment.' Since data on the latter two are unavailable, the unemployment figures will provide a rough estimate of the problem (Table 6 in the Appendix provides the tabulations used for Table 1. Tables 7 and 8 break these figures down into separate male and female rates).

Independence put the elites into a position where they were capable of directing their country's development for the benefit of the majority of its people. To speak of youth in development, one must understand the concept of development chosen by the elites after independence. Specifying what development meant for them, helps one to isolate the factors and the changes for which the various models of development were designed.

Response of Nkrumah and the Government:
Socialist Development in Ghana

Between the time of the establishment of the Workers Brigade in 1957, and 1961, Ghanaian leaders decided upon a plan of development which was to crucially influence the

Brigade, the Young Pioneers and other programs for youth. For Ghana, development was to follow a socialist path. In July, 1962, the Convention People's Party adopted a "Programme of Work and Happiness," which shaped the implementation of the Seven Year Development Plan (1963/64 and 1969/70) through the Brigade, the Pioneers and other groups.

In undertaking the path of socialist development, the Ghanaian Government aimed at full employment; freeing the economy from alien control; ensuring Ghana's participation in the Pan-African economy; and ensuring that the socialist policies of the nation were fully implemented.³

Full employment was only one aspect of this socialist development plan. Employment of youth was only one part of full employment. Youth may very well have served overall societal purposes, say in the other three areas of socialist development, without accomplishing much for their own interests and well-being.

The government created numerous schemes to help unemployed school leavers from 1963 until the present. Table 2 presents some of the more important ones.

Youths had been active in political agitation from the early part of the 1950's. From independence in 1957, the government programs for youth were largely aimed at the increasing problems of unemployed school leavers. With the adoption of the socialist development model in 1961, most economic and social schemes in Ghana were unified along the

Table 2

Schemes in Ghana Aimed at Youth and Unemployment Problems: 1963-1971

<u>Name</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. <u>Workers Brigade</u>	to provide employment for school leavers and to use them in national development projects	1957	
2. <u>Young Pioneers</u>	to give practical training in vocations and to develop dedication to socialist ideals	1960	
3. <u>National Youth Training Scheme</u>	to train young people for periods between secondary school and university and after university	1963	West Africa, No. 2396 (March 1, 1963), p. 199.
4. <u>Young Farmers League</u>	to encourage middle school leavers to take up farming as a career	before 1964	Jean Due, <u>op. cit.</u> , p. 33.
5. <u>Ghana Youth Council</u>	to co-ordinate activities of defunct Young Pioneers, ie. all youth movements in the country	1966	"Ghana Will Join Youth Organization," <u>Ghanaian Times</u> (Oct., 7, 1966), p. 9.
6. <u>Loan Scheme</u>	for school leavers who want to take up farming as a profession	1967	"Loan Scheme for School Leavers," <u>GT</u> (June 24, 1967), p. 12.
7. <u>Youth Labour Employment Centres</u>	to find jobs for school leavers	1967	"1,090 School Leavers Found Jobs," <u>GT</u> (April 29, 1967), p. 4.
8. <u>Youth Settlement Schemes</u>	to train school leavers in farming and grant them loans after training	1968	"1,000 School Leavers Settled on Farms," <u>GT</u> (Aug., 1, 1968), p. 12.
9. <u>National Industrial Vocational Training Institute</u>	to reduce unemployment through technical and vocational training	proposed 1969	<u>Labor Developments Abroad</u> (May, 1969), vol. 14, No. 5, p. 13.
10. <u>Employment Training Centres</u>	to prepare school leavers to acquire skills in tradesmanship	1971	"New Trade Schools Planned," <u>GT</u> (April 26, 1971), p. 1.

lines of this model.

Within the context of socialist development in Ghana there were some opportunities offered to the youths through participation in the various government programs. For one thing, the programs were central to the "Work and Happiness Programme," which served to bring the message of socialist development to the level of the common man. Their membership enabled many youths to participate in a full range of development projects from agricultural and construction work to factory production.

These organizations made use of new machinery and implemented new techniques in farming. To this extent, the youths gained experience which would be valuable if they later returned to their villages. Youths who were sent to the Nkrumah Leadership Training School at Okponglo were in a situation whereby they could acquire new skills in trades like carpentry, masonry, motor mechanics and electrical engineering.

Through the Brigade and the Young Pioneers, some of the young people of Ghana came into contact with nations like Tunisia, Israel and the German Democratic Republic. This happened through membership in the Brigade band, by participation in training programs in such countries, by exchange visits of youth delegations, and by working with the technicians and others sent to assist in the administration of the Brigade and the Pioneers.

The public good was also addressed by the groups that would provide relief to flood victims, and help stranded motorists. They demonstrated to the chiefs and others what was being done for the people through their projects in agriculture, industry and construction.

As the agricultural vanguard or agricultural army, the Brigade participated in drives to bring more food to the people. These drives endeavored to decrease Ghana's dependence on imported foodstuffs, and thus attempted to free the economy from alien control.

When the People's Militia was formed to defend the Pan-African community from imperialistic oppressors, the Brigade and the Young Pioneers enrolled large numbers of their members en block into the Militia.

Beginnings and Aims of the Brigade and the Pioneers Workers Brigade

Peter Hodge reported that in 1957, while Nkrumah was attending a London conference, large-scale disturbances began in Accra. At the root of the problem was unemployment. "Stimulated by the separatist tribal group of Ga, the Ga Shifimo Kpee, gangs of unemployed young men roamed the streets of Accra voicing strong resentment over the lack of work, the current housing shortage and expressing some disillusion on the honeymoon of independence."⁴ As a result of this incident, Hodge asserts that the Brigade was initiated.

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Rioting was also mentioned by P. C. Lloyd in his report on the beginnings of the Brigade. "The Ghana Workers' Brigade was founded in 1957 as a direct response to the growing unemployment among school leavers, which seemed to be inciting outbreaks of violence, frequently directed to ethnic ends."⁵

Nkrumah had published a White Paper⁶ which contained proposals for the establishment of the Workers Brigade, after this outbreak in Accra. As stated in the document, the government hoped through this program to provide employment for some of the unemployed, to train youth for their role in national development, and to assist in rural development projects. It was also a device intended to decrease the rural-urban drift of the young⁷ and to influence the introduction of modern farming techniques. Another basic element of the program was the effort to instill into the youth a respect for the manual and agricultural occupations.⁸ Through their participation in the Brigade, the youth would be able to develop a sense of national consciousness. It is in this last sense, that the Brigade has been compared to the U.S. Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, since they both were designed to curtail unemployment while emphasizing the patriotic value of manual labor.

Quite early in its existence the Brigade was influenced by Israeli schemes for youths. In the fall of 1959, a Ghanaian mission to Israel enabled members of the delegation

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to observe the workings of the Nahal, an Israeli national youth organization (see Israeli Nahal, Appendix, for more details). On their return, the members recommended that the Workers Brigade model itself after the Nahal group. One member of the delegation, John Tettegah, became a Brigade commander shortly afterwards and is reported to have requested the technical advice and assistance of four Nahal officers.⁹

From that point, Israeli officers were found in various advisory capacities at least until 1963. Newspaper reports document the fact that two Israeli officers of the Nahal formation, Lt. Col. Oren and Major Levy, had spent two years in service with the Brigade helping with the administrative details and the implementation of new schemes.¹⁰

Although specific mention of other Israeli experts is not made, it appears that the Ghana-Israeli venture lasted for some time beyond May, 1963, when a technical agreement was ratified by the two nations. On the basis of this agreement, Israel promised to provide technical assistance in many fields, such as agricultural and vocational training, which were central items in the workings of the Brigade.¹¹

Furthermore, some officers and other experts in the Brigade spent time training in Israel. One such group of eighteen people from the Brigade and the State Farms spent six months in Israel in a course dealing with various modern farming procedures.¹²

It has been mentioned by both nations that the Workers Brigade was never the exact model of the Nahal. Col. Ababio, one of the first national organizers of the Brigade, said that although the Israeli and Ghanaian schemes had as their basic orientation, services in construction and agriculture, the two were dissimilar in many respects.¹³

Kreinin, who wrote the book, Israel and Africa, argued that the Brigade, in its first two years, lacked a final objective which would have guided the Brigade and, instead, dealt only with intermediary purposes, which he does not explicitly clarify. (It should be remembered that in 1959, Israel began its assistance to the Brigade.) He considered the main content of the Brigade to be work and training in modern agricultural techniques and campaigns against illiteracy, though vocational training was also provided in limited areas.¹⁴

Projects additionally included erection of buildings for schools and small communities, irrigation and drainage systems, small road construction and small water and rural electricity supplies. Kreinin is the only researcher to mention, as one of the proposed concerns of the Brigade, the creation of cooperative settlements as the eventual goal of the various agricultural camps.¹⁵

Organization of the Brigade was to have as its foundation, base camps in each region which would serve as places for the initial one-to-three-month training period which

all recruits underwent.¹⁶ The Brigade was to be headed by a National Organizer, who had had some military training.¹⁷ This organizer was to be assisted by seven regional organizers and an ancillary staff. For the first year, it was estimated that one-half million pounds would be required and these funds were to be provided by the government.¹⁸

Men and women could enlist for a period of two years during which they would be given uniforms, living quarters and a minimal allowance.¹⁹ Payment for the allowances was to be in accordance with the type of work performed.

Compulsory enrollment was permitted since the Brigade could direct the unemployed to join the Brigade and render some useful service. However, volunteer enlistment was to become the main source of enlistment. Though the coercive potential of the proposals has been criticized, enrollment seems to have been mainly voluntary. In 1958, the United States Department of Labor noted that 2,300 volunteers had been enrolled since the program began. What is important is that 21,000 persons had volunteered but could not all be accepted²¹ due to the limited resources of the Brigade.

The para-military structure of the Brigade was another significant feature. Uniforms and rigid physical training were part of the program from the start. Some of the chief criticism of the Kom Commission, which was later established to investigate the Brigade, was directed against the para-military aspects of the Brigade.

Before dealing with the details of the Brigade's activities, brief reference will be made to the strength of the Brigade. In Table 3, the figures for the Brigade from 1958-1967 are listed. In 1958, the total strength was 1,772 and had risen to 11,320 in 1960, 16,000 by 1965, and 17,000 by 1967. If the figures are correct, the Brigade in 1960 had an enrollment which was roughly one-third of the total unemployed, 35,262, of the 15-24 year olds, males and females, in just the fifteen urban and municipal councils (Table 1). Women represented less than ten per cent of the total enrollment.

Young Pioneers

Three years after the Brigade was established, the Young Pioneers was begun. Instituted in 1960,²² the Young Pioneers was to be a para-military organization, a political wing of the Convention People's Party. All literate youth between the ages of four and twenty-five were eligible for membership, and applicants would be placed under one of four distinct age groups in order to ensure uniform psychological development.²³ In reality, the children were not simply 'eligible' but obliged to join and numerous youth organizations were handed over to the Young Pioneers. If it was successful, the movement was to incorporate every child in Ghana.

Directive No. 2 from Nkrumah to the youth of Ghana said that it was "compulsory for all youth organizations . . .

Table 3

Strength and Intake in the Workers Brigade, 1958-1964, 1965, 1967

Region	1958		1959		1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965 ^b	1967 ^c
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Both	Both
Western			975	90	740	124	618	96	512	90	241	25	472	199		
Central			590	70	964	126	850	101	717	88	381	55	623	188		
Eastern			851	80	1145	187	1393	260	1156	238	417	68	693	312		
Volta			763	39	646	38	2177	357	1839	268	1962	1001	3607	2213		
Ashanti			892	37	1381	53	618	98	541	36	765	25	997	97		
Brong-Ahafo			493	15	584	18	894	95	1064	106	1148	131	1320	302		
Northern	1016	11	1272	52	849	38	383	95	309	12	1093	145	1091	207		
Accra, C.D.	678	67	2834	481	3396	745	603	39	577	49	841	60	1454	215		
Upper Total					271	15	256	1	219	13	367	83	930	174		
Strength	1694	78	8670	864	9976	1344	7792	1142	6932	900	7215	1593	11187	3907	16000	17000
Intake during the Year	1769	80	7927	956	2222	552	365	72	438	42	283	677	3826	2319		

a. Source: Workers Brigade Headquarters, printed in 1961 Statistical Year Book and 1964 Statistical Year Book. Ghana. Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra.

b. Taken from the Labor Digest. No. 109, 1966. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, p. 2.

c. Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Functions, Operations and Administration of the Workers Brigade. Accra, 1968.

to participate fully in the leadership courses and other training schemes organized by the Young Pioneers movement."²⁴ Daily announcements listed the new entrants to the movement and indicated which schools, institutes, and other organizations were heeding Nkrumah's message. For instance, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development at Obuasi gave its boys' and girls' club there to the Young Pioneers to be administered by them.²⁵ Teachers and other adults often donated their services as Pioneer instructors and were publicly commended for doing so.

Within two years of its inception, the Pioneers was said to have over 7,000 branches with over one million members.²⁶ Still, the Young Pioneers aimed at enrolling every individual youth which meant a total figure exceeding two million.²⁷

From the beginning, the Young Pioneers proposed to guide the youth in upholding the socialist ideals of Osagyefo, the President.²⁸ Children were to start to appreciate everything Ghanaian in origin in order to counteract the days when every local thing was despised.²⁹ This purpose is reiterated by the Deputy Minister of Education, "For too long there has been the complete divorcement of books from the everyday lives of our youth. . . . Children were taught to look down on anything African in origin as inferior. . . . Young Pioneer programmes will form an integral part of the curriculum of the schools and at the first danger of

divorcement from practical life would be completely eliminated."³⁰

And, ". . . the mind, body and soul of the youth of Ghana" were to be trained in civic responsibilities.³¹ Such responsibilities included the presence of a contingent of pioneers at almost every national function, beginning from their first appearance in July, 1960, at the Accra Sports Stadium. At the time, they took part in the Republic Day Celebrations.³²

The code of discipline of the Young Pioneers sounds like the Boy Scout code: "Love of country; discipline and obedience; honesty and morality; punctuality; reliability and secrecy; comradeship and forbearance; love of work; field craft; unaffectedness; self-control and striving to faultlessness."³³ Although compared by Kreinin and others to the American and British Boy Scout movements, the more specific historical precedent is the Young Pioneers, founded as an institution by Lenin and used in the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere. The orientation of the Young Pioneers has been toward a radical transformation of the society by developing in its young people a total commitment to the transformation, along socialist lines.

Some allege that the Young Pioneers were taught that Nkrumah was their god, which probably was derived from statements like the following:

Monitors: 'Nkrumah is immortal. We do not want to say that he lives forever but that his inspiration, his soul is eternal.'

Pioneers: 'For the cause of Ghana and Africa, I am prepared. I promise to live according to the ideal of the redeemer Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the State of Ghana and creator of the African personality.'³⁴

One of the chief critics of the Young Pioneers, who argued that the group was atheistic, was the Anglican Bishop of Accra, who was deported in 1962 for his statements on the Pioneers. Official statements denied this allegation before the coup which toppled Nkrumah. The government asserted that the goal of the Pioneers was "to inculcate into the youth the fear of God, service to the State and the spirit of Nkrumahism."³⁵

In this chapter a brief introduction to the Ghanaian model of development, that is, socialism, was given. Details on the historical emergence of the youth cohort and the beginnings of the Brigade and Pioneers were also included.

Notes on Chapter 2

¹Dennis Austin, Politics in Ghana: 1946-1960 (New York, 1964), p. 382.

²Ibid.

³Birmingham et al., The Economy of Ghana, Vol. 1 (Evanston, 1966), p. 451.

⁴Peter Hodge, "The Ghana Workers Brigade: a Project for Unemployed Youth," British Journal of Sociology, 15 (June, 1964), p. 114.

⁵P. C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change (Baltimore, 1967).

⁶National Workers Brigade (Accra, 1957), p. 1.

⁷"New Brigade Camps for Sefwi Area," Ghanaian Times (April 24, 1962), p. 6.

⁸The Ghana Report (New York, 1964), p. 100.

⁹Mordechai Kreinin, Israel and Africa (New York, 1964), p. 100.

¹⁰"Two Israeli Brigade Officers Praised," Ghanaian Times (Jan. 2, 1962), p. 3.

¹¹West Africa (June 29, 1963), No. 2404, p. 732.

¹²"18 Farmers Back from Israel," Ghanaian Times (March 17, 1964), p. 9.

¹³"Two Israeli Brigade Officers Praised," op. cit.

¹⁴Kreinin, op. cit., p. 101.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶National Workers Brigade, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁷A. B. Williams-Baffoe, "Experience with Large-Scale and Plantation Farms in Ghana," published in Joint Seminar on Problems and Approaches in Planning Agricultural Development, UNESCO, Addis Ababa, 1967.

¹⁸National Workers Brigade, op. cit.

¹⁹The Ghana Report, op. cit., p. 219.

²⁰National Workers Brigade, op. cit., p. 1.

²¹U.S. Dept. of Labor Statistics, Summary of the Labor Situation in Ghana (Oct., 1958), pp. 6-7.

²²"Young Pioneers Play Important Role," Ghanaian Times (Jan. 26, 1962), p. 6.

²³"Ghana Young Pioneers is 2 Years Today," Ghanaian Times (June 14, 1962), p. 5.

²⁴Ghana Students in the U.S. Oppose Aid to Nkrumah, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws (of the Committee of the Judiciary-U.S. Senate), 88th Congress, 2nd Session, August 29, 1963, and Jan. 11, 1964, Washington, 1964, p. 26.

²⁵"Young Pioneer," Ghanaian Times (Feb. 20, 1962), p. 6.

²⁶Spio-Garbrah, "Why Youth Movements in Africa Are Essential," Ghanaian Times (July 12, 1962), p. 5.

²⁷"Pioneers Shape the Youth's Mind," Ghanaian Times (Feb. 23, 1962), p. 7.

²⁸"Train the Youth to be Useful-Secretary," Ghanaian Times (Feb. 2, 1962), p. 9.

²⁹"Young Pioneers Play Important Role," op. cit.

³⁰"The Task of the Young Pioneers," Ghanaian Times (Feb. 16, 1962), p. 7.

³¹"Ghana Young Pioneers is 2 Years Today," op. cit.

³²"Young Pioneers Play Important Role," op. cit.

³³"Ghana Young Pioneers is 2 Years Today," op. cit.

³⁴Jane Rouch, Ghana (Lousanne, France, 1964), pp. 70-71.

³⁵"Ghana Youth Alive to Religious Beliefs," Ghanaian Times (Aug. 21, 1962), p. 9.

CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRIGADE AND THE YOUNG PIONEERS

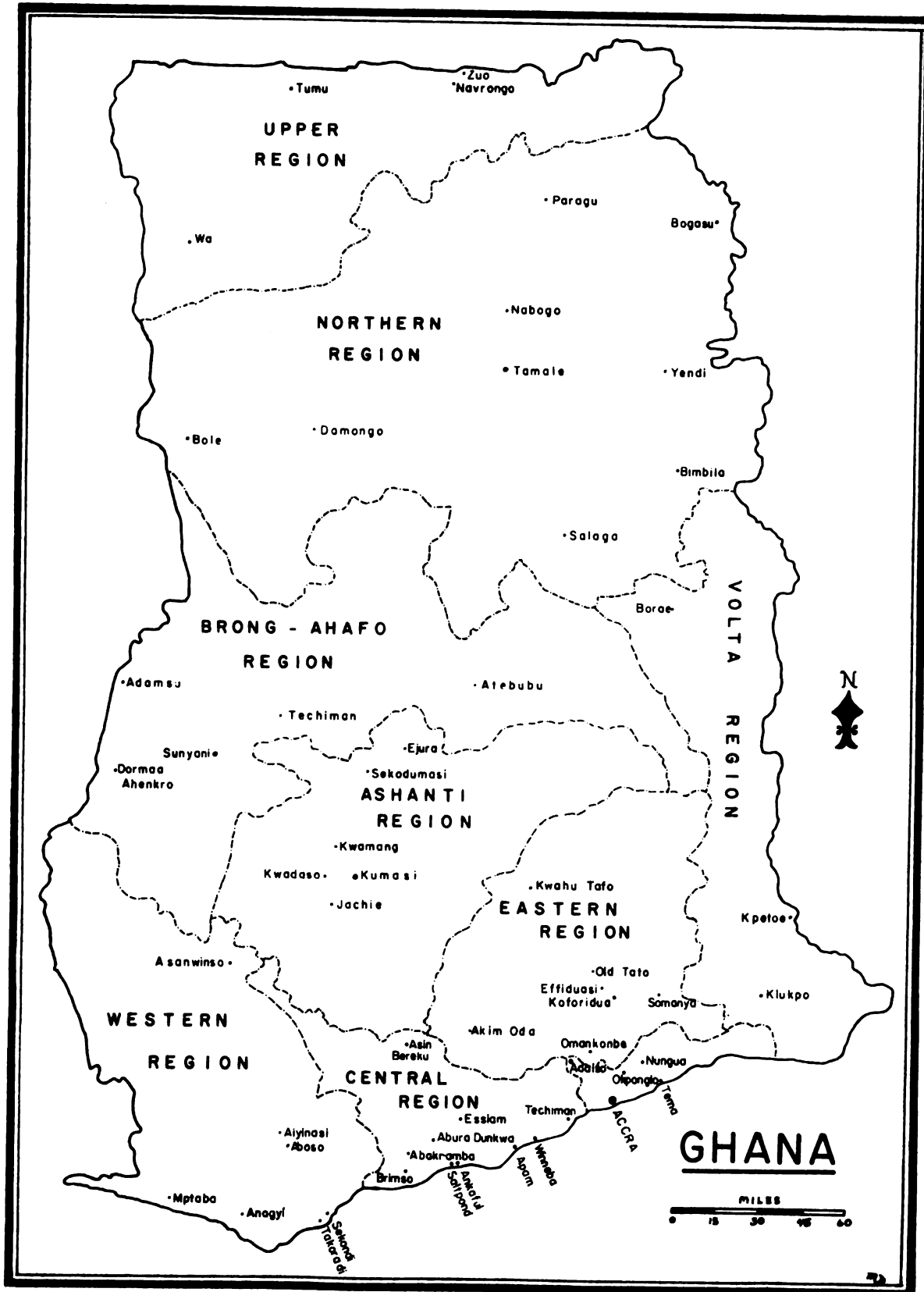
After this review of the purposes for which the two organizations were created, details of the implementation of their plans will now be presented. Since the Brigade alone dealt with agricultural and construction activities, an examination of these activities will be undertaken first, and will be followed by a look at similar activities which the two were involved in.

Activities Particular to the Brigade

Agricultural Wing

Three wings formed the central working division of the Brigade: the agricultural wing, the construction wing and the industrial wing. Each of these sections developed differently and took a different path towards dissolution. One after another, the three sections were subsumed under larger government organizations until the Workers Brigade was totally disbanded in 1971.

On the map, the Workers Brigade camps have been located to provide a general picture of the placement of the camps in Ghana. All of the names were derived from newspaper articles and from the report of the Kom Commission. In 1966, the Kom Commission reported that there were seventy camps,



though only sixty-two have been found on the basis of the sources used for this paper. (The Kom report did not list all the names, but only referred specifically to the ones under investigation.)

Williams-Baffoe mentioned that the worsening unemployment problems in Ghana made it essential to locate the camps in all regions so as to check the rural-urban drift and hence lessen the numbers of unemployed in the cities. In other cases, farms were set up in places where unemployment was already serious in order to deal with the problem.¹ Thus, the farms were located so as to prevent the worsening of unemployment problems and to deal with already existing problems.

How relevant was the agricultural wing of the Brigade to the total agricultural industry? What was the nature of its innovativeness? How did it supplement the rest of the agricultural industry?

In 1962, the agricultural wing became the main focus of the Brigade. A. B. Williams-Baffoe, the Deputy Chief Agricultural Extension Officer for the Ministry of Agriculture in Ghana, dealt with this change of emphasis of the Brigade in an evaluation in 1967. Nkrumah had rechristened the Workers Brigade the Agricultural Army² in 1962 and speeches were made to the recruits urging them to go forward and 'conquer' the problems of the forest and produce more food and cheaper food for the people.³ Members were

encouraged to engage in similar 'battles' for the good of the people of Ghana. It was reported that:

The year 1962 saw radical changes in the governmental machinery for the administration of the country's agricultural industry. The Ministry of Agriculture and the various divisions within it were completely reorganized and a new structure was introduced. Out of the old General Agricultural Division, a State Farms Corporation was established to take part in the actual agricultural production. This was a departure from the old practice of the establishment and operation of the 'experimental' agricultural stations . . . instead of the Ministry and its divisions providing only agricultural services and advice to the farmer, the new structure imposed on them the additional responsibility for the production of agricultural produce. (These changes had one main aim, namely to supplement agricultural production in the private sector with production from State agricultural establishments.)⁴

This citation clarifies the transformation of the government agricultural machinery from an advisory role to an active role as producers of foodstuffs. Along with the other State farming organizations, the Workers Brigade was to fulfill these transformations under the rubric of the Seven Year Development Plan of Ghana, 1963/64 to 1969/70.

Additional objectives, introduced at the time of the 1962 overhaul, were listed by Williams-Baffoe. These were, "to produce foodstuffs for the people who live in areas where foodstuffs were supposed to be in decline; to produce raw materials to feed local factories; and to produce sufficient food items for export purposes in order to earn the country some foreign exchange."⁵

Each individual farm was coordinated with the National Brigade organization through one of its seven sector

headquarters. Planning of the operations was largely the responsibility of each camp, which would submit its proposals for approval to the National Headquarters. Sales of all produce were handled by a special marketing division in every camp with most of the foodstuffs being sold at the Sector's Food Marketing Depot.

For the agricultural wing, Israeli technical aid lasted close to 1967, according to Williams-Baffoe. This aid consisted of the Government of Israel supplying an "agriculturalist, an operations officer, a civil engineer and a medical officer."⁶ These men received their housing and salary from the Brigade. Occasionally, scholarships were provided for competent brigaders for study in Israel.

How relevant was the Brigade in terms of the entire agricultural industry? Of the proposed total of government expenditures in agriculture under the Seven Year Development Plan, the agricultural wing of the brigade was to receive £ 4.5 million of the total £ 67.5 million. The rest was distributed in this manner: £ 30,700,000 for service for the private farmer, £ 10,800,000 to the State Farms, £ 11,750,000 to the fisheries development, and £ 2,600,000 to forestry.⁷ Thus appropriations for the agricultural wing amounted to about seven per cent of the total agricultural expenditures. In terms of budget allocations, the wing received about one-half of what the State Farms did. The State Farms Corporation and the Brigade were both considered the

leading instruments for modernization of farming in the Government plans for the Seven Year Development Plan.

With its allocation, the Brigade managed 280,877 acres compared to 345,080 managed by the State Farms Corporation in 1965. Of the Brigade's total acreage, roughly seven per cent was planted to crops. These acres planted to crops represented only .24 per cent of all the planted areas in Ghana. The largest holders of acreage planted to crops were the peasant farms whose acreage of 7,937,305 was 98.58 per cent of all planted areas (see Table 4). Williams-Baffoe states that the acreage in use rose steadily to 36,713 in 1967, of which 34,610 was to be cultivated and 3,103 was to be for plantations.⁸ However, in 1968, due to re-organization, the Workers Brigade agricultural wing cultivated only 16,000 acres.⁹ As regards total product, the smallholders or peasants are by far the most important,¹⁰ as can be seen on the basis of these figures. Thus, the Brigade in terms of total acreage and of acres planted to crops represented a very minor portion of the total agricultural industry. Reliable figures on the actual production, resulting from the acres planted to crops, and compared with total agricultural production have not been found. These data on actual production figures from the Brigade would be proper indicators for judging the success of the Brigade farm production.

Despite the small size of the Brigade's holdings and

Table 4

Land Acquired and Utilized by Cooperative, State, Institutional
and Peasant Farms in Ghana, 1965a

Type of holding	Number	Acres acquired	Acres cleared	Acres planted to crop	Per cent of acquired land planted	Per cent of total planted area
Cooperative farms	870	339,610	23,705	18,413	5	.23
State Farms Corp.	123	345,080	90,645	64,264	19	.80
Workers Brigade	47	280,877	25,490	19,140	7	.24
Young Farmers League	37	60,362	1,999	1,950	3	.02
Other state ^b	<u>128</u>	<u>88,386</u>	<u>18,238</u>	<u>10,369</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>.13</u>
TOTAL STATE	1,205	1,114,315	160,077	114,136	10	1.42
PEASANT FARMS	640,000	(c)	7,937,305	7,937,305	(c)	98.58
GHANA TOTAL	641,205	(c)	8,097,382	8,051,441	(c)	100.00

^aSource: Statistics of Large-Scale, Specialized, Institutional, Cooperative and Young Farmers' League and Service Stations, 1965. Vol. II/c, 58-59. Ministry of Agriculture, Division of Economics and Statistics, Accra, Ghana, 1965. Reprinted in "What Has Happened to Ghanaian State Farms?" by Jean Due in Illinois Agricultural Economics, 9 (July, 1969), 25-35.

^bThis category includes the Volta River Resettlement farms, University and Mission farms, Academy of Science farms, prison farms and others.

^cNot available.

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actual use of land compared with the entire agricultural industry, the agricultural wing and the State Farms were regarded in the Seven Year Development Plan as the chief instruments for initiating large-scale farming. While individual farmers were slow to adopt innovations, the farms of the agricultural wing and the State Farms Corporation would use new advances in agricultural science,¹¹ in order to achieve rapid, more effective results. As the term was used after 1962, the Workers Brigade implied a workers movement serving as the main agricultural vanguard.¹²

Agricultural camps of the Brigade produced such items as yams, cassava, plantain and groundnuts. The listings in Table 5 indicate where these camps were located and what they produced.

One of the more famous of the camps was the one at Somanya. Comments by Kreinin regarding the Somanya camp, north of Accra in the Northern Region, concluded that this was the most impressive of all the Brigade camps. He found that over 1,000 acres had been cultivated with modern agricultural equipment and techniques. Future plans for the camp included participation in the Volta Dam project, construction of housing for women and possibly the initiation of several cooperative villages.²⁰

Net profits from the camp, from its establishment until 1962, were given as L G 10,192 by the Deputy Minister of Defense, Mr. W. K. Oduhene. Total sales from the camp

Table 5

Workers Brigade Camps and Products

Region	Camp	Products	Acreage (if known)
Western	Aboso ¹⁹	cassava	over 18 acres
	Aiyinasi ¹⁷	rubber plantation	500 acres
	Anagye ²⁶	rubber nursery	
	Asanwinso ^{19,34}	pineapples	300 acres
Central	Mpataba ¹⁸	yam, plantain and vegetables	64 acres
	Abakrampa ¹⁹	cassava, rubber plantation	
	Apam ³¹	citrus	60 acres
	Assin Bereku ³¹	oil palm plantations	
Accra	Essiam ³¹	oil palm plantations	
	Kanda ³³	oil palm plantations	
	Okponglo ¹³	market depot	
	Nungua ²³	Brigade Training Center	
Ashanti	Ejura ²⁶	poultry	
	Jachie ²⁶	yam, cassava, maize, groundnuts, cow peas, and tobacco	295 acres
	Effiduasi ²⁸	plantain, pineapple and maize	112 acres
	Somanya ^{20,21,22}	maize, plantain and cassava	125 acres
Eastern	Omankorpe ¹⁴	market depot, groundnuts, maize, rice, tobacco, yam, cassava and vegetables	1,000 acres
	Attebubu ²⁵	Officers Training Center	
	Kpetoe ²⁷	yam, cassava, and vegetables	72 acres
	Bimbilla ²⁹	maize, rice and groundnuts	1,000 acres
Brong-Ahafo	Bogasu ²⁶	wide variety of products	1,000 acres
	Damango ^{15,16,24}	plantain	
		tractor driving school, tobacco plan- tation	
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before expenses amounted to LG 35,560.²¹ However, in 1967, a writer reported that the camp had been steadily deteriorating until 1965, when it was deserted. As one of the few successful camps, the Somanya center had once been an attraction to foreigners and diplomats. Under new leadership in 1967, the farm had once again been put into operation. Products to be grown included maize, 700 acres; groundnuts, 65 acres; rice, 30 acres; tobacco, 30 acres; yams, 5 acres; cassava, 25 acres; and vegetables, 20 acres. Competitions were organized among the various camps and sectors,²² to create more vigorous efforts at production, and Somanya participated in the forefront.

Only one item was found referring to the Brigade's efforts in animal husbandry. This was a report on the Nungua Poultry Farm production for 1964. Profit for that year was nearly 14 per cent.²³ (This information was published in 1967.)

Industries were supplied with raw materials by some of the Brigade farms. For instance, the Damongo Brigade supplied tobacco for the tobacco industries.²⁴ The camps at Attebubu, Apam, Essiam and Asin Bereku provided groundnuts for the oil factories in their regions. For Ghana, the furnishing of raw materials for factories was relatively new. Through such an endeavor, the country would begin to build the vitally needed link between certain agricultural products and their manufacture. Success in forging such a

link would mean that Ghana would no longer be only a supplier of raw materials to other countries, but would be capable of developing her own industrial sector with the materials.

As part of the campaign of 1962 to improve the agricultural sector, Brigade officials promised to begin growing oil palms, cashew, rubber and nutmeg in addition to maize, yam and cassava, which were already being grown. To develop the camps in areas of diversification, LG 50,000 was set aside by the government.³⁰ Such diversification would enable Ghana to develop a more stable economy, dependent upon a number of crops rather than only one crop, as had previously been the case.

Repeated efforts were made to provide cheaper sources of food for the people by locating markets in more accessible areas and by increasing the amount of food production. The intensity of the campaign to produce more foodstuffs was evident as late as 1947 from the warning issued by the last National Organizer of the Brigade, J. E. de Graft Hayford. Brigade units were to be shut down if they failed to produce sufficient foodstuffs.³⁵ Those brigaders found to be hard-working were to be transferred to more profitable farms if their camps were closed down.³⁶

During the period from 1962 until 1967, the efforts in food production were accompanied by the dispersion of market centers throughout Ghana. Bimbilla, Somanya, Kanda and other brigade camps had established marketing depots to

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service neighboring areas previously lacking such facilities. Where available, these depots furnished many people with food-stuffs which they would normally have had to travel miles to obtain.

In 1965, national efforts were made to assure closer coordination among the nation's chief production units, the Agricultural Wing of the Brigade, the United Ghana Farmers Cooperatives Council, the State Farms Corporation, and the Young Farmers League. An agricultural council was to be set up so that representatives from each council would be able to meet periodically and seek solutions to common problems.³⁷ The Brigade reduced its nine regional units to five. Zonal commands were: the Northern and Upper Regions (Zone A), Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions (Zone B), Central and Western Regions (Zone C), Eastern and Volta Regions (Zone D) and Greater Accra (Zone E). This new administrative organization was expected to increase efficiency and hence productivity.³⁸

Previous to the investigation of the Kom Commission, it was alleged that the Brigade's efforts were in a large measure responsible for Ghana's decreased dependence upon imported foodstuffs. In fact, one source held that the Brigade's harvests had prevented famine in the country and had increased the living standard of the people.³⁹ It is unlikely that this assertion is true. First of all, the other production units, such as the State Farms Corporation

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would also have been involved in bringing more food to the people, if indeed this was the case that famine had been prevented.

On the other hand, later reports indicated that most of the Brigade projects had totally failed. Even though the Brigade's total holdings in planted areas was small in proportion to total planted areas in Ghana, its use of the land could have been productive enough to produce significant amounts of produce if modern techniques and new machinery were effectively introduced into the camps. However, J. A. Dadson confirms that neither the modern knowledge nor the techniques and machinery were fully implemented.

If we go to the Workers Brigade camp at Kanda we will see over 100 trucks abandoned; . . . 3 caterpillars dismantled and 6 tractors broken down. Worst of all, 50 Jeep petrol engines are left unused and abandoned and the explanation given is that their petrol consumption is too high. Fifty Diesel Jeeps have been bought to replace these. So, the 50 Jeeps with petrol engines have been abandoned, although they are still in good running condition.⁴⁰

The Brigade became renowned for its practice of leaving new machinery in disuse for long periods. It is further reported that, "in spite of the considerably high capital inputs per labor, the use of labor technology on the state and the Brigade farms was no less than on the cooperative."⁴¹ Thus, the Brigade did not make full use of the technology or the machinery it was given.

In an effort to assist farmers who needed additional labor for their farms, the Brigade introduced a new program

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in 1966, which was a valuable contribution to the farmers. Through the Brigade, the farmers were able, under this plan, to obtain workers for help in harvesting their crops. This applied specifically to the cocoa farmers, who had to request workers from the Brigade through the Brigade sector supervisors and were then to pay the laborers 24 pesewas a day for each brigader employed by them. During their time assisting the farmers, the brigaders were most likely receiving a supplementary payment by the Brigade, since the amount the farmers gave was quite minimal. If the brigaders lived far away from the area, the farmer would be required to provide some accommodations and food for the brigaders.⁴² The mobile labor force available for the farmers from the Brigade represented one of the unique accomplishments of the Brigade and was an acknowledged success even after the coup ousting Nkrumah.

In 1966 after Nkrumah was overthrown, the Kom Commission was set up to investigate the Brigade. Although the Commission's findings will be given in detail later, some of the recommendations, which apply to the Brigade's Agricultural Wing, will be mentioned here.

Upon review of the Kom Commission's recommendations, the Government removed the Brigade from the Ministry of Defense and placed it under the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, though it still retained some of its previous functions and the name, Workers Brigade. From this point on,

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the Brigade Board was to consist of the National Organizer and different representative departments, which included the Ministry of Agriculture and the Public Works Department. (See Administrative Sections, Appendix.) This, then, was the first time that the Ministry of Agriculture had had an administrative role in the Brigade.

This Brigade Board had been suspended just after the Brigade began. Since the Chairman of the Board was also to hold a position on the Finance Committee, the suspension of the Board meant, in effect, the suspension of the Finance Committee. Thus, it can be seen how it was possible that certain camps, which were unprofitable for years, were repeatedly voted funds for their upkeep. After the report of the Commission was published, approximately 6,000 brigaders were laid off due to the unproductive nature of their camps. This move affected about ten out of the seventy camps.⁴³

It is significant to note that the profitability of the farms was not part of the initial proposal for the Workers Brigade. Beginning in 1962, emphasis began to shift towards making the agricultural wing operate more profitably on a commercial basis. Original objectives were chiefly to bring the young unemployed school leavers under some kind of control, to check the rural-urban drift of the young and to promote national consciousness in these young people. Even though each of these aims was still central to the Brigade, the inability of the Government to fully support the Brigade's

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labor intensive schemes reversed the primary concerns from predominantly social considerations to economic ones.

Explicit terms on the actual implementation of a largely commercial slant were issued by the Government, which stated that,

The individual farm units within the agricultural wing will be operated on the same organizational principles as those under the State Farms Corporation. Each farm will be managed separately by its commandant who will be a trained agriculturalist. Government investment in the farms will be regarded as a medium-term loan with interest and profit payable over an agreed period. Government will make no more provision in the general recurrent budget for the wages and other operating expenses of these farms, but will be prepared to consider other forms of financial assistance, for example, guarantees, or loans for increased working capital.

All current cost will be met out of the revenues of the farms themselves and such commercial bank credit as they can raise. Each farm will prepare an annual development and production programme. . . .⁴⁴

It appears that the Government never fully implemented this refusal to supply funds for maintenance since the Brigade was carrying numerous farms which were not making a profit even after this policy statement was issued in 1963. Still, it was evident that the Government was initiating a series of measures designed to eliminate unprofitable farms. Emphasis had shifted from the concern with school leavers and rural development to economic viability.

Under the guidance of the last national organizer, de Graft Hayford, it appears that the agricultural wing for the first time employed sales promoters, which were charged with the duty of locating where particular products were most in demand. Farm produce from the wing had increased

during his term of office, 30 per cent over previous periods. De Graft Hayford pointed out that in the past much of the produce had rotted on the farms because there was no proper arrangement for the marketing of the Brigade's produce.⁴⁵ Hence, he attributes the increase of 30 per cent chiefly to improved marketing techniques. Factories were supplied with the Brigade's produce such as jute, kinaf, sugar cane, copra, coconut and pineapples.⁴⁶

Over the period from 1969 until 1971 the Brigade's separate wings each followed different courses which eventually led to their being dissolved individually. The agricultural wing was the final wing to be disbanded. As announced on April 30, 1971, the agricultural wing and hence the Workers Brigade was taken over by a new set-up known as the Food Production Corporation. Policies of the new corporation would be determined by the re-organization committee, headed by the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. K. Safo-Adu. Personnel of the Brigade were to be re-trained and assigned to new duties.⁴⁷ The Food Production Corporation also introduced an incentive bonus scheme to encourage workers to work longer hours.⁴⁸ Thus, the Brigade agricultural section was removed from government hands and placed under a more private institution.

Conclusions reached by A. B. Williams-Baffoe, the Deputy Chief Extension Officer with the Ministry of Agriculture, indicated directions the Brigade might have taken

to increase its efficiency. First of all, any site for an agricultural project should be selected on the basis of careful scrutiny of the weather and other relevant information. Staff should be reduced to the lowest number that could effectively administer the program and only the most qualified persons should be chosen as managers of the unit farms. Since the land may be used over a long period of time, steps should be taken to acquire the necessary titles to the land.

Equipment such as tractors and other machinery should be standardized and accompanied by at least ten per cent spare parts for each piece. Each farm would also find it essential to ensure itself of the availability of local repairmen or a local maintenance crew in case of break-downs. To prevent the maintenance section from becoming a liability, it should be run on a strictly commercial basis.

The competence of planners and managerial staff of each unit farm could be judged by the manner in which these men independently executed their own programs. So it was urged that each unit farm should be largely independent in planning its schedule, implementing that plan and finally marketing its produce.⁴⁹

Construction Wing

Data on the construction wing are sparse. Under this section of the Brigade, the scope of activities encompassed the construction of small roads, the erection of houses, sewage work, irrigation schemes and rural electricity supplies.

Living accommodations were constructed for the Brigade members by the construction division as self-help projects.⁵⁰ Estate houses, worth about LG 4,000 were being built by the construction section of the Kwadaso Brigade in Kumasi in 1962. Upwards of 96 families were to be accommodated there. Work was supervised by the Ghana Housing Corporation.⁵¹

Mr. James Owusu, chairman of the Kumasi Municipal Council, announced that the two Legion villages near Kumasi were going to be developed using manpower from the Brigade.⁵² People in the villages were sure to remember the Brigade more favorably, having met members of the Brigade working in their home areas.

Members of the Tamale Field Unit carried out jobs, that would normally have been given on contract, on reduced rates. One such project was the laying of slabs to cover drains in Tamale.⁵³ It should be noted that when the Brigade submitted estimates, they only included costs for materials. Labor costs were paid out of the Brigade funds.

Brigaders were involved to some extent with the Volta River project. Limited largely to the construction of resettlement villages, the Brigade built its first resettlement village at Nkwakubio near Akasombo.⁵⁴ Projects in progress in 1963 included the construction of 377 houses at Kiara in the Volta region for those displaced by the flooding of the Volta Lake.⁵⁵

The Brigade also assisted victims who lost their homes

from heavy rainfall. One hundred and two brigaders from five Central Region camps were dispatched to construct temporary housing for some 2,000 people, in the Benstir area of the Cape Coast, who had lost their homes.⁵⁶

Workers built a new township at Danyigba and erected there 187 houses; reconstructed a former Brigade camp at Winneba into a training depot for the Ghana Police; constructed an airfield at Aflenya for the Ghana Gliding School; and re-decorated the premises of the Institute of Education.⁵⁷ Such efforts as these put the Brigade in favor more with the officials of Ghana than the common man.

Government committees often hired the Brigade for work in their regions. Among the contracts won by the Brigade in 1968 were the construction of feeder roads in the Central Region, awarded by the Central Regional Committee of Administration. Explicit in the awarding of the contract was the determination to make the Brigade more economically viable. The awarding of the contract to the Brigade was also designed to eliminate some of the unscrupulous contractors. In that same year, the Brigade undertook the construction of the Nungua Housing Project, from which an income of NC 2,000,000 was expected.⁵⁸

Mention of the hiring of a quantity surveyor⁵⁹ to advise the national organizer on construction details in April, 1968, suggests that this one was the first professional surveyor ever engaged by the Brigade, other than the Israeli

personnel. References to the Brigade mobile survey team in 1964⁶⁰ do not clarify whether the team members were trained within the Brigade, though this was probably the case.

The construction section was turned over to the Ministry of Social and Rural Development in December, 1969. This move was part of a major attempt by the Government to streamline the functions and operations of the Ministries. After this, only minimal relations were maintained with the Ministry of Defense, the ministry originally responsible for the entire Brigade. Objectives under the Ministry of Social and Rural Development were not very different from those aimed at by the construction wing of the Brigade: "community and rural water developments, rural industries, feeder roads, construction, flood relief work and youth work in the country."⁶¹

Before the construction wing was taken over by the Ministry of Social and Rural Development, the Kom Commission had advised that the Brigade's construction wing should place more emphasis on small-scale rural development projects such as boring of wells, building of health centers and construction of public utilities, such as schools and markets. It was thought inadvisable for the Brigade to attempt to handle such large constructional activities as the Volta River Authority settlement townships.⁶²

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Similar Activities of the Brigade and the Young Pioneers
Industrial Section

Vocational training, factory work and various crafts were part of the activities undertaken by the Industrial Wing of the Brigade.

Basic enterprises handled in this wing were: "Animal husbandry, kente, and chair weaving, ceramics, hoe repairing, tailoring and vehicle body building."⁶³ Essiam Workers Brigade was one of the places where workshops were set up for basketry and other enterprises.⁶⁴

The actual intent of the Brigade regarding vocational training is hard to discover. One source reported that, "The Workers Brigade will not produce highly skilled technicians."⁶⁵ Persons with exceptional ability are sent to technical institutes for some advanced type of training. Upon leaving the Brigade, ex-members will be able to provide mostly low-level skills. Rather than a specific skill, the Brigader should emerge from his experience more civic-minded and willing to continue contributing to the nation's development.⁶⁶ Still another source agrees with the above sentiments, stating that the Brigade would not include commercial subjects in its training program.⁶⁷

However, evidence indicates that the program was at times able to provide some training that enabled men to acquire skilled jobs upon their termination of two years' service with the Brigade. Some members were trained as storekeepers.⁶⁸

Training was given in the operation of tractors, heavy machinery, and automobile engineering.⁶⁹ Various trades were taught such as "tailoring, fitting, carpentry, welding, spraying, vehicle and electrical maintenance."⁷⁰ Products made by the brigaders and displayed in showrooms included mattresses, pillows, handbags, sandals and furniture.⁷¹ Here, the Brigade can be seen as the training ground for some types of technical skills.

As part of the Workers Brigade program, the Kwame Nkrumah Leadership Training School was established at Okponglo in 1961. Run as a polytechnic institute, the school offered instruction in motor mechanics, automobile engineering, dress-making, accounting and typing.⁷² Additional offerings were catering, sewing, masonry and carpentry.⁷³ One of the instructresses at the Institute was Miss Felicia S. Brenya, who taught a course in electrical engineering,⁷⁴ and was pictured with a group of brigaders she was teaching in 1962.

From its inception in 1963 until June, 1965, 668 students were graduated. Mr. A. D. Acquah, the commandant of the school, said that courses lasted from six months to one year. He explained that the introduction of bookkeeping and accounting into the curriculum resulted from the Brigade's own need for more accounts clerks. According to Mr. Acquah, tractor drivers were employed, after their service in the Brigade, with the United Ghana Farmers Council Cooperatives, the Young Farmers League and the State Farms Corporation.

Enrollment in 1965 included 582 students of whom 222 were women.⁷⁵

Women trained at the school were employed by the State Transport Corp. and other departments of the Government. However, the majority of the women who studied dress-making were employed at the mattress factory at Nungua or the Brigade's Garment Factory in Accra.

Young Pioneer members were trained at the Pioneer Youth Institute in Accra, opened in 1962. It was hoped that this institution would provide a potential source of skilled manpower and would solve Ghana's "greatest social setback of unemployment,"⁷⁶ by training school leavers in various trades.⁷⁷ "Since its inception, the institute has been training over 500 school leavers who, for various reasons, could not only not continue in any higher institution of learning but are also unemployed. . . . But we know that there are hundreds more in the Accra Region who roam the streets with no aim. . . . At the root of the problem, unemployment serves as the principal basis of all social evils."⁷⁸ Thus, in its initial stages, the institute was to be limited only to those "unemployed school leavers who are resident in the Accra Region."⁷⁹

Courses were taught in the areas of agriculture, building, trades, communications, home economics, child care, typing and office management,⁸⁰ and radio repair.⁸¹ Courses were tentatively fixed at six months in the classroom and

three months' practical training. Tuition was free. At the start there were over 800 boys and girls in training at the Institute.⁸²

Mr. Shardow, national organizer of the Young Pioneers movement, inaugurated a £ 25,000 auto-metal workshop in July, 1965, as an addition to the institute in Accra. Equipment was donated by the German Democratic Republic. This particular workshop was being run jointly by the Young Pioneers and a nine-man team of German Democratic Republic technical instructors. At this time, Mr. Shardow said that the institute was a full time technical training school where future engineers and technologists were being prepared. He added that more than 90 per cent of the students at the institute were signed up for gainful employment throughout the country even before they completed their studies.⁸³

Those trained at the institute were also to serve as the nucleus of "Pioneer Cities," which would be centers for sciences, technology, agriculture and the fine arts. The "Pioneer Cities" were to be self-contained communities, located at vantage points throughout the country.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, no mention was made of these cities after this and it appears that none were ever started.

A second institute of the Young Pioneers, Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Pioneering Youth, was opened at Kumasi, in 1965. This institute offered 18-month courses in carpentry and joinery. Twenty students and eight instructors from

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the German Democratic Republic were sent there to help with the administration of the institute's affairs.⁸⁵ Both of the Young Pioneer Institutes had intensive ideological training on socialism as part of their activities.

Outside of the two institutes, the Young Pioneers were taught boat construction, with the aims of arousing an interest in the youths in seafaring and of preparing them to man Ghana's naval forces in the future.⁸⁶ It was upon receiving advice from Israel that seamanship should be introduced that the course was established.⁸⁷

Brief mention was made of a group of Young Pioneers from Okwambo in Akwapim who visited the Party press in Accra and toured development projects and other places of interest in Accra. Later, they went to Oksombo to view the last phases of the hydro-electric projects there.⁸⁸ The tours, such as these, and the skills, such as boat construction, served to cultivate the Young Pioneers towards the expected ideals as much as the more formal ideological instruction.

In addition to the training programs offered in the Brigade and the Pioneers, the Brigade operated several factories.

Factories, run by the Brigade, produced only a limited selection of products. At Kwadaso Female camp in Kumasi, the camp made a monthly income of L 25 - L 35 from a small tailoring and sewing industry.⁸⁹ In 1964, the Brigade disclosed plans to establish a L 60,000 mattress factory at

Tema, which would produce about 60 mattresses a day and employ a considerable number of men and women. A new laundry worth £ 22,000 was to be attached to the Brigade Garment Factory in Accra.⁹⁰

The Brigade Garment Factory in Accra was the largest industry operated by the Brigade. Construction of the factory began in 1962, and full operations were started in 1963. The engineer from the Brigade who designed the factory was Major Z. Levanon. Levanon said that machinery had been ordered from the German Democratic Republic and five Ghanaians had been trained there to operate the machinery. Modern amenities, such as a stand-by generator, were to be provided in the factory.⁹¹

Col. Ababio, who at the time was the National Organizer for the Brigade, said that the factory would sew uniforms for the Army, Police, Workers Brigade and Young Pioneers. Employed in the £G 85,000 garment factory would be 150 brigaders, of whom 100 would be skilled and the remainder unskilled. German engineers would be installing the equipment when it had arrived. A five-month training course in Germany had been completed by a team of five men and one woman from Ghana, who were to take charge of running the machines.⁹² The machines were sent from the German Democratic Republic in the latter part of 1962.⁹³

Possibilities were envisioned of offering cheap clothing, manufactured by the factory, to the people of Northern

Ghana.⁹⁴ There is no evidence that these possibilities were realized. If they had been the people would have associated another type of benefit with the government through the Workers Brigade.

In May of 1963, equipped with 120 sewing machines, the Brigade tailors were working on 14,000 bush shirts for the Ghana Police Services and 2,500 uniforms for the Geological Survey. Approximately 200 people were said to be employed at that time.⁹⁵ From these examples, it can be seen that the chief customers of the factories' garments were the government departments in Ghana.

Initially, many of the tailors and seamstresses who were employed at the Garment Factory were taken from other Brigade jobs and trained at the factory. As more members were needed, tailors and seamstresses, trained at the Brigade School of Trade at Okponglo, were employed.⁹⁶ It had been boasted that the factory was the "best equipped garment factory in Africa. The cutting machine can cut about 250 pieces of material in five minutes and the output is about 500 pairs of men's trousers in a day."⁹⁷

Some of the Brigade's products may have been exported. The Garment Factory officials signed an agreement to export NC 1,000,000 worth of locally manufactured shirts to an American company in January, 1968.⁹⁸ If this agreement was carried out, the Brigade would have begun to produce some of the traditional Ghanaian clothes for export.

Unfortunately, reports in 1967 revealed that the Brigade Garment Factory lost NC 261,904 in its first fifteen months of operations. At fault was the inefficient management of Mr. Charles Peterson, the then chief administrator of the organization.⁹⁹

Again, the Kom Commission found significant failings. From 1/1/64 until 3/31/65 the factory showed a loss of LG 26,000. Factors contributing to the loss were: i) raw materials received by the storekeeper were not covered by invoices or any other documents, ii) materials were issued to the factory without any requisitions, iii) surplus materials were not returned to the store when contracts were completed, iv) lack of a system of costing jobs, and v) absence of records on cash paid and received.¹⁰⁰ However, it was not unusual for state enterprises to lose money. When they did they were subsidized by the government for their losses.

Wider Purposes

Certain of the Brigade activities could not be placed under its formal, or stated purposes. There were "wider purposes," which were strategic to the workings of the Brigade, but which were, strictly speaking, steps beyond the declared aims of the organization. The categories considered in this section may overlap in parts, but this division appeared to be helpful in distinguishing the various broad patterns of activities.

Encourage the Wider Community to Accept Innovations.

Government papers, like the Ghanaian Times and the Daily Graphic repeatedly mentioned the Brigade and the Young Pioneers and their activities. A thorough investigation of the Ghanaian Times from 1957 until 1971 revealed that the frequency of articles referring to the Brigade and the Young Pioneers and the content of the articles was designed to achieve the fullest possible impact on the public. Articles appeared at least once a week and, at times, more often, from 1957 until 1964. The new change in government on February 24, 1966, when Nkrumah was ousted by a military coup, led to an expected decrease in the number of articles on the Brigade and the Young Pioneers, except during the period of the Kom Commission. Contents of these articles included items on sports activities, cultural shows, marches and blood donations. Still, while Nkrumah was in office, the numerous newspaper accounts of the Brigade activities were rather obvious attempts to encourage the people outside the Brigade to accept the Brigade and thus cooperate with its innovative efforts.

In addition to this technique, the brigaders often marched throughout the cities in formation to demonstrate their support for the Government, to denounce so-called 'enemies' of the State or to greet foreign statesmen. For instance, a march by brigaders through Accra in May of 1967 was aimed specifically at "deploring the recent insurrection

of a small section of the Ghanaian Army, which resulted in the death of Lt. General E. K. Kotoka, General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces."¹⁰¹ Such public displays by the Brigade informed the people of Ghana of its support of the government and encouraged public sentiment along the same lines. Outsiders or foreigners would also witness such support for the government.

Public ceremonies were often attended and demonstrations given by the Young Pioneers. Over 3,000 pioneers marched as part of Positive Action Day observances in Accra in 1962.¹⁰² When Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, Mikoyan, visited Ghana, he witnessed a physical and cultural display by the Workers Brigade and the Young Pioneers in his honor.¹⁰³ On the first anniversary of the Pioneers, ceremonies were held publicly throughout the country. At Tamale, the Pioneers sang the "Party solidarity songs."¹⁰⁴ This again shows the close connection between the Party and the Pioneers.

Pioneer groups often staged various cultural ceremonies, which were designed to show respect for the Ghanaian culture. People witnessing these displays would have been grateful for the acknowledgment of the worth of traditional culture, while participants should have learned about the culture of Ghana, with which they might not have been well acquainted.

Campaigns were started by the movement to explain the Young Pioneers' aims and ambitions to parents and others.

Films of the Young Pioneers were taken by technicians from the German Democratic Republic and were given to Ghana, for use and distribution throughout the country.¹⁰⁵ Chiefs were told of the objectives and were often requested to perform some minor service for the Pioneers like making their drums available¹⁰⁶ to the Pioneers or teaching youngsters about traditional culture. Some did indeed work as instructors, on a volunteer basis for the Pioneers.¹⁰⁷ Properly implemented, this practice would create a new sense of solidarity between the chiefs and the children, while at the same time increasing the chiefs' prestige through their performance of a valuable service to the Pioneers.

People were asked to observe the brigaders in other civic-minded projects. In Sekondi, members of the Brigade and the Young Pioneers assisted in that city's operation clean-up campaign.¹⁰⁸ Relief work following floods¹⁰⁹ became another service of the Brigade. Heavy flooding in Accra was met by an emergency relief squad of 600 brigaders. Teams of these men had rescued hundreds of stranded pedestrians and motorists.¹¹⁰ Pitching in to help the people does illustrate for the people that the members of the Brigade and Pioneers were concerned about the people of Ghana and were not too proud to dirty their hands in manual labor. Few things can match the beneficial effects of personal contact such as the two groups participated in.

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four-classroom block for a school during a voluntary work camp there.¹¹¹ Over 100 members of the Young Pioneers in Sunyani were to take part in self-help projects throughout the districts of their region, Brong-Ahafo. Plans were to construct a vocational training center at Attebubu and work with street drains in Dormaa-Ahenkro.¹¹²

Other times, the Young Pioneers spent time at hospitals, cleaning windows, sweeping and watering flowers.¹¹³ In Koforidua, and other places, they undertook clean-up campaigns.¹¹⁴ Additional projects included helping the sick in the hospitals, clearing slums in some parts of the country, cleaning projects at Government Departments and State Corporations, and harvesting of crops on State Farms in the summer.¹¹⁵ Care for the unfortunate as in the hospitals or the slums would carry a message, to those receiving the help, of true consideration for the people by the young people in the Pioneers. The services to the various government places would have endeared the more elite portions of the society.

A minor activity of the Brigade, that is, brigaders donating blood, might have served three different aims. Newspaper reports on brigader blood donations demonstrated that the brigaders performed a service to the community. If donating blood was a relatively new practice, then the mention of people earning certificates¹¹⁶ for this action taught the people the value of such a contribution. Finally,

the individual acknowledgment of particular brigaders¹¹⁷ lent an air of competitiveness by encouraging one brigade camp to outdo another, as well as giving prestige to the individuals.

One last item which has been loosely placed in this area of obtaining community acceptance of innovations involves the transfer of lands to the Brigade by the chiefs. Apparently chiefs were asked to donate land, but were not openly coerced. (Some might have been misled into giving the land or might have been forced.) From what Kreinin reported, "Land for the camps was provided free by tribal chiefs who are interested in having a camp nearby, for they appreciate the demonstrative impact as well as the income it yields to the villages."¹¹⁸ (Since land was communally owned, the chief did not usually have the right to sell the land without the consent of the rest of his people. What often happened is that the land was 'loaned' to a person for temporary use only.) This income refers to the number of people from the area who were taken in as Brigade members.

Chiefs who gave land to the Brigade were often thanked at public ceremonies or commanded through press announcements. One article reported that Abakrampa Workers Brigade received two and one-half square miles from the chiefs and elders of Abura-Dunkwa.¹¹⁹ Another time, congratulations were extended by Mr. Acquah, a District Commissioner from the Cape Coast, to five chiefs who gave land for the establishment

of a Brigade camp. This gift amounted to 1,280 acres of land near the Cape Coast.¹²⁰

Furthermore, efforts were made to include the chiefs and other people to certain Brigade functions. At times, the chiefs were invited to attend the opening ceremonies of the Brigade camps, as was the case at the Sekyedomase Brigade camp opening.¹²¹ Courtesy calls were paid to various chiefs, one example being the visit paid by Mr. M. A. K. Owusu, commander of the Sefwi, Denkyira and Aowin areas, to the chief of Asanwinso, Nana Ellour Kwaben.¹²² One omanhene, Nene Lanima Okpata, along with the traditional councillors visited the mechanized camp at Somanya. Later he addressed the female section of the Brigade and stated that it would be valuable if the Government could arrange many more tours of the Brigade farm, so that chiefs, farmers and institutional representatives could witness the scientific methods of farming being employed there.¹²³ More will be said on the transfer of land in the section on the Kom Commission.

These instances, where chiefs were publicly thanked, illustrated one of the mechanisms whereby the transfer of land was facilitated. If the chiefs felt that they would receive both prestige and financial benefits for their area, they would be more willing to give land to the Brigade. Invitations to Brigade ceremonies and courtesy calls were, similarly, vehicles for winning favor with the chiefs, who

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were, in most cases, still the chief guardians of the land. Since such actions indicated respect for the chiefs, they were appropriate for securing the favor of the chiefs and elders, and hence their people. On the other hand, if people were forced to relinquish portions of their land, these gentle persuaders from the Brigade made the coercion seem a bit more acceptable. It was also expected that after familiarizing the chiefs with the activities of the Brigade, they would begin to implement certain innovations in their farming and, thus, they would encourage many people in their areas to employ more modern equipment and methods.

Besides attempting to legitimize the new order, by publicity, marches through the cities, community service projects and "courtesy tours," the Brigade also helped bring some of the people closer to the more modern sector through literacy campaigns. Kreinin had included literacy campaigns as one of the main activities, but they do not appear as expressed aims in any other source. Members of the Brigade were asked to volunteer to instruct the illiterates both within and outside of the Brigade. Literacy committees were formed within the various camps and brigaders participated in mass literacy campaigns in the neighboring communities.¹²⁴ Within the Brigade, the literate ones taught the illiterate,¹²⁵ and literacy certificates were presented to workers who were previously illiterate.¹²⁶

Develop Associational Groupings of the Youths. Traditionally, socialization often proceeded on the basis of age groupings, by which specifically defined rights and responsibilities were designated.

In a rapidly changing society, expanding socialization opportunities are almost inevitable. For an increasingly mobile youth sector, geographical and social, a wider range of socialization alternatives is a necessary element to achieve a greater commitment to a more urban and industrial life style.

One alternative was the creation of associations, groups of individuals united for a specific purpose or purposes. In the Brigade and the Young Pioneers there were sports clubs, a band and other similar groups.

The Ghana Workers Brigade Band toured countries like Rumania¹²⁷ and Tunisia.¹²⁸ During the fifteen months ending in December, 1965, the band, together with the boxing and football clubs, had an income of C 17,370.64. Musical instruments for that same year cost the Brigade C 8,654.54 which brought the total spent on instruments up until that point to C 18,467.35. Though other sections of the Brigade were criticized and in some cases eliminated because of the Kom Commission Report, the band section and the drama section were retained because the Kom Commission had found that these two sections were profit-making.¹²⁹ Members of the dance troupe toured foreign nations¹³⁰ and held dancing

competitions and shows within Ghana.¹³¹

Connections with other nations were to provide the Young Pioneers with opportunities to broaden their outlook. Young Pioneers went overseas, other nations sent delegations of youths to the Pioneers and other nations initiated organizations similar to the Ghana Young Pioneers.

On the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet Young Pioneers, Mr. Leonid Yabochkov, director of the Soviet Cultural Ministry, went to Accra and presented books to the Ghana Young Pioneers.¹³²

Members of the Pioneer movement went to many foreign conferences and welcomed many foreign youths to Ghana for conferences on similar problems. It was said that the promotion of international relations was to lay a foundation for world peace.¹³³ In 1962, members went to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, G.D.R., Poland and China.¹³⁴ Youths from Gambia attended school at the Pioneer Institute in Accra. This was only one of the African nations sending their young people to Ghana for instruction at the Institute.¹³⁵ Members of the Free German Youth of the G.D.R. visited the Young Pioneer group in 1962. Hence, the Pioneer members had ample opportunities to make international contacts.

Some countries enacted plans similar to Ghana's. The Young Pioneers movement, in Jamaica, began in 1963 with 1,000 unemployed and untrained young men. It recruits boys between the ages of 15-20, mainly from the towns. Recruits

are taught farming, building construction, carpentry, electrical and mechanical engineering.¹³⁶ Cuba also had a Young Pioneer League, begun in April, 1961, dedicated to the task of educating the Cuban children so that they become good citizens.¹³⁷

Of the activities confined to Ghana, sports were important. The various sports were emphasized from a competitive and a cooperative viewpoint. Competitions were frequently documented, "Brigade to Meet Police" (boxing); "Workers Brigade in 5-3 Victory" over Government Printing Press (table tennis); "Brigader Wins in Fast Time" (track); and "Brigade Takes on Central" (soccer).¹³⁸ Cooperation was stressed by encouraging all brigaders to take up sporting activities seriously. To this aim, sports equipment was often presented in ceremonies to the camps.¹³⁹ In reality, then, the Brigade sports program combined in the notion of sports two different aims: to instill a sense of solidarity within the Brigade against other groups and to root all members in "communal rather than individualistic social practices."¹⁴⁰ Sports competitions pitched the Brigade against non-members and the latter implies the unity of members through sports activities.

The Young Pioneers were similarly involved in sports like boxing and track.¹⁴¹ As with the Brigade, the sports enabled the Young Pioneers to develop a sense of in-group solidarity, by competing with non-Pioneer groups, especially

if the events were also money-making events.

It would be expected that membership in these types of associations based upon particular interests would provide a foundation, for the youths involved, for participation in similar organizations which are said to be more predominant in the urban sector. The chief distinction between these associations or groupings would be the fact that membership in the associations usually encompasses only a very limited or partial section of the person's total activities, whereas traditionally, most different spheres of activity overlap considerably.

Of course, young people were introduced to these same types of associations or groupings in school, so the Brigade in this sense simply made an extension of the formal educational system by its implementation of such associations.

Build a Political Base. From the evidence on the Brigade one can clearly distinguish three levels of political instrumentation: national, Pan-African and international. The first two were closely connected with the Convention People's Party as will be further elaborated.

Indications of the potential use of the Brigade came early. In 1962, the Deputy Minister of Finance and Trade, Mr. Onwuna-Agyeman, told members and officials of the Brigade of "their responsibility to the Party and the State."¹⁴²

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, the C.P.P. gathered a broad political base from the discontented ex-servicemen

and school leavers, which provided the momentum for the independence agitations. It was later revealed by the Kom Commission that of "all the various wings of the disbanded C.P.P., none excelled the Workers Brigade in notoriety." It continues, ". . . many of the brigaders were well known ex-convicts or criminals and former action troopers of the disbanded C.P.P. They operated more or less like the 'commando' unit of the C.P.P. and terrorized individuals into submitting to the will of the Party of Party functionaries. This was the most notable during elections which they helped rig."¹⁴³

During one election, Austin noted that local opposition to the C.P.P. propaganda resulted in the shooting of two brigaders in the Ashanti Region by irate villagers.¹⁴⁴

Members of the Young Pioneer group were involved in the national political activities. As stated earlier, the group was begun as a wing or an offshoot of the "dynamic" C.P.P.

Pan-African aims were also evident. Men and women received daily military training.¹⁴⁵ Aside from the more obvious consequences of developing the bodies of the young people and instilling into them a sense of discipline, the military exercises could be easily beneficial in combat situations. Note that following the creation of the Ghana People's Militia by Nkrumah in November of 1965, Mr. Kofi Baako, the Defense Minister, "commended the Workers Brigade for enrollment en block [my emphasis] as full-time members

of the Ghana People's Militia, a few minutes after the announcement of its formation by Osagyefo, the President."¹⁴⁶ The creation of the People's Militia came after the enactment of the Defence of Africa Bill in Ghana.¹⁴⁷ This Militia was to defend African nations from the theft of their independence by people like the "racist Ian Smith" and others.¹⁴⁸ Young Pioneers were also trained for the People's Militia.

Among the things listed by the Kom Commission as underlying causes of Brigade malpractices were the paramilitarism in the Brigade and its unnecessary political interference. In line with this criticism, uniforms were banned from future use¹⁴⁹ and more careful review of qualifications for administrative positions were to be made.

On an international level, the numerous trips taken by the Brigade and the Pioneer members via the band tours and the youth group exchanges, do point to a definite endeavor to connect the Brigade and the Pioneers closely with other nations. This promotion of international relations through the young people had the advantage of linking Ghana with these countries in other areas, say as with economic or technical assistance being received from Israel or the German Democratic Republic.

In this section, the agricultural and construction wings of the Brigade have been examined, followed by a presentation of the areas of overlapping concerns of the Brigade and the Young Pioneers. These areas were: industrial work

and vocational training; and wider purposes, that is, encouraging the wider community to accept innovations, developing associational groupings of the young and building a political base.

It is obvious that all of these youth programs in Ghana and other African countries were not successful. However, the range of the activities is impressive and demonstrates the numerous possibilities for responding creatively to needed societal changes. The so-called developed countries such as the U.S. have much to gain by giving serious thought to some of the development programs discussed herein. Many of the pressing social problems affecting the poor and the racially oppressed groups of this country might be responded to in similar ways. On the one hand, it can be said that some of the responses are merely different ways of establishing greater control over the unfortunates. This issue must receive some new consideration.

On the other hand, developing countries have in many instances responded creatively, and it is to these issues that all countries must look. Perhaps countries will be able to extrapolate the essence of such creativity and incorporate this quality into programs that seek to fully develop the youth rather than control them.

Notes on Chapter 3

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- ³"24 Brigade Tractor Operators Pass Out," Ghanaian Times (March 1, 1962), p. 9.
- ⁴Economic Survey: Ghana, Accra, 1963.
- ⁵Williams-Baffoe, op. cit.
- ⁶Ibid.
- ⁷West Africa (May 4, 1963), No. 2396, p. 481.
- ⁸Baffoe, op. cit.
- ⁹"Brigade Opens Depots in All Regions," Ghanaian Times (April 24, 1968), p. 1.
- ¹⁰Ghana: An Economic Survey (Aug., 1964), Accra, p. 4.
- ¹¹Seven Year Development Plan: A Brief Outline, Office of the Planning Commission, 1963/64-1969/70, Accra, p. 7.
- ¹²"Workers Brigade, a Training Ground for National Service," Ghanaian Times (June 7, 1962), p. 5.
- ¹³"More Brigade Camps for the North," Ghanaian Times (Dec. 17, 1962), p. 4.
- ¹⁴"98 Brigaders Are Now Qualified Storekeepers," Ghanaian Times (Jan. 19, 1966), p. 3.
- ¹⁵"They Learn Tractor Driving," Ghanaian Times (July 26, 1962), p. 4.
- ¹⁶"Brigade Answers the Call," Ghanaian Times (Nov. 15, 1962), p. 1.
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²⁹John Nabila, Cash Cropping in Dagomba, Report No. 5, Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana and Program of African Studies, Northwestern Univ., Summer, 1968, p. 24.

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³²"Brigaders Maize Ready for Sale," Ghanaian Times (Jan. 22, 1963), p. 2.

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³⁴"More Food for All," Ghanaian Times (May 14, 1965), p. 9.

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⁵⁹"Brigade Opens Depots in All Regions," op. cit.

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⁷²"Brigade Helps in Nation Building," Ghanaian Times (April 10, 1961), p. 7.

⁷³"668 Have Passed Out of Brigade Training School," Ghanaian Times (June 30, 1965), p. 9.

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CHAPTER 4

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion of the Kom Commission was that the Brigade had totally failed. The Young Pioneers was banned the very day that Nkrumah was overthrown. Besides the more blatant shortcomings, what can be gleaned from these two organizations in regards to youth and its role in development? What were the contributions made by the Brigade? and the Young Pioneers?

First of all, let us look at the Young Pioneers. Unlike the Workers Brigade which lasted for some five years after the coup, the Young Pioneers were banned immediately after the National Liberation Council took over in March of 1966.¹

The United States held Senate hearings as early as 1963 and 1964 to consider the demands of students from Ghana who wanted the United States to discontinue aid to Nkrumah. Quite a bit of criticism was leveled against the Young Pioneers by the students who testified. One testimony revealed that the children were told that they no longer belonged to their parents or anyone else but Nkrumah.² Another held that the children were enrolled, against their will at times, and instructed in communism.³ When students in Mfantshipim, a province in the Cape Coast, refused to join the Pioneers,

their teacher supported them. He was then questioned by police and later died of injuries received during the interrogation. It was noted that a military academy, a naval academy and an air force academy were established through the Young Pioneers with officers usually as young as fourteen years.⁴

One final point is the reference to the African Freedom Fighters as an organization established to overthrow African governments, that is, governments of the puppet or neocolonialist regimes.⁵ Members from both the Workers Brigade and the Young Pioneers were eligible for membership in and often trained for the African Freedom Fighters.

Criticism from the new government of Ghana was just as severe. It was noted that parents and guardians were sometimes incarcerated because of reports from their children to security officers. Within the schools, discipline was close to impossible since members of the Young Pioneers were assured of immunity by their officers. If any headmaster enforced discipline, he faced political victimization. In place of the parents' control, the children were capable of forcing parents into submission because of fear of political reprisals.⁶

A probe to investigate the Young Pioneers was ordered in March of 1967.⁷ As of this time, it is doubtful that the probe occurred, though it might well have been conducted without much coverage from the newspapers.

When Nkrumah was ousted in 1966, the National Liberation Council ordered a probe into the activities of the Convention People's Party, the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement, the Ghana Farmers Cooperative Council, the Ideological Institute, the Workers Brigade and other units.⁸ The Kom Commission was the name of the commission specifically appointed to investigate the Workers Brigade. The Kom Commission began its proceedings in July, 1966, and continued until June 26, 1967.

One of the principal findings was that the original Finance Committee of the Brigade (see the Administrative Sections, Appendix) had been suspended in 1959 along with the suspension of the seven-member Brigade Board. Since the Board was to be in charge of control and management of the Brigade, its suspension meant that there was no effective control and management and further that the Board's check and control in the Finance Committee was non-existent.⁹

Since some of the sections of the agricultural wing did not operate profitably, the Commission advised that the unproductive units should be dissolved and its labor force employed in other development work.¹⁰

Other administrative and financial changes, recommended for the Brigade, included the closing of all exclusively female camps, the revision of the Welfare Fund, initiation of time cards for monthly rather than for four-month periods and the introduction of time clocks.¹¹

Regarding personnel, the Kom Commission had the following overall recommendations. First, all officers ever convicted of crimes were to be fired; and all other members (non-officers) convicted of crimes should be placed in carefully selected positions, where they could be adequately supervised. Next, a minimum educational qualification, for example, a Middle School Leaving Certificate or its equivalent in job experience, should be the basis for future employment in the Brigade. Third, salary scales were to be reviewed. Finally, the Brigade's age of compulsory retirement should be the same as that in the Civil Service and Statutory Corps, this being sixty years.

Its conclusions were:

"1) that since its inception the Government has spent over LG 15 million on the Brigade without any hope of ever retrieving any part of this sum;

2) that most brigaders take their pay as unemployment benefits;

3) that most of its projects have completely failed;

4) that in the past the Brigade was used as an instrument of terrorism, for rigging elections, and was a dumping ground for people of dubious character;

5) that most of the produce and products were stolen before they got to the market and were sold, with the greater part of the money realized never reaching the Brigade coffers; and

6) embezzlement on a large scale by its main officers."¹²

The Commission clarified the policies on land acquisition employed by the Brigade. Its Report states that, "A perusal of these agreements (between the Brigade and the grantors of the land) reveal that in none of the acquisitions did the Brigade pay any compensation, and that what was in all cases granted was possessory license and not an absolute gift of the land so occupied."¹³

At the time of the inquiry, total acreage of the Brigade was over 42,000 acres. Thus, it was recommended that the acquisition of lands be regularized in conjunction with the Attorney General's Office. Most of the grievances which arose in respect to these land transactions started when the offers made to the land grantors, of employment for significant numbers from their areas, went unfulfilled or when offers were realized but men were later laid off.

Aside from the more critical comments, one project, reviewed favorably, was the last experiment of the Brigade in 1966, which made a labor force available to the cocoa farmers. Since this was a success, it was advised that the project be continued and that the project be extended to include farmers of other crops like rubber, tobacco, corn and yam.

Closing comments by the Commission indicated that it was the unanimous decision of the members of the Commission to retain the Brigade since the original purposes, as

stated in the National White Paper creating the Brigade, were still valid and acceptable.¹⁴ The only restrictions were that the Brigade be divested of its military pretensions and be converted gradually into a corporation. It was clear to the Commission that "the Brigade cannot be another Nahal or Kibbutz, because the spirit which animates these movements in Israel is of a particular type and cannot be imported into Ghana."¹⁵ And finally, it was decided that, "It may be an advantage to the Brigade and the nation as a whole if the Brigade will start a scheme of training in certain trades, so that school leavers are not forced to make the Brigade a blind-alley career but as a means to an end."¹⁶

What Was Accomplished in Line with the
Expressed Purposes of the Brigade?

1. By 1968, the Brigade had established marketing depots in all regional capitals. These served the purpose of making foodstuffs more readily available to the people and supplying this food at cheaper prices.
2. The last project of the Brigade, by which the brigaders were employed at minimal costs, by the cocoa farmers, was regarded by the Kom Commission as highly successful. Suggestions were made that the program be expanded to include the other types of farmers who might need help in harvesting.
3. Mechanization and agricultural innovations were once the trademark of the Somanya camp, the 'showplace for

foreign diplomats.' At one time, around 1966, it began recovering from a period of stagnation. New techniques and machinery were obviously used effectively in the earlier stages of the camp; later stagnation appears to have been a common result in all the camps, since much machinery went to waste after the initial enthusiasm.

4. Nungua poultry farm made a profit of 14 per cent in 1964, as reported in 1967. Bimbilla camp provided good food at cheaper prices than the regular markets, as reported in 1968.

5. Brigade farms produced raw material for factories, from 1962 until 1968. These materials included tobacco, rubber, jute, kinaf, sugar cane, copra, coconut and pine-apples.

6. The Brigade band was found to be a profit-making enterprise and the Commission recommended that it be retained.

These then were the more tangible, concrete accomplishments. As with most failures, one learns. If one could accurately judge how much the Brigade and the Pioneers developed socialist ideals in the members as well as the other people of Ghana, one would obtain a more complete picture of the activities of the Brigade and the Pioneers.

Issues Raised by Such Programs

A number of issues surfaced as a result of this particular study. The growth and the decline of development programs for youth suggest many of the larger concerns of

the so-called developing countries. While it is impossible to exhaust the range of issues, some of the major ones are indicated below.

1. The multitude of programs created in Ghana to deal with problems of unemployed school leavers was quite ineffective.

As Table 2 (p. 32) indicates, there have been numerous programs which were meant to deal with the youth problem at least from 1957 until 1971. Yet, the school leaver problem still exists in crucial proportions. Ghana's general level of unemployment had gone from 11,300 in 1960 to 17,660 in 1970. (See Table 9, Appendix.) Simply the fact that the nation still feels a need to implement programs for school leavers indicates that the problem has not been eliminated.

At the root of the problem is the outmoded educational system. Attacks on the end results will never be totally effective. Further, it seems that in a country where resources are scarce, any overlaps that exist between programs place a strain on these resources. Better coordination should be sought among these programs to avoid such overlaps.

2. Another aspect of the programs themselves is that multi-functional groups like the Brigade might be unpractical for a developing nation.

More specialized groups might be more self-sustaining. The eventual placement of each of the wings of the Brigade

under more specialized organizations seems to indicate that programs might be more effective if they delimited the area of their concerns into say one aspect of development, e.g., agriculture. Again, for economic viability, the more specialized group might be more useful.

If, on the other hand, one wanted to give the youth the largest possible offerings, then the multi-purpose group could prove more appropriate. Still, the entire issue of multi-purpose versus more specialized groups bears further investigation before definitive statements can be made.

3. The transfer of land from the people to the Government or to one of its organizations in national development, creates numerous problems.

Chiefs donated land to the Brigade, but later demanded the return of the land, which the Brigade had no legal title to; or else they demanded that they be compensated for plantations which were destroyed by the creation of camps. With communal ownership of lands in many parts of Africa, even the acquisition of titles to the land does not solve the problem.

People in other development projects have accused the government of stealing the land even after it was properly acquired. The root of the problem is that any type of permanent transfers of land will meet resistance from the people who do not abide by such a value system. The purchasing of land is part of the alien legal structure which

has not been fully understood or accepted by the people in many cases. Once again, serious consideration must be given to the education of the people and especially to the accommodation of the laws to their wishes wherever possible.

In the meantime, countries attempting to acquire land for projects might investigate the possibility of leasing the lands they need for set periods of time.

4. A parallel concern is that programs which entail a multitude of abuses of privileges and power risk the chance of alienating the more modern from the traditional sector and vice versa.

There would have been a tremendous change in the cleavages between the traditional and the modern sectors, if the Brigade and the Pioneers had not enabled people in the groups to break laws or bully people, simply because of their positions in the Party or membership in the organizations. Hostility was generated by the actions of certain brigaders and pioneers and this indeed made people less supportive of innovations and of socialist aims, rather than generating loyalty to the Government and the entire program of development.

5. A similar problem relates to the effect of such programs on the nature and development of the cohort itself.

Perhaps cooptation of the youth into the Brigade and the Pioneers served to effectively divide the cohort into impotent units. If the prime similarity between the youths

is their unemployed status, then the moment they obtain a job, they will no longer feel close to those who remain unemployed. This is especially true where tribal or other factors might run contrary to the cohesive nature of the unemployed school leaver position. Once again, one might want to know how many factors the youths do have in common and whether these factors would provide a sense of long-lasting cohesiveness.

As mentioned previously, in the specification of the cohort, the common elements in the youths' experiences were unemployment, partial education, and their position as young people. Participation in political activities became another unifying factor. Two of the common elements might be interpreted as rather transitional stages, that is, the constantly changing position of youth and the intricately interrelated problem of unemployment. Political experiences and some education might be more permanently incorporated characteristics of a cohort. These are all empirical questions which need much more attention from behavioral scientists as well as governmental agencies.

6. This brings us to the next issue that one must not judge a program in development solely by its economic viability, as was done in the last years of the Brigade.

Though every program has a cost in terms of resource allocation, even in socialist countries, economic profitability alone becomes a rather sterile way of looking at a

program. The initial concern, which was expressed over the school leaver problem, was later changed to an emphasis on the economic profitability of the Brigade.

Many intangible aspects of the program may become much more meaningful than questions on the ability of an organization to become a successful business enterprise. One of the better procedures is to consider how such a program fits into the entire concept of national development for a particular nation. Any opportunities the youths gained in the way of training, contact with other nations, and experiences in groups should be considered primary concerns.

It has been remarked that:

The size of a youth group, its national or international character and the complexity of its organization should not be criteria for determining its importance for national development work. Some of the best efforts have been made by groups hardly larger than neighborhood gangs and with nowhere to meet except each other's houses. These varied local groups tend to come and go--they do not have the life span of the larger national or international movements, do not have their national cohesion, administrative experience or school and church structure to extend their movement. They are, by the same token, less stereotyped, more flexible and responsive to local needs and often attract the type of person who is repelled by the formality, the uniform and the prestige of the larger movements.¹⁷

Perhaps it would be more appropriate to supplement the more organized groups with some that are more flexible. These and other policies would encourage a variety of criteria rather than a purely economic review of the group's progress.

7. It is difficult to manipulate the populace against neo-colonialism and other types of control, which alien powers

still exert over a country even after independence.

Once the enemy is no longer physically in the country, it is more difficult to mobilize the people against the less obvious types of control like foreign investment or ownership of the plantations and factories.¹⁸ A model, such as provided by the Israeli Nahal, was put under a defense organization and was successful. On the other hand, the placement of the Brigade under the Ministry of Defence led to numerous abuses within the Brigade. People in Israel know exactly who they are defending themselves against and what they are fighting for, but the spirit motivating these people towards defense of their homeland in Israel is not to be found as readily in countries not engaged in open combat. Implementation of a program of socialism in a country is bound to be met by reactionary elements who have profited from the old system. This was what happened in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.¹⁹

The hard fact is that most common people, who do not understand the intricacies of the economic system which binds their country to other countries, will not be readily mobilized into a fight against alien strongholds. Either a nation must educate the masses or expect to lose them in any confrontation against neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah and his Ministers wanted to build a socialist nation. It is not at all evident whether the people of Ghana fully supported this goal or rejected it. When one government

overthrows another it may or may not represent the majority of the people. What might be the case is that the abuses, which accompanied the introduction of the socialist program, turned the people away from the government instead of bringing them enthusiastically behind the programs. What is more likely is that the people of Ghana would have backed the socialist program if they had been better informed about the issues and had not witnessed all the corruptions accompanying the programs. The chiefs gave the land, but they wanted it returned; they did not truly understand or believe in the ownership of the land by the government. Perhaps, if there had been a full scale indoctrination program whereby all the people would have the socialist goals clarified, there might have been a more open show of support for the socialist programs.

One nation which has had relative success in 'educating' her people as to the national revolutionary goals was Red China. People who were illiterate were taught to read, so that they could read Mao's works and discuss them. Every break from work finds the workers engaged in studying who are reactionaries, what should be done to them, and so on. Furthermore, the students were made to work side by side with the peasantry on the intricacies of dialectical materialism or other revolutionary concerns, while additionally teaching the students the value of manual labor.²⁰

Some African nations have considered regional economic

unions to be the solution of neocolonialism. Other nations have instituted various reforms aiming to increase their control over their own economy, for instance, Tanzania's Arusha Declaration of February, 1967. This declaration was implemented through the nationalization of certain key sectors and of most large-scale economic activity, with the purpose of decreasing foreign control of Tanzanian economic development.²¹

Finally, one might speculate that perhaps the people who are most against socialist development in the African nations may be those people who were most in a position to lose if the socialist program was fully incorporated into the Ghanaian economy. This of course is open to question.

8. In some cases the philosophy of the national leader, president or prime minister may have a significant effect upon the implementation of a youth program as did Nkrumah's philosophy.

Nkrumah's philosophy obviously permeated many of the Brigade and Young Pioneer activities. Future studies might attempt to trace the details of his philosophy as related to the development of a youth program in national development. For this paper only a brief review of his philosophy will be given to illustrate how his philosophy influenced the groups.

For Nkrumah, development of a socialist nation was to be guided by the political party, the C.P.P., the "elitist

vanguard whose task is to move the masses toward socialism and his conviction that society can be properly organized through collective ownership of the means of production."²²

Just as socialism in Ghana could not be separated from the C.P.P., Ghana's socialistic development could not proceed independently of all other nations in Africa. As one of the chief spokesmen for Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah argued that socialism had to be a cooperative venture among all African states.²³ It was only through socialism that economic independence would follow political independence. As Nkrumah himself saw the role of his government:

My government . . . was pledged to the twin task of achieving economic independence for Ghana, and of participating in the wider African revolution. The former implied the adoption of socialist policies, since in the African situation genuine independence is incompatible with capitalism; while the latter involved us in actively supporting the liberation and unity movements in Africa.²⁴

The Brigade was intimately connected with the C.P.P.; while the Young Pioneers was a formal branch of the C.P.P. Brigade members were heavily involved in political activities, often at the cost of infuriating the people through their rigging of the elections. The Pioneer Institutes were both used for ideological instruction in socialist ideals. When the People's Militia and the African Freedom Fighters were formed the Brigade and Pioneers were often enrolled in blocks into these Pan-African organizations. Finally, on the international level, both groups had the opportunity to make contacts with students and technicians from other countries.

It is not at all certain that the national leader should never attain such influence over a group. In this case, Nkrumah's involvement had turned both groups into socialist tools and in most cases, the political connections were detrimental to the groups.

Summary

In Ghana, the factors of change which the models of development were reacting to or building upon, were the same factors of change within Ghanaian society which gave shape to the cohort.

Very few of the Brigade projects succeeded, in terms of being economically profitable. Yet one must interpret the Brigade not only in light of its economic viability, but also in its position in the plan of socialist development. From the angle of its role in the entire development program for full employment, freedom from alien control, ensuring the role of Ghana in Pan-African economic dealings, it appears that certain activities of the Brigade were beneficial to these aims. Since it is much more difficult to measure success in regard to the intangible objects, like socialism, one cannot conclude whether the Brigade was successful. Its role was as one unit in the entire program of development. Hence, its evaluation will be largely that it did actively attempt to reach the goals of the socialist program. The main suggestion is that one should not ask simply, did the Brigade accomplish what it set out to

accomplish, but also what part did it play in the total program of development?

Possibilities for youth in development as indicated by the Brigade and the Young Pioneers were two-fold--service to the community and benefits for the youths themselves. While the Brigade was involved in projects in agriculture, construction and industry; the Young Pioneers was largely concerned with smaller volunteer projects. Both provided some type of technical training and opportunities to make international contacts as well as participation in different associational groupings.

Both organizations participated in the socialist development schemes, were closely connected with political activities, and had projects designed for school leavers. The Brigade had the authority to enroll members compulsorily, though it relied heavily on volunteer enrollment. With the Young Pioneers, it was mandatory for every youth in Ghana to be a member. While the Brigade was chiefly directed towards already existing problems of school leavers, the Young Pioneers was more of a preventative of such problems, attempting to ensure that they did not recur in such serious proportions, by working with mostly the very young who had not yet dropped out of school.

Problems of unemployed youth in the cities is a concern throughout Africa. If the main effect of these programs is to reduce social tensions, as the Niamey report states,

or if the programs have been invoked by sudden crises or fears as the UNESCO report suggests, investigation should be made of the utility of these programs for the youths and their societies.

The advice from the conference in Kenya on school leavers, directs our attention to the central issues of any plan for youth in development in Africa:

In a wider sense, the youth of Africa is in the gap which exists between the rich and the poor nations, between aspirations and realities, between the traditional society of yesterday and the modern society of tomorrow.

. . . the Problem is to mobilize this rich source of energy, enterprise and initiative into channels which bring satisfaction to the individual and worthwhile fruits for the society as a whole.²⁵

Nations of the world should be cautious of employing their youth for overall societal purposes, if in the process the youth is expended.

Notes on Chapter 4

- ¹"Young Pioneers Banned," Ghanaian Times (March 8, 1966), p. 1.
- ²Ghana Students, op. cit., p. 29.
- ³Ibid.
- ⁴Ibid.
- ⁵Ibid.
- ⁶"Young Pioneers Out," Ghanaian Times (March 8, 1966), p. 5.
- ⁷"Accounts of the Pioneers Will Be Probed," Ghanaian Times (March 9, 1967), p. 1.
- ⁸"10 Camps to Close Down," Ghanaian Times (Sept. 6, 1966), p. 3.
- ⁹Report of the Commission, op. cit., pp. vii-viii.
- ¹⁰Jean Due, Illinois Agricultural Economics, 9 (July, 1969), 33.
- ¹¹Report of the Commission, op. cit., p. 52.
- ¹²Ibid., p. 66.
- ¹³Ibid., p. 64.
- ¹⁴Minority Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Functions, Operations and Administration of the Workers Brigade, p. 12.
- ¹⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹⁷Preliminary Report, op. cit.
- ¹⁸See Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (New York, 1966).

¹⁹See William Hinton, Fashen (New York, 1966), especially Chapter 11, "Beat the Dog's Leg."

²⁰Dick Wilson, Anatomy of China (New York, 1966), p. 86.

²¹Reginald Green and Ann Seidman, Unity or Poverty? (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 122-24.

²²Abdul Said, The African Phenomenon (Boston, 1968), p. 98.

²³Kwame Nkrumah, Dark Days in Ghana (London, 1968), p. 62.

²⁴Ibid., p. 99.

²⁵Remi Clignet and Foster, The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast (Evanston, 1966), p. 161.

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APPENDICES

Ghanaian Money

pesewa = 1¢

120 pesewas = 1C

100 pesewas = 1 NC

At first, Ghana used the British pound, £ , which they converted, after independence to the G £ , which was closely related to the fluctuations of cocoa on the international market and thus did not necessarily equal the British pound. The C is based upon the standard of 20 shillings = 1 pound = 120 pesewas. And the NC or new C is based upon 100 pesewas = NC.

Administrative Sections of the Brigade: Board and Finance Committee

Original Board as established
by Section 4 of the Workers
Brigade Act

1. National Organizer
2. Director of Social Welfare
and Community Development
3. Representative of the Trade
Union Congress
4. Representative of the Ex-
servicemen's Union
5. Representative of the
United Ghana Farmers Council
6. Two other persons who in
the opinion of the Ministry
of Labour and Cooperatives
have knowledge and experi-
ence and were likely to
contribute to the successful
management of the Brigade

Board as re-organized by
the Kom Commission

1. National Organizer
2. Representative of Ministry
of Labour and Social
Welfare
3. Representative of the
Ministry of Agriculture
4. Representative of the
Public Works Department
5. Representative of the
Christian Council of
Ghana
6. Professional accountant
of at least 5 years'
experience
7. Practicing Barrister of
at least 7 years' stand-
ing who should be chairman

Finance Committee
as established by Section 17 of the Workers Brigade Act

1. Chairman of the Board
2. National Organizer
3. Two other members of the Board

The Israeli Nahal

The Nahal began in 1948 shortly after independence as an alternative to military service. During their defense service, young people are utilized to carry out development work, if they so elect. The experience provides them with training in agricultural and community life. Although the law provides that all conscripts into the defense service should participate in a brief training period in the Nahal group, the law has been applied to only about one quarter of the conscripts. At present, the Nahal is a specialized unit for those who intend to pursue agricultural or community life upon leaving the service. Members are allowed to take part in educational and social projects in communities while in the service. Though chiefly agricultural, the Nahal has recently adopted some industrial courses.

Recruitment techniques employed by the Nahal are a bit unique in that people are usually recruited as groups and allowed to remain intact. Since eighty per cent of Israel's population are town dwellers, most recruits are from these town areas. There are three basic phases to the Nahal movement. First, there is a period of basic training; second, members are sent to an agricultural settlement for one year and operate under the supervision of Nahal instructors. Running costs of the service are covered almost completely by revenue gained from the labor of members during this phase. Third, the young people are detached from

the group and begin their own settlement. Not all elect to stay on in an agricultural or community settlement, some return to studies or find other employment.

Success has occurred in both tangible and intangible respects. The Nahal has persuaded over one-third of the youngsters who have passed through its hands to settle in agricultural communities. Of the remaining two-thirds, the period of service has, in most cases, helped their attitudes toward civic and social matters to be more favorable. While in the service all members contributed to national development. Sections of the Nahal group have served as volunteers to new towns and have helped the towns deal with problems of expansion and development. Another aspect is the ability of the Nahal to assimilate young people of very different education, background and outlook.

The Nahal, one of a large number of youth organizations in Israel, was built upon the existing structure of the defense service. This enabled it to coordinate its activities much more rapidly and effectively than organizations which must develop administrative structures while concurrently attempting to initiate recruits into the program. ". . . a further characteristic of the Nahal experiment, as it has evolved up to the present, appears to be the concordance between its objectives and the major pre-occupations of economic and social growth and the security of the country."

"Viewed in this light its activities are seen to be one aspect of a concerted effort to settle the frontier zones and development areas and promote them economically; to encourage the flow towards the land and achieve a better balance between town and country and between various branches of activity; to level out economic and social conditions in general and weld together a population of diverse background and culture; to inculcate a national and civic spirit into young people. . . ." (78)

Workers Brigade Camps

Abakrampa	Kpetoe
Abono Kokwado	Kumasi
Abosso (Aboso)	*Kumawu
*Abura Dunkwa	Kwaamang (Kwamang)
Accra	*Kwadaso
*Adamsu	*Kwahu Tafo
*Adeiso (Adaiso)	Mpataba
Aivinasi	*Nabogo
Akim Oda	*New Edubiase
Anagye near Takoradi	Nungua
*Ankaful	*Navrongo
Apam	Okponglo
Asawinso (Asanwinso)	Old Yafo
Assin (Asin)	Omankorpe
Attebubu	Paragu (Parago)
Bereku	*Salaga
Bimbilla (Bimbila)	*Saltpond
Bogasu (Bogosa)	*Schodumose
*Bole	Sekondi-Takoradi
*Borae	Sekyedomase (Sekodumasi)
Brimse	Somanya
Damango	*Sumyani
*Dormaa Ahenkro	Tamale
Effiduasi	*Techiman
Ejura	Tema
Essiam (Esiam)	*Tumu
Gomoa Denkvira	*Winneba
Jachie	*Yendi
Kanda (Accra)	*Zue-Wa
*Klukpo	
Korforidua	
Kparigu	

These camps include proposed as well as functioning camps and it is not known if all the proposed camps were actually established. Such uncertainty is a result of the fact that the names were gathered from newspaper articles, which did not always follow through on previously mentioned items. Nevertheless, the listing should give an almost complete picture. Of the sixty-two listed here, twenty-three were mentioned only once and these are designated by *. The rest, being mentioned more than once, were definitely functioning since articles related activities the camps were involved in. In 1966, the Kom Commission reported that there were seventy camps.

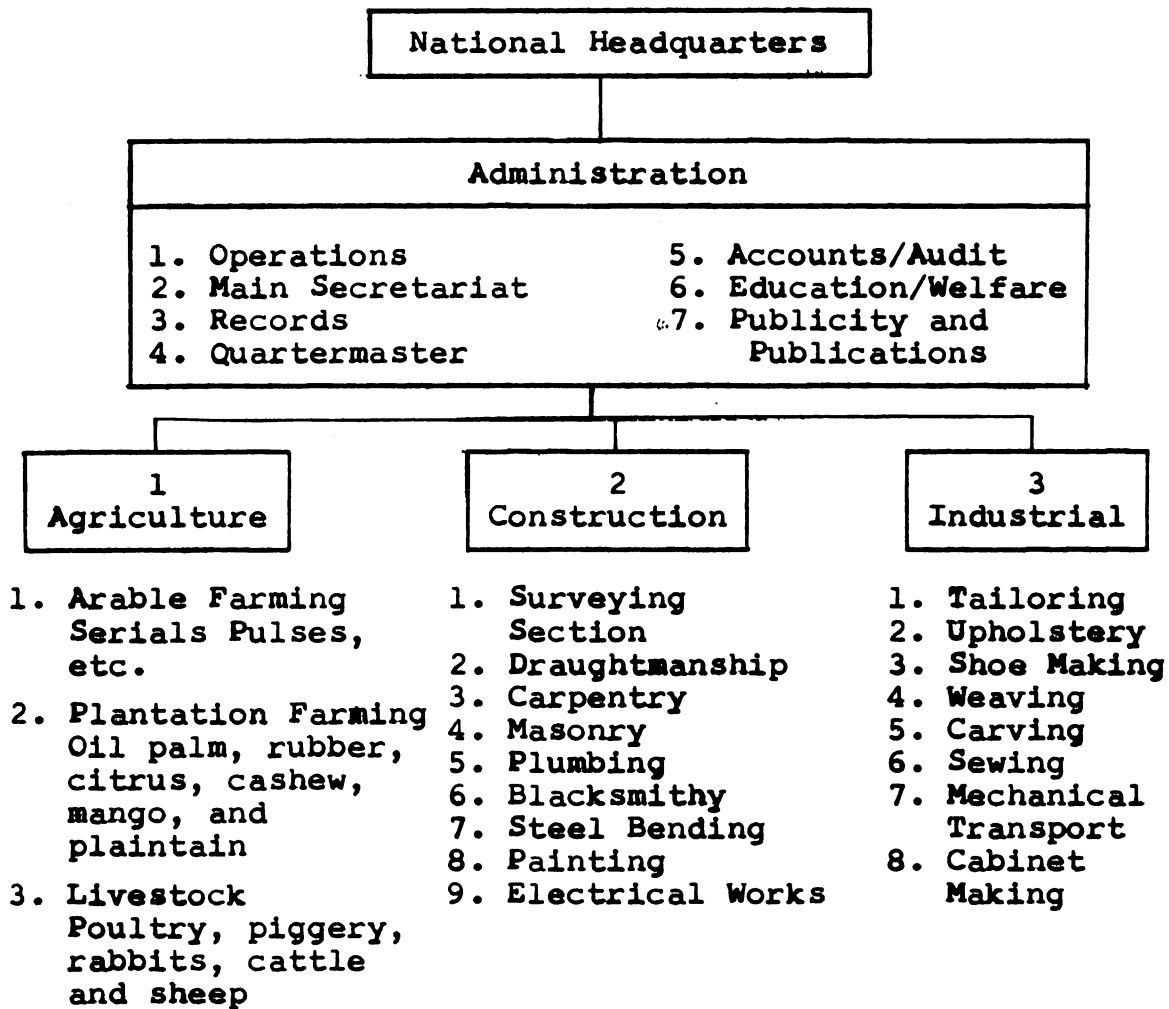
National Organizers

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Brigadier A.J.D. Turner | 1st National Organizer from
March, 1958, to 4th October,
1959 |
| 2. Mr. John K. Tettegah | 2nd National Organizer from
9th October, 1959, to
13th April, 1960 |
| 3. Mr. J. E. Ababio | 3rd National Organizer from
14th April, 1960, to
6th August, 1963 |
| 4. Lt. Col. Musa Kuti | 4th National Organizer from
6th August, 1963, to
16th May, 1966 |
| 5. Air Commodore
J.E.S. de Graft-Hayford* | 5th and last National Organizer
from January, 1967 - |

Source: Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Functions, Operations and Administration of the Workers Brigade, Appendix VIII.

*J.E.S. de Graft-Hayford was appointed during the time when the Kom Commission was still in progress. The report from this Commission did not include him in this listing. According to the Ghanaian Times, 1/10/67, he took office in January, 1967, and apparently held the office until the Brigade was finally disbanded in 1971.

STRUCTURE OF THE BRIGADE



Source: Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Functions, Operations and Administration of the Workers Brigade, Appendix VI, p. 93.

Table 6 A

Unemployed in municipal and urban councils in Ghana, 1960:
Ages 15-24 and 15+ from these councils

Region and age	Unemployed		Unemployed, ages 15-24 as a per cent of unem- ployed, ages, 15+ in these councils
	M	F	
Sekondi-Takoradi			
total 15+	4,656	2,144	$\frac{3926}{6800} = 57.74$
15-17	541	675	
18-19	661	358	
20-24	1,293	398	
Cape Coast			
total 15+	1,693	1,723	$\frac{1761}{3416} = 51.55$
15-17	239	413	
18-19	200	228	
20-24	381	300	
Swedru			
total 15+	447	432	$\frac{606}{879} = 68.94$
15-17	105	164	
18-19	93	69	
20-24	101	74	
Nyakrom-Nkun			
total 15+	513	272	$\frac{577}{785} = 73.50$
15-17	129	115	
18-19	82	62	
20-24	138	51	
Tarkwa-Abosso			
total 15+	1,595	472	$\frac{1241}{2067} = 60.04$
15-17	254	173	
18-19	239	82	
20-24	415	78	
Accra			
total 15+	14,235	9,184	$\frac{13733}{23419} = 58.64$
15-17	1,646	2,326	
18-19	1,954	1,534	
20-24	4,272	2,001	
Tema Development Corp.			
total 15+	991	283	$\frac{758}{1274} = 59.50$
15-17	94	66	
18-19	128	61	
20-24	330	79	
Nsawam			
total 15+	652	461	$\frac{720}{1113} = 64.69$
15-17	112	135	
18-19	116	91	
20-24	170	96	

Table 6 B

Unemployed in municipal and urban councils in Ghana, 1960:
Ages 15-24 and 15+ from these councils

Region and age	Unemployed		Unemployed, ages 15-24 as a per cent of unem- ployed, ages, 15+ in these councils
	M	F	
New Juaben			
total 15+	1,056	665	$\frac{1255}{1721} = 72.92$
15-17	180	219	
18-19	193	147	
20-24	358	158	
Oda Swedru			
total 15+	1,306	490	$\frac{1182}{1796} = 65.81$
15-17	265	231	
18-19	198	100	
20-24	302	86	
Keta			
total 15+	355	363	$\frac{454}{718} = 63.23$
15-17	73	91	
18-19	54	50	
20-24	92	94	
Obuasi			
total 15+	677	237	$\frac{570}{914} = 62.36$
15-17	139	75	
18-19	108	43	
20-24	171	34	
Kumasi			
total 15+	7,316	3,234	$\frac{6871}{10550} = 65.13$
15-17	1,211	1,185	
18-19	1,164	592	
20-24	2,071	648	
Sunyani			
total 15+	384	108	$\frac{315}{492} = 64.02$
15-17	71	44	
18-19	58	20	
20-24	101	21	
Tamale			
total 15+	2,167	598	$\frac{1293}{2765} = 46.76$
15-17	264	166	
18-19	188	77	
20-24	475	123	

Table 7.1

**Females, ages 15-24, in municipal and urban councils:
population and unemployed**

Region	Population of females, ages 15-24	Unemployed females, ages 15-24	All females ages 15+ unemployed	Total unemployed, males and females in each region
Sekondi- Takoradi	12,225	1,431	2,144	6,800
Cape Coast	5,208	941	1,723	3,416
Swedru	2,087	307	432	879
Nyakrom-Nkun	2,037	228	272	785
Tarkwa-Abosso	4,968	333	472	2,067
Accra	39,666	5,861	9,184	23,419
Tema	2,756	206	283	1,274
Nsawam	2,704	322	461	1,113
New Juaben	5,047	524	665	1,721
Oda Swedru	4,912	417	490	1,796
Keta	2,749	235	363	718
Obuasi	2,743	152	237	914
Kumasi	22,744	2,425	3,234	10,550
Sunyani	1,381	85	108	492
Tamale	<u>5,965</u>	<u>366</u>	<u>598</u>	<u>2,765</u>
TOTAL	117,192	13,833	20,664	58,709

Table 7.2

Females, ages 15-24, in municipal and urban councils:
percentages on population and unemployed

Region	Females, 15-24, as a per cent of total popu- lation in region	Unemployed females, 15-24, as a per cent of all females, 15+ unem- ployed in region	Unemployed females, 15-24, as a per cent of total unemployed, 15-24, males and females
Sekondi- Takoradi	.99	66.74	21.04
Cape Coast	9.15	54.61	27.55
Swedru	10.16	71.06	34.93
Nyakrom-Nkun	8.53	83.82	29.04
Tarkwa-Abosso	10.08	55.51	12.68
Accra	1.02	63.82	25.03
Tema	10.16	72.79	16.17
Nsawam	9.08	69.85	28.93
New Juaben	9.38	78.80	30.45
Oda Swedru	9.35	85.10	23.22
Keta	9.25	64.74	32.73
Obuasi	10.32	64.14	16.63
Kumasi	10.42	74.98	22.98
Sunyani	8.73	78.70	17.28
Tamale	10.25	61.20	13.24
	<u>10.19</u>	<u>66.94</u>	<u>23.56</u>

Table 8.1

Males, ages 15-24, in municipal and urban councils:
population and unemployed

Region	Population of males, ages 15-24	Unemployed males, ages 15-24	All males ages 15+ unemployed	Total unemployed, males and females in each region
Sekondi- Takoradi	13,988	2,495	4,656	6,800
Cape Coast	6,461	820	1,693	3,416
Swedru	20,546	2,276	299	447
Nyakrom-Nkun	1,654	349	513	785
Tarkwa-Abosso	5,259	908	1,595	2,067
Accra	47,454	7,872	14,235	23,419
Tema	3,530	552	991	1,274
Nsawam	2,514	398	652	1,113
New Juaben	6,114	731	1,056	1,721
Oda Swedru	4,453	765	1,306	1,796
Keta	2,640	219	355	718
Obuasi	2,980	418	677	914
Kumasi	27,171	4,446	7,316	10,550
Sunyani	1,782	230	384	492
Tamale	<u>5,122</u>	<u>927</u>	<u>2,167</u>	<u>2,765</u>
TOTAL	133,398	21,429	38,043	58,709

Table 8.2

Males, ages 15-24, in municipal and urban councils:
percentages on population and unemployed

Region	Males, 15-24, as a per cent of total popu- lation in region	Unemployed males, 15-24, as a per cent of all males, unemployed in region	Unemployed males, 15-24, as a per cent of unemployed, 15-24, males and females in region
Sekondi- Takoradi	11.34	53.59	36.69
Cape Coast	11.35	48.43	24.00
Swedru	11.07	66.89	34.02
Nyakrom-Nkun	6.93	68.03	44.46
Tarkwa-Abosso	10.67	56.93	43.93
Accra	12.22	44.89	27.28
Tema	13.01	55.70	43.33
Nsawam	8.44	61.04	35.76
New Huaben	11.36	69.22	42.48
Oda Swedru	8.48	58.58	42.59
Keta	8.88	61.69	30.50
Obuasi	11.21	61.74	45.73
Kumasi	12.45	60.77	42.14
Sunyani	11.27	52.86	46.75
Tamale	8.80	42.78	33.53
	<u>11.60</u>	<u>56.33</u>	<u>36.50</u>

Explanatory Notes for 1960 census data in Ghana,
Tables 6-8

All places listed in the census as municipal and urban councils were included here, omitting those designated as local councils. More specifically, "There are fifteen local councils which we may regard as 'urbanized', that is with more than half of their total population residing in towns of 5,000 population or over." (John Hunter, Population Growth in Ghana, 1948-60, p. 276). All councils are found in tables under the heading of region.

Population for all areas of Ghana, local, municipal and urban, was 6,726,815. Of this total, the municipal and urban councils represent 17%.

Totals for Tables 6-8 which are percentages were derived as in the following example:

Table 1 -

$$\frac{\text{Males and females, ages 15-24 in region}}{\text{Total population in Accra region}} = \frac{87,120}{388,396} = 22.43$$

The males and females, ages 15-24, in the municipal and urban councils represent 4% of the population in all these councils, that is 250,590.

Total unemployed in all regions was 760,130, which is 11.3% of the population.

Total males and females, 15-24, unemployed in municipal and urban councils was 35,262 which is 5% of the unemployed in all of Ghana.

$$\frac{\text{Males and females, 15-24, urban and municipal areas}}{\text{Total population, all age groups, urban and municipal councils}} =$$

$$\frac{250,590}{1,149,629} = 21.79 \text{ of the population in these councils}$$

Table 9

General level of unemployment: 1960-1970: Africa (Thousands)

Country	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Ghana	11.3	14.7	15.5	15.4	13.6	11.3	11.5	16.7	17.6	15.0	17.6
Kenya ⁴	8.48	6.46	6.15	8.33	-	11.35 ¹	10.80	8.12	-	-	-
Mali	0.12	0.36	0.13	0.19	0.17	0.13	0.10	0.20	0.40	0.47	0.46 ²
Nigeria	6.86	13.75	15.06	16.82	20.73	20.94	26.63	20.05	12.93	12.17	13.82
South Africa	25.7	30.4	29.2	19.9	14.9	11.7	13.5	13.9	13.7	10.9	8.8 ³
Zambia ⁵	2.70	3.44	2.69	7.83	11.12	17.56	16.40	12.25	12.91	15.31	10.64 ³

Source: 1970 Year Book of Labour Statistics. International Labour Office, Geneva. Table 10. "As far as possible, the statistics in this table are presented in absolute numbers (in thousands), and in percentages. The numbers indicate the size of the problem of unemployment within the fields covered by the respective series. Fluctuations in numbers unemployed reflect not only seasonal and other variations in economic activity but also, over a period, the effects of changes in the size of the population and its industrial and social structure; depending on the type of series used, they may also be influenced by changes in legislation or administrative organization." (p. 413).

The statistics for Kenya and Mali are type IV A, which refers to applicants for work and may in some cases include persons seeking only a change of job, or on strike, or temporarily ill and unable to work. Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa and Zambia have statistics of type IV B, which relate to unemployed persons on the employment office registers.

Codes: 1) May-Dec., 2) March, 3) May, 4) Males only, 5) 1960-62: statistics of type IV (A).

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