



COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

**REPORT OF THE
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CREATION
OF NEW REGIONS**

***EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR
BALANCED DEVELOPMENT***



***PRESENTED TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA
NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO***

ON TUESDAY, 26TH DAY OF JUNE, 2018

In case of reply, the number and date of this Letter should be quoted

Our Ref:

Your Ref:



REPUBLIC OF GHANA

**COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO
CREATION OF NEW REGIONS**

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26th June, 2018

H.E. President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo
President of the Republic of Ghana
Jubilee House
Accra

Dear Mr. President,

**SUBMISSION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE
CREATION OF NEW REGIONS**

You appointed this Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions (Commission) on 19th October, 2017. The mandate of the Commission was to inquire into six petitions received from Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions demanding the creation of new regions.

In furtherance of our mandate, the Commission embarked on broad consultations with all six petitioners and other stakeholders to arrive at its conclusions and recommendations.

The Commission established substantial demand and need in all six areas from which the petitions emanated. On the basis of the foregoing, the Commission recommends the creation of six new regions out of the following regions: Brong-Ahafo; Northern; Volta and Western Regions.




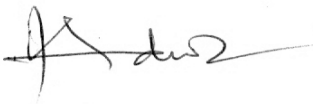






Mr. President, it is with great pleasure and honour that we forward to you, under the cover of this letter, our report titled: *“Equitable Distribution of National Resources for Balanced Development”*.

We wish to place on record our honour and privilege for this opportunity to be of service to the motherland.

Please accept, Mr President, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Justice S.A Brobbey (Retired)
Chairman

SIGNATURE PAGE

No.	Name of Commissioner	Personal Details	Signature
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions (Commission) expresses its profound gratitude to H.E. President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo for the confidence reposed in us and the opportunity to be of service to our beloved country.

The Commission is grateful to Rt. Hon. Prof. Aaron Mike Ocquaye, Speaker of Parliament and the Leadership of Parliament for affording us the opportunity to interact with the honourable members of Parliament from Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. The Commission is also grateful to Hon. Akosua Frema Osei-Opare, Chief of Staff and the staff of the Office of the President for their invaluable support. The Commission expresses its gratitude to Hon. Daniel Botwe (MP), Minister of Regional Reorganisation and Development, his Deputy and staff without whose support, (especially on matters relating to logistics and publicity) the Commission would have struggled to achieve its mandate.

The Commission acknowledges the support of the Regional Ministers, Deputy Regional Ministers and staff of the Regional Co-ordinating Councils in the Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. The Upper East Regional Minister also deserves commendation for his support when the Commission was in Bolgatanga.

Further, the Commission would like to place on record its appreciation to the National House of Chiefs as well as the Regional Houses of Chiefs of the Brong-Ahafo, Northern Region, Volta and Western Regions for sharing their views on the demands for the creation of new Regions. The Yagbonwura, the Nayiri and the Asantehene also deserve thanks for sharing their thoughts with the Commission.

The petitioners from the under-listed proposed regions deserve to be thanked for their assistance in this assignment: Western North Region, Oti Region, Ahafo Region, Bono East Region, Savannah Region and North East Region.

The Commission is grateful to all the participants at its public hearings and those who made written submissions. The Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies and the decentralized agencies in the four regions were also very helpful in their contributions.

The role played by the media, especially, the Information Services Department in recording and disseminating information on the work of the Commission to the public deserves commendable mention.

Finally, the Commission also acknowledges all persons and institutions who in various ways assisted the work of the Commission, particularly those listed in Appendix 1.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CEPS	Customs, Excise and Preventive Service
CHRAJ	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CHPS	Community-Based Health Planning and Services
CI	Constitutional Instrument
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
DCE	District Chief Executive
DPA	District Planning Authority
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Ghana Education Service
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
HE	His Excellency
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisations
JHS	Junior High School
JCC	Joint Consultative Committee
LNGOs	Local Non-Governmental Organizations
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MMDCEs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture

MoRRD	Ministry of Regional Reorganisation and Development
MPs	Members of Parliament
NADMO	National Disaster Management Organisation
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PNDC Law	Provisional National Defence Council Law
PWDs	Persons with Disability
SHS	Senior High School
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UN	United Nations

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

1. Historically, in Ghana, administrative regions have been created or altered, for easy administration and accelerated development and also to bring governance closer to the people. Successive Governments have over the years either adopted the method of unilaterally creating or altering administrative regional boundaries or have based their decisions on demands from the people.
2. Demands for the creation or alterations of regions by the people have taken different forms. On the one hand, in the colonial period, demands were largely motivated by cultural, linguistic and kinship ties. On the other hand, in the post-colonial period, demands for the creation and alteration of administrative regions have assumed a developmental dimension. These demands have been particularly persistent in four regions, namely Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions.
3. At independence, Ghana had five administrative regions but presently, it has 10 regions. In 1959, the Brong-Ahafo Region was carved out of the Ashanti Region and in 1960 the Central Region was created out of the Western Region. Also, in 1960, the Northern Region was split into Northern and Upper Regions. In 1982, Accra was separated from Eastern Region to create the Greater Accra Region. Lastly, the Upper Region was split into Upper East and Upper West Regions in 1983.
4. Successive governments, including those in the Fourth Republic, received various petitions for the reorganisation of Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. Even though the 1992 Constitution has made provision for the creation, merger and alteration of regions, previous efforts to create new regions have been inconclusive. In the Fourth Republic, demands were made to President Jerry John Rawlings, President John Agyekum Kufuor and President John Evans Atta-Mills for the creation of new regions.
5. His Excellency (H.E.), President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo received petitions from Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions demanding the creation of new regions. Pursuant to this, the President referred the petitions to the Council of State for advice, as required by the 1992 Constitution. After the review, the Council of State advised the President to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to assess the need and demand for the creation of the new regions. This is the first time the provisions of Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution on the creation or alteration of Regions are being invoked.
6. In exercise of the powers conferred on him under Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution, H.E. the President by the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions Instrument, 2017 (C.I. 105) as amended, appointed a Commission to inquire into the

petitions submitted to him to create new regions out of the existing Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. The membership of the Commission are as follows: Justice S.A Brobbey, Dr. Grace Bediako, Maulvi Mohammed Bin-Salih, Prof. Kwasi Kwafo Adarkwa, Ms. Gladys Tetteh, Mr. Robert Ajene, Dr. David Wellington Essaw, Prof. George Owusu and Ms. Josephine Hughes. In accordance with Paragraph 3 of CI 105 as amended, the President also appointed Mr. Jacob Saah, as Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry.

7. The Commission of Inquiry into the creation of New Regions was inaugurated on the 17th October, 2017, with the mandate to inquire into six petitions received from Western, Brong Ahafo, Northern and Volta Regions demanding the creation of new regions. The Commission was tasked in accordance with C.I.105 as amended as follows:
 - a. to inquire pursuant to the petitions, into the need and substantial demand for the creation of new regions and thereby the alteration of the Western, Brong-Ahafo, Northern and Volta Regions;
 - b. to make recommendations to the President based on its findings on the creation and alteration of regions; and
 - c. to specify the issues to be determined by referendum and the places where the referendum should be held, where it makes recommendations for the creation of regions.

Strategies for Accomplishing the Commission's Objectives

8. The Commission adopted a number of strategies including initial engagement with the Ministry of Regional Reorganisation and Development (MoRRD), to ascertain the extent of preparatory work done by the Ministry. Using a mixed methods approach, the Commission collected both qualitative and quantitative data from all the six petition areas. It also relied on secondary data from various sources including the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, books, journal articles, internet sources, statements from newspapers, reports from petitioners, Regional Co-ordinating Councils (RCCs), Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) and Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs), as well as various forms of consultations and submissions from individuals and civil society groups.
9. The consultation process began with in-camera engagements with petitioners on 21st November, 2017 and ended on 5th December, 2017 at the Castle, Osu, in Accra. Based on an agreed schedule, each of the six groups of petitioners was given the opportunity to be heard on separate scheduled days. Regional consultations, mainly with government functionaries (MDAs, RCC and MMDAs), Regional Houses of Chiefs and Public Hearings within selected locations from the four regions from which the petitions emanated were organised from 10th December, 2017 to 25th March, 2018. In addition, the commission provided the opportunity for various key stakeholders to present their

views on three separate days: 18th April, 2018, for National House of Chiefs in Kumasi; 5th-10th April, 2018, for the general public at the Accra International Conference Centre, Accra, and 18th May, 2018 for MPs at the Parliament House, Accra. These engagement processes enabled the Commission to solicit and elicit data, as well as information from these stakeholders.

10. Prior to all public consultations, information on the venues, dates and times were widely publicised in print and electronic media with national circulation in order to ensure that all sections of society were notified. In addition, MoRRD organized media engagements in collaboration with the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the Information Services Department (ISD) to ensure sensitization of the people about the Commission's proposed visits to the regions.
11. For ease of analysis, statistical tools such as charts, tables and graphs were used. The foregoing framework provided the basis for the data collection and analysis to validate the claims made by petitioners in their quest for the creation of new regions.

Major Findings

12. The Commission arrived at its findings on substantial demand and need by analyzing data derived from eight thematic issues raised by the petitioners in their submissions, contributions made at various consultations as well as observations made on mobilization, participation and enthusiasm of the people in the petition areas. These thematic issues are: spatial extent of existing regions; road infrastructure; access to government and public services; economic and employment issues; empowerment and participation; and ethnic, cultural and religious issues. The summary of the key findings and conclusions on each of the thematic issues are provided subsequently.
13. *Spatial extent of existing regions*: A key development issue which runs through all the petitions for the creation of new regions is the spatial extent of the existing regions, in terms of land size, elongated nature and vastness. In both the oral and written submissions of the petitioners and the contributions made at the public hearings and other consultation platforms organised by the Commission, supporters of the petitions lamented about the development challenges imposed by the present spatial configuration of the existing regions. Particularly, they complained about the distances and travel times between the proposed regions and the regional capitals for higher order government and public services.
14. Analysis of the spatial extent of all regions from which the petitions emanated confirmed the widely held assertion by petitioners that these areas are very far from their respective regional capitals, both in terms of distance and travel time, thus making access to higher order government and public services difficult. For example, the distance between Sekondi, the capital of the Western Region, and Adabokrom in the extreme north of the proposed Western North Region, is 289 km and it takes about 10 hours to cover this distance. In the same vein, the distance between Kete Krachi

in the proposed Oti Region and Ho, the Volta regional capital, is 296 km and it takes about five and a half hours to travel this distance. These instances are similar or more pronounced in the other proposed regions.

15. The Commission's inquiry revealed that such long travel times arise primarily because of poor road conditions and limited supply of appropriate means of transportation. In addition, most of these roads, particularly in the proposed Oti, Western North and Bono East Regions, have poor surface conditions mainly made of gravel and earth. A major effect of this is that residents' access to critical public and government services is impeded with serious consequences for each region's overall socio-economic development.
16. *Road Infrastructure* : Further analysis of road inventories of urban, feeder and highways in the petition areas in each of the six regions revealed that the network of roads do not adequately serve most rural people. Petitioners are unanimous about the potential role that urban roads can play in the socio-economic development of their areas including enhanced access to most residential areas, as well as services. In addition, what was noticeable was the substantial inequalities in road development between the various MMDAs' capitals and other urban areas within the petition areas.
17. The distribution of feeder roads revealed that there is an extensive network of roads in all petition areas but there are inequalities in the distribution of these roads. The Commission observed that areas where there is high agricultural production such as the proposed Western North and Ahafo Regions are poorly serviced by feeder roads as measured by their feeder road densities. In addition, substantial deficits of road maintenance activities exist in all the petition areas as indicated by the condition of feeder roads.
18. The state of highways as revealed by the analysis indicates that all bitumen and asphaltic surface roads are usually motorable throughout the year as was the case for the Fufulso-Sawla road. However, most trunk roads with gravel surfaces are usually not in good condition and may not be in a motorable condition during the rainy season as is the case of the Nkwanta-Kpassa highway.
19. *Access to government and public services*: The challenges in accessing government and public services in the proposed new regions were discussed extensively throughout the Commission's engagements with the petitioners and other stakeholders. In particular, education and health received much attention as they were regarded as critical for human resource development and the general well-being of the population. Furthermore, there was a general sense of alienation from government due to the challenges of accessing essential government services or state institutions like the courts, security services (police, armed forces, immigration, fire and prisons), utility service providers, passport offices, and driver and vehicle licensing centres in the proposed regions.

20. Many of these government and public services were concentrated in the regional capitals and in some cases without a presence at the district level. Even when these services exist in the districts they are relatively lower order establishments with limited mandates. Therefore, citizens seeking higher order services such as tertiary education, referral health services and High and Circuit Courts, have to endure long distances and travel times due to the poor roads connecting their areas and the regional capital.
21. The concentration of government and public services, and supporting infrastructure in and around the regional capitals, and apparent neglect of other parts of the regions, partly account for the development inequalities observed in the regions. This is because development tends to be concentrated in the regional capitals and the level of development decreases as one moves away from the capitals. The Commission's view is that Ghana's economy is public sector driven. As such, a strong public sector presence in and around regional capitals attracts development. This pattern of development is observed in all the capitals of the regions where the petition emanated, namely Western Region (Sekondi-Takoradi), Volta Region (Ho), Brong-Ahafo Region (Sunyani) and Northern Region (Tamale).
22. *Economic and employment:* There is evidence to indicate that all the proposed regions are natural resource endowed, yet, these regions remained poor and underdeveloped. This is one of the main reasons for the demand for the new regions in all the petitions considered by the Commission. In both the oral and written submissions of the petitioners, as well as contributions at the public hearings, presentations were made to the Commission indicating the enormous natural resource endowments of the proposed regions including arable lands for agriculture, mineral deposits, forest and timber, and ecotourism sites.
23. It is the view of the Commission that these untapped natural resources limit employment opportunities and the general socio-economic development of the proposed regions. In addition, the Commission supports the opinion of the petitioners and other stakeholders championing the creation of the new regions that central government, regional political heads and decision-makers have paid little attention to the socio-economic development of the proposed regions. Consequently, the proposed regions have failed to attract the needed investments and infrastructure required to enable them tap the regions' natural resources. In addition, it is the considered view of the Commission that the creation of the proposed regions will result in new regions of manageable sizes with fair share of the regional allocation of funds for the development of socio-economic infrastructure to support the exploitation of natural resources.
24. *Empowerment and participation:* Issues of participation in governance relate to complaints about the distribution of government appointments, allocation of funds, distribution of development projects and perceptions of marginalization and neglect in development. In all the petitions for the creation of new regions, petitioners and their supporters were of the view that they have been disadvantaged in terms of receiving attention from regional political heads and leadership, as well as central government.

In particular, complaints about discrimination in the allocation of public offices, government appointments and distribution of development projects constitute a major reason for the demand for the creation of new regions.

25. The petitioners and their supporters contend that limited appointments into government and public offices, particularly appointments as Regional Ministers and Ministers of State of people from the proposed regions have put these areas at a disadvantage in the allocation of development projects. This partly accounts for the present underdeveloped state of the proposed regions and the sentiments of neglect and marginalisation. This view was strongly held by the petitioners for the proposed Oti, Ahafo, Bono East and Western North Regions. It is the view of the Commission that these sentiments of neglect need to be addressed. The creation of new regions provides opportunities for equal representation of people in regional and central governments, as well as bringing government closer to the citizens.
26. *Ethnic, cultural and religious issues*: A key question which has attracted the attention of the Commission is the issue of the diversity of the proposed regions and the extent to which different population groups co-exist. Specifically, ethnic, cultural and religious issues provide an indication of the diversity of the people and how they have existed peacefully and harmoniously. However, it is the Commission's view that the basis for the petitions is for enhanced socio-economic development and not based on ethnic, cultural and religious issues.
27. The Commission's analyses revealed that migration, intermarriages, education and urbanization have ensured that there is integration of the population at the national level, and certainly in the proposed regions. There is significant migrant presence in all the proposed regions, and this has created a heterogeneous population with the presence of all the major ethnic groups and their sub-groups, namely Akan, Mole-Dagbon, Ga-Dangme and Ewe. On the basis of this, the Commission supports the position of the petitioners that the goal for the new regions is for enhanced socio-economic development of their areas.

Conclusions and recommendations

28. The Commission established substantial demand and need in all six areas from which petitions emanated. On the basis of the foregoing, the Commission recommends the creation of six new regions:
- a. Western North Region out of the Western Region comprising the following: Aowin Municipality, Bia East District, Bia West District, Bodi District, Juabeso District, Sefwi Akontombra District, Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai Municipality, Suaman District and Sefwi Wiawso Municipality. The Commission was unable to establish substantial demand in the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area and for that reason recommends the exclusion of Wassa Amenfi East, Wassa Amenfi Central and Wassa Amenfi West Districts from the proposed Western North Region.
 - b. Oti Region out of the Volta Region comprising the following: Biakoye District, Jasikan District, Kadjebi District, Krachi East Municipality, Krachi West District, Krachi Nchumuru District, Nkwanta South Municipality and Nkwanta North District. The Commission also recommends the inclusion of the Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe and Lolobi Traditional Areas in the proposed Oti Region. The Commission was unable to establish substantial demand in the Kpandai District because of a split between those who preferred to join the proposed Oti Region and others who wanted to go along with the proposed Savannah Region. A third group expressed a preference for remaining in the Northern Region. Consequently, the Commission recommends the exclusion of Kpandai District from the proposed Oti Region.
 - c. Creation of Ahafo Region out of the Brong-Ahafo Region comprising the following: Asunafo South District, Asunafo North Municipality, Asutifi North District, Asutifi South District, Tano South Municipality, and Tano North Municipality. The Commission could not establish substantial demand for the Ahafo Ano South District and Ahafo Ano North Municipality of the Ashanti Region. Consequently, the Commission recommends the exclusion of these two areas from the proposed Ahafo Region.
 - d. Bono East Region to be created out of the Brong-Ahafo Region comprising the following: Atebubu-Amantin Municipality, Nkoranza South Municipality, Nkoranza North District, Kintampo South District, Kintampo North Municipality, Pru District, Pru West District, Sene East District, Sene West District, Techiman Municipality and Techiman North District.
 - e. Savannah Region out of the Northern Region made up of the following: Bole District, Central Gonja District, East Gonja Municipality, North Gonja District, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District and West Gonja District. The Commission recommends the exclusion of the Kpandai District because substantial demand could not be established for the same reasons as expressed in paragraph 28 (b) above.

- f. North East Region out of the Northern Region comprising the following: Chereponi District, East Mamprusi Municipality, Bunkpurugu-Nankpanduri Municipality, Yunyoo-Nansuan District, West Mamprusi Municipality, and Mamprugu-Moagduri District.
29. On the places to vote, the Commission recommends that the referendum should be held only in the areas within the boundaries of the proposed regions. This recommendation is consistent with Ghana's past history on plebiscites and referendums (1949 and 1956), as well as international best practices from Scotland, Southern Sudan, East Timor and other areas.
30. The question to be posed at the referendum is whether the voter supports the creation of the proposed new region or not. The specific question to be posed at the referendum is as follows:
- “Are you in favour of the creation of the new region? YES or NO”***
31. Finally, the Commission recommends that, in line with Ghana's past history on plebiscites and referendums as well as international best practices, only registered voters within the proposed regions should be eligible to participate in the referendum.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Establishment of the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions

1. In the course of the history of Ghana, administrative regions have been created or altered for easy administration, accelerated development and to bring governance closer to the people. Successive governments over the years have either adopted the method of unilaterally creating or altering administrative regional boundaries, or have based their decisions on demands from the people.
2. Demands for the creation or alterations of regions by the people took different forms. During the colonial period, demands were largely motivated by cultural, linguistic and kinship ties. On the other hand, in the post-colonial period, demands for the creation and alteration of administrative regions have assumed a developmental dimension. These demands have been particularly persistent in four regions namely Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions.
3. At independence, Ghana had five administrative regions but presently, it has 10 regions. Initially, Ashanti Region was divided into Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti Regions in 1959; then the Central Region was carved out of the Western Region in 1960. In the same year, Northern Region was also split into Northern and Upper Regions and in 1982, Accra was separated from Eastern Region to form the Greater Accra Region. Finally, the Upper Region was split into Upper East and Upper West Regions in 1983.
4. Successive governments including those in the Fourth Republic, received various petitions for the reorganisation of Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. Although the 1992 Constitution has made provision for the creation, merger and alteration of new regions, previous attempts to create new regions have been unsuccessful. In the Fourth Republic, demands have been made to President Jerry John Rawlings, President John Agyekum Kufuor and President John Evans Atta-Mills for the creation of new regions.
5. Similarly, His Excellency, President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo has received petitions from Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions demanding the creation of new regions. The establishment of this Commission marks the first time the provisions of Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution on the creation or alteration of Regions have been invoked.
6. Pursuant to this, the President referred the petitions to the Council of State for advice as required by the 1992 Constitution. After reviewing the petitions, the Council of State advised the President on the need and substantial demand for the creation and alteration

of regions and made a recommendation to the President to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to assess the merit of the petitions and make recommendations. The petitions received by H.E the President and submitted to the Commission of Inquiry are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Petitions received by the President and submitted to the Commission

Number	Petition
1.	Petition dated 28 th February 2017 from the Chiefs and People of the proposed Ahafo Region
2.	Petition dated 1 st June 2017 from the Chiefs and people of the proposed Bono East Region.
3.	Petition dated 6 th June 2017 from the Chiefs and people of the proposed Savannah Region.
4.	Petition dated 6 th June 2017 from the Chiefs and people of the proposed Oti Region.
5.	Petition dated 16 th June 2017 from the Chiefs and people of proposed Western North Region.
6.	Undated Petition from the Chiefs and people of the proposed North East Region.

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

1.2 Establishment and Membership of the Commission of Inquiry

7. In exercise of the powers conferred on him under Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution, H.E. the President, by the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions Instrument, 2017 (C.I. 105) as amended, appointed a Commission to inquire into the petitions submitted to him to create new regions out of the existing Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. The membership of the Commission is listed in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Members of the Commission of Inquiry

S/N	Name of Commissioner	Personal Details	Designation
1.	Justice S. A. Brobbey	Retired Supreme Court Judge	Chairperson
2.	Dr. Grace Bediako	Former Government Statistician	Member
3.	Maulvi Mohammed Bin-Salih	AMEER, Missionary in-charge, Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission in Ghana	Member
4.	Prof. Kwasi Kwafu Adarkwa	Former Vice Chancellor, KNUST	Member
5.	Ms. Gladys Tetteh	Local Government Expert	Member
6.	Mr. Robert Ajene	Retired Director of Education	Member
7.	Dr. David Wellington Essaw	Senior Research Fellow, University of Cape Coast	Member
8.	Prof. George Owusu	Institute of Statistical, Social & Economic Research (ISSER)/ Director, Centre for Urban Management Studies, University of Ghana	Member
9.	Ms. Josephine Hughes	Legal Practitioner	Member

Source: Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions Instrument, C.I.105

8. In accordance with Paragraph 3 of CI 105 as amended, the President appointed Mr. Jacob Saah, a legal practitioner, as Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry.

1.3 Terms of Reference of the Commission

9. The Terms of Reference of the Commission are:
- To inquire, pursuant to the petitions, into the need and substantial demand for the creation of new regions and, thereby, the alteration of Western Region, Brong-Ahafo Region, Northern Region and Volta Region;
 - To make recommendations to the President, based on its findings, on the creation and alteration of regions; and

- To specify the issues to be determined by referendum and the places where the referendum should be held, where it makes recommendations for the creation and alteration of regions.

1.4 Inauguration of the Commission

10. The Commission was inaugurated on 19th October 2017 by H. E. the President. In his speech, H.E. the President indicated that the clamour for the creation of new regions has been persistent throughout his years of interaction with the people of Ghana. He also indicated that the demands for reorganization of administrative regions has long historical antecedents.
11. He emphasized that the current exercise to create new regions is demand-driven, and that the creation of the proposed regions rests on the inhabitants of the areas who have submitted petitions and made demands. The President also stated that the members of the Commission of Inquiry had been carefully chosen, based on their diverse backgrounds, independence and experience. In addition, H.E. the President assured Ghanaians that due process would be followed in the execution of the Commission's mandate. Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution would be followed meticulously in the exercise to create new regions.

1.5 The Secretariat

12. The Commission's Secretariat is headed by the Secretary who is assisted by eight supporting staff. The Ministry of Regional Reorganisation and Development provided logistical support to the Commission. The Ministry also undertook a critical exercise of sensitizing the public and the media on the work of the Commission in the regions from where petitions had been received.

1.6 The use of names for Regions and Areas

13. The Commission is of the view that the naming of a region is the prerogative of Government and therefore beyond its mandate. However, for ease of analysis and to facilitate consultations, it became necessary for the Commission to identify the enclaves from which petitions emanated by certain names. To this end, the Commission adopted the names proposed by the petitioners in their petitions.
14. Consequently, in this Report, the northern part of the Western Region is referred to as the proposed Western North Region; the northern part of the Volta Region as the proposed Oti Region; the Ahafo part of Brong-Ahafo Region as the proposed Ahafo Region; the eastern part of Brong-Ahafo Region as the proposed Bono East Region; the western part of the Northern Region as the proposed Savannah Region; and the north eastern part of the Northern Region as the proposed North East Region.

15. In this Report, we have referred to the remaining part of the Western Region as the southern part of the Western Region; the remaining part of Volta Region as the southern part of the Volta Region; the remaining part of Brong-Ahafo Region as such; and the remaining part of the Northern Region as such.

1.7 Organisation of the Report

16. This report is made up of twelve chapters. Chapter One provides the background and rationale for the work of the Commissioners. It also spells out such details as the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry and its membership, the constitutional instrument establishing the Commission of Inquiry, Terms of Reference of the Commission of Inquiry, inauguration of the Commission and the Secretariat of the Commission. Chapter Two provides a detailed presentation on the evolution and rationale for the creation of regions in Ghana and the constitutional requirements for such new creations.
17. Chapter Three presents the methodological framework or strategy for planning and organising the inquiry into the various petitions. Beginning with a comprehensive work-plan covering the pre-assessment meetings and desk reviews; it goes on to discuss the interim assessment of petitions; and the interactions with petitioners in Accra. It also presents a report on regional consultative meetings in the six proposed regions and public hearings in Accra on these regions. Chapter Three concludes with engagements with the National House of Chiefs and Members of Parliament from the regions which the petitions emanated from.
18. A thorough assessment of findings from consultative meetings, public hearings, and research analyses together with their implications constitute the focus of Chapters Four to Nine for proposed Western North, Oti, Ahafo, Bono East, Savannah and North East Regions respectively. Chapter Ten focuses on emerging issues and their implications. Chapter Eleven is on places to vote and issues to be determined by the referendum in the six proposed Regions. Chapter Twelve, provides conclusions on the overall work with recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION AND RATIONALE FOR THE CREATION OF REGIONS IN GHANA

2.1 Introduction

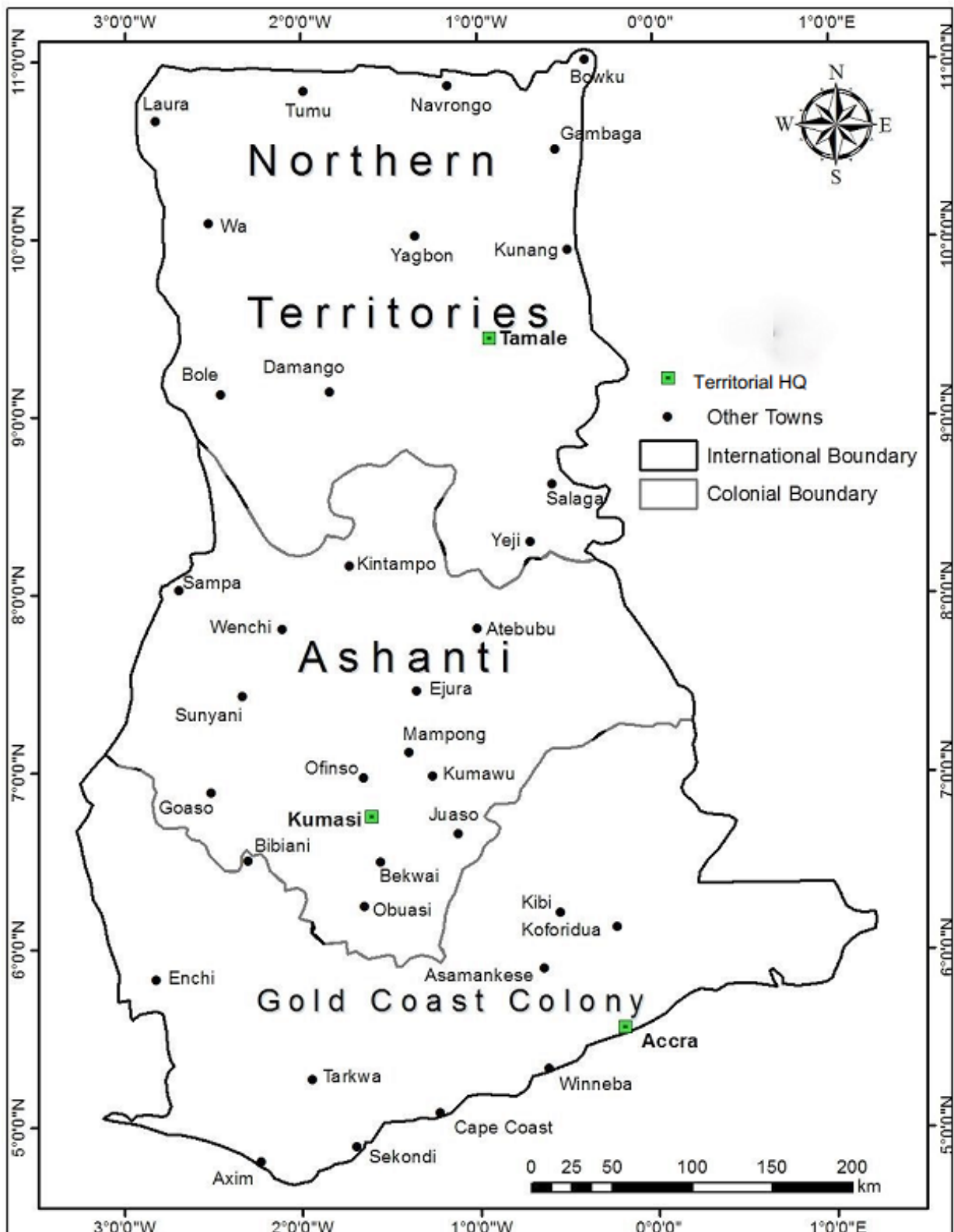
1. The present international and internal boundaries of Ghana have their origins in the country's colonial legacy (Owusu, 2009; Bening, 1999). Beginning with four major colonies and territories of Britain in 1914, namely: the Ashanti Protectorate, Gold Coast Crown Colony, Northern Territories, and the Trans-Volta Togoland, the internal boundaries have changed from time to time to enhance smooth administration and peaceful co-existence of different groups and entities.
2. In Ghana, the administrative regions constitute the first level of subnational government administration and, prior to the era of decentralization, they were the jurisdiction within which development plans and policies were formulated, approved and executed. The 1992 constitution makes decentralization mandatory for the governance of the country, and assigns monitoring, coordinating and harmonization functions to the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC). Hence, regional boundaries play an important role as they serve as catalysts in the process of nation-building and the delivery of services (Razin & Hazan, 2004; Shale, 2005; Ramutsindela, 1998).
3. Consequently, the drawing of boundaries not only determines who is included within a jurisdiction but also allocates costs and benefits to individuals and groups. The boundaries define arrangements for service provision and production, patterns of economic development, and the exercise of political power (Feiock & Carr, 2001). Hence, understanding how political and administrative boundaries have evolved in Ghana is very useful in explaining the fundamentals of state development.
4. This chapter traces the history of political and administrative boundaries in Ghana prior to independence from the British Colonial rule, through the independence and post-independence eras. It discusses the way in which the creation of regions in both pre- and post-independence eras formed a rational response to development challenges. This is followed by a review of the Directive Principles of State Policy contained in Chapter 6 of the 1992 Constitution as they relate to spatial development, access to basic services and the attainment of a just and equitable society. The chapter finally ends with a conclusion.

2.2 Administrative Regions of Ghana under British Colonial Rule

5. According to Bening (1999) and Dickson (1971), at the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1900, the Gold Coast, then completely under the control of the British consisted of three administrative regions, namely: Gold Coast Crown Colony, Ashanti

Protectorate, and Northern Territories (Figure 2.1). The territorial span was defined and delimited by the 1901 Constitution of the Gold Coast, marking the first time the geographical boundaries of the Gold Coast were included in the Constitution and this has been significant in determining the majority of the political and administrative boundaries of present day Ghana (Bennion, 1962:24). Bennion (1962) adds that the Northern Territories Ordinance promulgated in 1902 led to an adjustment of the boundary between Ashanti and the Northern Territories. Subsequently, in 1914, following the capture of Togoland from the Germans by the French and British, and the annexation of the western part of Togoland as a British territory, it was administered as a separate entity until its future was settled definitely (Bening, 1972, 1999). In addition, in November 1953, the Gold Coast colony was divided into the Eastern and Western Provinces (Bening, 1999:112).

Figure 2.1: Regions and their Boundaries, 1902



Source: Adapted from Bening (1972)

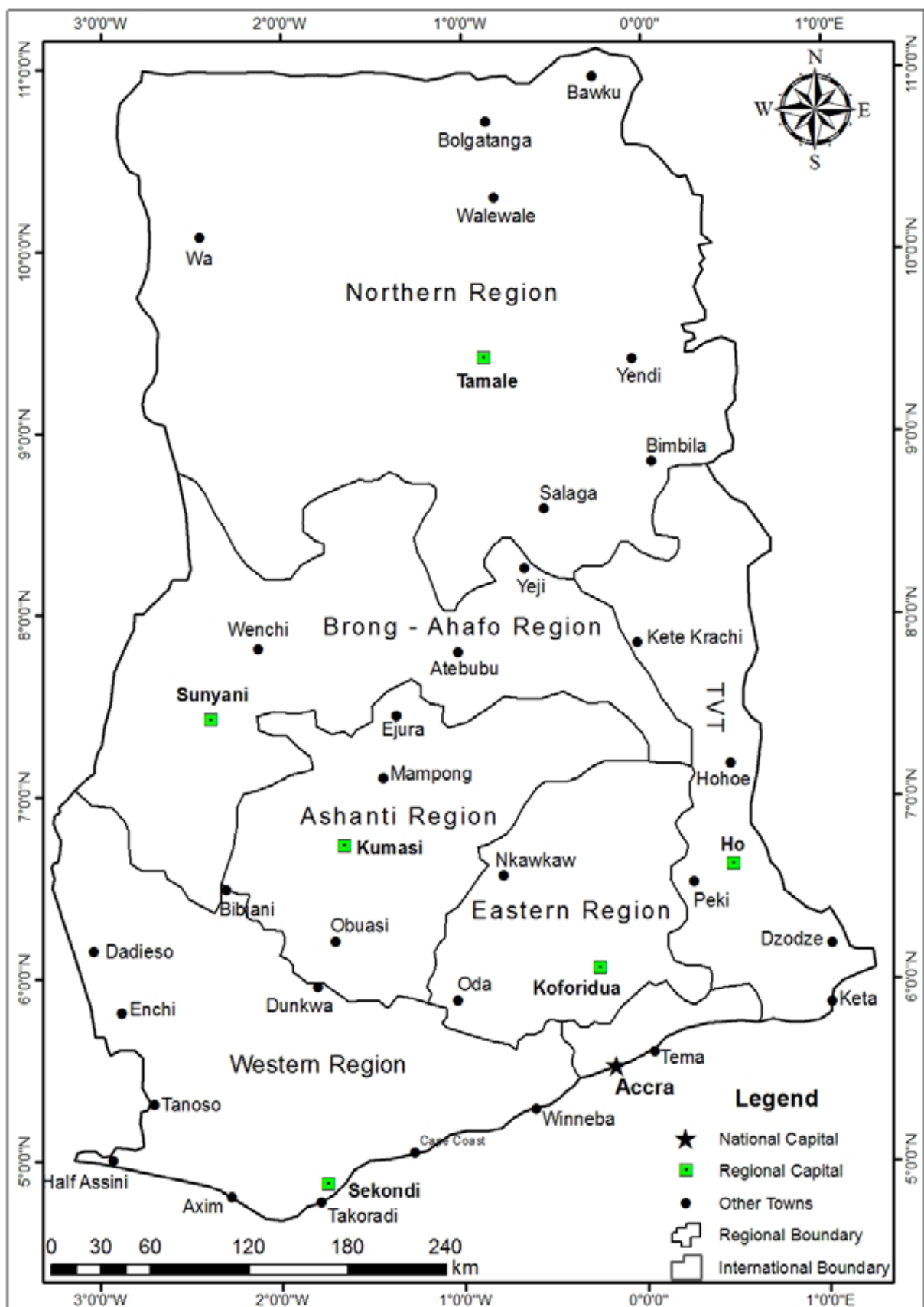
- As the Gold Coast made progress towards self-rule and independence, renewed discussions of the question of the future and status of Trans-Volta Togoland concluded with the United Nations General Assembly ordering that a plebiscite be held to

determine by majority decision whether the British administered-territory was to be in union with an independent Gold Coast; or it was to continue under trusteeship, pending the ultimate determination of its political future (Bening, 1972: 42). The plebiscite held on 9 May, 1956 had the majority of 58 percent voting to join Ghana, and 42 percent calling for separation. With this major decision on the plebiscite and at the dawn of Ghana's independence in 1957, Trans-Volta Togoland, renamed subsequently as Volta Region, became the fifth administrative region in Ghana. A part of the Gold-Coast Colony was added to the region, while the northern part of Trans-Volta Togoland was added to the Northern Region.

2.3 Evolution of Political Administrative Regions in Post-Independence Era

7. From the five administrative regions that Ghana had at independence, in 1957, the immediate post-independence era witnessed several re-organisations of the existing regions and the creation of new ones, with the number reaching 10 in 1983, within almost two and a half decades.

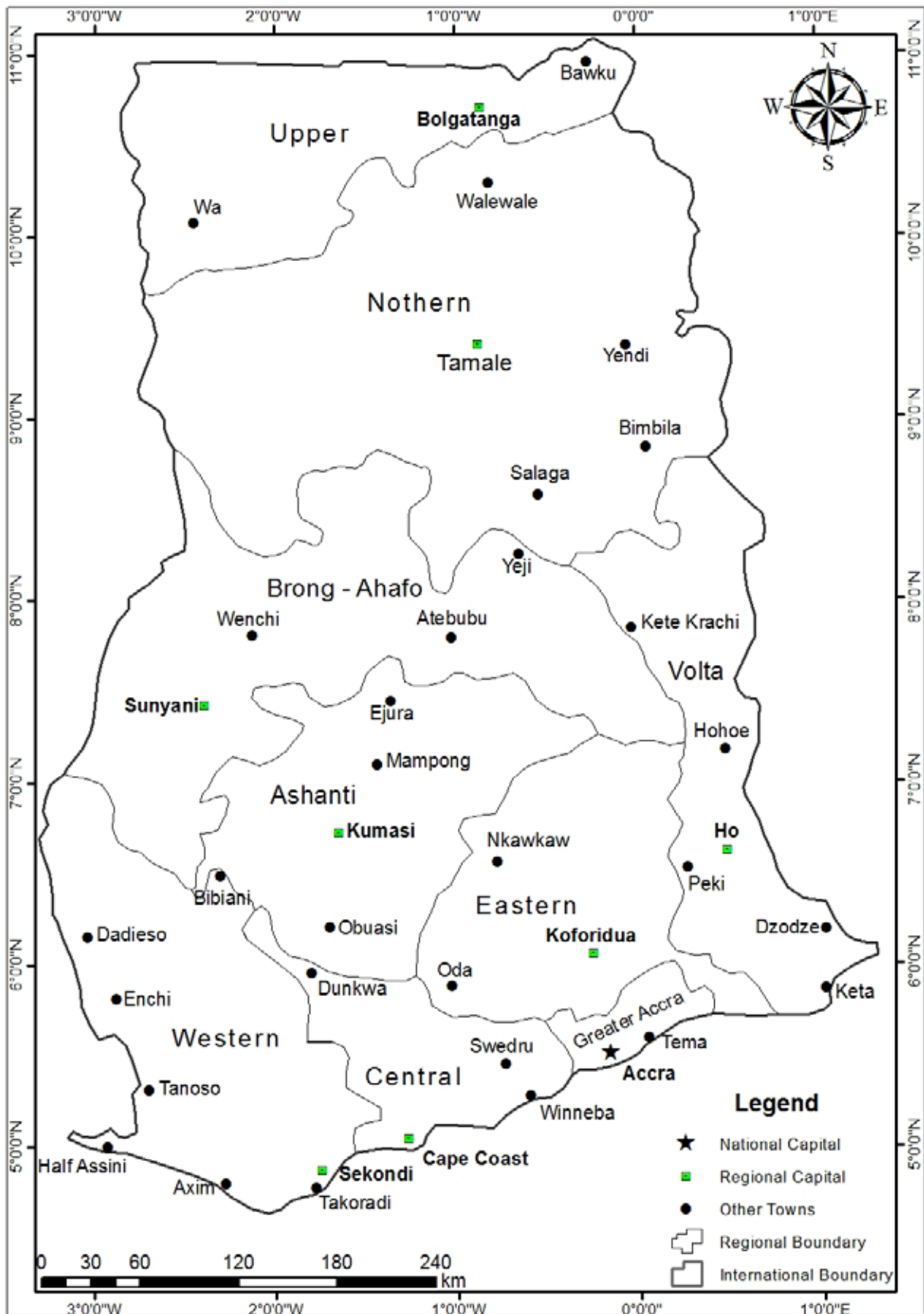
Figure 2.2: Regions and their Boundaries, 1959



Source: Adapted from Bening (1999)

8. In 1959, the number of administrative regions increased to six with the creation of Brong-Ahafo Region (Figure. 2.2), following a long period of agitation by the Ahafo and Bono people for a separate region. The Ahafo area was separated from Ashanti Region and the Brong area from Northern Region to create the new region (Bening, 1972, 1999). In addition, the Eastern Region was re-organised. The southern part of the Eastern Region consisting of Accra was designated and administered as a special area and the city of Accra was given a special status as a growing metropolitan centre. This was to give special attention to the national capital, Accra and its environs, as a growing metropolitan region with peculiar development planning challenges. In addition, it was to deal with the challenges created by the agglomeration of industries and the influx and concentration of population around Ghana's capital city (Bening, 1972).

Figure 2.3: Regions and their Boundaries, 1960

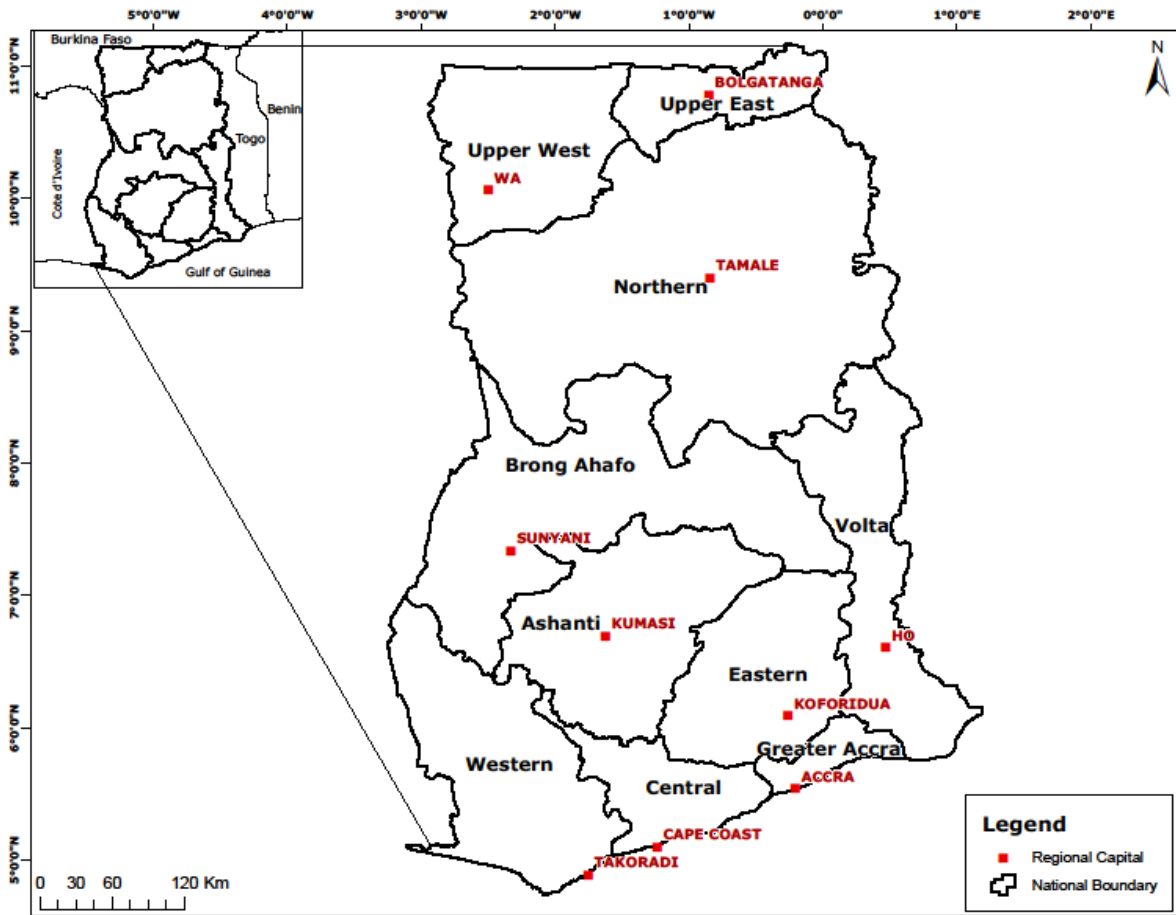


Source: Adapted from Bening (1999)

9. A year after the creation of the Brong-Ahafo Region, the Government decided that two regions should be reorganised for effective administration. Thus in 1960, each of the two large regions, Northern and Western Regions were as a result split into two. This led to the creation of the Upper Region out of the Northern Region; and the Central Region out of the Western Region (Bening, 1972: 47-48). Consequently, the total number of administrative regions in Ghana increased to eight (see Fig. 2.3). The general view for the creation of these regions was that relatively small and compact units would allow regional and national heads to monitor development in these regions effectively.

10. Twenty-two years after the creation of the Upper and Central Regions in 1960, the Greater Accra Region was created out of the Eastern Region by the Greater Accra Region Act, 1982 (PNDCL 26) which amended the Regions of Ghana Act, 1960 (CA 11). In 1983, the Upper Region was reorganised to create Upper East and Upper West Regions with Bolgatanga and Wa as respective regional capitals (see Fig. 2.4). The separation of Upper West Region from the Upper Region came into effect in 1983, but the actual inauguration of the region as Ghana's tenth region took place in 1987.

Figure 2.4: Regions of Ghana, 1983 to date



Source: Department of Geography and Resource Development, UG, 2018

2.4 Rationale for the Creation of Regions in the Past

11. The regions making up the land of Gold Coast, which formed Ghana at independence, came about through various processes. Table 2.1 provides a summary of the evolution of regions during the colonial and post-colonial Ghana and the key reasons for the creation of regions. Beyond the 1901 Constitution of the Gold Coast, three Orders in Council all dated 26th September, 1901 defined and delimited the territorial span of the Gold Coast, Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The Constitution stipulated that all annexed territories were made part of the Gold Coast and were not exempted from having all existing Gold Coast Laws enforceable in the annexed territories.
12. Factors that formed the basis of colonial investments in the territories, i.e., regions, included the need to invest in the colonies to exploit and export minerals and other resources to feed the manufacturing factories of metropolitan Britain; encourage the cultivation of cash or tree crops (mainly cocoa, coffee and rubber); and ensure the transportation of these resources to the seaports (Dickson, 1971; Aryeetey et al., 2008). Dickson (1971) adds that regions with readily exploitable and exportable mineral resources, and climate suitable for the introduced cash crops of cocoa and coffee were subsequently connected with transportation links, mainly railways and roads, and other infrastructure. These regions, many of which existed in southern Ghana such as Ashanti, Central and Eastern Regions, attracted migrant populations as well as further investments, putting them ahead of other regions. This partly accounts for the development disparities between southern and northern Ghana.

Table 2.1: Regions in Ghana, Colonial and Post-Colonial Eras, 1902-2018

Year	Type of regime	No. of Regions	Reason for Change	Names of Regions
1902	Colonial	3	British hegemony and consolidation of rule	Ashanti Protectorate, Gold Coast Crown Colony and Northern Territories
1953	Colonial	4	British rule: division of Gold Coast Crown Colony into Eastern and Western Provinces for administrative purposes.	Ashanti Protectorate, Northern Territories, Eastern Province and Western Province
1956	Colonial	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successful conclusion of a plebiscite incorporating Trans-Volta Togoland as Volta Region into Ghana 	Ashanti, Eastern, Volta, Northern and Western
1959	British Crown (1957-1960)	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brong-Ahafo Region carved out of Ashanti and Northern Regions 	Ashanti; Brong-Ahafo, Eastern, Volta, Northern and Western
1960	First Republic (1960-1966)	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upper Region carved out of Northern Region • Western Region split into 2: Central and Western Regions 	Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Volta, Northern, Western and Upper
1982	Military Rule (1981-1992)	9	Establishment of Greater Accra Region from Eastern Region	Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Volta, Northern, Western and Upper
1983		10	Upper Region split into 2: Upper East and Upper West Regions	Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Volta, Northern, Western, Upper East and Upper West

Source: Compiled from Bening (1972; 1999)

13. After visiting the Northern Territories, Governor Guggisberg stressed the need to form administrative areas based on larger, stronger and more cohesive native states (Bening, 2010, 109). In September 1921, the Northern Territories were divided to reflect Governor Guggisberg's ideas. By 1925, Governor Guggisberg was firmly convinced that defining administrative boundaries based on ethnic divisions was a pragmatic and very convenient means to develop the entire Gold Coast pending the introduction of the Native Administration Ordinance of 1926. But, it was not until 1932 that native administration was introduced to the Northern Territories Protectorate. With the native administration in operation, efforts were made to avoid overlaps between administrative and native boundaries (Bening, 2010, 122).
14. Within the Northern Territory, much of the region's administrative and political boundaries were planned by Lt.-Col. H.P. Northcott, a British expatriate, who was of the view that boundaries should help make government "the simplest and most economical form, sufficiently elastic to adapt itself to any development that may take place" (Bening, 2010, 94). Moreover, the "coincidence of ethnic and administrative boundaries would have the advantage of avoiding conflict with the authority of the various chiefs and of ensuring cultural uniformity and hence a higher degree of co-operation within the districts" (Bening, 2010, 95). The division of the British sphere of Togoland among the territorial components of the Gold Coast was influenced by the ethnic, linguistic and cultural affiliations of the people living in the adjacent areas of the two countries' (Bening, 1972, 33).
15. During the colonial era, a number of principles and ideas governed how political and administrative boundaries were demarcated, the fundamental principle being essentially rule-based. While there may have been cost considerations, the nature of boundaries and the typology of state system created to control these territories were also quite significant. Also, proximity to the coastal areas and availability of transportation facilities determined how quickly boundaries were created.
16. In the post-independence era, factors that have informed the creation of administrative regions in Ghana have differed from regime to regime and period to period. Whereas the creation of administrative regional areas during the pre-independence era were deemed to have been informed by the needs and administration strategies of the then colonial authorities, those created at independence were largely influenced by the considerations that led to independence and the need to facilitate the effective administration of a new independent state.
17. As an independent state the five administrative regions in 1957 were supported by both the Constitution and the Plebiscite Act, 1960 (No.1). When the Ashanti Region was divided into Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti Regions in 1959, and Central Region was carved out of the Western Region in 1960, the government of the day cited efficient and effective administration as the key reasons for the creation of the region. Northern Region was also split into Northern and Upper Regions in 1960 primarily to reduce the size of the region.

18. The administrative boundaries created after Ghana's attaining republican status but within the period of military rule were however influenced by the dictates and the policy direction of the then military regime without recourse to the affected people. The Regions of Ghana Act, 1960 (CA 11) was amended in 1982 by PNDCL 26 to create the Greater Accra Region without assigning any specific reason for that. The PNDCL 41 in 1983 that divided the then Northern Region existing under the Brong-Ahafo Region Act 1959 (No.18) into two new regions - Upper Region and Northern Region did so without assigning any specific reason in the Act, apparently without recourse to the citizens. Similarly, the then Upper Region in the Regions of Ghana Act, 1960 (CA11) was also divided into two by PNDCL 41 of 1983 by the then government to be called Upper West and Upper East Regions without assigning any reasons or consulting the chiefs and people of the area.
19. In 1982, Accra was separated from the Eastern Region to create the Greater Accra Region. The creation of the Greater Accra Region was partly to deal with the continuous expansion of Accra, and also to address the demands of the Adangbes, Yilo and Manya Krobos, Osudukus, Shais and Gas, to be included in one jurisdiction, for cultural and linguistic reasons (Bening, 1972). Finally, the creation of the Upper West and Upper East Regions was deemed to be necessary as administering the Upper Region, especially the western part of the region, from the regional capital, Bolgatanga, located in the east, was challenging.
20. The foregoing discussions so far in this section suggest that the reasons for the creation of regions and the alteration of their boundaries can be viewed from the perspectives of central government and the communities' dissatisfaction with prevailing regional arrangements and demand for regional reorganization. According to Bening (1999), in general, while central government's actions and inactions were the decisive factors in shaping regions in Ghana in the colonial period, in the post-colonial era, pressure from organized groups or citizens has become a critical factor although the role of central government can still not be discounted.
21. Bening (1999, 309-326) provides an excellent discussion of the reasons or the rationale for the creation of regions or alterations of regional boundaries in Ghana in both the colonial and post-colonial eras. These can be summed up under four main issues as follows:
 - Need for government to be closer to the people;
 - Need to minimize conflict within and between regions by addressing perceived or real discrimination against or neglect of an area in any form such as the allocation of political appointments and development projects;
 - Desire to belong to culturally similar units or administrative areas and;
 - Need to promote even and balanced development.

Need for government to be closer to the people

22. This has been the cardinal rationale for the creation of regions in Ghana in both the colonial and post-independent era. It is seen as the basis for achieving effective and efficient administration of the regions, in particular and the country in general. This is because the size of some of the regions constraints interaction between citizens and administrative units. According to Bening (1999), proximity of regional administrators and heads to every part of a region aids in understanding and appreciating the difficulties confronting the citizens thereby facilitating citizens' access to these regional heads for the solution to their development challenges.
23. Nearness of government to the people is also seen as an attempt to enhance central government's effectiveness to respond to the needs of the citizens through a process of regional decentralization. Poor road networks and connectivity across Ghana have tended to place many areas far away from access to public services, and created a feeling of neglect of these areas. Bening (1999: 314) notes that the creation of regions and the accompanying decrease in the size of administrative areas have, to a large extent, been seen as bringing government closer to many people. This is more in the case where the creation of regions allows citizens to have easier access to high-order services and government offices in regional capitals than previously.

Minimize inter and intra-regional conflicts by addressing perceived or real neglect of areas

24. According to Bening (1999), conflicts arise from complaints about discrimination in the distribution and allocation of public offices or appointments, development projects and of cultural domination of one ethnic group by another. Consequently, creation of regions on the basis of homogenous groupings will address differences and any perceptions of discrimination and neglect. Such is the case which led to the creation of the Brong-Ahafo Region out of the Ashanti Region and earlier regions in the colonial era. As earlier noted, the creation of regions on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity was a key consideration during the colonial era, and that creating such regions was seen as addressing intra and inter-regional conflicts.
25. However, increasing inter-marriages, migration and urbanization, education and a conscious effort by the state in the post-colonial era to do away with tribalism and ethnic-centred development by including all sections of Ghanaian society in various economic and political occupations have created an intense mixing of the population (Langer, 2007; Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2009). Consequently, no ethnic homogenous region exist in Ghana, except to some extent the Ashanti Region. Despite these demographic changes, Bening (1999) argues that discord of varying degrees of intensity cannot be ruled out and that even within the same cultural group there can be differences between inhabitants of various areas regarding the allocation of resources and the wielding of political power and influence.

Promote even and balanced development

26. Although in both theoretical and practical sense, an even and balanced regional development is impossible to achieve (World Bank, 2009; Aryeetey et al, 2009), nevertheless, this has been one of the major reasons for the creation of regions, since independence (Bening, 1999). This situation relates to development disparities or inequalities within rather than across regions, in that some areas within some of the regions feel neglected in terms of the distribution and allocation of development projects.
27. The state's desire to achieve even and balanced development has found expression in the 1992 Constitution. Specifically, Article 36 (2d) indicts that the state shall undertake *even and balanced development of all regions and every part of each region of Ghana, and, in particular, improving the conditions of life in the rural areas, and generally, redressing any imbalance in development between the rural and the urban areas*. However, Bening (1999, 326) argued that 'after creation of a region, it is usually the new capital town and its immediate environs that record dramatic improvements and developments in the means of transport and communication and the provision of residential and office accommodation for government officials, parastatal and private commercial institutions'. It is this skewed development pattern that tends to trigger the demand for regional creation and reorganization by communities and areas feeling disadvantaged in terms of development.
28. It needs to be stressed that preliminary review of the petitions submitted to the Commission for the creation of new regions out of the current Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions are based on one or more of the rationale for regional reorganization or creation of regions in the past. Indeed, underlying all the petitions is dissatisfaction with the pace of development and complaints about uneven and imbalanced development within their respective regions, and hence, the need for the creation of new regions to address these.

2.5 The Creation of New Regions as a tool for attainment of a just and equitable society as required by the Directive Principles of State Policy.

29. A key reason for the demand for new region over the years, especially in the post-independence era as already noted is the need to improve socio-economic development of all parts of the country. The argument has been that development will be accelerated with the creation of new regions. As the then Member of Parliament (MP) for Wenchi, Mr. C. S. Takyi, noted on March 20, 1959, during the Second Reading of the Bill on the creation of Brong-Ahafo Region:

“This is a great day indeed for the people of the Brong-Ahafo who have been fighting all the time for a separate region. We have been fighting for a separate region not for tribalistic reasons but to open the way for the development of our region. We felt that we were being left behind. Although our land is flowing with “milk and honey” yet

economically, socially and educationally, we were left behind the other regions. For instance, with the exception of the secondary school at Dormaa-Ahenkro, there is no other secondary school in the whole of the Brong-Ahafo Region. We felt that it was only by having a separate region to ourselves that our people could come together and fight for the development of the whole region. Our only objective in the course of our fight was to get equal opportunities for the advancement for all.” (Hansard Report, Second Reading of Brong-Ahafo Bill, March 20, 1959)

30. The Directive Principles of State Policy as contained in Chapter 6 of the 1992 Constitution sets broad objectives to guide the State in attaining a just and equitable society. Article 34(1) provides that the Directive Principles of State Policy “*shall guide all citizens, parliament, the president, the Judiciary, the Council of State, The Cabinet, political parties and other bodies and persons in applying or interpreting this constitution or any other law and in taking and implementing any policy decisions, for the establishment of a just and free society.*”
31. Article 36 (2) of the 1992 Constitution requires the state to establish a sound and healthy economy with, among others, the following underlying principle: “*Undertaking even and balance development of all regions and every part of each region of Ghana, and, in particular, improving the conditions of life in the rural areas, and generally, redressing any imbalance in development between the rural and urban.*”
32. Therefore, the demand for the creation of a new region to address imbalances in socio-economic development between and within regions is appropriately founded on the Directive Principles of State Policy. The State has a duty to assess the demands for the creation of new regions with the provision of the Constitution particularly, the Directive Principles of State policy in mind. These broad objectives include the following:
 - Promotion of a just and reasonable access by all citizens to public facilities in accordance with law (Article 35(3)).
 - Provision of educational facilities which shall be available to all citizens at all levels and in all the Regions of Ghana (Article 38(1)).
 - Managing the national economy in a manner that will ensure the maximization of the welfare, freedom, happiness as well as the provision of adequate means of livelihood, suitable employment and public assistance to the needy (Article 36(1)).
 - Provision of opportunity for individual initiative and creativity in economic activities as well as fostering an enabling environment for the private sector (Article 36(2)(b)).
 - Promotion of the development of agriculture and industry (Article 36(3)).

33. The demand for the creation of new regions by sections of the Ghanaian society may be viewed as a failure by the State in complying with the objectives contained in the Directive Principles of State Policy in the 1992 Constitution.

2.5 Conclusion

34. This Chapter of the report has established that demands for the creation of new regions based on the imperatives of socio-economic development and efficient governance structures is not a recent phenomenon. It stands to reason that such demands will persist for the present and future as long as some sections of society perceive and see development within and across regions as unjust and equitable. The creation of political and administrative regions in Ghana has been very challenging. A review of the factors informing the creation or demarcation of administrative boundaries indicates that the process has historically been influenced largely by the colonial administrative policy directions in the case of the pre-independence period and political considerations by the post-independence military governments mainly the PNDC. Boundary creation was earlier affected by the fact that the population in many parts of Ghana was sparse and widely distributed, with many people living in rural communities. Low population density invariably implied high costs of political administration. Moreover, the creation of regions has always required a careful balance: to preserve ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities and affiliations; to ensure economic viability of the region concerned; to guarantee availability of resources for administration; and to maintain contiguous land areas; among other considerations.
36. The administrative boundaries of pre-independence (or the Gold Coast) and post-independence Ghana have consistently been defined, although the various demarcations into regions and factors taken into consideration have depended largely on the legal and policy framework in existence within the period. Overall, some specific means through which new political and administrative boundaries were created included constitution making; establishment of commissions of inquiry to examine the context of colonial rule; availability of resources for administration; preservation of traditional African laws among others. However, prior to the 1992 Constitution, the creation of regions had been based on the understanding of the political leadership of the time and the perceived needs of the people without consulting the people on their need and substantial demand for the creation of the region. This is in contrast to the participatory requirements of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution.

CHAPTER THREE

STRATEGIES FOR ACCOMPLISHING THE COMMISSION'S OBJECTIVES

3.1 Introduction

1. The objective of the assignment as outlined in C.I. 105 as amended, is to ascertain whether there is the need for new regions to be created as requested by the petitioners, and if so, whether there is substantial demand for the regions. Consequently, the Commission adopted a number of strategies to help it achieve its objectives.
2. The Commission sought, therefore, to collect information that would enable it determine whether there is indeed the need and substantial demand for the creation of a new region in each of the cases presented by the petitioners. The issues are thus about whether or not there is any need for the existing regions from which petitions were submitted to be divided up and also the extent of the need. The second aspect of substantial demand relates to not only how extensive and widespread the calls for the new regions are but also their diversity. Therefore, apart from the numbers involved, the composition with respect to population, socioeconomic, political, religious affiliation were also considered. Various forms of data were therefore obtained from the petitioner's for the new regions and from other sources.
3. The assignment required a careful examination of the content of the petitions and claims that formed the basis for the request for the creation of the regions; determination of the range of information required for ascertaining claims and their possible sources as well as the collection, compilation and analysis of statistics and relevant information to support or oppose the request being made. The assignment therefore entailed:
 - (a) Ascertaining the current state of development of communities, districts and areas that constitute the proposed new regions as defined by the petitioners; and
 - (b) Obtaining information both directly and indirectly from desk reviews, and the field through observations and interventions from consultations, courtesy calls and public hearings.

3.2 Structure of the Inquiry

4. The Inquiry that followed the initial review of the petitions, was undertaken at three levels: national, regional and district. The main targets were the petitioners, in most cases the paramount chiefs and other chiefs; committees or groups set-up specifically to prepare the petitions; Government Officials at the Regional Coordinating Councils; Heads of Department and Assembly members; and the citizenry. At the various levels, public hearings were organized to give opportunity to all and sundry to present their

views for, or against the motion to create new regions. All the Commissioners were present at the public hearings and took note of all the points that were made.

5. At the national and regional levels, sessions were held in Accra, and the respective capitals of the regions from which petitions had been submitted. In all cases, the capitals fell outside the areas proposed for the new regions. This gave the opportunity for: (i) those who had views about the proposed creation of the regions but could not participate in the hearings, that took place; (ii) the provision of more neutral platform for those who may have dissenting opinions to express themselves more freely; and (iii) alternative venues to express views about the proposal for the creation of the new regions.

3.3 Strategies of the Inquiry

6. To achieve the objectives set out in the terms of reference, the Commission adapted the following strategies to ascertain whether there was substantial demand and need for the creation of new regions.
 - (a) Review legal provisions and mandate for the development of the country at all levels particularly, at regional and district levels;
 - (b) Ascertain the basis for the demand for separation from the regions as currently defined;
 - (c) Assess the level of compliance with provisions in the relevant legislations as reflected in the different states of development within and across regions, with particular reference to proposed new region(s) and the remaining region;
 - (d) Evaluate the nature and magnitude of the demand for new regions to be created; and
 - (e) Make recommendations for the creation of regions, where appropriate.

3.4 Approach to the Assignment

7. The Commission's operational structure which facilitated data collection and the execution of the assignment included the Commissioners, the Secretariat, headed by the Secretary to the Commission, and a research and administrative team. The Commission received further support from the Ministry of Regional Reorganization and Development as well as other stakeholders at the regional and district level offices such as the Regional Ministers, the RCCs and District Chief Executives to make the necessary logistical arrangements at the local level.
8. The Commission, according to the Instrument that set it up, CI 105 as amended, had until 30th June 2018 to complete the assignment. As a first step, the Commission had engagement with the MoRRD to ascertain the extent of preparatory work done by the

Ministry, and requested for relevant materials including maps, books and articles. These served as a breaking ground for the Commission’s work. A roadmap detailing periods for interim assessment of petitions, in-camera hearings, regional consultations, reporting and submission of final report was developed and reviewed to take account of changes in situations, information received from the logistical team and requests from the field. To the extent possible, the schedule of field visits was adjusted to the convenience of the traditional and opinion leaders to ensure their maximum participation.

3.5 Methodology for the Assignment

9. Based on the scope and nature of the assignment, mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) approach were adopted. The qualitative approach helped the Commission to understand and assess the realities of petitioners and their issues from their own local settings and perspectives. Qualitative methods used included: desk study and interim assessment of petitions, consultations, photographs, visual and audio recordings and direct observations. The quantitative approach helped to present and organize information obtained with basic statistical tools like charts, graphs and descriptive statistics.

3.5.1 Qualitative methods

Desk study and interim assessment of petitions

10. The Commission made use of documents including the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana, books, articles and statements from newspapers. It also used reports from petitioners, RCCs and MMDAs as well as submissions from individuals and civil society groups. This method provided the basis for identification of issues and setting up of a criteria for assessing the need and substantial demand for the creation of new regions required by the Commission’s Terms of Reference (ToR).
11. The criteria developed for assessing the need and substantial demand included the frequency and history of the demand, land size, population, diversity in language and culture, diversity in economic activities, and development imbalance. A detailed explanation of each of the criteria is provided in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Preliminary Criteria for the Creation of New Regions

No.	Criteria	Detailed Explanations
1.	Frequency and History of the demand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of times • Popularity • Repetitive nature of demand • Consistency of demand • Previous Committees that made demands

No.	Criteria	Detailed Explanations
2.	Land Size	<p>Land size connotes the area, vertical (N/S) and horizontal (E/W) dimensions covering:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vastness of area (sq. km) • Width in km • Elongation (km in breadth) • Distances from various locations in the proposed new region to the current regional capitals <p>The relevance of land size in the decision to create a new region is as a result of the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access to regional government services; • responsiveness to service delivery; • effective and efficient coordination, as well as monitoring of MMDAs; and • overall management and administration of regions.
3.	Population	Demographic characteristics and size of the population (i.e. growth rates, trends in population, relative size of the proposed region(s) and the population that will remain in the existing region) were considered relevant.
4.	Diversity in Language and Culture	Diversity in culture and language among the petitioners were considered as an indicator of unity. Similarly, where the petitioners comprised wholly or substantially a number of paramountcies, this was considered as a sign of unity of purpose among the petitioners.
5.	Diversity in Economic Activities	The existence of different economic activities within the districts where the demand emanated from was indicative of a good case for creating a new region. The economic considerations taken into account included human capital, physical and natural resources (minerals, agricultural land, timber and forest, water bodies, etc.).
6.	Development Imbalance	<p>Imbalanced distribution of development within a region and developmental disparities apparent in the proposed region when compared to regions with better infrastructure was considered important for the creation of a new region.</p> <p>Some of the indicators considered were the conditions and surface type of roads, disparities in distribution of facilities, infrastructure and social amenities.</p>

Source: Constructed by the Commission of Inquiry, 2017

Consultations

12. The process of eliciting views to support claims of petitioners among the various stakeholders was structured along five stages: In-camera engagement with petitioners in Accra; Regional Consultations (RCC, courtesy calls, and public hearings); Public engagements in Accra; National House of Chiefs and consultations with Parliamentarians from the four regions. In all consultations, the Chairman of the Commission made statements and established the ground rules for engagement.

In-camera Engagements with Petitioners in Accra

13. In-camera engagements with petitioners began on 21st November 2017 and ended on 5th December 2017 in Accra. Based on an agreed schedule (Appendix 2), each of the six groups of petitioners were given the opportunity to be heard on separate days. The purpose was to afford the Commission the opportunity to hear first hand from the petitioners and to understand the background to their petitions.
14. It also offered petitioners the opportunity to provide additional information they considered essential to the work of the Commission. Apart from building trust and creating a climate of mutual understanding between the petitioners and the Commission, the in-camera engagements also provided a congenial atmosphere for the petitioners to provide information freely without fear, to support their demands for the creation of new regions for them.

Regional Consultations

15. The Regional Consultations included: engagement with government functionaries (MDAs, RCC, MMDAs), Regional Houses of Chiefs, public hearings and, in some cases, stop-over (unscheduled) engagements. The process enabled the Commission to solicit and elicit data as well as information from a cross section of stakeholders from the four affected regions where the six petitions were received.

Government Functionaries

16. Regional engagements began with a courtesy call on the Regional Ministers and meeting with the RCCs in all the four affected regions to collect relevant data from the various heads of ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) such as education, security, health, roads, CWSA and GWCL (see Appendix 2).
17. The information was used to validate, or disprove, claims made by the six petitioners. At the various MMDAs where public hearings were held, courtesy calls were paid on the MMDCEs and leadership of the Assemblies to seek their views on the creation of the proposed regions.

Regional Houses of Chiefs

18. The in-camera engagements with the various Houses of Chiefs was to provide opportunities for the petitioners who were mainly chiefs to provide further evidence, if any, to support their claims; listen to the views of all chiefs in the region on the

proposed regions. Chiefs who could not participate in the in-camera hearing in Accra also had the opportunity to present their views (see Appendix 2).

Public Hearings

19. Public hearings were organized in all the four affected regional capitals and the selected communities where the Commission received petitions. Stop-over (unscheduled) engagements were also organized in some selected communities, mainly from the Volta Region (Dambai, Dapaa Junction, Ahamansu Junction and Kadjebi). These hearings were to afford the people from across the Regions the opportunity to share their views with the Commission on the need for the creation of the proposed regions.
20. Prior to the public hearings, information on the venues, dates and times were widely publicized in print and electronic media with national circulation to ensure that all sections of society were notified (Appendix 3). In addition, the Ministry of Regional Reorganization and Development (MoRRD) organized media engagements in collaboration with the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the Information Services Department (ISD) to ensure mass sensitization of the people of the Commission's proposed visits to the regions.
21. At the public hearings, as many people who were interested in making contributions were allowed to do so. Care was taken to ensure that contributions came from a wide cross section of the society, including traditional, religious and political leaders, women, youth, farmers, traders, associations, school children, the aged and people with disability. No inhibition was placed on the views expressed except an admonition to avoid inflammatory statements.
22. Table 3.2 shows the locations and venues for public hearings and the number of participants who attended by regions. It is clear from the table that these public hearings were very well patronized, especially, towards the end of the public consultations. In the Northern Region, some of them turned out to be more of parades, carnivals and celebrations with cultural displays.

Table 3.2 - Locations and Venues for Public Hearings and Number of Participants Attending by Region

No.	Location	Date	Venue for Public Hearing	Number of Registered Participants	Number of Participants by Head Count	Number of People Who Made Contributions
1.	Western Region					
	Takoradi	11-12-2017	House of Chiefs	-	65	20
	Takoradi	12-12-2017	Akroma Plaza	152	-	26
	Enchi	13-12-2017	Methodist Church	295	590	22
	Wassa Akropong	14-12-2017	Methodist Church	164	170	27
	Adaborkrom	15-12-2017	Roman Catholic Church	592	950	33
	Sefwi Wiawso	16-12-2017	Catholic Training Centre	266	345	25
	Bibiani	16-12-2017	Christ Apostolic Church	286	400	26
2.	Volta Region					
	Ho	15-01-2018	House of Chiefs	180	189	15
	Ho	16-01-2018	Ho Technical University	345	402	18
	Kete Krachi	17-01-2018	Kete Krachi Senior High School Assembly Hall	685	1,798	39
	Nkwanta	18-01-2018	Nkwanta South Municipal Assembly Hall	1,065	5,775	35
	Kpassa	19-01-2018	Kpassa Senior High Secondary/Technical	1,112	2,972	30
	Jasikan/Nsuta Buem	20-01-2018	Catholic Formation Centre, Nsuta Buem	1,552	7,782	36

No.	Location	Date	Venue for Public Hearing	Number of Registered Participants	Number of Participants by Head Count	Number of People Who Made Contributions
3.	Brong Ahafo Region					
	Sunyani	05-02-2018	House of Chiefs	176	193	14
	Sunyani	06-02-2018	Eusbett Conference Centre (Bono East)	155	163	18
	Kajaji	07-02-2018	Kajaji Community Centre	386	564	25
	Yeji	08-02-2018	Methodist Church	645	1,044	19
	Atebubu	09-02-2018	Atebubu Anglican Church	892	1,243	32
	Nkoranza	10-02-2018	Municipal Assembly Hall	1,022	1,890	38
	Techiman	12-02-2018	Centre for National Culture	803	4,669	34
	Sunyani	13-02-2018	Eusbett Conference Centre (Ahafo)	487	529	20
	Kintampo	13-02-2018	Municipal Assembly Hall	378	536	20
	Goaso	14-02-2018	Church of Pentecost	1,125	2,222	37
	Sankore	15-02-2018	St. Peter's Catholic Church	727	882	31
	Hwidiem	16-02-2018	Hwidiem SHS Assembly Hall	1,224	3,862	28
	Bechem	17-02-2018	St. Joseph Catholic Church	1,036	1,340	28

No.	Location	Date	Venue for Public Hearing	Number of Registered Participants	Number of Participants by Head Count	Number of People Who Made Contributions
4.	Northern Region					
	Tamale	12-03-2018	House of Chiefs	112	203	17
	Tamale	13-03-2018	Radach Lodge & Events Centre, Tamale (Gonja)	1,354	1,471	18
	Damango	14-03-2018	Damango Senior High School	8,222	-	28
	Buipe	15-03-2018	Central Gonja District Assembly Hall	18,964	-	24
	Bole	17-03-2018	Bole SHS Dining Hall, Bole	19,313	-	24
	Sawla	18-03-2018	Sawla Community Centre	16,351	-	27
	Salaga	19-03-2018	Salaga SHS Assembly Hall	74,433	-	26
	Tamale	20-03-2018	Radach Lodge & Events Centre, (Mamprusi)	5,503	-	30
	Nalerigu	21-03-2018	Nalerigu SHS Assembly Hall	19,084	-	16
	Gambaga	21-03-2018	East Mamprusi Assembly Hall		722	6
	Bunkprugu	22-03-2018	Calvary Assemblies of God Church	14,529	-	30
	Yagaba	24-03-2018	Yagaba SHS Assembly Hall	14,624	-	27
	Walewale	25-03-2018	Walewale Senior Sec. Technical High School, Dining Hall	33,635	-	29

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Final Public Engagement in Accra

23. Opportunity was given to all people who, for some reasons, could not participate in the regional consultations and who still wished to make contributions either in oral or written form to do so. Half a day was allocated to each petition at the Accra International Conference Centre for that exercise. The final set of public hearings were widely publicized in both the print and electronic media to ensure that all sections of the society were duly notified.

Consultation with National House of Chiefs

24. The Commission had an in-camera engagement with the National House of Chiefs in Kumasi on the 18th April, 2018, (see Appendix 2). This was to allow the chiefs who represent all traditional areas in Ghana an opportunity to share their opinions on the proposal for the creation of new regions. Prior to this, a courtesy call was paid on the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu as the Landlord to the National House of Chiefs in Kumasi and also to elicit his opinion on the creation of new regions.

Consultation with MPs

25. The last and final phase of the Commission's consultation ended with engagement with Members of Parliament from the four regions - Western, Volta, Brong-Ahafo and Northern - where the six petitions came from (see Appendix 2). As law makers, this opportunity was created to elicit their views on the demand for the creation of new regions.

Direct Observation

26. In addition to views from the various consultations, the Commission also observed useful situations in their natural settings, such as travel time from the farthest point to the locations of services in the existing regional capitals, conditions of the roads and pictorial presentations made by the people and students during the regional visits. In all the proposed new regions, students from SHS, Nursing Training Colleges, Pupils from basic schools and some adults held placards with various inscriptions in support of the creation of new regions and lined up along routes leading to the venues for public hearings.

3.5.2 Quantitative Methods

27. This section contains a brief description of how, what and why certain quantitative data were obtained from both primary and secondary or published sources to demonstrate and support, or refute assertions made by petitioners in their claims for the creation of new regions.
28. Secondary data included 2017, records of road conditions, road length and road surface types in each district in the Western, Volta, Brong-Ahafo and Northern Regions sought from the respective regional road agencies' directorates in the various regions. Based on the data, various proportions were calculated to determine whether or not road

development was skewed in favour of specific districts of these regions so that earlier claims by petitioners could be verified and ascertained.

29. These data were also used to infer the various levels of physical accessibility within each of the regions in question so that areas which are physically inaccessible or are accessible with some difficulty could be identified. The implication is that such areas are not fully integrated into the various regional or district economies and therefore people living there may not have easy access to various critical social and economic facilities or development benefits located in central places.
30. Similar analyses were also undertaken using data on the location and distribution of schools, courts, health facilities, police stations as well as other social and economic facilities. This was important considering that most petitioners' claims for the creation of new regions were partly or substantially based on unequal development within their respective regions. Such an approach was therefore used to support or refute their claims.
31. Data on the population of individual towns and districts in each region were obtained from Ghana Statistical Service's published reports. These data were used to determine whether they follow the pattern exhibited by the location and distribution of various development benefits or socio economic infrastructural facilities. In addition, these data also provided estimates of future population growth and distribution on a district wide basis as an indicator of future demand for goods and services.
32. Data on distances between the farthest east-west and north-south locations or settlements in each region were determined either by measuring them from maps, the internet or from knowledgeable people in the various locations where the public hearings took place. In some circumstances, these data were also provided by the Regional Economic Planning Units of the Regional Coordinating Councils. These distances served as indicators of the spatial extent of each of the regions' land mass and were used together with the road conditions and surface types of several connecting roads to determine actual travel times which are very critical if essential services, such as hospitals, are to be accessed within certain time limits.
33. Table 3.2 displays data obtained at each location or centre where a public hearing was held (including Accra) and the respective number of participants who were present. In some instances, head counts were taken and in other cases, the participants were registered as they entered each forum. All participants who had an opportunity to contribute were classified broadly based on their contributions for or against, the earlier petition submitted to the President, Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo, for the creation of new regions.
34. The public hearings took place in several locations across the regions from which the petitions were received. The hearings took the form of some preliminary speeches by various dignitaries, including the Commission's Chairman, followed by a session which

was moderated by the Secretary to the Commission. Each speaker was allowed time to make his or her point which was captured in writing by the Commissioners and their Research Staff. Contributions made by all stakeholders were captured both orally and visually by the Information Services Department. These contributions were classified under categories or themes including spatial extent of each region, road infrastructure, access to health and education, economic and employment issues, governance, ethnic, cultural and religious issues for further analysis.

35. Finally, data on human settlements with physical development plans or layouts to guide their growth and development were obtained from the Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority's directorate in each region. Based on these data, the various spatial entities were classified so that inferences could be made regarding the rate at which different towns are growing. This helped determine the broad physical growth patterns disparities among settlements located in different parts of each region.

Other Types of Data/Information

36. Other data were obtained from other sources such as the many people who came into contact with Commissioners during the field visits and public hearings. They included the chiefs/sub chiefs, teachers, government officials and virtually anyone who is knowledgeable about the history of development in each of the regions. Hence, it will be seen that the data collection techniques used for this study were primarily interviews, observations, case studies as well as reviews of documents and records.
37. The foregoing framework provided the basis for the data collection and the Commission's efforts to validate various claims made by petitioners in their quest for the creation of new regions.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROPOSED WESTERN NORTH REGION

4.1 Background

1. The Chiefs of the Western North enclave, representing seven traditional areas, namely: Aowin, Sefwi Anhwiaso, Sefwi Bekwai, Sefwi Chirano, Sefwi Wiawso, Suaman and Wassa Amenfi submitted a petition dated 16th June, 2017, to the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, demanding the creation of a Western North Region. In adherence to Article five (5) of the 1992 Constitution, the President referred the petition to the Council of State which in turn, advised him to establish a Commission of Inquiry on 15th August, 2017, to assess the merits of the petition and determine the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region.
2. On 21st November, 2017, the Commission met with petitioners from the Western Region at the Osu Castle in Accra. The purpose of the meeting was to interact with the petitioners and seek further information in support of their petition. It was also an opportunity to discuss the next steps in the programme of the Commission which involved conducting public hearings in the Western Region.
3. Subsequently, the Commission embarked on a fact-finding consultation in the Western Region from the 11th to 16th December, 2017. The purpose was to give the Commission the opportunity to interact with the chiefs and the people of the region and to ascertain the veracity of the petitioners' claims on the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region.
4. The people of the northern part of the Western Region have been agitating for the creation of a new region since the mid-1970s. The basis for their agitation has been the lack of development in the northern part as compared to the southern part of the Region and the need to bring government and public services closer to the people. In spite of their agitation, as reported in their petition, very little was achieved in terms of their objective for the creation of the proposed Western North Region.
5. Despite the lack of success in the past, the Chiefs and people of the proposed Western North Region petitioned H E. President Akufo-Addo to invoke the provisions of the 1992 Constitution on the creation of new regions in response to their petition. During interactions with the Chiefs and people of the proposed Western North Region in the run up to the 2016 General Elections, the two major political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) made promises to create new regions. Following the victory of the NPP in the General Elections the quest for a new region gained further impetus. The grounds for the demand for the creation of the proposed Western North Region are summarised in Table 4.1.

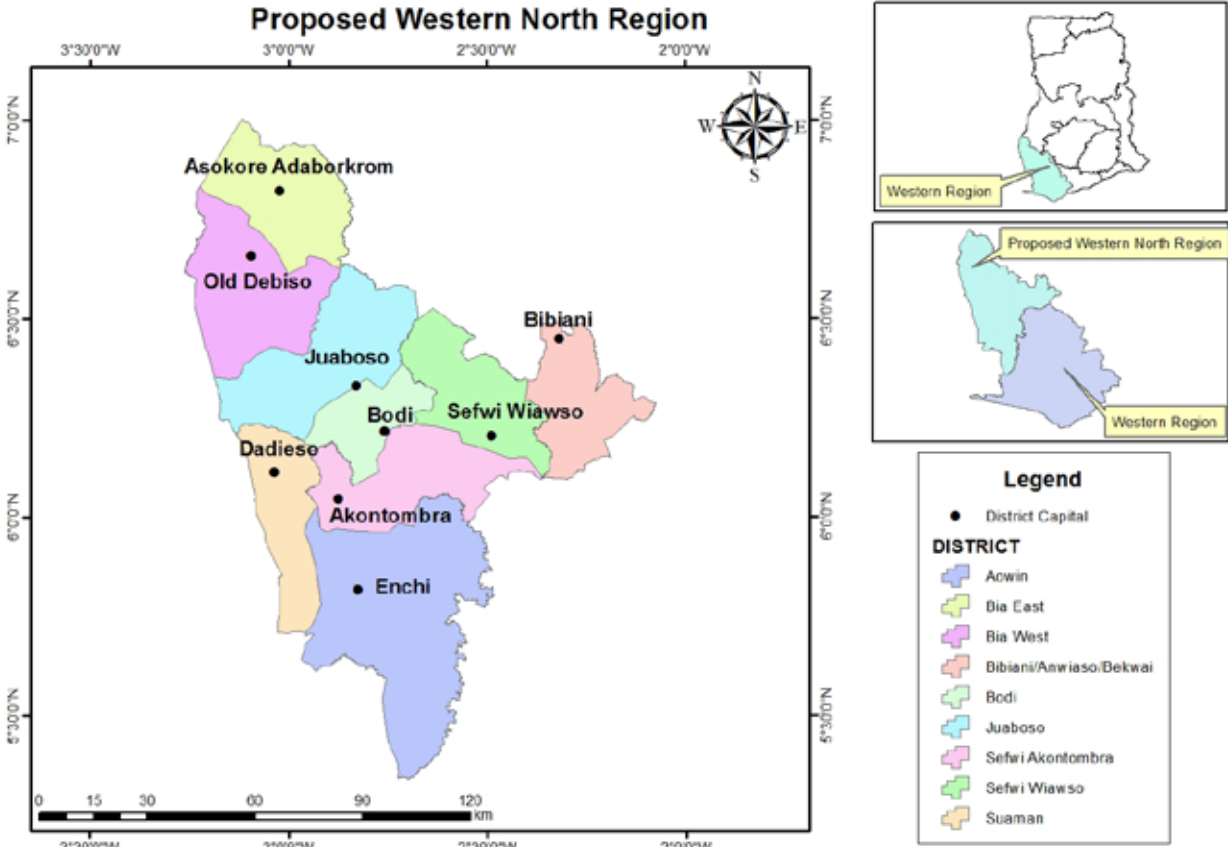
Table 4.1: Grounds for Demand for the Creation of Western North Region

Petitioners Grounds	Observations by Commission
1. Large land size and underdeveloped infrastructure account for the ineffective administration and difficulties faced by ordinary citizens where access government services is concerned.	Accessibility challenges due to land size and location, (Oseikojokrom is about 380km to the regional capital); Underdeveloped infrastructure hinders widespread economic growth and balanced development.
2. Inadequate qualified personnel in the region is the reason for ineffective supervision and monitoring of district structures of the local government by the regional administration.	Inadequate resources is a known challenge across all RCCs that accounts for the ineffective monitoring and supervision at the district levels.
3. The population has more than doubled since the region was created in 1960.	Population is dynamic and from time to time there is the need to re-organise the spatial environment for accelerated growth.
4. The proposed region is resource rich and contributes significantly to national development through cocoa production gold, bauxite, manganese and timber.	The Region is a bread basket of resources but this is not reflected in its pace of development.

Source: Compiled from proposed Western North Region petition documents, 2017

6. The proposed region covers 12 out of the 22 municipalities and districts of the existing Western Region. These are: Aowin Municipality, Bia East District, Bia West District, Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai Municipality, Bodi District, Juaboso District, Suaman District, Sefwi Akontombra District, Sefwi Wiawso Municipality, Wassa Amenfi East District, Wassa Amenfi West District and Wassa Amenfi Central District.

Figure 4.1: Map of the Proposed Western North Region



Note: This Map excludes Wassa Amenfi East, Wassa Amenfi West, and Wassa Amenfi Central Districts.

Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

7. According to the petitioners:

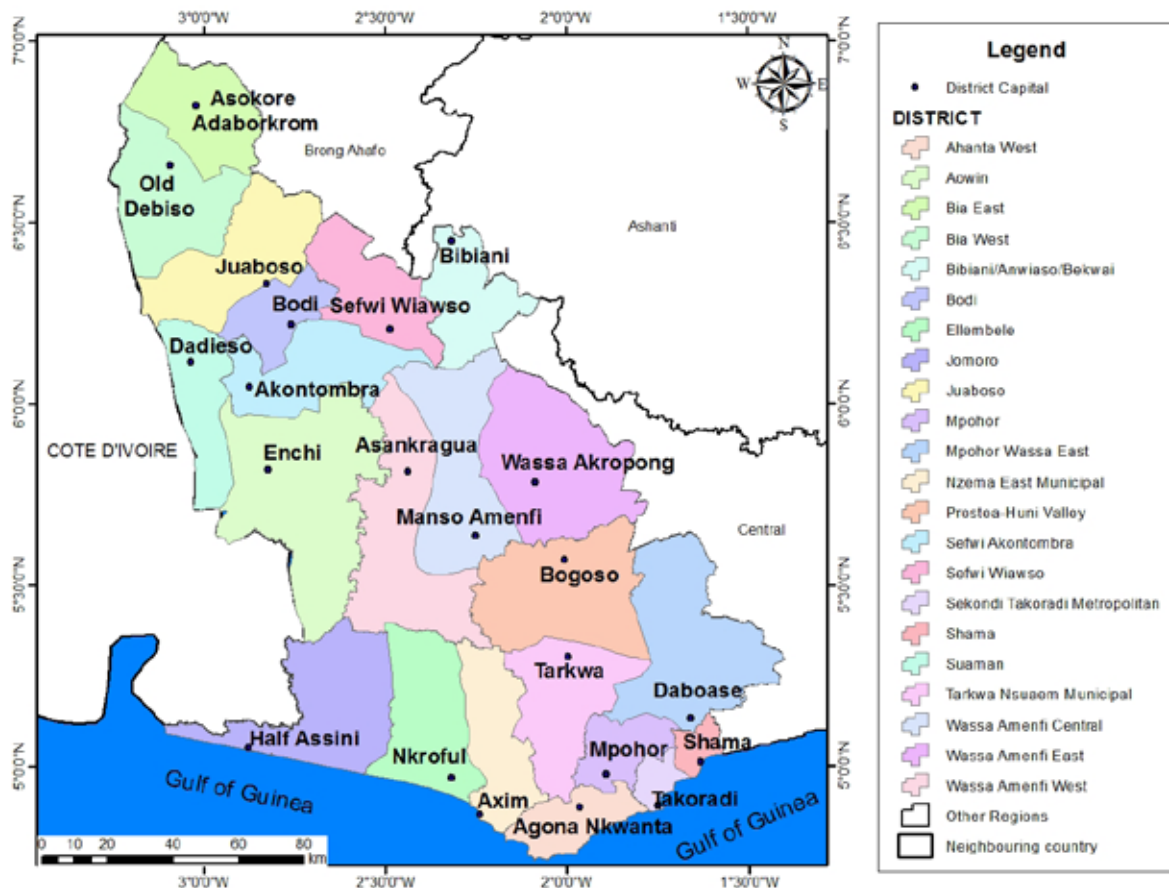
“The Western Region as presently constituted, is far too big to remain under one regional administration. Because of its size and underdeveloped infrastructure, some districts are too far away from the [regional] capital... There is the urgent need to bring governance closer to the people as per the 1992 Constitution Article 35 (6) (d). According to the petitioners, the creation of a new region will assist in the realization of this logical aspiration of the people.”

8. This report is a synthesis of the interactions between the Commission and the people of the Western Region as well as review of documents related to the petition. The rest of this report consists of the following: profile of the Western Region and the proposed Western North Region; approach and methodology used in the assignment; analysis of the data gathered; major findings on the substantial demand and need for the creation of new region; and conclusions and recommendations.

4.2 Profile of Western Region and the Proposed Western North Region

- The Western Region covers an area of approximately 23,921 square kilometers out of Ghana's total land size of 238, 533 square kilometers representing 10.02 percent of Ghana's total land mass (GSS, 2013a). It is bordered by the Central Region on the east, La Côte d'Ivoire on the west, Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions on the north and the Atlantic Ocean in the south (see Figure 4.1). The Western Region was part of the Western Province of Ghana and had its capital in Cape Coast. In July 1960, the Western Region was carved out of the Western Province and Sekondi became the new regional capital. At its creation in 1960, the region had a population of 626,155. By 2010, the population of the region had risen to 2,376,021 representing 9.6 percent of the total national population (GSS, 2013a). According to the Ghana Statistical Service's projections, the estimated population is 3,023,529 in 2018.

Figure 4.2: Administrative Map of the Western Region



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

- The region is resource-rich with a wide range of natural resources of great economic importance to the nation. These include gold, bauxite, manganese, iron ore, diamond, oil and gas, and forest. The region produces significant amounts of cocoa, rubber, coconut, oil palm and processed wood products. It also has one of the two harbours in Ghana as well as several industries such as cement, cocoa processing and a flour mill.

In addition, the region is a major railway hub in the country and has a thriving fishing industry.

11. The Region has 22 Administrative Districts, comprising: one Metropolitan Assembly, two Municipal Assemblies and 19 District Assemblies. The predominant ethnic group in the Western region are the Akans comprising Ahantas, Aowins, Nzemas, Sefwis and Wassas. Other ethnic groups include the Mole-Dagbon, Ewe, Ga-Dangme, Guan, Grusi, Gruma and Mande.
12. The proposed Western North Region will be bordered by the Côte d'Ivoire on the west, Brong-Ahafo Region on the north and on the east by the Ashanti and Central Regions (see Figure 4.1). The proposed new region will have a land area of 15,199.17 square kilometers, representing 63.5 percent of the total land mass of the Western Region and 6.37 percent of Ghana's total land area (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Land size and population of districts in the proposed Western Region

<i>No</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Land area (sq.km)</i>	<i>Population</i>
1	Sefwi Akontombra	1,120	82,467
2	Amenfi East	1,558	83,478
3	Amenfi West	1,448.56	92,152
4	Amenfi Central	1,845.9	69,014
5	Aowin	2,610.301	117,886
6	Bodi	662.404	53,435
7	Suaman	400.14	20,529
8	Bia East	783	27,393
9	Bia West	1,287.265	88,939
10	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	833.7	123,272
11	Juaboso	1,369.9	58,435
12	Sefwi Wiawso	1,280*	139,200
TOTAL		15,199.17	956,200

* Western Regional Coordinating Council, 2017

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Western Region Analytical Report, 2013

13. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2013a), the population of the proposed Western North Region as at 2010 was 956,200 representing 40.2 percent of the Western Region's total population. The dominant ethnic group in the new region will be the Akans, comprising the Aowins, Sefwis and Wassas (GSS, 2013a). The area is endowed with mineral resources including gold, diamond, timber, river bodies and arable lands for agricultural production. The Western North enclave has several eco-tourist sites including the Bia National Park and the Boako Waterfalls. The proposed Western North Region is made up of seven traditional areas whose paramount chiefs signed the petition demanding the creation of the new region (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: List of Paramount Chiefs and Traditional Areas of the proposed Western North Region

No	Traditional Area	Name of Chief	Status
1	Aowin	Nana Kwadwo Sikanitia II	Acting President, Aowin Traditional Area
2	Sefwi Anhwiaso	Nana Ogyeahoho Yaw Gyebi II	Omanhene, Sefwi Anhwiaso Traditional Area and President, Western Regional House of Chiefs
3	Sefwi Bekwai	Nana Kwodwo Twum II	Acting President, Sefwi Bekwai Traditional Council
4	Sefwi Chirano	Nana Okogyeman Gyamprah III	Omanhene, Sefwi Chirano Traditional Area
5	Sefwi Wiawso	Nana Katakylie Kwesi Bumangama II	Omanhene, Sefwi Wiaso Traditional Area
6	Suaman	Nana Odeneho Brentum IV	Omanhene, Suaman Traditional Area.
7	Wassa Amanfi	Nana Tetrete Okuamoa Sekyim II	Omanhene, Wasa Amenfi Traditional Area

Source: Compiled from the Western North Petition, 2017.

4.3 Approach and Methodology

14. A mixed methodology approach, comprising qualitative and quantitative methods, was used to facilitate data collection and analysis. The qualitative approach was used so that the Commission could both understand and assess the realities of petitioners and their issues from their own local settings and perspectives. The quantitative approach helped to present and organize information obtained with basic statistical tools like charts, graphs and descriptive statistics. The Commission also relied on secondary data from various sources for its analysis. The secondary data relied upon included information on roads, educational facilities, health facilities, population and economic indicators.
15. The Commission commenced its work by studying the petition from the northern part of the Western Region which had been forwarded to the Commission by H.E. the President. Following the above, the Commission met the petitioners at the Osu-Castle on the 21st November, 2017.
16. The Commission then undertook a tour of the Western Region from 10th to 17th December, 2017. There were five levels of consultations in the Region. These comprised: a meeting with the Regional Coordinating Council; meeting with the Regional House of Chiefs; meetings with DCEs from Wassa Amenfi Central, Wassa Amenfi West, Aowin, Suaman West and Bia East; as well as courtesy calls on the Paramount Chiefs of Sefwi-Wiawso, Wassa Amenfi and Sefwi Anhwiaso. Useful secondary data were also obtained from

public hearings organised in the regional capital and selected district capitals in the proposed Western North Region.

17. Six public hearings were held by the Commission to elicit the views of the public on the proposed new region. Participants came from a wide cross section of society. This included traditional, religious and political leaders, farmers, traders, teachers, drivers, nurses, students, representatives of associations, the aged as well as people with disabilities. No inhibition was placed on views expressed at the public hearings except an admonition to avoid inflammatory statements. Contributions made by the various stakeholders were recorded electronically and transcribed. Details of the public hearing are provided in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Details of the Dates, Venues and number of participants at the Western Region Public Hearings

Dates	District	City/Town/ Community	Venue	No. of Participants	
				Registered	Head count
12 th December, 2017	Sekondi-Takoradi	Sekondi-Takoradi	Akroma Plaza	152	N/A
13 th December, 2017	Aowin	Enchi	Methodist Church Auditorium	295	590
14 th December, 2017	Wassa Amenfi East	Wassa Akropong	Methodist Church	164	170
15 th December, 2017	Bia East	Adaborkrom	Catholic Church	592	950
16 th December, 2017	Sefwi Wiawso	Sefwi Wiawso	Catholic Church	266	345
16 th December, 2017	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	Bibiani	Christ Apostolic Church	286	400
Total				1,755	2455

* Not all who attended registered.

Source: Commission of Inquiry Field Data, 2017

18. In the entire region a total of 1,755 registered at the public hearings (See Table 4.4). However, it emerged that not all the participants registered at the venues. Head counts were also used to assess the number of participants at the venues apart from Takoradi where there was no head count. The total head counts show that approximately 2,455 people participated in the public hearings in the Western Region.

4.4 Analysis of Participation at the Public Hearings

19. This section of the report presents analysis on participation at the public hearings held in the Western Region by the Commission of Inquiry. The public consultations in the Western Region attracted participants from adjoining towns and districts. Table 4.4 details the venues with dates, number of registered participants and a head count of people who attended. The most attended public hearings were in Adaborkrom (592 registered participants) and Enchi (295 registered participants). Head count figures for the two communities were 950 and 590 respectively (See Table 4.3).
20. The number of registered participants in the large towns Sekondi-Takoradi (152), Bibiani (286) and Sefwi Wiawso (266) were relatively lower than smaller towns like Adaborkrom (592) and Enchi (295). The reason can be attributed to the petition emanating from areas located in the northern part of the Western Region and not the South where Sekondi-Takoradi is located. Thus, people were more inclined to attend in their numbers at public hearings in places where the petition emanated from since they are the ones demanding a change in the status quo. It appears that mobilization was more effective in the rural areas, in comparison to the urban areas. This is because people in these rural areas were more acutely affected by issues such as deprivation, under development, inadequate access to government and public services which generated the demand for the creation of the new region.
21. In terms of gender, more males attended the public hearings than females (see Table 4.5). Based on the list of registered attendants, approximately 75 percent were males compared to 25 percent females. The low attendance of women at the public hearings could be attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, the public hearings in Enchi, Wassa Akropong and Bibiani were held on market days. Secondly, women are usually active during these market days hence their low numbers in these three communities. A total of 173 participants made contributions at the public hearings in the Western Region. Of this number, 148 representing 83 percent were males and 29 representing 17 percent were females. All female participants were in favour of the creation of the new region. On the contrary, all the dissenting voices were males. Table 4.5 provides details on the number and percentage of participants who stated their views on the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region.

Table 4.5: Participants views at Public hearings in the Western Region

Location	“YES”		“NO”		“TOTAL”
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	Responses
Sekondi-Takoradi	26	86.7	4	13.3	30
Enchi	22	100	0	0	22
Wassa Akropong	27	75.0	9	25.0	36
Adaborkrom	33	100	0	0	33
Sefwi Wiawso	25	100	0	0	25
Bibiani	26	100	0	0	26
Total	159	92.4	13	7.6	172

Source: Commission of Inquiry Field Data, 2017.

22. It can be seen from Table 4.5 that, all participants who spoke at the public hearings in Enchi, Adaborkrom, Sefwi Wiawso and Bibiani were in favour of the creation of the proposed Western North Region. In Sekondi-Takoradi and Wassa Akropong, 86.7 percent and 73 percent respectively spoke in favor of the creation of the proposed region. Hence, overall, 92 percent of the contributions at the public hearings were in support of the creation of the proposed Western North Region. Some contributors in Wassa Akropong (24.3%) and Sekondi-Takoradi (13.3%) spoke against the creation of the proposed region. One person in Wassa Akropong did not state his position on the matter.

4.5 Analysis of Thematic Issues

23. This section of the report presents an analysis of issues arising from the Commission’s consultations with the petitioners and other stakeholders during the meetings in Accra and the Western Region. By the use of content analysis, the issues raised by the chiefs and people at the public hearings were categorized into eight thematic areas. The number of times the issues were raised at the hearings provided the basis for the tables and graphs provided in this section of the report. Table 4.6 provides details on thematic issues raised at the public hearings.

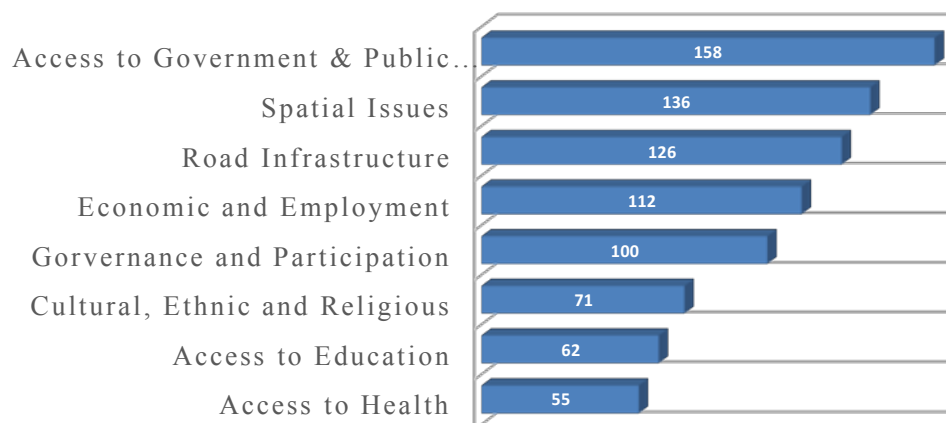
Table 4.6: Frequency of Thematic Issues at the Public Hearings

Locations	Spatial Issues		Access to Government and Public Services		Road Infrastructure		Access to Education		Access to Health		Cultural, Ethnic and Religious		Governance and Participation		Economic and Employment		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Takoradi	32	17.2	43	23.1	26	13.9	10	5.4	12	6.5	13	6.9	24	12.9	26	13.9	186	22.7
Adaborkrom	28	20.5	31	22.7	23	16.9	10	7.4	9	6.6	9	6.6	15	11	11	8	136	16.6
Sefwi Wiawso	23	16.4	26	18.6	24	17.1	8	5.7	11	7.9	6	4.3	17	12.1	25	17.9	140	17.1
Bibiani	26	16.6	24	15.3	20	12.7	19	12.1	11	7	14	8.9	20	12.7	23	14.6	157	19.1
Enchi	13	14.7	14	15.9	12	13.6	7	7.9	6	6.8	8	9	14	15.9	14	15.9	88	10.7
Wassa Akropong	14	12.3	20	17.7	21	18.6	8	7	6	5.3	21	18.6	10	8.8	13	11.5	113	13.8
Total	136	16.6	158	19.3	126	15.3	62	7.6	55	6.7	71	8.7	100	12.1	112	13.7	820	100

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2017

24. From Table 4.6, at the Sekondi-Takoradi public hearing, access to government and public services recorded the highest frequency accounting for 23.1 percent of the total number of issues raised; spatial and distance issues ranked second accounting for 17.2 percent; and economic and employment issues represented 13.9 percent. Similarly, road infrastructure needs accounted for 13.9 percent of the thematic issues raised at the public hearing.
25. In Adaborkrom, spatial or distance issues accounted for 20.5 percent: access to government (22.7%), and road infrastructure needs (16.9%) totaling 60.1 percent were the major reasons given by participants in favor of the creation of the proposed Western North Region. With respect to Enchi, three key issues, namely: access to government and public services (15.9%), empowerment and participation (15.9%), and economic and employment issues (15.9%) were the most dominant reasons for the demand.
26. For Sefwi Wiawso, access to government and public services (18.6%), economic and employment issues (17.9%), road infrastructure needs (17.1%), access health care (7.9%), access to education (5.7%) accounted for 67.2 percent of the issues raised by participants. Ethnic, religious and cultural issues accounted for just (4.3%).
27. In Wassa Akropong, the most dominant issues were ethnic, cultural and religious issues accounting for 18.6 percent compared to the other public hearings held in the proposed region. It was also the area with the lowest number of issues concerning spatial issues (12.3%), in all the towns in the proposed Western North Region. This may be as a result of its accessibility and proximity to Sekondi-Takoradi.
28. The most frequently raised issue in Bibiani was spatial or distance issues, which accounted for 16.6 percent. Access to government and public services accounted for 15.3 percent; and road infrastructure needs was (12.7%). Issues relating to education accounted for 12.1 percent. Figure 4.3 shows the composite thematic issues from the public hearings in the Western Region.

Figure 4.3: Composite Thematic issues from the Western Region



Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2017

4.5.1 Spatial Extent of Western Region

29. This relates to distances between the district capitals and other parts of the districts and the regional capital. It also covers the farthest points in the region from north to south and from west to east. Spatial issues ranked second in the frequency of responses from participants at the public consultations (136 responses, representing 17%). In order to fully appreciate the spatial extent of the Western Region, it is essential to present the total land area and population density of the region.
30. The population density of the Western Region based on the 2018 projected population estimate of 3,023,529 was 126.4 persons per square kilometer which is marginally higher than the national average of 124.1 persons per square kilometer. The slightly higher population density of the region compared to the national average reflects growing migration to the region for agriculture, resource exploitation and other economic activities to aid the development of the area.
31. With respect to the area being considered for the proposed Western North Region, the population density increased from 62.91 persons per square kilometer in 2010 to 80.16 persons per square kilometers in 2018, based on the Ghana Statistical Service population projections. The figure 80.16 persons per square kilometer is still considerably lower than the 2018 national population density average of 124.1 persons per square kilometer. Table 4.7 provides further details on the land area and population density in the various districts located in the proposed Western North Region.

Table 4.7: Land Area and Population Density in the Proposed Western North Region

<i>No.</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Land area (sq.km)</i>	<i>Population (2010 Census)</i>	<i>Population Density p/km2 (2010)</i>	<i>Population Estimate (2018)</i>	<i>Population Density p/km2 (2018)</i>
1	Sefwi Akontombra	1,120	82,467	73.6	105,821	94.48
2	Amenfi East	1,558	83,478	53.6	105,833	67.92
3	Amenfi West	1,448.56	92,152	63.6	117,923	81.40
4	Amenfi Central	1,845.9	69,014	37.4	87,686	47.50
5	Aowin	2,610.301	117,886	45.2	151,173	57.91
6	Bodi	662.404	53,435	80.7	66,513	100.41
7	Suaman	400.14	20,529	50.13	27,212	68.00
8	Bia East	783	27,393	34.9	36,277	46.33
9	Bia West	1,287.265	88,939	69.07	108,842	84.55
10	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	833.7	123,272	147.86	157,217	188.57
11	Juaboso	1,369.9	58,435	42.65	75,593	55.18
12	Sefwi Wiawso	1,280	139,200	108.75	178,387	139.36
TOTAL		15,199.17	956,200	62.91	1,218,477	80.16

Sources: GSS (2013a). Population and Housing Census Analytical Report; Western Region; GSS (2018). Projected Population by District; Western Regional Coordinating Council (2018).

32. The northernmost location of the Western Region is the Bia East District and the southernmost location is the Cape Three Points. The north–south distance is 276.68 km. On the other hand, the westernmost location is the Bia West District, whereas, the easternmost location is in the Wassa Amenfi East District. The east-west distance is 190.68 km. (Computed from the Geographical Information Systems Software).
33. The petitioners and contributors at the public hearing lamented about the distance from where they reside to the nearest point where government and public services are available. The petitioners argued that the Western Region is currently large in land size and as a consequence, “*distances to the regional capital are too long.*” The petitioners further noted that the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) is lax with its duties of monitoring and supervision because of the vast nature of the region which makes it difficult to reach the remotest parts.
34. According to them, development usually starts from the centre, and although, there is an advocacy for the fair distribution of resources in all areas of the region, the furthest parts of the region are usually neglected in terms of distribution of developmental projects and initiatives. The presence of a regional capital in one of the seven (7) traditional areas of the proposed region would ensure development, especially, in road infrastructure. These challenges associated with travel distance to the current regional capital include waiting time, conditions of the roads and number of vehicles used by the people who commute to the capital from areas located in the Western North area (see Table 4.8)

Table 4.8: Details of Distances and Travel Time from Districts to the Western Regional Capital

No.	Districts	District Capital	Distance to Regional Capital	Travel Time
<i>Southern part of the Western Region</i>				
1	Ahanta West	Agona Ahanta (Nkwanta)	23 km	0 hrs. 36 min.
2	Ellembelle	Nkroful	71 km	1 hr. 27 min.
3	Jomoro	Half Assini	143 km	2hrs 24 min.
4	Mpohor	Mpohor	26.2 km	00 hr. 56 min
5	Mpohor/Wassa East	Daboase	36 km	1 hr. 15min.
6	Nzema East	Axim	60 km	1 hr. 11 min.
8	Prestea-Huni Valley	Bogoso	121 km	2 hrs. 42 min.
9	Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan	Sekondi-Takoradi	0 0 km	0 hr. 0 min
10	Shama	Shama	25 km	0 hr. 50 min
11	Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal	Tarkwa	85 km	1 hr. 57 min.
<i>Proposed Western North Region</i>				
12	Wasa Amenfi East*	Wassa Akropong	152 km	3 hrs. 15 min
13	Wasa Amenfi West*	Asankrangua	186 km	3 hrs. 57 min.

No.	Districts	District Capital	Distance to Regional Capital	Travel Time
14	Wasa Amenfi Central*	Manso Amenfi	154 km	3 hrs. 24 min
15	Suaman*	Dadieso	331 km	5 hrs. 50 min
16	Aowin*	Enchi	212 km	3 hrs. 26 min
17	Bia West*	Essam	363 km	9hrs 00 min.
18	Bia East*	Adaborkrom	289 km	10hrs 00 min.
19	Bibiani/Anhwiaso/Bekwai*	Bibiani	266 km	5 hrs. 11 min.
20	Bodi	Sefwi Bodi	340 km	8 hours 00 min.
21	Sefwi Akontombra	Sefwi-Akontombra	312 km	5 hrs. 20 min
22	Sefwi-Wiawso	Sefwi-Wiawso	241 km	4 hrs. 55 min.
23	Juaboso	Juaboso	354 km	6 hrs. 18 min.

*Districts in Western North

Source: Compiled from www.distancesfrom.com (Accessed February, 2018);

<https://distancecalculator.globefeed.com>;

35. At Enchi, an educationist complained about the difficulties associated with travelling from Enchi to Sekondi. He indicated that five (5) days are required for a round trip to Sekondi to conduct official business. He added that the District Education Director loses five (5) working days every two weeks as he is required to travel to Sekondi for official duties. He added that, the proposed Western North Region was long overdue and that teachers due to attend promotion interviews and process documentation in the regional capital had to endure the difficulties associated with travelling from districts within the proposed Western North region to Sekondi.
36. A male nurse at Adaborkrom also recounted the difficulties faced by health sector workers in his district whenever they had to perform administrative tasks at the regional capital. He stated that he has to “*commute long distances to the capital, Sekondi to perform simple administrative tasks.*” According to him, “*the proposed region will help bridge the development gap and reduce the distance from Adaborkrom to the regional capital.*”
37. Officials from the Amenfi West National Disaster Management Office (NADMO), also expressed the difficulties they encounter in delivering the services they are mandated by law to provide to the populace due to the distances from the district office to the regional capital. According to the Head of Operations of NADMO in the Amenfi West District, apart from administrative challenges emanating from the location of the regional office, coordination and response times to disasters were hampered by the location of the NADMO Regional Office from where resources are concentrated. He provided an example of an incident at Samreboi, where it took seven hours for his colleagues at NADMO Regional office in Takoradi to mobilize and respond to their call for assistance.

38. To further elaborate this point, when the Commission paid a courtesy call on the Omanhene of Sefwi Wiawso at his palace, he noted that anyone who needed to travel from the Western North area to Takoradi or Sekondi to perform an administrative task *“needed three straight days to travel. One day to travel, another day to perform the task and the third day to travel back.”* This he emphasized affects negatively the effective performance of work and productivity which is *“costly and a clear waste of time.”*
39. It can be gleaned from Table 4.8 that, the distance from Sefwi Wiawso to the regional capital, Sekondi is 241 km. Travel time by a four wheel drive is about 4hrs 55mins to travel from Sefwi Wiawso to Sekondi. Since most of the inhabitants of Sefwi Wiawso travel by public transport vehicles and would have to break their journey along the way, the travel times will be significantly longer. This information lends credence to the assertion of the Omanhene of Sefwi Wiawso that based on time of travel, it is most unlikely that a round trip to Sekondi can be made in a single day. It needs to be noted that Table 4.7 does not take into account the condition of the roads.
40. Also, the Presiding Member of the Bia West District Assembly who spoke at the Adaborkrom public hearing stated that some of the members of the Assembly *“have to spend close to 10 hours”* to travel to the regional capital when asked to report to the Regional Coordinating Council for meetings. According to information provided in Table 4.7, this assertion from the Presiding Member is apt, as the distance from Adaborkrom to Sekondi is estimated at 289 km with a travel time of 10 hours when one travels by public transport.
41. Basic development thinking acknowledges the need for developing central places (growth poles) from where development will trickle to the peripheries. However, current thinking is that development does not trickle down. It is within this context that all the remote locations in the Western Region relative to the capital find themselves and hence are advocating for development from *“below”*.
42. Article 35 (3) of the 1992 Constitution mandates government to provide citizens equal access to public facilities and services. Although government provides public facilities and services in each region, it has minimal impact in the communities in which the petition emanates from for a number of reasons including, growth in the population, poor road network as well as the size of the region and obsolete facilities.

4.5.2 Road Infrastructure

43. The poor state of road infrastructure was a key concern raised during the Commission’s interactions with the petitioners and the chiefs and people of the Western North area. It was cited as one of the major impediments to development. During the public hearings, the issue was raised 126 times, representing 15 percent of the total contributions from participants. The petitioners also listed the poor nature of road infrastructure among the key reasons for demanding the creation of the proposed Western North Region. According to the petitioners, the size of the region and distances between major towns,

coupled with the poor state of road infrastructure impede “*access by ordinary citizens to government and public service available in the regional capital*” (*Western North Region Petition, Page 2*).

44. Currently, the road network in the Western Region comprises highways, feeder roads and urban roads. According to the Ghana Highway Authority (2016), there are three Road Areas in the Western Region. Two are sited in the southern part of the Western Region, namely: Takoradi and Tarkwa, whereas the whole Western North has one road area operating from Sefwi Wiawso. The total length of highway or trunk roads in the Western Region is 1,652.30 km (GHA, 2016).
45. In terms of functional classification of roads, there are three national roads in the Western Region, totaling 452.6 km. These roads include the N1 (Takoradi-Elubo road), N10 (Daboasi Junction-Atieku-Dunkwa road) and the N12 (Elubo-Enchi-Juabeso Road). Thus, based on information received by the Commission from the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA), of the three national roads in the Western Region, it is the N12 that runs through the Western North area (Ghana Highways Authority, 2016).
46. The total length of roads in “Good” condition is 851.9 km, accounting for 52 percent of the trunk road network; that of those in “Fair” condition is 596.6 km representing 36 percent of the trunk roads and that of those in “Poor” condition is 203.8 km accounting for 12 percent of the trunk road network in the Western Region (Ghana Highways Authority, 2016). The total length of asphalted roads is 410 km and surface treated roads has a total length of 518.1 km, whereas, gravel roads account for 724.2 km of trunk roads in the Western Region (Ghana Highways Authority, 2018).
47. Considering the prominence of farming and other economic activities in the Western Region, feeder roads are very important in the government’s development drive through the movement of farm produce, goods and services to the urban centres. Table 4.8 provides information on the feeder road network within the Western Region.

Table 4.9: Length, and Surface Type of Feeder Roads in Districts in the Western Region

No.	District	Length (KM)	Surface Type		
			Bitumen	Gravel	Earth
Proposed Western North Region					
1.	Aowin	465.40	8.70	357.15	99.55
2.	Bia East	249.78	4	190.33	55.45
3.	Bia West	402.1	11	304.3	86.8
4.	Bibiani Anhwiaso	237.122	10.8	179.564	46.758
5.	Bodi	128.255	8.72	94.435	25.1
6.	Juaboso	412.045	61.9	249.995	100.15
7.	Sefwi Akontombra	267.44	18.375	231.88	17.185
8.	Sefwi Wiawso	218.48	30.414	171.046	17.021
9.	Suaman	136.20	0.00	113.45	22.75
10.	Wassa Amenfi East	299.19	19.00	255.71	24.48
11.	Wassa Amenfi West	341.40	12.10	248.50	80.80
12.	Wassa Amenfi Central	410.58	0.00	382.68	27.90
Sub Total		3,567.992	185.009	2,779.04	603.944
Southern part of the Western Region					
1.	Ahanta West	196.09	12.00	143.14	40.93
2.	Jomoro	243.45	26.05	113.55	103.85
3.	Mpohor	123.02	28.70	74.82	19.50
4.	Wassa East	299.90	67.00	164.65	68.25
5.	Shama	65.53	16.63	39.90	9.00
6.	Sekondi-Takoradi	88.10	42.50	45.20	0.40
7.	Ellembelle	236.25	42.35	142.20	51.70
8.	Tarkwa-Nsuaem	222.31	11.60	189.50	21.21
9.	Prestea-Huni Valley	220.28	15.21	189.12	15.95
Sub Total		1,694.93	262.04	1,102.08	330.79
Grand Total		5,262.922	447.049	3,881.12	934.734

Source: Department of Feeder Roads, Accra, 2018

48. As can be seen from Table 4.9, the total length of feeder roads in the whole of the Western Region is 5,262.922 km out of which 3,567.992 km are in the proposed Western North Region whereas the southern part of Western Region has a total length of 1,694.93 km. However, 185.009 km out of the 3,567.992 km of feeder roads in the Western North enclave is tarred with bitumen, while 262.04 km out of the 1,694.93 km of feeder roads in the southern part of Western Region have a bitumen surface. Thus, even though the proposed Western North area has relatively longer length of feeder roads as compared to the southern part of the region, it has more feeder roads with bitumen surface.
49. Significantly, the majority of feeder roads in the Western North area have a gravel surface which accounts for 2,779.04 km compared to the southern part of the region that has 1,102.08 km of feeder roads with gravel surface. Apart from the prevalent gravel surface of feeder roads in the proposed Western North Region, substantial portions of the feeder roads in the area have an earth surface, accounting for 603.944 km whereas the southern part has a total length of 330.79 km of feeder roads with an earth surface. This situation, therefore, affects the transportation of farm produce and other natural resources from the hinterlands to the urban centres, especially, in communities located in the proposed Western North Region. In the Commission's interactions with the petitioners in Accra and subsequent fact-finding mission in the Western Region a significant number of contributors at the public hearings lamented about the poor nature of road infrastructure in the Western North enclave.
50. In general terms, the level of feeder road development is rather poor with an average of 0.235 km/ km² for Western North and 0.224 km/ km² for the southern part of the region (See Table 4.9). Districts with feeder road densities higher than these averages include Suaman, Bia East and West as well as Juaboso. In the southern part of Western Region, as many as six districts have feeder road densities that are higher than the regional average of 0.244 km/ km².
51. In spite of its recognition as a leading cocoa production region in Ghana, the current condition of roads in the Western Region needs serious attention to facilitate timeous evacuation to the ports for export. There may not be current data on the condition of these roads but it is a known fact that these roads are in poor condition; making it difficult to evacuate cocoa from various road corridors.

Table 4.10: Feeder Road Density by Districts in the Western Region

District	Land Area (a)	Road Length (b)	Road Density Km/ km ² (c)
PROPOSED WESTERN NORTH REGION			
Sefwi Akontombra	1,120	267.44	0.239
Amenfi East	1,558	299.19	0.192
Amenfi West	1,448.56	341.4	0.236
Amenfi Central	1,845.9	410.58	0.222
Aowin	2,610.3	465.40	0.178
Bodi	662.4	128.255	0.194
Suaman	400.14	136.20	0.340
Bia East	783	249.78	0.319
Bia West	1,283.3	402.1	0.312
Bibiani	833.7	237.122	0.284
Juaboso	1,369.9	412.045	0.301
Sefwi Wiawso	1,280	218.48	0.171
SUB-TOTAL	15,199.17	3,567.992	0.235
SOUTHERN PART OF THE WESTERN REGION			
Ahanta West	554	196.09	0.354
Jomoro	1,495	243.45	0.163
Mpohor	524.53	123.02	0.235
Wassa East	1,651.99	299.9	0.182
Shama	193.70	65.53	0.338
Sekondi-Takoradi	191.7	88.1	0.460
Ellembelle	995.8	236.25	0.237
Tarkwa-Nsuaem	905.2	222.31	0.246
Prestea-Huni-Valley	1,809.00	220.28	0.122
SUB-TOTAL	8,320.93	1,694.93	0.204
TOTAL	23,520.10	5,262.92	0.224

Sources: (a) Compiled from 2010 Population and Housing Census. GSS, 2013 (b) Department of Feeder Roads, 2018; and (c) Calculated from (a) and (b)

52. For most people, the inequity in the distribution of development projects is evident in the poor nature of the road infrastructure in the Western North Region. The Adaborkrom highway is a classic example of the latter category of roads. According to a Queen mother *“the creation of the new region would help accelerate the construction of new roads in the area.”*
53. The lack of “Good” inter connecting roads in the Western North area was highlighted by a member of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU), as well as a teacher at the Enchi public forum. They were of the view that the creation of the new region will lead to targeted infrastructural development, including roads linking Enchi with other parts of the area and beyond. They added that an improved road network would

facilitate the transportation of cocoa and other agro products from the area to other parts of the country, and for export.

54. Article 35 (6) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana enjoins government to provide adequate facilities to encourage free movement of people, goods and services. The petitioners and participants at the public hearing, complained about the lack of public transport facilities in their areas which hinder free movement of goods and services. In effect, the people of the Western North area are of the view that they have been denied what they are entitled to under the Constitution.

4.5.3 Access to Government and Public Services

55. The difficulty in accessing government and public services was discussed extensively throughout the Commission's interactions with the chiefs and people of the Western North area. There was a general sense of alienation from government due to the absence of essential government services or state institutions like the courts, the Armed Forces, Immigration Service, Fire Service, Prisons Service, utility service providers, Passport Offices, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Centres and other services. In support of this assertion, a contributor from the Takoradi public hearing remarked:

“Anyone from Oseikojokrom who seeks to transact a business, or access government services must travel through Sefwi Wiawso, Kumasi and Cape Coast before arriving at Takoradi. After arriving and completing one's business with government agencies, the stranded citizen must either foot high hotel bills or sleep at the lorry station that goes with the extra danger of being burgled by thieves or pickpockets. Besides poor road and transport facilities, the northern part of the Western Region presently lacks other infrastructure like well-resourced hospitals with doctors and equipment, higher education schools, security sector offices and personnel and other government administrative agencies. Many civil and public-sector personnel posted to the northern part of the Western Region refuse to accept postings or work in the area because of the poor living conditions in the area.”

56. The petitioners and contributors who interacted with the Commission complained about their inability to have access to essential government and public services on account of the vastness of the region and the concentration of various government agencies and other critical public service facilities in the existing regional capital. The absence of these high order government services in their place of abode, especially the residents of the proposed region meant that they would have to travel long distances to access such high order government and public services. This in most cases evokes a sense of frustration, stress, and a drain on the financial resources of individuals and organizations seeking to access these government and public services.
57. According to the petitioners all essential departments such as the Electricity Company of Ghana and the Ghana Police Service when required in the Western North enclave to conduct their work would need to spend more travel time to reach the villages, due

to the vastness of the Western Region. Travelling long distances to access government services was a disincentive that deterred many people working in that enclave. Consider the following statements from some contributors at Takoradi and Adaborkrom public hearings:

- *“When a whole community near Samreboi got flooded, it took 7 hours for NADMO representative to get there. They had to return to Takoradi for relief items for the victims and that was almost impossible as a big truck got stuck in the muddy road. It took hours to clear the road. Many communities in the northern part of the region are at risk. A new region will help reduce such risks” (Head of Operations, NADMO).*
- *“Nurses must commute long distances to the capital and sometimes spend more than 3 days in order to perform simple administrative duties and health clearances” (Nurse, Adaborkrom).*
- *“The district assemblies have to spend close to 10 hours to travel to the capital when asked to report at the office in Takoradi not to talk of the cost involved” (Presiding Member, Bia West District Assembly).*
- *The people of the area do not even know who the Regional Minister is as he cannot even visit the area as often due to the remoteness of the area and distance from the capital. The people should be allowed to get involved in the governance process and this can be achieved through the creation of the Western North Region” (Traditional Leader, Adaborkrom).*

58. Some of these essential government services include public health care facilities and Basic, Secondary and Tertiary educational institutions. The other public services include the Security Services, Passport Service, Birth and Death Registry, the Registrar Generals Department, the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority, Lands Commission or Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands, Prisons Service, Forestry Commission and Courts. There is also difficulty in accessing other essential services, especially, the Judicial Service. A private legal practitioner had this to say:

“The Western Region has a total of six High Courts, three in Sekondi, one in Tarkwa and one in Sefwi Wiawso. There are currently only two Commercial Courts in the area which are all based in Sekondi. There is no single Commercial Court in Northern part of the Western Region. Access to the Courts is a challenge for people of the Western North. The area of the proposed region has many commercial disputes due to the predominant commerce, banking and industrial agricultural activities present. Therefore, litigants need to travel to Sekondi to access the Commercial Courts which is far and costly. As a result, most of the commercial litigations are resolved through other means other than the Courts, which is a clear injustice.”

59. The Constitution mandates government to provide just and reasonable access to public facilities under Article 35 (3) of the 1992 Constitution. In the Western Region, it became

evident, engaging with the petitioners and participants at the public hearings that the area did not have just and reasonable access to public facilities as guaranteed by the 1992 Constitution. The area had few police stations, one prison and one High Court, and in general public facilities are woefully inadequate to serve the population resident in the area adequately.

4.5.3.1 Access to Basic, Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions

60. One of the reasons given by petitioners and participants at the public hearings for the creation of a new region was the need to achieve improved access to education. Some participants at the public hearings lamented over the poor standard of education in the area, which was attributed to several factors including inadequate teaching and learning materials, lack of well-resourced science laboratories and inadequate examination centres and libraries. The issue was raised 62 times, representing eight (8) percent of the total contributions from participants. These views were expressed by different participants in the following ways:
 - *“The processing of documents for teachers especially for salaries usually delays due to the distances to the capital. School children cannot effectively participate in educational programmes they are invited to in Takoradi because of the long distances they need to travel” (Teacher, Adaborkrom).*
 - *“It is very difficult to get to Takoradi as one requires 5 days to travel to Takoradi to conduct business and back. The District Education Director loses 5 days every 2 weeks he goes to Takoradi which creates inefficiency. The creation of Western North is long over-due as many teachers are worried when they are due for promotion or interviews because of the long distances to Takoradi to process their documents” (Teacher, Enchi).*
61. Another issue raised was the absence of a public university and other tertiary institutions in the Western North area. According to the petitioners and participants, the Western North as compared to the southern part of the Western Region is greatly disadvantaged in terms of access to education. While the north has no public university, the south has two namely: Takoradi Technical University and University of Mines and Technology (The Ghana Education Service, 2017). The effect of this is that tertiary education for residents of the proposed Western North Region is inaccessible and expensive. This is because, to acquire tertiary education, residents have to travel out of their enclave to either the South or out of the region.
62. A queen mother in Adaborkrom drew a direct link between the lack of tertiary institution and the increase in teenage pregnancy amongst students at the Senior High School level. She intimated that the *“lack of educational institutions and opportunities for higher learning in the area”* has contributed to the surge in teenage pregnancy and school drop outs.

63. Data available to the Commission from the Ghana Education Service confirms that a total number of 54 Senior High Schools are in the Western Region. Table 4.11 indicates that out of these, only 20 are located in the proposed Western North Region.

Table 4.11: Distribution of Basic and Senior High Schools in the Proposed Western North Region

No.	District	Total Number of Schools	
		Basic Level	SHS Level
1	Aowin	174	1
2	Bia East	85	0
3	Bia West	182	2
4	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	211	4
5	Bodi	104	1
6	Juaboso	139	1
7	Sefwi Akontonbra	123	2
8	Sefwi-Wiawso	215	4
9	Suaman	44	1
10	Wassa Amenfi East	149	1
11	Wassa Amenfi West	189	2
12	Wassa Amenfi Central	146	1
	Total	1,761	20

Source: Ghana Education Service, 2018

64. Also, out of a total 3,402 Basic schools in the Western Region, 1,761 (51.8%) are in the Western North (see Table 4.11). These data show that the number of basic schools in the Western North is more than the numbers in other parts of the Western Region which account for 1,641. The important point here is that there are more Basic Schools in the North, fewer Senior High Schools and no Tertiary institutions. It is evident from these data that the inadequate number of Senior High Schools is the major reason for the phenomenon of the youth either truncating their education at the Basic School level or venturing into other basic vocations such as driving.
65. Article 25 (1) of the 1992 Constitution, guarantees all Ghanaians the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities at basic, secondary and tertiary levels. Article 38 (1) also mandates the State to provide educational facilities at all levels and in all the Regions of Ghana, and should, to the greatest extent feasible make these facilities available to all citizens. In spite of these Constitutional provisions, all public universities in the region are located in the southern part none in the Western North area.

4.5.3.2 Access to Health Care Facilities

66. Inadequate access to quality health care delivery was raised 51 times representing 7 percent of the total contributions from participants across all the six public hearings in the proposed Western North. The imbalanced distribution of health facilities in that

enclave, as seen in Table 4.12, attest to the concerns raised by the people. Out of the 595 health facilities in the region, the proposed Western North has the highest percentage of the lower order health facilities. As can be seen from Table 4.12, of the 66 health centres and 435 CHPS in the region, the proposed Western North has 34 Health centres and 252 CHPS respectively.

Table 4.12: Distribution of Health Facilities in the Western Region

Type of Facility	Proposed Western North Region	Southern Part of the Western Region	Total
Regional Hospital	0	1	1
District Government Hospitals	7	11	18
Other Private or Mission Hospitals	2	8	10
Maternity Homes, Reproductive and Child Health Facilities	3	4	7
Clinic	21	37	58
Health Centers	34	32	66
CHPS Compounds	252	183	435
Total	319	276	595

Source: Ghana Health Service, 2017

67. Comparing the higher order health facilities in the proposed Western North Region (from Mission Hospitals to regional hospital), to the rest of the Region, it is clear that the former is at a great disadvantage. As demonstrated in Table 4.13, the distribution of health facilities is not balanced across the districts within the proposed Western North Region with the exception of Sefwi Wiawso District which has all other higher order health facilities, apart from a regional referral hospital.

Table 4.13: Distribution of Health Facilities in the proposed Western North

No.	District	No. of Health Facility Type					
		District Government Hospitals	Other Private or Mission Hospitals	Maternity Homes, Reproductive and Child Health Facilities	Clinic	Health Centre	CHIPS Compound
1	Aowin	1	0		3	8	5
2	Bia Eat	1	0	1	0	1	8
3	Bia West	1	0	0	2	2	12
4	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	1	0	0	4	3	40
5	Bodi	0	0	0	1	4	11
6	Juaboso	0	0	1	2	1	22
7	Sefwi Akontombra	1	0	1	0	1	20
8	Sefwi Wiawso	1	1	0	2	3	25
9	Suaman	0	0	0	1	2	7
10	Wassa Amenfi East	0	1	0	0	4	41
11	Wassa Amenfi West	1	0	0	0	3	43
12	Wassa Amenfi Central	0	0	0	0	2	18
	TOTAL	7	2	3	21	34	252

Source: Ghana Health Service, December, 2017

68. It is in this regard that participants from the various public hearings were disquiet about the difficulties they go through in order to access health care in the region. Below is one of the statements made by the participants during public hearings in support of this assertion.

“...with the creation of the western north region, a state of the art regional and referral hospital would be provided that would receive all health cases from the area. This would ensure that people do not go through the challenge of travelling to Kumasi or even far away Sekondi to receive medical attention.”

69. A participant at the Enchi public forum stated that normally, a doctor requires about four minutes for consultation with a patient, but doctors in the area are few, so consultation time is reduced to only one minute. In his opinion, the creation of the region would ensure the allocation of more doctors, nurses and other medical personnel to cater for the people in the area. Also, a midwife at the public forum in Adaborkrom stated that the nurses and midwives posted to the area *“do not want to stay and work there”* after they visit and see the deprived state of health facility and the poor general living

conditions in the area. As at January, 2018, there were a total of 6,223 health personnel working in the Western Region (Ghana Health Service, 2018). Table 4.14 shows the Distribution of doctors, physician assistants and nurses in the Western Region.

70. Closely related to the above, a female farmer who spoke at the Wiawso public forum noted that as a breast cancer survivor, before her diagnosis, she needed to do several medical tests which could only be done at the Okomfo Anokye Hospital in Kumasi. She stated that had it not been for the help given to her by the MP, she would have died. According to her, there were other women who were also diagnosed with breast cancer from places further than Akontombra but due to the long distances and travel costs to Kumasi, their conditions had deteriorated.

Table 4.14: Population and Distribution of Health Personnel in the Western Region

Population/Health Personnel	Proposed Western North Region	Southern part of the Western Region	Total
Population Projections (2018)	1,218,477	1,805,052	3,023,529
Type of Health Personnel			
1. Nurses (Community Health Nurse, Midwife, Enrolled Nurse and Professional Nurse)	2624	3338	5962
<i>Nurse/Population Ratio</i>	<i>1:464</i>	<i>1:541</i>	<i>1:507</i>
2. Medical/Physician Assistant	54	77	131
<i>Medical/Physician Assistant/ Population Ratio</i>	<i>1:22,564</i>	<i>1:23,442</i>	<i>1:23,080</i>
3. Doctors (House Officer, Medical Officer, Medical Director, Medical Superintendent, Specialist and Consultant)	20	110	130
<i>Doctor/Population Ratio</i>	<i>1:60,924</i>	<i>1:16,409</i>	<i>1:23,258</i>
Total	3698	3525	6,223

Source: Based on data received from Ghana Health Service and GSS, 2018

71. Out of the region's total population of 3,023,529 as at 2018, the proposed Western North Region with a population of 1,218,477 has 3,698 health personnel whereas the remaining Western Region with a population of 1,805,052 has 3,525 medical personnel. Majority of the health personnel working in the Western North districts are nurses, numbering 2,624. With respect to doctors, there are only 20 in the Western North enclave compared to the total of 130 in the rest of the Western Region. This implies that the remaining 110 Doctors are working in health facilities outside the Western North area.
72. In terms, of Medical/Physician Assistants, 54 of them are working in health facilities located in the Western North. The remaining 77 are located in areas outside the Western North. Based on the above figures, there are few doctors in the Western North area and as a result, the majority of medical services are administered by Medical/Physicians Assistants, particularly, in places where there are no doctors.

73. In Table 4.14, the nurse/population ratio, medical/physician assistant/population ratio and doctor/population ratio in the Western north area are computed as 1:464, 1:22,564 and 1:60,924 respectively. These figures imply that for a place like the Aowin District based on the 2018 population projections, one Doctor is responsible for about 151,173 people. This wide disparity compared to the southern part of the Western Region, reflects the uneven development as strongly emphasized by the petitioners.
74. The low number of high level medical personnel such as Medical Doctors, Medical Superintendents, Consultant and Specialist Doctors also attest to the assertions and complaints of the petitioners and contributors at the Western Region public hearings about the poor nature of health service delivery in the health facilities located in the Western North area. Particularly, what is revealing is the comparatively high number of nurses and medical/physician assistants in the southern part of the region in comparison with the limited number of doctors in the proposed Western North Region.
75. Access to health services is an important indicator for measuring societal welfare and development. Based on the distribution of health facilities in the Western North area as well as the distance to the major referral hospital in Effia Nkwanta, it is apparent that the area scores poorly on this indicator.
76. Article 35 (3) of the 1992 Constitution states that, the State shall promote just and reasonable access by all citizens to public facilities and services in accordance with the law. The Western North area has no referral hospital, in addition government hospitals located in the area struggle to retain staff due to the poor living conditions in some of the communities in the area. The absence of a referral hospital in the area denies the citizen's access to services available to other citizens who live close to public hospitals in the regional capital and elsewhere within the Western Regions.

4.5.3.3 Other Government and Public Services

77. Government and public services include essential services such as administration of justice (courts), security services (Armed Forces, Police Service, Fire Service, Immigration Service and Prisons Service), utility services, Passport Office and Driver and Vehicle Licensing difficulties, as well as birth and death registry. This issue of lack of access to essential government/public services was raised in 158 out of the total of 820 contributions made during the public consultations.
78. Access to government and public services is impeded by the spatial extent of the region. The distances between various communities and locations where these services can be accessed as well as the poor nature of road infrastructure account for this. As noted earlier, the region currently covers an area of approximately 23,921 square kilometers out of Ghana's total land size of 238,533 square kilometres representing 10.02 percent of Ghana's total land mass (GSS, 2013a).
79. Most of these high order government and public services are located in and around the regional capital, Sekondi. Citizens who live further away from the regional capital

therefore encounter challenges in accessing these services. A legal practitioner, contributing at the public forum in Takoradi indicated that five (5) out of the six (6) High Courts in the Western Region are located in the South (see Table 4.15). The only High Court located in the northern part of the region is at Sefwi Wiawso. He recounted the difficulties faced by prosecutors and legal practitioners, who mostly reside in Sekondi and Takoradi, in handling cases in remote parts of the northern part of the Western Region. He noted that due to the distance involved and the state of the roads, most lawyers preferred not to make the journey to handle cases in the Western North. He stated that staff of the Attorney General's office also failed to attend to cases listed in the Western North area.

Table 4.15: Distribution of Courts in the Western Region

No.	High Courts
1.	High Court 1, Sekondi
2.	High Court 2, Sekondi
3.	High Court 3, Sekondi
4.	Commercial Court A, Sekondi
5.	Commercial Court B, Sekondi
6.	High Court, Tarkwa
7.	High Court, Sefwi Wiawso
Total	7
	Circuit Courts
1.	Circuit Court '1', Takoradi
2.	Circuit Court '2', Takoradi
3.	Circuit Court, Sekondi (Gender & Domestic Violence Court)
4.	Circuit Court, Tarkwa
5.	Circuit Court, Bibiani
Total	5
	District Courts
1.	District Court '1', Sekondi
2.	District Court '2', Sekondi
3.	District Court, Market Circle, Takoradi
4.	District Court, Harbour Area, Takoradi
5.	District Court, Agona-Nkwanta
6.	District Court, Axim
7.	District Court, Nkroful
8.	District Court, Debiso
9.	District Court Half Assini
10.	District Court '1', Tarkwa
11.	District Court '2', Tarkwa
12.	District Court, Prestea
13.	District Court, Enchi
14.	District Court, Asankragwa
15.	District Court, Wassa-Akropong
16.	District Court, Enchi Sefwi-Wiawso
17.	District Court Bibiani
18.	District Court, Sefwi-Juaboso
19.	District Court, Shama
20.	District Court, Daboase
Total	20
Grand Total	32

Source: Judicial Service of Ghana, Accra, 2018

80. Based on Table 4.15, the total number of courts in the Western Region is 32. These Courts include seven (7) High Courts, five (5) Circuit Courts and 20 District Courts. Significantly, five (5) High Courts are located in Sekondi, while the remaining two (2) are sited in Tarkwa and Sefwi Wiawso respectively. This implies that out of the seven (7) High Courts only one (1) is located in the Western north area (Sefwi Wiawso).
81. Also, of the five (5) Circuit Courts in the Western Region, the Western North area has one (1) which is in Bibiani. Notably the Western North area has seven (7) of the 20 District Courts in the Western Region. Based on the above data, it can be emphasized that out of the total number of 32 Courts in the Western Region, the Western North area has only seven (7). Thus, based on some of the assertions of the petitioners and some participants at the public hearing, the absence of courts in most areas of the Western North area presents a challenge to the people in terms of administration of justice in the area.
82. In addition, an officer of the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice at the public forum in Bibiani stated that the delivery of justice is hampered by the absence of prisons and courts, and that suspects and witnesses have to be taken for trial in Takoradi. For instance, out of the five (5) prisons in the Western Region, only one (1) is located at Hiawa in the Wassa Amenfi West District of the Western North area. In terms of the Prisons Service, out of a total number 410 Officers in the Western Region, only 59 officers are in the Western North area (Ghana Prisons Service, 2018).
83. Moreover, in the Commission's interactions with the officials from the Western Regional Coordinating Council (RCC), some contributors indicted that they are unable to effectively play their monitoring and supervisory role, as provided for in the Local Government Act, 2016 (Act 936). According to the petitioners and some participants at the public hearing, the Regional Coordinating Council is only effective in districts which are close to the regional capital. A traditional leader at the Enchi public hearing, described the impediments that the distances between Enchi and its environs and the regional capital Sekondi place on the delivery of government and public services, as well as the effective supervision of development projects. He added that resources for development are allocated to the Regional Coordinating Council from central government, but these resources trickle down rather slowly and in scanty portions to the districts, if at all.
84. Some participants were also of the view that the security personnel stationed in the Western North area were few and this affected the efficient conduct of their work. This poses security concerns to the residents in the Western North area. A Chief, among a number of contributors at the hearing expressed the view that the creation of the Western North region will lead to the establishment of a regional police command which would be closer to residents of Western North area.
85. At the Takoradi forum, a gentleman from Bia East stated that very few government workers work and reside in the northern part of the region. There are only a few

policemen and also no soldiers are stationed there. He therefore, called for the creation of the region to ensure “*law and order*” in the Western North area. He also mentioned that a school in the area caught fire and “*there were no fire officers to stop the fire*”. These challenges indicate that the people of the area are unable to benefit from the array of governance and state structures available in other parts of the country. Currently, the military unit which is sited in the Western Region is the 2nd Battalion of Infantry which is located in Takoradi (Ghana Armed Forces, 2018). Thus, information available to the Commission confirm that there is no military base in the whole of Western North area.

86. Closely related to the above, according to the head of CHRAJ at Bibiani, the Police Personnel stationed in Bibiani, have to attend courses and other training programmes away from their stations because there is no Police Training School in the Western North Area. He stated that “*a lot of the police personnel in the region are in the capital for courses and training, putting pressure on the remaining personnel in the district*”. Information available to the Commission indicates that apart from the Ghana Police College in Accra and the Police Service Training Schools in Kumasi, Ho, Koforidua, Pwalugu and Winneba, there are no Police Training institutions in the whole of the Western Region (Ghana Police Service, 2017).
87. Also, the Police Command in the Western Region is currently made up of nine (9) Divisions, 25 Districts and 84 Police Stations and Posts. Out of the nine (9) Divisions, four (4) Divisions are located in the Western North area. These four (4) Divisions in the Western North area supervise 12 Police Districts. The details are as follows:
 - a) The Sefwi Wiawso Division supervises Sefwi Wiawso, Juaboso-Bia, Sefwi-Debiso, Sefwi-Bodi, Asawinso and Sefwi-Akontombra Districts;
 - b) The Asankragwa Division supervises Asankragwa and Wassa Akropong Districts.
 - c) The Enchi Division supervises Enchi District and Dadieso District.
 - d) The Bibiani Division supervises Bibiani and Sefwi-Bekwai Districts (Ghana Police Service, 2017).
88. Furthermore, a representative of the petitioners who spoke at the public forum in Wassa Akropong noted that, if the new region is created “*there would be government administrative agencies like the DVLA and Passport Office*” there. In his view, when these services are available in the Western North area, people “*will no longer have to travel*” to Kumasi or Sekondi-Takoradi to register their vehicles or acquire passports. Currently, the Biometric Passport Application Centre (PAC) in the Western Region is located in Sekondi-Takoradi (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). The Western North area therefore does not have a collection centre for passports.
89. Another representative of the petitioners at the public forum in Bibiani elaborated on the challenges associated with accessing some essential public services in the area. According to him the nearest DVLA office is in Kumasi and therefore, most vehicle

owners would rather register their vehicles in the Ashanti Region because of proximity instead of Takoradi. According to the Driver Vehicle and Licensing Authority (2018), they have three (3) offices in the whole of the Western Region. These offices are located in Takoradi with 24 personnel, Sefwi Wiawso with a staff strength of 13 people and Tarkwa which has 13 personnel who provide various vehicle registration and driver licensing services to the people in the region (DVLA, 2013). Thus, in the southern part of the Western Region there are two offices with a total staff strength of 37 as compared to the proposed Western North Region which has only one office with 13 members of staff.

90. In addition, the utility companies like the Electricity Company of Ghana and the Ghana Water Company Limited do not have well equipped offices in the area to deal with complaints expeditiously. The creation of the region would ensure that there are more government institutions and more personnel in the region. Information from the Ghana Water Company Limited on the Western Region indicates that the region has eight (8) water supply systems that provide potable water to areas within the region with a staff strength of 191. The eight (8) water supply systems are the Aboso, Axim, Bogoso, Daboase, Elubo, Inchaban, Prestea and Tarkwa Water Supply and Treatment Plant Systems (Ghana Water Company Limited, 2018). Based on the information available to the Commission from the Ghana Water Company, there are currently no Water Treatment Plant Systems in the proposed Western North area.
91. Article 35 (2) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states that the State shall protect and safeguard the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ghana, and shall seek the well-being of all her citizens. The States seeks to fulfil this duty by utilizing the services of Ghana Police, Ghana Armed Forces, Ghana Immigration and Ghana Revenue Authority. The issue of policing and safeguarding the border with La Côte d'Ivoire was discussed at the public forum. Issues concerning the smuggling of cocoa across the border were discussed. There are inadequate officials of the Ghana Revenue Authority and Ghana Police Service to safeguard the integrity of our borders to ensure cocoa and other produce are not traded across the border resulting in a loss of revenue to the state.
92. Article 35(3) states that the State shall promote just and reasonable access by all citizens to public facilities and services in accordance with law. The Constitution enjoins Government to provide public services to all citizens under Article 35 (3). Services such as Driver Vehicle & Licensing Authority, Registrar General of Companies, Passport Office and Fire Service are all services unavailable to the residents of Western North but are available in the regional capital.
93. Article 35 (6) of the 1992 Constitution states that towards the achievement of the objectives stated in clause (5) of this article, the State shall take appropriate measures to ensure that whenever practicable, the headquarters of a Government or public institution offering any service is situated in an area within any region, taking into account the resources potentials of the region and the area.

94. Although Article 35 (6) states that whenever practicable government headquarters or public institution offering any service within any region should locate headquarters in the area with resource potential. The petitioners and participants at the public hearing stated that the area was Ghana's highest producer of Cocoa, but the headquarters of Ghana Cocoa Board was located in Accra.
95. Article 37 (1) states that the State shall endeavor to secure and protect a social order founded on the ideals and principles of freedom, equality, Justice, probity and accountability, as enshrined in Chapter 5 of this Constitution; and in particular, the State shall direct its policy towards ensuring that every citizen has equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law.
96. Although, government policy states and seeks to ensure that all citizens have equal rights and opportunities under the law, the mode of application of the policies has led to its inapplicability. The people in the proposed Western North Region pointed out lapses in government's fulfilment of these fundamental obligations. They have no access to justice, or high order governmental services.

4.5.4 Economic and Employment Issues

97. Economic and employment issues relate to the viability of the area, revenue generated, mineral and natural resources. Others include cost of accessing government services, cost of doing business and lack of employment opportunities for both skilled and unskilled labour. This issue was raised 112 times, representing 14 percent of the total contributions from participants.
98. Agriculture is the main economic activity in the Western Region. The Western Region has an arable land area of 11,000 square kilometers which accounts for 46 percent of the region's total land mass. Food crop production covers 1,600 hectares of land while tree crops are cultivated on about 45,000 hectares of land (GSS, 2013a).
99. Apart from agriculture, the industrial sector in the Western Region also contributes to the national economy. These industries are in the area of oil production, mining, cocoa processing, flour milling, timber and wood processing. These industries in the Western Region contribute 21 percent of jobs created in the industry sector of Ghana (GSS, 2013a).
100. In the course of the Commissions interactions with the petitioners, they referred to the expansive mineral resources and arable lands in the Western North area. In their petition the Petitioners made these specific points:
 - *“The Western North area constitutes about 30 percent of Ghana's forest reserves and it produces over 40 percent of Ghana's cocoa annually;*
 - *The area is the leading producer of timber and other foodstuffs in the country;*

- *The area has rich deposits of gold, (Chirano) and Bibiani bauxite (Awaso), and manganese (Nsuta);*
- *The proposed new region has about eight (8) forest reserves; and*
- *The area accounts for over 65 percent of Ghana’s annual earnings from gold, cocoa and timber.”*

101. It is worth noting that some of the statistics provided by the petitioners have been corroborated by information independently obtained by the Commission. For instance, according to Ghana Statistical Service (2013a), the region has large economic resources. The Western Region is the highest producer of cocoa in the country contributing over 50 percent of the total national production. It is also the largest producer of timber and the second largest producer of gold after Ashanti Region. In addition, it is a major producer of rubber, bauxite and manganese (GSS, 2013a; Ghana Cocoa Board, 2015).
102. Specifically, the Western North enclave, has forest reserves and gold deposits in the Bia East, Bia West, Aowin, Suaman and Wassa Amenfi Districts. Apart from that, there are bauxite deposits in the Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai District while the Wassa Amenfi East District has iron ore (GSS, 2013). Also, the Western North area has cultivable lands for agricultural production. The area currently produces food crops such as roots and tubers, grains and cereals, vegetables as well as timber products.
103. Information from the Ghana Cocoa Board indicates that in the 2013/2014 cocoa season, the Western North area alone produced 238,993 metric tons of cocoa which was more than the combined total cocoa produced in the Ashanti, Volta, Brong-Ahafo, Central and Eastern regions (Ghana Cocoa Board, 2015).
104. In terms, of the Banking Sector, currently there are a total of 97 banking institutions in the whole of the Western Region. The southern enclave has a total number of 79 banks, whereas 18 banks are currently operating in the Western North area. These banking institutions comprises public and privately-owned banks who provide financial services to the people in the area. This is a reflection of the development imbalance between the Western North and the remaining part of the region. The names and locations of these banking institutions in the Western Region are detailed in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Banks and their Branches in the Western Region

No.	Banks	Southern part of the Western Region	Number of Branches	Western North	Number of Branches
1	Agricultural Development Bank	Agona Nkwanta, Takoradi	3	Sefwi Essam, Sefwi Wiawso, Enchi, Bonsu Nkwanta	4
2	ARB Apex Bank	Takoradi	1	-	-
3	Access Bank	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	Enchi, Sefwi Wiawso	2
4	Barclays Bank	Takoradi (2), Tarkwa	3	-	-
5	Bank of Africa	Takoradi	1	-	-
6	Cal Bank	Takoradi (2), Tarkwa, Sekondi, Essiama	5	-	-
7	Capital Bank	Takoradi	1	-	-
8	Ecobank	Elubo, Takoradi (2), Tarkwa, Essiama	5	-	-
9	First Atlantic Bank	Takoradi	1	-	-
10	FBN Bank	Takoradi	1	-	-
11	Ghana Commercial Bank	Takoradi (4), Sekondi, Tarkwa, Axim, Half Assini, Dadieso, Elubo (2), Enchi, Samreboi, Prestea, Bogoso	15	Sefwi Wiawso	1
12	GT Bank	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	-	-
13	GN Bank	Agona Nkwanta, Ayinase, Axim, Beposo, Bogoso, Daboase, Elubo, Enchi, Essiama, Half Assini, Tarkwa, Nsuaem	13	Bia Debiso, Sefwi Bekwai, Sefwi Debiso, Wassa Manso, Awaso	4
14	HFC	Essam, Takoradi	2	Juaboso, Sefwi Bekwai, Sefwi Wiawso, Sefwi Akontombra,	4
15	National Investment Bank	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	-	-
16	Omnibank	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	-	-
17	Prudential	Takoradi (2)	2	-	-
18	Société General	Tarkwa, Takoradi (2)	3	Bibiani,	1
19	Stanbic	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	-	-

No.	Banks	Southern part of the Western Region	Number of Branches	Western North	Number of Branches
20	Stanchart	Essiama	1	-	-
21	Sahel-Sahara	Takoradi	1	-	-
22	Royal Bank	Takoradi	1	-	-
23	Universal Merchant Bank	Tarkwa, Takoradi	3	Bibiani	1
24	UBA	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	-	-
25	Unibank	Takoradi, Tarkwa	2	-	-
26	UT Bank	Takoradi (3)	3	-	-
27	Zenith	Takoradi (2), Tarkwa	3	-	-
Total			79		18

Source: Ghana Association of Bankers Directory, 2017

105. Also, some political leaders and participants at the public hearings in the Western North area stated that a sizeable portion of their budget goes into transportation costs because of the distance to the capital, Sekondi. This has affected their ability to undertake projects. This is not the case with their colleagues from the southern parts of the Western Region. For instance, in Sefwi Wiawso, a local government practitioner who spoke at the forum observed that the metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies “*are key drivers of social and economic development*” but due to the distances to the capital, there is limitation on the “*effective and efficient administration of the district assemblies*”.
106. A contributor at the public hearing in Sefwi Wiawso emphasized that it takes three (3) days for the MCE or the Coordinating Director to travel to the capital and back for a meeting. The Assemblies already have little resources and funds which could be channeled into other developmental projects but are instead being used to cater for their travel and accommodation expenses. As a result, productivity and man hours are lost and inefficiency is created. However, when the Western North Region is created, the capital will be closer to virtually every resident and hence, current expenditure on travel and accommodation will be reduced.
107. A DCE in Sefwi Wiawso cited the poor state of road infrastructure and travel distance as an impediment to the productivity of cocoa farmers and food crop producers in the area. The harvested products do not reach the market and for that reason growers are unable to earn adequate economic returns for their produce and thus leaves them demoralized. As already stated in this report, the estimated travel distance from Sefwi Wiawso to the regional capital is 241 km with a travel time of 4hrs, 55 mins (see Table 4.8).
108. During the public hearing in Enchi, a representative of the petitioners estimated current population of the Western North to be about 1.2 million people. In his view, this potential labour force will be an important resource for the development of the area, especially, in the agriculture and tourism sectors. The Western North enclave has considerable tourism potentials including a national park and reserve, as well as waterfalls. Tourist sites located in the Western North include the Bia National Park and Reserve, and the Boako Waterfalls (GSS, 2013a:10). These tourism resources will be fully harnessed in the proposed region to generate resources for the region and Ghana as a whole.
109. A representative of the petitioners in Adaborkrom stated that employment opportunities would be created for the youth in the area, through the creation of the region. According to him, the new region will lead to the establishment of regional offices of state institutions such as a Regional Coordinating Council, Police Service, Fire Service, Ghana Immigration Service, Ghana Health Services, Food and Drugs Authority, Ghana Standards Authority, Ghana Statistical Service, Ghana Highway Authority and Ghana Revenue Authority. Private investors will also be attracted to create additional job opportunities.

110. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2013a), in 2010, out of 2,042,645 persons aged five (5) and above in the Western Region, 48.8 percent were employed while 3.5 percent were unemployed. Notably, a considerable number of the unemployed, accounting for 58.9 percent were in the urban centers. Of the persons employed of age 15 years and older, forestry, fisheries and skilled agricultural workers constituted the largest occupational group, accounting for over 70 percent of persons in employment in districts located in the proposed Western North area namely Sefwi Akontombra (86.5%), Juaboso (79.9%), Aowin/Suaman (79.7%) and Bia (75.8%). Other occupations engaged in by people in the region include service and sales which account for about 30 percent of all occupations (GSS, 2013a:11-115). Table 4.17 presents details on employed persons of age 15 years and older by district, sex and occupation in the Western Region.

Table 4.17: Employed Persons, 15 years and older

Region/ Districts	Total	Managers	Professionals	Technicians & Associate Professionals	Clerical Support Workers	Service & Sales Workers	Skilled Agric & Forestry, Fishery Workers	Craft & Related Trades Workers	Plant & Machine Operators & Assemblers	Elementary Occupations	Other Occupations
Western Region	960,561	2.0	4.5	1.8	1.3	17.1	47.2	13.1	7.4	5.2	0.3
<i>Southern part of the Western Region</i>											
Jomoro	57,039	2.6	3.7	1.9	1.2	20.7	39.0	20.1	4.5	6.3	0.1
Ellembelle	29,567	2.7	5.7	1.7	1.0	22.5	35.2	18.0	8.6	4.6	0.0
Nzema East	23,453	1.7	3.7	0.9	0.6	13.3	57.1	13.3	5.5	3.8	0.0
Ahanta West	44,029	2.0	3.8	1.1	1.0	22.1	36.4	19.5	6.5	7.5	0.0
Sekondi Takoradi Metropolis	215,273	4.3	8.8	3.8	3.4	32.7	5.2	22.2	8.0	10.2	1.4
<i>Kwesimintsim</i>	87,989	4.7	9.5	3.7	3.6	33.0	5.9	21.6	8.3	9.0	0.8
<i>Takoradi</i>	39,630	5.1	8.5	4.8	4.1	35.6	2.6	19.6	6.1	10.6	3.0
<i>Sekondi</i>	26,931	3.9	9.6	3.9	3.6	34.7	4.2	21.1	6.2	10.5	2.3
<i>Essikadu-Ketan</i>	60,723	3.4	7.7	3.2	2.7	29.4	6.4	25.2	9.7	11.6	0.8
Shama	30,526	1.8	4.5	1.5	1.1	18.3	31.7	28.4	5.5	7.0	0.1
Mpohor-Wassa East	52,046	1.3	2.8	0.9	0.4	9.7	62.3	8.4	9.8	4.3	0.0
Tarkwa Nsuaem Municipal	35,319	2.2	3.7	1.5	0.7	18.7	31.5	11.9	24.8	5.1	0.0
Prestea/Huni Valley	66,626	1.3	2.6	0.8	0.5	15.2	44.0	9.8	21.0	4.7	0.0

Region/ Districts	Total	Managers	Professionals	Technicians & Associate Professionals	Clerical Support Workers	Service & Sales Workers	Skilled Agric & Forestry, Fishery Workers	Craft & Related Trades Workers	Plant & Machine Operators & Assemblers	Elementary Occupations	Other Occupations
Proposed Western North Region											
Wassa Amenfi East	35,295	1.0	2.6	0.9	0.4	9.4	67.1	6.1	10.2	2.4	0.0
Wassa Amenfi West	64,532	1.1	3.5	1.3	0.6	9.8	69.2	6.4	5.7	2.5	0.0
Aowin/ Suaman	57,250	0.8	2.5	1.2	0.4	6.9	79.7	5.1	1.7	1.7	0.0
Sefwi Akontombra	36,880	0.4	1.9	0.9	0.3	4.3	86.5	3.6	1.1	1.0	0.0
Sefwi Wiawso	56,478	1.2	3.6	1.4	0.9	10.8	67.1	8.3	3.6	3.0	0.0
Sefwi Bibiani- Ahwiaso Bekwai	51,782	1.2	4.0	1.3	0.6	12.2	62.8	9.5	5.4	3.0	0.1
Juabeso	53,883	0.6	2.2	1.4	0.4	7.0	79.9	5.0	1.3	2.0	0.0
Bia	50,583	1.1	2.4	1.6	0.4	8.7	75.8	6.1	1.4	2.5	0.0

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Western Regional Analytical Report (GSS, 2013a)

111. Significantly, according to the Ghana Statistical Service (2013a), 80 percent of all households in Districts located in the northern part of the Western Region were engaged in agricultural activity. For instance, in the Wassa Amenfi East District 14,632 households representing 78.6 percent were engaged in agricultural activity. In Wassa Amenfi West 26,633 households representing 77.3 percent were involved in agricultural activity. For Aowin/Suaman 23,658 households, accounting for 77.2 percent were engage in agriculture, whilst in Sefwi Wiawso 22,297, representing 74.1 percent were also engaged in agricultural activity.

Table 4.18: Households in agriculture by district, type of locality and household size

Region/District	All Households													%HHs in Agric		
	All Households	Agric Households	100%	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		Av. Hh Size	
All Regions	5,467,054	2,503,006	100.0	10.7	9.6	11.5	13.3	13.3	11.6	8.9	6.4	4.4	10.3	5.3	45.8	
Western	553,634	275,975	100.0	11.6	10.9	12.9	14.4	13.9	11.7	8.8	5.9	3.7	6.2	4.8	49.8	
<i>Southern part of the Western Region</i>																
Jomoro	34,502	15,409	100.0	12.3	10.6	12.1	14.2	13.2	11.0	8.7	6.2	3.8	7.8	5.0	44.7	
Ellembelle	18,682	8,364	100.0	9.5	9.4	11.9	13.8	14.4	11.7	9.1	6.5	4.7	9.1	5.2	44.8	
Nzema East	13,509	7,393	100.0	10.9	10.6	12.6	14.7	13.7	11.5	7.6	5.9	3.7	8.9	5.0	54.7	
Ahanta West	26,095	12,325	100.0	13.5	11.4	13.7	15.2	14.1	11.9	7.7	5.5	2.9	4.0	4.5	47.2	
Sekondi Takoradi Metropolis	142,560	13,655	100.0	12.7	11.0	12.8	14.2	14.4	12.0	8.7	5.4	3.4	5.4	4.7	9.6	
<i>Kwesimintsim</i>	59,071	6,031	100.0	12.9	10.7	13.5	14.2	14.9	12.0	8.6	5.0	3.8	4.4	4.6	10.2	
Takoradi	24,440	1,221	100.0	15.9	10.0	14.4	14.4	13.4	10.7	7.8	5.7	2.5	5.2	4.5	5.0	
<i>Sekondi</i>	19,176	1,021	100.0	11.1	9.8	14.5	16.7	14.2	12.9	8.3	4.8	2.4	5.2	4.7	5.3	
<i>Essikadu-Ketan</i>	39,873	5,382	100.0	12.0	11.8	11.3	13.7	14.1	12.1	9.2	6.0	3.2	6.7	4.9	13.5	
Shama	19,291	5,601	100.0	10.1	11.0	12.3	15.5	15.5	13.3	8.8	5.9	3.2	4.5	4.8	29.0	
Mpohor-Wassa East	30,196	22,060	100.0	14.7	11.7	13.3	15.0	13.4	11.1	7.9	5.4	3.1	4.3	4.5	73.1	
Tarkwa Nsuaem Municipal	21,713	8,469	100.0	11.6	10.9	12.4	14.6	14.0	12.4	8.8	5.6	3.7	5.9	4.8	39.0	
Prestea/Huni Valley	38,295	19,904	100.0	13.7	11.7	12.8	13.7	13.9	11.4	8.4	5.9	3.3	5.1	4.6	52.0	
<i>Proposed Western North Region</i>																
Wassa Amenfi East	18,620	14,632	100.0	11.6	11.1	12.8	13.8	13.8	12.2	9.3	6.4	3.9	5.3	4.8	78.6	
Wassa Amenfi West	34,469	26,633	100.0	9.9	10.0	12.0	14.6	14.2	12.2	9.7	6.4	4.0	6.9	5.0	77.3	
Aowin/Suaman	30,658	23,658	100.0	10.8	11.7	14.2	14.9	13.7	11.2	8.4	5.5	4.0	5.8	4.8	77.2	
Sefwi Akontombra	17,592	15,228	100.0	11.1	10.5	12.1	13.9	13.8	12.4	9.6	6.4	4.0	6.1	4.9	86.6	
Sefwi Wiawso	30,074	22,297	100.0	10.6	9.6	12.4	13.5	14.5	11.8	9.5	6.4	4.4	7.1	5.0	74.1	
Sefwi Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai	27,961	20,938	100.0	11.4	11.0	12.7	14.8	14.1	11.5	8.9	6.4	4.0	5.2	4.8	74.9	
Juabeso	23,639	19,172	100.0	10.0	10.4	13.2	14.6	14.2	12.0	8.6	5.7	3.8	7.5	5.0	81.1	
Bia	25,778	20,237	100.0	11.6	11.3	14.3	14.8	12.3	11.0	8.7	5.3	3.6	7.0	4.8	78.5	

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, Western Regional Analytical Report (GSS, 2013a)

112. Similarly, about 15,228 households in Sefwi Akontombra representing 86.6 percent of all households were engaged in agriculture. In other districts like Sefwi Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai 20,938 households, representing 74.9 percent and Bia Districts, 20,237, accounting for 78.5 percent households were engaged in agriculture (GSS, 2013a:136).
113. In addition, the Ghana Statistical Service (2013a) indicates that 1,054,384 out of a total population of 2,042,645 persons in the Western Region are economically active while 988,261 people are not economically active. The population of males who are economically active were 534,045 while their female counterparts were 520,339. On the other hand, males who were not economically active accounted for 483,596 and females were 504,665. Of the people who were economically active 41.1 percent of them were between the ages of 35-59 while 45 percent of that same age bracket were not economically active. The Western North area had 406,483 employed of which males were 214,667 while females were 192,016 (GSS, 2013a).
114. The provisions of Article 36 of the 1992 Constitution mandate Government to ensure the national economy is managed in such a manner to ensure the following:
 - a) maximization of the rate of economic development;
 - b) the security, welfare and happiness, of every Ghanaian;
 - c) encouragement of employment and public assistance to the needy;
 - d) establishment of a sound and healthy economy – by enhancing the role of the private sector in the economy, undertake even and balanced development of all regions and improve the conditions of life in the rural areas to redress imbalanced development between rural and urban areas;
 - e) that citizens have the basic necessities of life;
 - f) promotion of development of agriculture and industry; and
 - g) encouragement of foreign investment.
115. The economic objectives contained in Article 36 (1) to (4) summarized above, can be said to be largely unfulfilled. An area the size of the proposed Western North Region, with a large agricultural economy, sizeable mineral deposits and forestry reserves has the potential to contribute substantially to the resource of the country if targeted development initiatives are aimed at addressing issues raised by the petitioners.
116. The lack of access roads in the cocoa growing areas during the year, leads to smuggling across international borders which leads to a loss of revenue to the state. In addition, food products which can generate income for farmers and traders are lost at the farmgate due to poor access to the markets. The absence of a regional capital close to the area makes

it unattractive to investors, as accessibility to high order services are non-existent in the Western North area.

117. The poor road network and the absence of a regional office of Electricity Company of Ghana makes manufacturing of goods and services difficult in the area. In addition, Article 36 (2) (d) provides that government should undertake even balance development of all regions and redresses any imbalance between the rural and urban areas. The rural urban gap will be addressed in a more effective and efficient manner when the road network and availability of power is improved. It is clear that the provisions of Article 36 (1) to (4) have not been fulfilled to the letter.

4.4.5 Governance and Participation

118. These relate to participation in governance at the local level, equity in government appointments, refusal of posting and discrimination. The petitioners have argued that the creation of the Western North Region will bring about inclusion and participation, as governance would be closer to the people. The issue was raised 100 times, representing 12 percent of the total contributions from participants.
119. The petitioners bemoaned the low number of Ministerial and Deputy Ministerial appointments from the Western North area since independence. Table 4.19 details political appointments from the Western North since independence.

Table 4.19: Ministerial Appointments from the Proposed Western North (1957-2018)

Ministerial Appointments	Deputy Minister Appointments
Dr. Kwaku Afriyie; Minister of Health, 2001-2004 (NPP).	Mr. Kwaku Aduhene; 1963-1964 (CPP)- Defense
Mr. Paul Evans Aidoo; Regional Minister, 2009-2016 (NDC)	Mr. S.K Opon; 1970-1972 (PP)- Education
Dr. Kwaku Afriyie; 2016- To Date Regional Minister (NPP)	Mr. Christopher Addae; 2004-2008 (NPP)- Railways
	Mr, Samson Ahi; 2012-2016 (NDC)- Works & Housing
	Mr. Kwasi Blay; 2006-2008- (NPP)- Deputy Regional Minister
	Mr. Stephen Ackah; 2009—012- (NDC)- Sports
	Mr. Kwabena Minta Akandor; 2014-2016 (NDC)- Natural Resources
	Mr. Aboagye Gyedu 2016 to Date- (NPP)- Health

Source: Documents submitted by Western North Petitioners, 2017

120. As can be seen in Table 4.19, the total number of substantive Ministers appointed from the Western North area since independence are three. Deputy ministerial appointments in the same period are eight. A representative of the petitioners speaking at the public hearing in Sefwi Wiawso lamented that *“the people in the Western North area are left out and do not benefit from political appointments”*. The petitioners and participants at the public hearings were hopeful that the Western North area will see more political appointments when it becomes a region in fulfilment of the Constitutional provisions on regional balance.
121. A Senior Public Servant at the Wassa public forum stated that a new Regional Coordinating Council will bring efficiency in administration and *“help make governance reach the door steps”* of the people of the Western North area. In addition, when the petitioners met the Commission in Accra, they indicated that the people in the Western North enclave *“would be happier to have governance at their door step as the long distances people have to travel from remote parts of the region to Sekondi for administrative duties are time-consuming and cumbersome”*. This limitation they noted, pushes the people of the Western North area away from governance in the region, thereby affecting the development of their lives and communities.
122. A National Service person speaking at the Takoradi forum stated that due to the bad roads and relatively harsh living conditions in the northern part of the region, his wife who is a Civil Servant abandoned the idea of relocating to where her new posting is in the north. He intimated that the creation of a new region would *“attract and trigger political and socio-economic developments to the area”*.
123. According to an unemployed woman who spoke at the hearing in Sefwi Wiawso, their forefathers discovered Adaborkrom and its surrounding communities and had to walk miles through thick forests just to get to Sefwi Wiawso. She continued that *“this deprivation has continued to date”* but it is their expectation that their *“children would not have to continue to go through”* what they had to go through. Therefore, the creation of a new region is a laudable exercise and they are ready to vote *“Yes even if the referendum is tomorrow”*. The creation of the new region is simply a compliance with the provisions of Article 35(6). Towards the achievement of the objectives stated in clause (5) of this article, the State shall take appropriate measures to make democracy a reality by decentralizing the administration and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision making at every level in national life and in government.
124. Although government has in recent times created more districts to increase participation in decision making at the local level, the petitioners and participants drew the attention of the Commission to the historic exclusion of people in the proposed Western North Region from participation in regional decision making, as they are not often appointed as regional ministers. In addition, they alleged that they are rarely appointed as government ministers. In order to address these imbalances, Article 35 (6) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana mandates the State to *“take appropriate measures to achieve*

reasonable regional and gender balance in recruitment and appointment to public offices”.

125. Article 36 (2) (d) also mandates the State to undertake even and balanced development of all regions and every part of each region of Ghana, and, in particular to improve the conditions of life in the rural areas, and generally, redressing any imbalance in development between the rural and the urban areas.

4.5.6 Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Issues

126. An essential component of any society is the ethnic composition of its people, their culture and religious affiliations. It is these components that guide the way people conduct their affairs in the society. The peaceful coexistence of the three often ensure peace, stability and development of the society. Therefore, in order to ensure peace, stability and development in society there is the need to consider the role ethnicity, culture and religion play in the life of the people in such an area. During the Commission’s interactions with the chiefs and people of the Western North enclave, they referred to ethnic, cultural and religious issues in making their case in support of the need for the creation of a new region out of the existing Western Region. The issue was raised 71 times, representing 9 percent of the total contributions from participants.
127. The petitioners stated that the proposed Western North Region will comprise three major groups of people namely, Aowin, Sefwi and Wassa. However, apart from these groups which constitute the Akan ethnic group, the area is also inhabited by people from other ethnic groups in Ghana. Table 4.20 provides details on the ethnic composition in the Western Region by district.

Table 4.20: Ethnic composition by districts in the Western Region

<i>District</i>	<i>Akan</i>	<i>Ga Dangme</i>	<i>Ewe</i>	<i>Guan</i>	<i>Gruma</i>	<i>Mole-Dagbon</i>	<i>Grusi</i>	<i>Mande</i>	<i>Other</i>
All Districts	78.2	3.1	6.2	0.8	0.9	8.6	0.8	0.8	0.6
Proposed Western North Region									
Akontombra	61.2	3.7	4.8	1.8	3.2	21.9	0.8	0.5	0.3
Amenfi East	77.2	5.5	5.5	0.8	1.9	7.6	0.7	0.6	0.3
Amanfi West	75.0	2.7	6.3	0.4	1.2	13.1	0.6	0.6	0.3
Aowin/Suaman	63.8	4.4	6.5	0.5	3.5	18.5	0.8	1.7	0.3
Bia	57.3	6.0	5.4	0.7	2.3	23.8	1.5	2.2	0.8
Juabeso	68.9	3.2	7.4	1.3	1.1	15.9	0.7	1.2	0.3
Sefwi Wiaso	78.6	4.5	3.1	0.5	1.3	10.5	0.8	0.5	0.3
Bebiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	89.0	1.1	1.3	0.2	0.5	6.1	1.2	0.4	0.2
Southern part of the Western Region									
	<i>Akan</i>	<i>Ga Dangbe</i>	<i>Ewe</i>	<i>Guan</i>	<i>Gruma</i>	<i>Mole/Dagbani</i>	<i>Grusi</i>	<i>Mande</i>	<i>Other</i>
Ahanta West	93.4	0.4	3.2	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.4
Ellembelle	93.4	0.4	3.8	0.1	0.2	1.6	0.2	0.1	0.2
Sekondi Takoradi	83.3	2.9	2.4	0.6	0.3	5.6	0.3	0.1	4.6
Shama	88.1	0.5	10.2	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.2
Ahanta East									
Mpohor Wassa East	76.9	4.6	14.8	1.6	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2
Tarkwa Nsueam	78.9	2.5	8.7	0.5	0.4	6.8	1.0	0.9	0.3
Jomoro	88.7	0.7	6.1	0.2	0.2	2.9	0.2	0.4	0.6
Preastea-Huni Valley	74.5	3.9	6.9	1.6	0.9	9.2	1.5	0.8	0.7

Source: GSS (2013a)

128. Based on the Table 4.20, Akan constitute the major ethnic group in the Western Region (78.2%). The second largest ethnic group is the Mole Dagbon which accounts for 8.6 percent of the ethnic groups in the region. They are followed by the Ewes (6.2%) and Ga-Dangmes (3.1%). The other minority groups include the Grumas (0.9%), Guan (0.8%), Mandes (0.8%) and Grusis (0.8%). These figures depict that the Western North enclave is heterogeneous, as it is inhabited by people from several ethnic groups in Ghana.
129. According to the petitioners, the demand for the creation of the region was based on the need for development and not ethnic or tribal sentiments. In their interactions with the Commission, the petitioners noted that the Western Region is heterogeneous and even though languages spoken in the region are diverse to some extent, the people have always lived peacefully with each other, bonded by many similar cultures and customs. The creation of the proposed region would, therefore, not affect the existing relationship between the Northern Chiefs and the Southern Chiefs. They further emphasized that in the past, the Western and Central Regions were one region and its division did not in any way cause any ethnic disturbances. Therefore, the creation of the region would not divide the Wassala people as has been argued by the minority who oppose the creation of the region.
130. Participants at the public hearings expressed their views on the demand for the creation of the new region by referring to a number of ethnic, cultural and religious issues. For instance, at the public hearing in Wassala-Akropong, a pastor, and member of the Local Council of Churches, stated that *“the issue of language should not be a barrier”* to the creation of the new region. For him, the new region will be associated with development and it is the Wassala people *“who stand to benefit”* from the creation of the proposed Western North Region.
131. Again, at the public hearing in Wassala Akropong, a participant stated that he supports the creation of the new region because the people of the southern part of the region *“have discriminated against the people of the North over the years”*. Another contributor in Wassala Akropong emphasized that development projects have been *“skewed in favour of the southern part of the region”* even though most of the resources come from the Western North area.
132. With respect to religious affiliations, there are seven (7) categories in the Western Region. These religious groupings comprise Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostal/Charismatic, other Christians, Muslims, Traditionalists and others. As can be seen from Table 4.21, based on the 2010 Population Census figures, the Pentecostal/Charismatic are the majority, accounting for 29.5 percent. They are followed by the Protestants and Catholics who constitute 21.1 percent and 16.2 percent respectively. Other Christian groupings account for 15.2 percent of religious groupings in the districts located in the region. The Islamic religion accounts for 9.3 percent of religious groupings whereas traditionalists constitute a mere 0.8 percent.

Table 4.21: Religious affiliation by Districts in the Western Region

District	Year	Total	No Religion	Catholic	Protestants	Pentecostal/ Charismatic	Other Christians	Islam	Traditionalist	Other
All	2000	1,924,577	8.2	19.4	19.5	26.1	16.1	8.5	1.5	0.8
	2010	2376021	6.7	16.2	21.1	29.5	15.2	9.3	0.8	1.0
Districts										
<i>Southern part of the Western Region</i>										
Jomoro		150,107	8.0	27.5	15.2	25.4	14.0	7.4	1.2	1.3
Ellembelle		87,501	8.3	22.4	14.1	21.3	22.9	9.1	0.9	1.0
Nzema East		60,828	9.0	13.7	19.5	27.4	21.6	6.1	1.4	1.4
Ahanta West		106,215	15.4	12.0	19.2	27.5	19.9	3.2	1.6	1.2
Sekondi Takoradi Metropolis		559,548	3.5	14.3	25.6	34.7	11.8	9.4	0.2	0.6
Shama		81,966	7.9	11.9	20.9	25.8	22.5	8.4	2.2	0.4
Mpohor-Wassa East		123,996	9.3	8.5	19.9	31.9	22.7	5.7	1.2	0.9
Tarkwa Nsuaem Municipal		90,477	7.5	10.1	20.0	35.4	18.1	7.2	0.6	1.3
Prestea/ Huni Valley		159,304	7.0	12.3	18.4	31.4	18.7	11.1	0.4	0.8
<i>Proposed Western North Region</i>										
Wassa Amenfi East		83,478	8.6	17.7	21.9	29.5	13.7	7.1	0.6	1.0
Wassa Amenfi West		161,166	5.4	17.1	22.6	26.2	14.8	11.5	0.6	1.7
Aowin/ Suaman		138,415	6.8	19.5	22.7	26.0	9.6	13.3	1.0	1.1
Sefwi Akontombra		82,467	6.0	15.5	19.4	29.4	12.5	16.6	0.3	0.4
Sefwi Wiawso		139,200	7.1	19.6	20.3	26.9	14.9	9.1	0.7	1.5
Sefwi Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai		123,272	8.2	16.9	22.3	27.2	17.2	5.8	0.7	1.8
Juabeso		111,749	6.4	17.8	20.1	31.3	13.3	9.8	0.5	0.9
Bia		116,332	5.6	21.5	19.2	25.1	10.7	16.3	1.2	0.5

Source: GSS (2013a)

133. During the Commission’s Western Regional public consultations, some religious leaders made their case for the creation of the proposed Western North region by highlighting the measures they had taken to administer their churches in the region by dividing the region into north and south for ease of administration. They expressed the hope that the benefits they have derived from the reorganization of the administration of their churches will be replicated by the state to similarly reorganize the region.
134. At the public forum in Bibiani, the head of the Assemblies of God Church noted that *“for many years now, the Assemblies of God Church has divided the Region into two for efficient gospel work”*. At the same public hearing a pastor of the Christ Apostolic Church also noted that 15 years ago, the Christ Apostolic Church split the region into two for ease of administration. Table 4.22 provides details on some of the religious organizations in the Western Region and their administrative divisions within the Region.

Table 4.22: Religious organizations and their Administrative divisions in the Western Region

No.	Name of Religious Organization	Administrative Divisions of Religious Organizations in the Western Region
1.	Roman Catholic Church	1. Diocese of Sekondi 2. Diocese of Wiawso
2.	Assemblies of God Church	1. South Western Region 2. Mid-Western Region 3. North Western Region
3.	Methodist Church of Ghana	1. Sekondi Diocese 2. Tarkwa Diocese 3. Sefwi-Bekwai Diocese
4.	The Church of Pentecost	1. Takoradi Area 2. Sekondi Area 3. Axim Area 4. Essam-Dadieso Area 5. Tarkwa Area 6. Sefwi Wiawso Area 7. Asankrangua Area 8. Bogoso Area
5.	Ahmadiyya Mission	1. Sekondi-Takoradi Zone 2. Tarkwa Zone 3. Sefwi Zone
6.	Anglican Church of Ghana	1. Sekondi Diocese 2. Wiawso Diocese

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

135. Table 4.22 shows that both the Catholic Church and Anglican Churches had divided the Western Region into two (2) for administrative purposes. The Assemblies of God Church and the Methodist Church have also divided the current Western Region into three (3) for ease of the churches administration. The Ahmadiyya Mission has also divided the Region into three (3) for the administration of the Mission's activities in the Western Region. The Church of Pentecost of Ghana also currently have eight (8) administrative areas in the Western Region.
136. Similarly, a Catholic Priest who spoke at the public forum in Enchi stated that the “*new region will promote Christianity*”. According to him when the Church's headquarters was in Sekondi all positions of the church were given to southerners who spoke only Fante. This, he noted, affected the progress of the church in the Aowin areas which is not a Fante speaking area.
137. Article 35(5) of the 1992 Constitution obligates the state to actively promote the integration of the peoples of Ghana and prohibit discrimination and prejudice on the grounds of place of origin, circumstances of birth, ethnic origin, gender or religion, creed or other beliefs. Article 17 (1) of the 1992 Constitution also guarantees all citizens of Ghana equality before the law. In addition, it prohibits discrimination on grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status. The provisions of the 1992 Constitution on this issue have not been complied with and therefore forms the basis for the demand for the creation of a region.

4.6 Need for Creation of the Proposed Western North Region

138. This section of the report assesses the need for the creation of a new region out of the existing Western Region. The need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region is founded on the outcome of the analysis of the various thematic areas and the Commission's observations. These thematic areas covered spatial issues, access to government and public services, road infrastructure needs, education and health care needs, economic and employment issues, issues of governance and participation, as well as ethnic, religious and cultural issues. The thematic areas and the Commission's observations provided the medium for ascertaining the veracity and merit of the petitioner's claims and the assertions of the people in the Western North enclave who interacted with the Commission in the course of its regional consultations. This approach to some extent enabled the Commission to determine whether there is the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region.
139. To begin with, one of the main concerns of the people was that the Western Region as presently constituted is too large to be administered effectively by the Regional Coordinating Council. According to the petitioners and people who interacted with the Commission, the travel distance from the districts located in the Western North area to the current regional capital of Sekondi is too long. For instance, the distance from Wassa Akropong to Sekondi is 152 km, with an average travel time of about 3 hours 15 minutes. Also, the distance from Adaborkrom, one of the farthest locations, and the

district capital of Bia East is 289 km, with travel time of 10 hours. According to the people, this situation impacts negatively on the development of the area as they are unable to frequently conduct their activities and access essential public services located at the current regional capital.

140. The Commission was of the view that the spatial extent of the Western Region poses challenges to development and access to government and public services for the citizenry. For instance, public sector workers who have to travel to the regional capital to access government and public services face challenges because of long travel distance from areas in the proposed Western North such as Adaborkrom, Sefwi Wiawso and Sefwi Akontombra to Sekondi. There is therefore the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region to ensure a more equitable and focused approach to development.
141. In terms of access to government and public services, the people of the Western North enclave referred to the various challenges they are confronted with when they have to access high order government services. Some of these high order government or public services include access to the courts, security services, regional directorate of education and health, utility services, passport acquisition, vehicle licensing and registration, birth and death registry as well as the Regional Coordinating Council. These challenges associated with access to essential government services has a correlation with the spatial extent of the region, the conditions of road infrastructure and travel distance between the various districts located in the Western North area and the location where these essential government services can be accessed.
142. The people complained that most of these essential government services can only be accessed in the regional capital Sekondi and the adjoining city of Takoradi. As a result, residents further away from the regional capital, face some difficulties in accessing these services. The implication is that if the Western Region is further divided into two, government agencies will be located in the proposed Western North to provide services to the people within that enclave rather than they having to travel long distances to Sekondi to access these services. Based on the foregoing discussion, there is the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region in order to improve the level of monitoring and supervision of Districts by the Regional Coordinating Council and ease access to essential government services by the people in the area.
143. Furthermore, the people of the Western North also bemoaned the poor state of road infrastructure in the area. As was witnessed by the Commission in its tour of the Western Region, most of the roads in the Western North area were in a deplorable state. The absence of roads in good conditions, including highways, urban roads and feeder roads pose serious challenges to the people in the area. For instance, the road from Juaboso to Adaborkrom was in a very deplorable state. Particularly, considering the fact that the area is a food basket, the absence of tarred feeder roads impedes the transportation of cash crops and other foodstuff from farming communities to the urban centres within that enclave. Thus, the improvement in the conditions of roads through an equitable

distribution of national resources as a result of regional reorganization will accelerate the movement of goods and services and economic activities in the area.

144. Another issue revealed in the course of the analysis was the challenges associated with access to education by the people of the Western North enclave. The Commission observed the limited access to secondary and tertiary education in the Western North area. For a population size of almost 1,000,000, the area was served by only 20 Public Senior High Schools and two Colleges of Education. There is no university in the Western North to absorb graduates from the Senior High School. It was also revealed that a number of teachers refuse postings to the area because of the prevailing poor living conditions in the Western North. This phenomenon has a serious negative impact on the training of the youth in the area. The people are, therefore, expectant that the creation of the proposed Western North Region will serve as catalyst to improve access to education in the area, as it is the case in the southern part of the region which has well-resourced schools and universities.
145. The investigation of the Commission also revealed that access to quality health care delivery is a major challenge to the people living in the Western North enclave. The people expressed concerns about the lack of well-equipped medical facilities and referral hospitals in the Western North area as most medical emergencies are referred to Kumasi or Takoradi. The Commission also established that medical facilities and health care delivery in the area was inadequate. The most basic of these facilities, the Community Based Health and Planning Services (CHPS) compounds were prevalent in the Western North area. On the other hand, the hospitals and clinics in the area were few in number. The number of doctors and medical assistants was limited, however, the number of nurses was relatively higher. Considering the current state of health care delivery in the Western North, it is evident that there is the need for the creation of the Western North Region. The new region will make quality health care delivery a priority through the provision of well-equipped medical facilities like a regional hospital, to improve health care delivery in the area.
146. With respect to economic and employment issues, the analysis revealed that the Western North area is endowed with abundant natural resources. Agriculture is the main economic activity of the people in the area, as farmers contribute significantly to Ghana's cocoa, timber and other food crops production annually. The Western North enclave also has a huge tourism potential and mineral deposits such as gold, bauxite and manganese. Apart from these, the majority of the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, while a significant number of people are also unemployed. Particularly, through the creation of the region those already engaged in agriculture will continue to contribute to the national food basket whilst employment opportunities will be opened up in both the public and private sectors for those currently unemployed.
147. In addition, the infrastructure deficit in the Western North area also impedes the exploitation of natural resources, agricultural production and the harnessing of the area's tourism potential. Considering the abundance of natural resources in the area,

there is the need for governments to focus attention on the area, in order to fully exploit the untapped natural resources. Based on the foregoing discussion, there is the need for the creation of the Western North Region to facilitate the full exploitation of the area's abundant natural resources and the opening up of employment opportunities for the youth and people in the area who are currently not engaged in any economic activity.

148. Another area of concern that provides a basis for the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region covers ethnic, religious and cultural issues. The analysis showed that the Western North enclave is the home of a number of ethnic groups. These ethnic groups include the Akans (78.2%) who constitutes the majority, followed by the Mole Dagbani (8.6%), the Ewes (6.2%), Ga-Danes (3.1%), Grumas (0.9%), Grusis (0.8%) and Mandes (0.8%). The Akans are made up of the Aowins, Sefwis and Wassas. The heterogeneous nature of these ethnic groups can be of advantage to the proposed new region. All these groups can bring on board human resources who can contribute to the development of the proposed new region. Particularly, in agriculture which is the mainstay of the area, the presence of migrant communities who are also involved in agricultural production can help improve yields.
149. In most of the places visited, the Commission noted the ethnic, cultural and religious tolerance among people of the Western North enclave. However, the people of Wassa Amenfi were generally more ambivalent about the ethno-cultural harmony in the Western North. They seemed more cautious in entering into the arrangements for the creation of a new region, citing the potential loss of the Wassa identity. For instance, a Member of Parliament made the following statement in the Commission's interactions with MPs:

“When you come to the Western Region, I think almost all of us are interested in the division of the region. But my major challenge which I want the Commission to write and write well is in the area for demarcation and where to put the line. When you come to Wassa we have about seven (7) constituencies which is under one pillar of ethnic group called the Wassas. When you come to the Sefwis, they also have the same thing there. So, I am advising that in drawing the line we should put this into consideration.”

Another Member of Parliament who spoke at the Commission's meeting with the Parliamentarians from the regions affected noted that:

“As a reminder, at the last meeting we had with you at the Accra International Conference Centre, the representative of the Omanhene of Wassa Amenfi made a statement that I consider fundamental. He said that the people of Amenfi who originally were supposed to join us wanted to remain in the Western Region. I believe that you documented that and perhaps you will consider that seriously when you are looking at the border of the Western North Region because that will affect the outcome of the referendum that is likely to happen after your report is presented to H.E the President”.

150. The Commission also found that the religious bodies of both Christian and Islamic faith had for purposes of administration divided the region into North and South and seemed to be reaping the benefits thereof. Therefore, based on the analysis, there is the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region.
151. On the issue of governance and participation, the Commission found that the residents of the proposed Western North enclave have not been well represented in political appointments since independence. For instance, since independence there have been only two substantive Ministers and eight Deputy Ministers from the area. Due to the distance and challenges in travelling from the proposed Western North Region to the regional capital Sekondi, the chiefs and people of Western North area incur great expenses and inconveniences when they participate in regional level activities. There is, therefore, the need for the creation of the proposed Western North Region so as to bring governance closer to the people and ensure equal representation in the governance of the nation.

4.7 Substantial Demand

152. The Commission's interactions with the petitioners in Accra, the regional consultations and the public hearings in Accra afforded its members the opportunity to measure substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Western North Region.
153. The evidence of substantial demand in the assessment of the Commission included the following:
 - a) The consistent nature of the demand for the creation of a new region out of the existing Western Region in order to ensure equitable distribution of national resources and address the developmental challenges is evident in the petition.
 - b) The Commission through its interactions with the petitioners in Accra, the consultations in the Western Region and the public hearing in Accra established a determined and motivated people, demanding a region for the purpose of development. The traditional, and opinion leaders were unanimous in their resolve to demand for the creation of the region.
 - c) The mobilization of ordinary citizens in the public hearings was remarkable. Both children and adults heralded the Commission's arrivals by way of processions, while children were wielding placards with various inscriptions, expressing their desire for the creation of the proposed region. Apart from that, the preparedness of the people was evident in the setting up of coordinating committees across the areas concerned for purposes of preparation and documentation of the petition, as well as soliciting the support of the ordinary people.
 - d) In terms of participation, farmers, artisans, teachers, nurses, school children, women's groups, persons with disabilities among others, thronged the various venues for the public hearings in their numbers. They exhibited a high sense of

demand as they willingly expressed their reasons for advocating for the creation of the proposed Western North Region.

- e) There was also the active involvement of leaders from the major political parties in the area. Particularly, party leaders from both the NDC and NPP were present and participated actively in the various public hearings and meetings held by the Commission in the Western North enclave. These party officials from the NDC and NPP spoke with a common voice and indicated their support for the creation of the Western North Region.
- f) The discussions on radio in the affected areas on the activities of the Commission, in and out of the Region, clearly demonstrate substantial demand as the discussants have all been in favour of the creation of the Proposed Western North Region.

154. Considering the factors highlighted above and previous discussions in this report, there is ample evidence in six of the seven paramountcies that suggest that there is a substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Western North Region. The exception was Wassa Amenfi where there seemed to be ambivalence towards joining the proposed Western North Region. Over there the Commission did not observe the enthusiasm expressed in the rest of the Western North enclave. Furthermore, the Commission did not observe the same level mobilization exhibited elsewhere in the Western North enclave.

155. Moreover, a representative of the Paramount Chief of Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area stated categorically, at the public hearing in Accra that Wassa Amenfi should be excluded from the proposed Western North Region. The reason assigned was that all Wassa Traditional Areas namely; Amenfi, Fiase and Mpohor should remain together in one region. This position was reechoed by a Member of Parliament representing one of the constituencies within the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area. Consequently, the three districts in the Wassa Amenfi Traditional Area namely: Wassa Amenfi West, Wassa Amenfi Central and Wassa Amenfi East Districts are excluded from the proposed Western North Region.

4.8 Conclusion and Recommendations

156. During the engagement and consultations with the chiefs and the people of the Western North area, their, unflinching unity and resolve to work towards their collective objective to have a region created to accelerate development in the Western North enclave became evident through the participation and mobilization of residents of the area. . This confirmed the assertions made by the petitioners of overwhelming support for the creation of the Western North Region. Available data, obtained independently by the Commission confirmed the statements made by the petitioners that the proposed Western North Region has untapped resources. It is evident that these resources, following the creation of the proposed region, will help facilitate the rapid socio-economic development of the region and Ghana as a whole.

157. It became apparent after analysis and engagement with the petitioners, chiefs and the people in the Western North that the residents attributed the slow pace of development in their area to discrimination against the people of the proposed area. They are of the firm belief that there has been inequitable distribution of resources and this has negatively impacted on the development in the area. According to people of the area, the neglect can be attributed to the fact that the people of the area do not get close to the corridors of power in terms of political appointments. The inability of the people from the area to occupy positions of influence in government is partly responsible for the underdevelopment of the proposed region. The chiefs and the people believe that the creation of the proposed Western North Region will end the perceived neglect because people of the area will be in charge of the development processes in the area.
158. Through the analysis of information gathered by the Commission, it is apparent that one of the reasons for the demand for the proposed region is the long travel distance from the proposed Western North area to the regional capital, Sekondi. The argument was made that proximity to the regional capital positively impacts on development in any area. Evidence gathered by the Commission and independently verified by field data confirm the assertions that the proposed Western North Region lagged behind the rest of the Western Region due to its location. Consequently, this has had an adverse effect on development, due to its remoteness from the regional capital, where government institutions are concentrated. The people therefore, believe that the creation of the region will bring government institutions and services closer to the area as well as the emergence of growth poles in the enclave.
159. Finally, the analysis has shown that the creation of another region out of the existing Western Region can ensure equitable distribution of national resources and accelerate socioeconomic development. The foregoing discussions in this report have revealed that the proposed Western North Region is endowed with abundant natural and human resources that can be fully exploited for the benefit of the people in the area and the nation as a whole. The Commission recommends that the referendum should be held in the following areas in the proposed Western North Region: Aowin Municipality, Bia East District, Bia West District, Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai Municipality, Bodi District, Juaboso District, Sefwi Akontombra District, Sefwi Wiawso Municipality and Suaman District. The estimated population of these districts in 2018 is 907,335 with a land area of about 15,199 square kilometres.

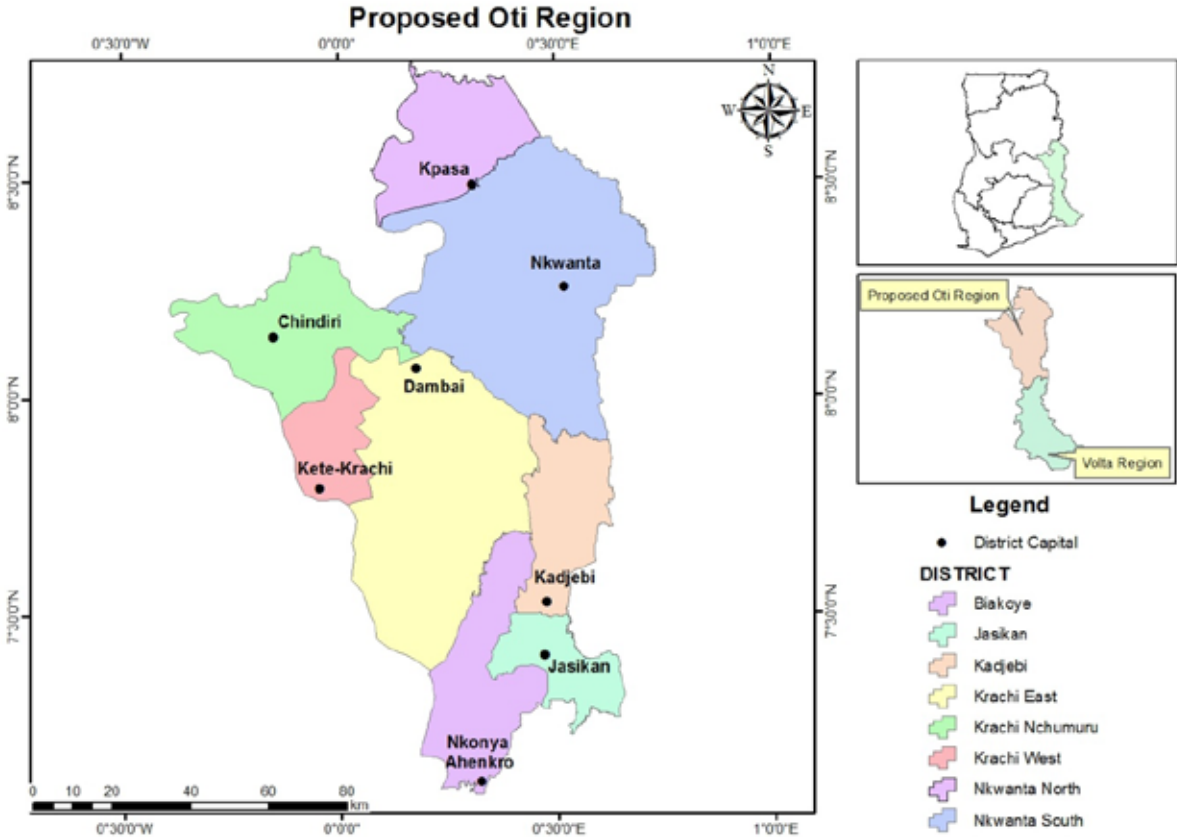
CHAPTER FIVE

PROPOSED OTI REGION

5.1 Background

1. The Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) of the Chiefs and people of the northern part of the Volta Region presented a petition dated 6th June 2017 to the President of Ghana demanding the creation of a region out of the existing Volta Region. The petition contained signature pages listing the participants of the first conference of the JCC of the chiefs and people of the northern part of the Volta Region held at Nsuta (Buem). At this conference, the chiefs and people resolved to formally present a fresh petition to the presidency.
2. The petition proposed the creation of a new region made up of municipalities and districts in the northern part of Volta Region and four traditional areas within the Hohoe Municipality. They are as follows: Jasikan District, Kadjebi District, Biakoye District, Krachi East Municipality, Krachi West District, Krachi Nchumuru District, Nkwanta North District and Nkwanta South Municipality in the Volta Region and Kpandai District in the Northern Region. The traditional areas within the Hohoe Municipality are Akpafu, Santrokofi, Lolobi and Likpe. In its petition, the JCC of the chiefs and people of the northern part of the Volta Region proposed that the new region be named Oti Region.
3. The petition from the JCC of the chiefs and people of the northern part of the Volta Region demanding the creation of a separate region is not a new one. It is the fifth petition submitted to various governments over the years for the creation of a new region out of the Volta Region. Indeed, the first recorded demand was in 1954, when the Gold Coast was preparing for its independence. A petition was presented by the chiefs and people of the then Buem Krachi Traditional Area (northern part of the Volta Region) to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, the authority in charge of the Trans-Volta Togoland at the time, by Nana Akompi Finam I, Kadjebihene and J. K Mensah of Krachi Traditional Area. In 1970, 1996 and 2003 petitions were submitted to the Government of Ghana. All these petitions outlined the same geographical area for reorganisation as a new political administrative region. Figure 5.1 shows the Map of the proposed Oti Region.

Figure 5.1: Map of the proposed Oti Region*



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

* The map does not show the four traditional areas within the Hohoe Municipality (*Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe and Lolobi*) and Kpandai District.

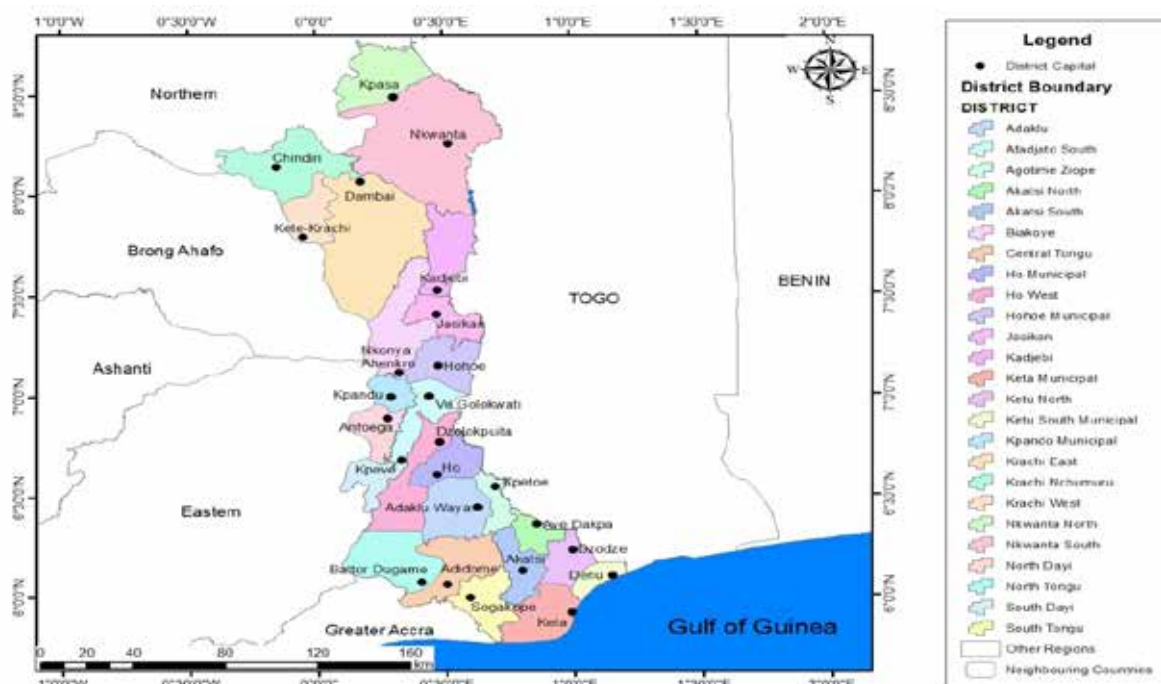
4. Further to Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution, the President referred the petition submitted on 26th of June, 2017 to the Council of State for advice. The Council of State advised the President to establish a Commission of Inquiry to look into the need and establish substantial demand for the creation of a new region as per the petition submitted in 2017. Consequently, the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions was established by Constitutional Instrument (CI 105) and inaugurated on 19th October, 2017.
5. On 21st November, 2017, the Commission met with the petitioners from the Volta Region at Osu Castle in Accra. The purpose of the meeting was to afford the Commission an opportunity to interact with the petitioners and seek further information to aid the work of the Commission and assist the Commission obtain additional information from the petitioners. The Commission in furtherance of its fact-finding mission embarked on a round of consultation to the Volta Region between 15th and 20th of January 2018.
6. This report is a synthesis of the interactions between the Commission, the petitioners and the people of the Volta Region. The rest of this report comprises, region specific approach and methodology, analysis, demand and need for the creation of a new region

out of the Volta Region; major findings and the potential benefits from the physical resources in the proposed region.

5.2 Profile of the Volta Region

7. The Volta Region covers a total land area of area of 20,570 square kilometres representing 8.7 percent of the total land area of Ghana (see Figure 5.2). It is the fifth largest region in Ghana by land size, and covers several ecological zones due to its elongated nature stretching all the way from the northern part of Ghana to the sea in the south. This is a unique feature of the region compared to other regions. The region is about 500 kilometres in length from south to north, and has the vegetation zones of the country including coastal grassland, mangrove swamps, guinea savannah, semi-deciduous forests, and mountainous wooded savannah in the north.
8. In precise terms, the Volta Region is bordered to the north by the Northern Region; south by the Gulf of Guinea; south west by the Greater Accra Region; and on the west by the Brong-Ahafo and Eastern Regions. On the eastern side of the region is the Republic of Togo, thus forming much of Ghana's international border on the east.

Figure 5.2: Map of Ghana showing the Volta Region and other Regions



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

9. For political and administrative purposes, the Volta Region is divided into 25 districts, made up of four Municipal Assemblies and 21 District Assemblies. The four Municipal Assemblies are Ho, Keta, Kpando and Hohoe. Ho, with a total population of 177,281 in 2010 is the regional capital and the largest town in the region. As the regional capital, Ho hosts many of the regional or high-order services, including universities and a

regional hospital. It is also the regional headquarters for several public services such as the Police Service, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority (DVLA) and Immigration Service.

10. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the Volta Region had a population of 2,118,252, with an annual growth rate of 2.5 percent similar to the national population growth (GSS, 2013b). As a percentage of the total national population, the region's share has declined from 11.4 percent in 1960 to 8.6 in 2010 (GSS, 2013b). This is largely due to net out-migration from the region, particularly to the Greater Accra Region (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010). This migration is as a result of 'ecological conditions such as sea erosion, displacement of the region's population as a result of the construction of the Akosombo Hydro-electric Dam, and poverty has led to significant migration to other parts of the country, especially Accra, Kumasi and Tema' (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010, 503).

Table 5.1: Basic Demographic Characteristics of the Volta Region

	Population (National Census Figures)						
	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010	2018*	2020*
Population	777,288	947,268	1,211,907	1,635,421	2,118,252	2,549,256	2,667,478
As % of National Population	11.4	11.1	9.9	11.1	8.6	8.6	8.6
Density per km sq.	37.8	46.1	58.9	79.5	103.0	123.9	129.7
Growth rate	-	1.5	1.0	1.9	2.5	2.5	2.5

*Estimated populations based on GSS projections

Source: Derived from GSS (2013;2015)

11. However, Table 5.1 indicates that the population of the Volta Region has steadily increased from 777,288 in 1960 to 2,118,252 in 2010, and estimated at 2,549,256 in 2018 and 2,667,478 in 2020. In addition, the region's population density, has also increased significantly from as low as 38.7 in 1960 to 103 persons per square kilometre in 2010, and it is projected to reach almost 124 and 130 persons per square kilometre respectively in 2018 and 2020. Available data from the 2010 Population and Housing census as well as documents submitted by the petitioners revealed that the population of the Volta Region is heterogeneous, with all the ethnic groups in Ghana present, namely: Ewe, Gurma, Guan, Akan, Ga-Dangme and Mole-Dagbon. According to GSS (2013b), there are eight major ethnic groups in the region, with an estimated 62 sub-groups speaking 56 languages. However, the Ewe ethnic group dominates accounting for about 74 percent of the region's population in 2010 (GSS, 2013b).
12. Though urbanizing rapidly like the rest of Ghana, the Volta Region remains one of the least urbanized regions in Ghana. With urbanization level of 33.7 percent in 2010, the Volta Region was the least urbanized region in Ghana after the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions, and certainly below the national average of almost 51 percent. Nevertheless, Table 5.2 shows that urbanization has risen steadily since 1960.

Key towns in the region are growth poles and centres, namely: Ho, Hohoe and Keta with relatively strong infrastructure and services are all located in southern Volta with fewer towns in the northern part of the region. The low level of urbanization in northern Volta Region is partly a cause and consequence of the relatively underdevelopment of this part of the region.

Table 5.2: Volta Region: Proportion Urban and Annual Growth Rate, 1960-2010

	Urban proportion					Annual urban growth rate			
	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010	1960/1970	1970/1984	1984/2000	2000/ 2010
All Regions	23.1	28.9	32.0	43.8	50.9	4.7	3.3	4.6	4.2
Volta	13.1	16.0	20.5	27.0	33.7	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.9

Source: GSS (2012; 2013b)

13. The results of the 2010 Population and Housing census indicated that the Volta Region is a net out-migration region, that is, more people migrate from the region than those who come in (GSS, 2013b). According to GSS (2013b, 85), the data indicate that a net total of 535,671 people have migrated from the region to other regions. The report adds that out-migration flow and its volume and direction give some indications of the state of socio-economic development in the Volta Region. For a sending region such as the Volta Region, some of the negative consequences of out-migration include loss of many of its educated and productive workers. This loss of the more educated and youthful population leaves behind the uneducated and less educated and the aged population (GSS, 2013b, 86).
14. The economy of the region consists of a relatively small manufacturing sector, (salt) mining and quarrying, wholesale and retail trade, and tourism. In general, the economy of southern Volta is dominated by the fishing industry, farming, manufacturing and the hospitality industry whilst the northern part is mainly agricultural based. However, ‘agriculture, fishing, hunting and forestry and related work are the dominant economic activities in the region and the major sources of employment for the economically active population’ (GSS, 2013b, 4). GSS (2013b, 4) adds that:

“The region has substantial agricultural resources, which include large expanses of land of which an estimated 1,028,500 hectares is suitable for the cultivation of crops and rearing of animals. Currently only 29.0 percent of the total arable land of the region is under cultivation. The major agricultural products include cocoa and staples such as maize, rice, sorghum, cassava, yam, cocoyam and plantain.”
15. The northern part of the Volta Region was formerly a major cocoa growing area, especially the districts of Hohoe, Jasikan, Kadjebi and Nkwanta. However, cocoa production has declined over the years, contributing to deprivation of rural agriculture households in the northern part of the region. Nevertheless, the Volta Region, especially

the northern part, remains a major food basket for the production of yam and other cereals.

16. Huge potential exist in the region for irrigated agricultural production. The presence in the region of the Volta River and the Volta Lake as well as major rivers such as River Oti provide a good potential for large scale irrigation farming and all-year farming. In addition, potentials exist for inland fishing.
17. According to GSS (2013b, 6), ‘the Volta Region has untapped tourism potential capable of transforming the region’s economy and its overall contribution to national income when fully developed’. Some of the key tourist sites in the region yet to be fully exploited for the purposes of creating jobs, wealth and overall regional and national development include:

“Amedzofe Mountain, Tagbo Falls near Hohoe, Tafi Atome Monkey Sanctuary and Xavi Bird Watching Sanctuary. Other areas marked for tourism development include the Wli Waterfalls in the Hohoe District, the Kpetoe Kente Village, Adaklu Mountain eco-tourism sites both in the Adaklu-Anyigbe District, Shari Hilltop Unique Village in the Nkwanta District and Bowiri Lacham Village in the Jasikan District” (GSS, 2013b, 6).

18. In addition, numerous traditional festivals and other cultural events are celebrated across the length and breadth of the region. These include Yam festival of the Asogli state (Ho and its environs); Hogbetsotso celebrated by the chiefs and people of Angloa; Akwantuteten by Akans of Worawora; Amu (Rice) festival by Avatime traditional area and; Agbamevoza (Kente) festival of the people of Agotime.

5.3 Approach and Methodology

19. The Commission adopted qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analysis data on the Volta Region. The qualitative method was used to enable the Commission assess the realities and issues from the local settings and perspectives. The quantitative methods were used to help organise information with basic statistical tools like charts, graphs and descriptive statistics. The Commission also relied on secondary data from various sources for its analysis. The secondary data relied upon included information on roads, educational facilities, health facilities, population demographics and economic indicators.
20. The Commission commenced its work by studying the petition submitted by the Joint Consultative Committee on behalf of the Chiefs and people of the proposed Oti Region to His Excellence Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the President of Ghana. Following this, the Commission met with the petitioners at the Osu Castle on the 21st November, 2017.
21. The Commission undertook a consultative tour of the Volta Region from the 15th to 20th February, 2018. The meetings were as follows: a meeting with the Regional

Coordinating Council; meeting with the Regional House of Chiefs; meetings with DCEs and courtesy calls on Paramount Chiefs of Kete Krachi, Nkwanta, Buem, Kadjebi; unscheduled public interactions at Dambai, Dapaa Junction and Ahamansu Junction. The Commission held public hearings in the regional capital, Ho and selected district capitals. Five public hearings were held by the Commission in the region to obtain views from the public on the proposed new region. Participants at the public hearing came from a cross section of society including traditional, religious and political leaders, farmers, teachers, nurses, representative of associations and retired persons.

22. A total of 4,759 participants at the public hearings in the Volta region registered. However not all the people present registered, headcount was used to estimate the number of participants. Across the region 18,729 people were counted at the venues listed above. The Commission also relied on secondary data from various sources for its analysis.

5.4 Analysis of Public Hearings and Thematic Areas

23. This section of the report is an analysis of the thematic areas which emerged from the Commission's consultations with petitioners during meetings in Accra and the public hearings held in the Volta Region. It also discusses analysis of participation at the public hearings in the Volta Region.

5.4.1 Analysis of Participation at the Public Hearings

24. The public interactions and consultations in the Volta Region attracted participants from adjoining towns and districts. During the Commission's tour, it had unscheduled meetings at Dambai, Dapaa Junction and Ahamansu Junction for public interactions with the Chiefs and people. From Table 5.3, the public hearings with the highest attendance was Jasikan with registered participant of 1,552 and a head count of 7,782. The number of participants in the regional capital, Ho, was relatively lower than that of the districts located in the proposed region because of apathy and the fact that they are not affected directly by the issues raised by the petitioners.

Table 5.3: Details of Participation at the Volta Region Public Hearings

Date	District	Location	Venue	Registered Participants	Participant head count
16th Jan 2018	Ho Municipal	Ho	Ho Technical University	345	402
17 th Jan 2018	Krachi West	Kete Krachi	Kete Krachi Senior High	685	1,798
18 th Jan 2018	Nkwanta South	Nkwanta	Nkwanta Senior High	1,065	5,775
19 th Jan 2018	Nkwanta North	Kpassa	Kpassa Senior High Tech	1,112	2,972
20 th Jan 2018	Jasikan	Jasikan	Roman Catholic Church	1,552	7,782
Total				4,759	18,729

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

25. In terms of gender, more males attended the public hearings across the region than females. About 29 percent of registered participants at the public hearings were female whilst 71 percent of registered participants were males. Jasikan recorded the highest participation of registered females of 661 representing about 42.6 percent of all registered participants (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Registered Participants of Public Hearings in Volta Region

Location						
Sex	Ho	Kete-Krachi	Nkwanta	Kpassa	Jasikan	Total
Male	318	560	686	929	891	3,384
Female	27	125	379	183	661	1,375
Total	345	685	1,065	1,112	1,552	4,759

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

26. In all, 154 participants at the public hearings in the Volta Region made contributions. Of this number, 87.7 percent were males and 12.3 percent were females. Table 5.5 shows the proportion of participants (males and females) who spoke at the public hearings in favour and those who had divergent views.

Table 5.5: Views of Participants at Public hearings per Gender

Location	“Yes”			“No”			Total	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Yes	No
Ho	8	1	9	8	1	9	9	9
Kete-Krachi	34	5	39	0	0	0	39	0
Nkwanta	30	5	35	0	0	0	35	0
Kpassa	27	3	30	0	0	0	30	0
Jasikan (Nsuta)	31	5	36	0	0	0	36	0
Total	130	19	149	8	1	9	149	9

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

27. With the exception of Ho, all participants who spoke at the public hearings in Kete-Krachi, Nkwanta, Kpassa, and Jasikan spoke in support of the creation of a new region out of the Northern part of the Volta Region. At the public hearing held at Ho, 50 percent of the participants spoke in support of the creation of the new region and 50 percent held dissenting views.

5.4.2 Analysis of Thematic Areas

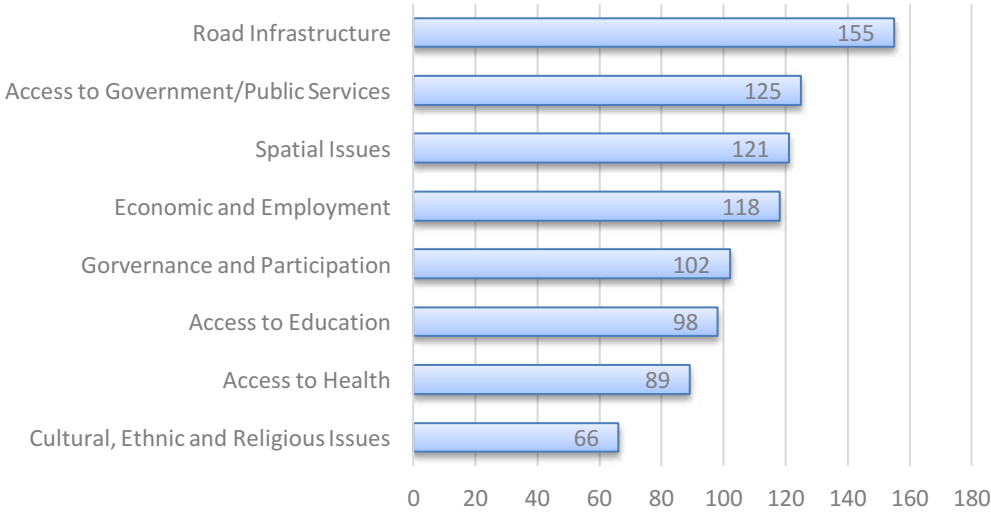
- 28. This section of the report presents an analysis of issues arising from the Commission’s consultations with the petitioners and other stakeholders during the meetings in Accra and the Volta Region. The issues have been categorized into eight thematic areas for ease of analysis.
- 29. The public hearings in the Volta Region elicited eight thematic issues which were road infrastructure needs, spatial issues, access to government and public services, access to education, access to health, cultural, ethnic and religious issues, governance and participation and economic and employment issues (Table 5.6 and Figure 5.3).

Table 5.6: Thematic Issues covered at Public Hearings

Thematic Issue	Ho		Kete-Krachi		Nkwanta		Kpassa		Nsuta		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spatial issues	14	14.6	25	13.1	33	14.8	23	12.8	26	14.1	121	13.8
Access to govt. & public services	16	16.7	29	15.2	35	15.7	17	9.5	28	15.1	125	14.3
Road Infrastructure	13	13.5	34	17.8	33	14.8	43	24.0	32	17.3	155	17.7
Access to education	8	8.3	16	8.4	31	13.9	23	12.8	20	10.8	98	11.2
Access to health	10	10.4	18	9.9	19	8.5	18	10.0	24	13.0	89	10.2
Cultural, ethnic & religious issues	12	12.5	18	9.9	15	6.7	11	6.1	10	5.4	66	7.6
Empowerment & participation	12	12.5	24	12.6	27	12.1	17	9.5	22	11.9	102	11.7
Economic & employment	11	11.5	27	14.1	30	13.5	27	15.1	23	12.4	118	13.5
Total	96	100.0	191	100.0	223	100.0	179	100.0	185	100.0	874	100.0

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Figure 5.3: Composite of Thematic issues from the Volta Region



Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

30. There were 874 contributions at the public hearings and out of this, the most raised thematic issue was road infrastructure. This was raised 115 times and rated 17.7%, followed by access to government and public services with a frequency of 125 (14.3%), spatial issues were raised 121 times (13.8%). In order of frequency, the rest were economic and employment, 118 times; empowerment and participation 102

times; access to education 98 times; access to health 89 times; and cultural, ethnic and religious issues 66 times.

31. The Nkwanta public hearing had the highest number of contributions (223) and the least recorded was at Ho (96). In terms of concerns raised at the various venues, access to government and public services were the most frequently raised issue at Ho. At Keta-Krachi, road infrastructure was the most raised, emerging 34 times out the total 191 number of frequency of all the thematic issues raised whilst the least raised issue was access to health, 18 out of the 191. At Nkwanta, access to government and public services was the highest thematic issues raised with 35 out of the total 223 while cultural, ethnic and religious issues accounted for the least with 15 out the total 223. At Kpassa, access to government and public services was ranked first, this thematic issue was raised 43 out of the total of 179 frequencies at Kpassa while cultural, ethnic and religious issues was the least raised, 11 times (See Table 5.6).
32. At Jasikan, the most raised thematic issue was road infrastructure with 32 times out of the 185-total frequency of all the thematic issues while cultural, ethnic and religious issue was the least raised with 10 out of the 185-total frequency of thematic issues.

5.4.3 Spatial Extent of the Volta Region

33. As captured in Table 5.6, spatial issues ranked as the third major theme raised at the public hearings. Spatial issues relate to the distances between the districts and the regional capital and the elongated nature of the region in terms of the farthest points from the north to south. As a public servant at the public hearing at Nkwanta noted, *“teachers and other government workers are often required to go to Ho [regional capital] and can spend more than two days traveling to and from the regional capital. As such, we lose a lot of working hours just by travelling to the regional capital.”*
34. The elongated nature of the Volta Region is compounded by the geographical barriers imposed by high mountain ranges and vast expanses of large water bodies such as the Lake Volta and the Oti, Asukawkaw and Wawa Rivers. These conditions make a number of districts and sections of the population in the northern part of the region too far away from accessing services in the regional capital, Ho, a fact strongly emphasized at the public hearings in the region as well as the petition document submitted to the Commission. For instance, the petition document notes on p. 8 as follows; *“Ho to Jasikan, Nkwanta and Kete-Krachi are respectively 130km, 244km, and 388km. These long distances, compounded by bad roads, keep government officials too removed from the people they are expected to serve.”*
35. Table 5.7 provides the details of the computed distance and travel times between district capitals in the Volta Region, and the regional capital, Ho. The Table shows that while many of the district capitals in southern Volta Region have relatively shorter travelling time and distances to the regional capital, the story is different with respect to many district capitals in the northern Volta Region (Oti Region). For district capitals such as

Kete-Krachi, Kpassa and Chindri – all in the proposed Oti Region with distances of over 200 km to the regional capitals, the travel time is well over 5 hours.

Table 5.7: Distances and Travel Times from Regional Capital to District Capitals

<i>No.</i>	<i>Districts</i>	<i>District Capital</i>	<i>Distance to Regional Capital</i>	<i>Travel Time</i>
<i>Southern part of the Volta Region</i>				
1	Agotime Ziope	Kpetoe	23.6 km	28 min
2	Akatsi South	Akatsi	82.7 km	1 hr 30 min
3	Anlo Keta Municipality	Keta	132 km	1 hr 56 min
4	Kpando	Kpando	66.7 km	1 hr 24 min
5	South Dayi	Kpeve New Town	32.2 km	44 min
6	Ho Municipality	Ho	00 km	00 min
7	Hohoe Municipality	Hohoe	78.6 km	1 hr 52 min
8	Ketu South	Denu	108 km	2 hrs 5 min
9	Central Tongu	Adidome	63.7 km	53 min
10	South Tongu	Sogakope	89.36 km	1 hr 16 min
11	Ketu North	Dzodze	80.8km	1 hr 30 min
12	Afadzato South	VeGolokwati	56.6 km	1 hr 6 min
13	Adaklu	Adaklu Waya	19.9 km	21 min
14	Akatsi North	Ave Dakpa	58.7 km	1 hr 2 min
15	Ho West	Dzolokpuita	27.26 km	31 min
16	North Dayi	Anfoega	52.9 km	1 hr 23 min
17	North Tongu	Battor Dugame	198 km	3 hrs 31 min
<i>Proposed Oti Region</i>				
1	Jasikan	Jasikan	111 km	2 hrs 37 min
2	Kadjebi	Kadjebi	126 km	3 hrs 4 min
3	Krachi East	Dambai	172 km	3 hrs 23 min
4	Krachi West	Kete Krachi	296 km	5 hrs 36 min
5	Nkwanta South	Nkwanta	212 km	4 hrs 22 min
6	Biakoye	Nkonya Ahenkro	87.8 km	1 hr 50 min
7	Nkwanta North	Kpassa	248 km	5 hrs 21 min
8	Krachi Nchumuru	Chindiri	262 km	5 hrs 6 min

Source: Compiled from www.distances.com/ <https://distancecalculator.globefeed.com>
(Accessed on Feb., 2018)

36. The challenges posed by the spatial extent of the region as raised at the public hearings have implications for access to the higher level services such as hospital, education and other public services and facilities located at the regional capital, Ho. Furthermore, the spatial issues have implications for the region's residents' perception about access to government and the extent to which they feel the presence of government in their daily activities.

37. Given that specialized and other tertiary services such as referral health services are located in the regional capital, Ho, emergency cases are unlikely to be adequately attended to in cases where 3-5 or more hours are needed to be spent before reaching these services. Even for non-emergency health cases such as teachers and other non-emergency government workers attending meetings and other official engagements in Ho, a lot of man-hours are spent by way of travelling to and from the regional capital.
38. The obvious solutions to the problems posed by distance is to supply these tertiary or higher-order services and facilities closer to the citizens of northern Volta Region through the creation of a region and the establishment of a regional administrative centre with these services and facilities. In addition, such an initiative provides an opportunity to reorganize the distribution of public services and facilities to better serve the needs of the citizens of this part of the Volta Region. Furthermore, this will ease, considerably, the existing pressure on services located in Ho, which currently serve the whole of the region.

5.4.4 Road Infrastructure

39. Road infrastructure was ranked as the most frequent theme or issue raised at the public hearings in the Region. This relates largely to the poor road network and surface condition which compound the travel time and distances, as well as the costs of travel. The challenges with the existing road infrastructure, particularly in the northern part of the Volta Region, is further compounded by the elongated nature of the region and the difficulties imposed by the numerous large water bodies as well as the mountain ranges as indicated earlier.
40. The challenges of accessibility and transport have long bedeviled the northern part of the Volta Region, a situation which is well documented even in archival and historical records (see Bening, 1999, 41-50). Writing on the challenges encountered by the British in the administration of the Kete-Krachi district in the early part of the 1900, Bening (1999, 41) notes as that:

“As the British began to consolidate their administration in the mandated territory, it soon became obvious that with no direct road or telephone link between Kete-Krachi and Kumasi, the Krachi District could not be effectively supervised from the Ashanti capital. The only motorable road that passed through the district was north-south even then, Kete-Krachi was almost cut off from Kpando and Ho by several unbridged and difficult river crossings. The effective link between Krachi and the Gold Coast, therefore, was through the Protectorate via Yendi. Consequently, the Governor, the Colonial Secretary and the Chief Commissioners of Ashanti and the Northern Territories all agreed that in view of the poor transport and communication facilities between Krachi and Kumasi, the most convenient solution of the whole matter was to put all the Kete-Krachi District under the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories.”

41. Thus, although the British colonial administration had deemed it fit on the basis of closeness of cultural and linguistic characteristics to put the whole of the Kete-Krachi District which is basically made up of the present northern part of the Volta Region under the Ashanti territory, poor road infrastructure made this impossible. Consequently, it was made part of the Northern Territories and subsequently following the plebiscite of 1956 and the attainment of independence, it was made part of the Volta Region.
42. According to the World Bank (2015), though Ghana's national road network is comprehensive, however, significant investments are required to expand and maintain the existing network to improve connectivity among towns and cities and other settlements. AICD (2010) adds that significant investments are required to improve accessibility between rural areas and towns in Ghana, as only 25 percent of rural dwellers are said to have access to all weather road within 2km, well below the average of 60 percent for middle-income countries in Africa.
43. While the overall regional and national road infrastructure remain poor, there are significant intra-regional differences that need attention, a key basis for the demand for the creation of a new region out of the existing Volta Region by the petitioners. At all the various platforms provided by the Commission for interactions with the petitioners, chiefs, Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) and the people of the Volta Region, poor road infrastructure featured as a major topic for discussion. As a former Regional Minister and a Member for Parliament (MP) noted *"when you tour the Eastern Region it is easier, but it is very difficult to tour the whole of the Volta Region due to the poor nature of the roads and distances between towns."*
44. Data from the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA) indicates that as of March 2018, the Volta Region had a total trunk road network of 1405.3km made up of 147.3km asphaltic surface, 991.7km surface treated and 266.3km gravel surface (Table 5.8). While the Commission was unable to obtain a detailed breakdown of the data per districts despite several requests to GHA, at public hearings in Kete-Krachi, Nkwanta, Kpassa and Jasikan (Buem), a representative of the petitioners, in presenting a summary of the petition to make a case for the creation of the Oti Region among other considerations noted that *there are 585 kilometres of tarred roads in the whole of the Volta Region. Out of this number, 425 kilometres or 72 percent of the tarred roads are in the south while 165 kilometres or 28 percent are in the Oti area.*

Table 5.8: Trunk Road Network in Volta Region and three other Regions

Region	Road Areas	Asphalt (km)	Surface treated (km)	Gravel (km)	Total Length (km)
Brong-Ahafo	Sunyani, Goaso, Kintampo, Atebubu	406.8	886.1	707.2	2000.1
Northern	Tamale, Yendi, Sawla, Gambaga	311.3	755.8	1871.7	2938.8
Volta	Ho, Hohoe, Keta	147.3	991.7	266.3	1405.3
Western	Takoradi, Sefwi, Wiawso, Tarkwa	410.0	518.1	724.2	1652.30

Source: Ghana Highway Authority, Head Office, Accra, March 2018

45. Also at the public hearing at Ho Technical University, Ho, the capital of the Volta Region, an MP and a former Volta Regional Director of the GHA, noted that *“this proposed new region will be good for us [North Volta/Oti Region] in terms of development.... Some towns such as Ho and Hohoe have had their roads asphalted but not even one metre of asphalted road has been given to the north [Oti Region]”*.
46. Table 5.8 indicates that the Volta Region is divided into three zones/road areas for the purposes of the administration by the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA), namely Ho, Hohoe and Keta. The proposed Oti Region made up of eight districts which constitute more than about 58 percent of the total land area of the Volta Region is administered by the Hohoe Road Area of the GHA in addition to the areas around Hohoe while the remaining areas of the region is split between the Keta and Ho Road Areas.
47. It is plausible to argue that the administration of the large part of the region (Oti Region) from Hohoe partly account for the disparity between the road infrastructure in the north and south of the Volta Region. This is maybe largely due to constraints imposed by logistics, ineffective monitoring and supervision, and GHA being far removed and detached from local realities as a results of the distance from Hohoe and the northern part of the region. Indeed, anecdotal evidence plus direct observation by the Commission during its travels through the region reveal disparity between the trunk roads in the southern part of the Volta Region and those of the northern part.
48. The poor road conditions in northern Volta compared to the south was confirmed by a Regional Director of GHA, during the Commission’s interactions with the Volta Regional Coordinating Council, he remarked that:

“The road network in the proposed Oti Region is one of the poorest in Ghana and cannot be compared to roads in the remaining part of the Volta Region which are relatively better. This affects the ability of the Ghana Highway Authority in the performance of its duties. However, I am optimistic that the creation of the new region will ensure the effective maintenance of roads and expand the rate of road network infrastructure in the area [northern Volta Region).... The Highway Area Manager travels about 200 kilometres from Hohoe to the north and 300 kilometres from Ho to the north to supervise projects.”

49. The deplorable road conditions in northern Volta relative to the southern part was confirmed by several regional officers present at the VRCC meeting. A Regional Director of Agriculture, stated that:

“The northern part of the region is deprived as compared to the southern parts. The north has a huge potential which has still not been fully harnessed. The road network in the north is bad and affects agricultural production from the area. Also, it is difficult to move from Ho to the north because of the deplorable nature of the roads. This makes supervision very difficult.”

50. A participant at the public forum in Kpassa, a farmer and a radio presenter, comparing the poor nature of roads in the northern part of the Volta Region relative to the south adds that *“when travelling from Kpassa and I reach Hohoe, I always ask myself if the northern part of the Volta Region is actually part of Ghana. This is because when I reach my hometown [Kpassa] I literally have to dive into the Kpassa River before my people will be able to identify me as our roads are very dusty.”*
51. At a public hearing at the Kete-Krachi Senior Secondary School, a contributor stated that *“as a public servant if you are attending a meeting in Ho from northern Volta, it sometimes takes days because of the bad nature of the roads. And after the meeting you need to find accommodation in Ho before returning to your duty post the next day”*. Indeed, this situation has cost implications not only for the individuals concerned but costs in terms of lost productivity at the workplace.
52. Among the many challenges that the poor road infrastructure posed the challenge of transporting the sick, especially during emergency situations, was well-highlighted by various contributors at the Public Hearings. For instance, a Chief at Nkwanta Public Hearing stated that *“four hours is spent to cover a distance that could have been covered in an hour. It is challenging transporting a sick person from this area to the referral hospital at Ho. Our road network is bad and therefore we waste time in travelling. People die on the way when in transit for emergency medical care to the [regional] capital.”*
53. Given the critical importance of regions in terms of investment decisions on selection of roads to be constructed and the direct connection between the level of road infrastructure and socio-economic development, a recommendation for the creation of a region is expected to improve feeder and urban road networks to enhance connectivity between settlements within the proposed region and the rest of Ghana. The idea is to create an enclave or region whereby regional administrators and decision-makers with good understanding of the regional context will pay particular attention to the local and regional road networks. In the long term, the goal of improving road infrastructure is to facilitate the establishment of the right environment to support agricultural production and the development of new growth poles to enhance employment creation and income generation opportunities to address regional inequalities.

54. Furthermore, the creation of the new region, Oti Region, addresses the challenges of elongated nature of the present administrative region and the associated challenges of accessibility to the services in the regional capital, Ho. In particular, it is likely to reduce substantially the travel distance between the northern most tip of the region and any selected regional administrative centre in the proposed region.
55. Finally, the creation of the region will bring government and governance closer to the people. As the petition document dated June 1, 2017 notes *“we do not have easy access to the institutions of Government.... At the same time the distance between Ho (the regional capital) and the major towns in the proposed region is 100 kilometres. For instance, Ho to Jasikan, Nkwanta and Kete-Krachi are respectively 130km, 244km, and 338km. These long distances, compounded by bad roads, keep government officials too removed from the people they are expected to serve.”*

5.4.5 Access to Government and Public Services

56. Although much of Ghana’s economy and development in general have a strong private sector presence, the public sector is required to drive all development. As such a strong public sector presence and access of citizens to government and public services is critical to the well-being of individuals, households and businesses. This situation partly accounts for the concentrated development around regional capitals, and apparent neglect of other parts of the regions due to the weak presence of the public sector and the state in general in these areas.
57. Petitioners and participants at the various public hearings in the Volta Region drew the attention of the Commission to the difficulties encountered by residents in the proposed new region in accessing government and public services. These issues were raised 125 times and representing 14.3 percent of the total contributions made at the public hearings in the Volta Region. The difficulty in accessing government and public services was mainly attributed to the location of these services in the region; that is, these services are provided in areas close to the regional capital. Several participants at the public hearings in the proposed region, expressed a general sense of alienation and expressed sentiments that implied that they were excluded from services all citizens of the Republic of Ghana are entitled to receive from government. These services included essential services such as Fire Service, Courts, Immigration, Registrar General, Public Health Care Facilities, Basic, Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions, Judicial Service, Passport office, Driver and Vehicle Licencing Authority (DVLA), and state and privately owned utility service providers.

5.4.5.1 Access to Basic, Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions

58. A key issue raised by participants to support their demand for the creation of a new region out of the Volta Region at the public hearings focused on the lack of access to education at the secondary and tertiary levels. Participants described a situation where the standard and quality of secondary educational institutions were below the standards

of what was available in southern Volta. They argued that the poor quality education in that part of the region was as a result of a number of factors including lack of teachers, teaching materials and poor infrastructure.

59. Another factor which was identified as impacting negatively on education in the northern part of the Volta Region is the refusal of teachers to accept postings to that part of the region due to the general poor infrastructure and services. During the Commission's interactions with the Volta Regional Coordinating Council at Ho, a Deputy Regional Director of Education stated the following:

“Teachers refuse to accept postings to the northern part of the Volta Region for several reasons.... There are currently five Colleges of Education in the Volta Region, two are located in the north, one in Dambai and another in Jasikan. Of the existing Training Colleges located in the north, Dambai in Krachi East was under staffed as teachers posted to the College were reluctant to stay there.”

60. In addition, several participants stated that there was no public university or polytechnic, or any tertiary educational institution in the proposed region, except the two public Colleges of Education at Dambai and Jasikan. This situation in their view affects the development of human resources and the prospects of attaining employment by the youth. At the public forum in Kpassa, a Teacher stated as follows:

“When the people of the Volta Region were promised a University, we were happy and this promise was fulfilled with the establishment of the University of Health and Allied Sciences. However, we were expecting that when the University of Health and Allied Sciences was established in Ho, one of the faculties at least would have been situated in the northern part of the Volta Region. But this has not been done. The University faculty was rather sent to Hohoe which is located in the southern part of the Volta Region to the neglect of the northern part of the Volta region. When the University of Development Studies was established by Lt. J. J. Rawlings in the early 90s, all the traditional leaders of the north agreed to have different faculties of the University in various parts of the area. Thus, the University's administration is in Tamale, with other campuses in Wa, Navrongo and Nankpala and this has brought development to the area. The creation of the region would ensure that we also have the opportunity to have the needed educational infrastructure to enhance education in the area.”

61. Article 25 (1) of the 1992 Constitution guarantees all Ghanaians the right to equal education opportunities and facilities at basic, secondary (including technical and vocational education) and tertiary levels. It also mandates government to ensure equal access to all citizens to the various forms of secondary education, namely Technical, Vocational and Senior High Schools. In addition, Article 38 (1) of the 1992 Constitution mandates the state to provide educational facilities at all levels and in all regions of Ghana and should to the greatest extent possible, make these facilities available to all citizens.

Table 5.9: Distribution of Basic and Senior High Schools in the Volta Region

District	No. of Basic Schools			No. of Senior High Schools		
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
Southern part of the Volta Region						
Agotime Ziope	10	46	56	2	0	2
Akatsi South	117	27	144	1	0	1
Anlo Keta Municipality	97	34	131	9	0	9
Kpando	54	19	73	4	0	4
South Dayi	52	25	77	4	0	4
Ho Municipality	126	51	177	8	0	8
Hohoe Municipality	104	28	132	10	0	10
Ketu South	81	61	142	4	0	4
Central Tongu	107	18	125	2	0	2
South Tongu	115	40	155	4	0	4
Ketu North	75	15	90	4	0	4
Afadzato South	80	11	91	4	0	4
Adaklu	44	2	46	1	0	1
Akatsi North	41	5	46	2	0	2
Ho West	117	15	132	7	0	7
North Dayi	53	4	57	3	0	3
North Tongu	98	33	131	5	0	5
Sub-total	1,371	434	1,805	74	0	74
As % of Total for Region	67.2	77.2	69.3	77.9	0.0	77.9
Proposed Oti Region						
Jasikan	71	12	83	4	0	4
Kadjebi	83	17	100	3	0	3
Krachi East	91	11	102	3	0	3
Krachi West	65	5	70	2	0	2
Nkwanta South	100	16	116	3	0	3
Biakoye	101	26	127	4	0	4
Nkwanta North	68	17	85	1	0	1
Krachi Nchumuru	92	24	116	1	0	1
Sub-total	671	128	799	21	0	21
As % Total for Region	32.8	22.8	30.7	22.1	0.0	22.1
Grand total (Volta Region)	2,042	562	2,604	95	0	95

Source: Received from Ghana Education Service, Accra, 2018

62. Table 5.9 provides the distribution of basic and senior high schools in the Volta Region. In all, there are 2,699 public and private basic and Senior High Schools (SHSs) in the Volta Region. Of the 2,604 basic schools, 2,042 are public and 562 are private. Northern Volta, that is, proposed Oti Region accounts for 32.8 percent and 22.8 percent respectively of the public and private basic schools. While the number of basic schools may generally be seen as adequate, the main concerns expressed at the public fora

were the challenges of inadequate teachers, poor school infrastructure and logistics as highlighted in some of the above quotes.

63. For senior high schools, Table 5.9 shows that all the SHSs in the Volta Region are public-owned. Of the 95 SHSs, 74 (about 78%) can be found in southern Volta Region while 21 representing about 22 percent are located in the proposed Oti Region. The petitioners highlighted and argued in both their written and oral presentations that given the size and population of the northern part of the Volta Region, the present number of SHSs in that part of the region is inadequate and unfair. On p.7 of the petition document to the Commission titled “Petition for the Creation of a Region for the Northern Part of the Volta Region under Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution: The 5th Petition,” it states that “...*there are many blocks of communities with large youthful population without Senior High Schools to attend. There are no agricultural colleges or vocational institutions in the area. A population of over 700,000 people has no university.*”
64. Not only were the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings not pleased with the number of SHSs in the proposed Oti Region but they were also not satisfied with the quality of SHS education. They note that all the best schools in terms of pass rate, infrastructure and qualified teachers are located in southern Volta Region. A contributor at the public forum in Kpassa, Nkwanta North District, summed up this view as follows:
- “With the coming of the Computerized Placement System, senior secondary schools have been categorized into three. We have the Option 1 Schools, Option 2 and Option 3 schools. If you come to the Volta Region, the Option 1 schools include Ola Senior High in Ho Municipality and Awudome Senior High which is also in the Ho municipality. Apart from that, we also have Keta Senior High in the Keta Municipality. If you come to the Kpando Municipality, we also have Kpando Senior High, and Bishop Herman College. All these schools I have mentioned which form the Option 1 Schools in the Volta Region are located in the south. The Option 2 Schools, we only have 2 in the northern part of the Volta Region, namely Kadjebi Senior High School and Bueman Senior High School.”*
65. Participants and petitioners at the public hearings in the Volta Region also spoke about the provision of educational services in the region by the Catholic Church and EP Church. In particular, they lamented the inability of the churches to provide good schools in the northern part of the region as they have done in the south. Sentiments expressed by participants at the fora were allegations of a concerted effort to deny the people of the northern Volta Region of secondary education by the church. A traditional ruler at the Kete-Krachi public hearings summed up the sentiments as follows: “*Most of the Senior High Schools in the Volta Region were established by the Roman Catholic and Evangelical Presbyterian Church and are situated in the south and not in the north. I think it was a deliberate effort by them [churches] not to let us have good education and to develop.*”

66. To validate the views on gap in access to education between the southern part of the Volta Region and the northern part, the Commission examined the data on literacy derived from the 2010 Population and Housing Census Report of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) (see Table 5.9). The Table shows that in general, there are low levels of literacy in the districts of the proposed region in comparison to the districts in southern Volta Region. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census report as captured in Table 5.9, Ho Municipality had the lowest illiteracy rate (12.4%), followed by Hohoe (13.6%) and South Dayi (19.0%) – all in the southern Volta Region.
67. The highest illiteracy levels were found in Nkwanta North (74.2%), Krachi West (58.8%), Nkwanta South (52.8%) and Krachi East (50.9%) – all in northern Volta Region. These high levels of illiteracy recorded in these districts and the average of 45.6 percent for the districts in northern Volta (Oti Region) can be contrasted with the regional average (All districts) of 29.3 percent and 24.6 percent for the districts in southern Volta Region. Similar observation can be deduced from Table 5.10 regarding literacy rate between southern and northern Volta Region for “English language only”, “Ghanaian language only and English and Ghanaian language only”. In all cases females are worse off.

Table 5.10: Literacy levels for persons 15 years and older by District

Districts	Not Literate			English language only			Ghanaian Language only			English & Ghana. Language only		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Southern part of the Volta Region												
South Tongu	29.5	6.8	22.7	7.9	3.4	4.4	12.2	4.8	7.4	49.7	27.4	22.3
Keta Municipal	27.7	6.4	21.3	4.1	1.8	2.4	13.8	6.0	7.8	53.5	29.3	24.2
Ketu South	31.0	8.0	23.0	7.7	3.8	3.9	9.3	4.0	5.3	49.3	27.4	21.9
Ketu North	34.0	8.0	26.1	4.7	2.0	2.6	12.4	5.8	6.6	48.2	27.5	20.7
Akatsi	34.1	8.3	25.8	3.0	1.4	1.7	12.6	5.7	6.9	49.6	27.4	22.2
North Tongu	29.8	8.5	21.2	8.0	3.8	4.2	11.8	5.0	6.8	49.9	27.8	22.1
Adaklu Anyigbe	23.8	7.6	16.2	4.8	2.5	2.4	17.1	7.4	9.7	52.6	28.9	23.6
Ho Municipal	12.4	3.2	9.1	6.8	3.2	3.6	16.1	5.7	10.4	62.9	32.8	30.1
South Dayi	19.0	5.5	13.5	7.9	3.6	4.3	14.2	5.1	9.1	58.1	30.9	27.2
North Dayi	16.2	4.7	11.5	8.3	3.9	4.4	15.4	5.2	10.2	59.0	31.1	27.9
Hohoe Municipal	13.6	4.1	9.5	7.5	3.5	3.9	16.4	5.7	10.7	60.8	32.2	28.6
Sub-total	24.6	6.5	18.2	6.4	3.0	3.4	13.7	5.5	8.3	54.0	29.3	24.6
Proposed Oti Region												
Biakoye	26.2	9.4	16.7	15.1	7.7	7.4	10.2	4.3	5.9	47.7	26.9	20.8
Jasikan	25.5	8.4	17.1	16.2	8.2	8.0	10.4	4.0	6.4	46.2	26.3	19.9
Kadjebi	29.4	10.2	19.2	14.2	7.9	6.3	8.3	3.6	4.7	46.1	27.0	19.2
Krachi East	50.9	22.8	28.1	18.6	10.1	8.4	4.8	2.5	2.3	25.1	15.6	9.5
Krachi West	58.8	25.3	33.5	17.1	9.5	7.6	2.7	1.4	1.3	21.1	13.2	7.9
Nkwanta South	52.8	21.1	31.7	14.7	8.0	6.6	3.5	1.6	1.9	28.3	17.4	10.9
Nkwanta North	74.2	32.5	41.7	15.9	9.9	6.0	1.5	0.8	0.7	7.9	5.4	2.5
Sub-total	45.6	18.5	26.8	16.0	8.7	7.2	5.9	2.6	3.3	31.8	18.8	12.9
All districts (Volta)	29.3	9.6	19.7	9.0	4.6	4.5	11.7	4.7	7.1	48.7	26.8	21.9

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013b)

68. Table 5.10 seems to suggest that the farther a district is away from the regional capital, the higher the level of illiteracy. This observation reflects the distance-effects of development as noted by the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings that seem to suggest that development thins out as one moves farther and farther away from the regional capital. It also reinforces the observation made by the Commission as it travelled through the region – development thins out the farther one moves away from the regional capital, Ho.
69. Article 25(1)(b) of the 1992 Constitution also obligates government to ensure that functional literacy is encouraged or intensified as far as possible in all regions. However, data provided by the Ghana Statistical Service and contained in Table 5.9 confirms the assertions made at the public hearings that access to education in the proposed new region lags far behind districts in the southern part of the Volta Region. Indeed, Table 5.9 shows that whilst the average of the ‘not literate’ for the whole of southern Volta Region stood at 24.6 percent; 29.3 percent for the whole of the Volta Region (and 25.9 percent as the national average), the average for the Oti Region was 45.6 percent. These averages tend to be worse-off for females in all cases as earlier noted.
70. A participant at the public hearing in Kete Krachi also added that the difficulty in accessing education in the area and improving literacy was compounded by the fact that they were the last in the region to obtain information on educational opportunities offered by government to residents of the region. *“Today we hear something called scholarships, before our children will be informed about the scholarship and apply, it would be finished. But we are very brilliant.”*

5.4.5.2 Access to Health Care Facilities

71. The issues raised by participants at the public hearings relating to health care provision in the proposed region focused on the availability, quality of facility and standard of service delivery. Across the proposed region, participants at the public hearings indicated that the state of health care facilities in the region was deplorable coupled with poor service delivery and difficulty in accessing quality health care in the region. The issue of access to health care was raised 89 times representing 10.2 percent of the total contributions from participants in the proposed new region.
72. Table 5.11 provides information on the distribution of health and healthcare facilities in the Volta Region. The data obtained from the Ghana Health Service (GHS) confirms assertions made by participants and petitioners of the uneven distribution of health facilities in the proposed new region. Even though the proposed Oti Region has eight districts, it has a land area of almost half of the Volta Region and about a third of the total population of the region. Consequently, the number of health facilities located in the northern part of the Volta Region, especially hospitals, are likely to be far apart and out of the reach of a large section of the population. Even for Community-Based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) Compounds, a facility located in deprived areas, the proposed region has 23 percent compared to 77 percent in the southern districts.

Table 5.11: Distribution of Health Facilities per District in the Volta Region

District	CHPS Compound	Clinic	Health Centre	Hospital	Maternity Home	Poly-clinic	RCH	Total
Southern part of the Volta Region								
Akatsi North	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	9
Akatsi South	28	1	4	1	0	0	0	34
Anlo Keta Mun.	16	0	12	2	0	0	0	30
South Dayi	3	1	5	1	0	0	0	10
Ho Mun.	17	3	17	2	0	1	1	41
Ho West	11	0	3	0	0	1	0	15
Hohoe Mun.	29	0	16	1	0	0	1	47
Ketu South	13	3	7	1	0	0	0	24
South Tongu	34	0	5	2	0	0	0	41
Kpando Mun.	5	2	5	1	0	0	1	14
Ketu North	11	1	7	1	0	0	0	20
Adaklu	11	1	3	0	0	0	0	15
Central Tongu	11	1	3	0	0	0	0	15
Afadzato South	9	0	11	0	1	0	0	21
Agortime Ziope	4	4	3	0	0	0	0	11
North Dayi	9	0	7	1	0	0	0	17
North Tongu	16	0	6	1	0	0	0	23
Sub-total	234	17	116	14	1	2	3	387
% of Reg. Total	77.0	68.0	75.3	70.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	75.6
Proposed Oti Region								
Jasikan	10	0	6	1	0	0	0	17
Kadjebi	7	0	5	1	0	0	0	13
Krachi East	14	1	4	0	0	0	0	19
Krachi West	7	0	3	1	0	0	2	13
Nkwanta South	0	1	9	2	0	0	1	13
Biakoye	13	1	3	1	0	0	0	18
Krachi Nchurumu	6	3	6	0	0	0	0	15
Nkwanta North	13	2	2	0	0	0	0	17
Sub-total	70	8	38	6	0	0	3	125
% of Reg. Total	23.0	32.0	24.7	30.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	24.4
Total (Volta Reg.)	304	25	154	20	1	2	6	512

Source: Received from Ghana Health Service, Accra, 2018

73. During the Commission's interactions with the Regional Coordinating Council in Ho, a Regional Director of Health confirmed that communities in Krachi East, Krachi Nchumuru and Nkwanta North Districts had no hospitals. Similarly as can be observed from Table 5.10, six districts in southern Volta Region have no hospitals, namely: Akatsi North, Ho West, Adaklu, Central Tongu, Afadzato South and Agortime Ziope Districts. However, unlike the districts in northern part of the Volta Region, many of

these southern districts are relatively closer to the Regional Hospital and other facilities. In addition, for districts in the proposed Oti Region where there are hospitals, access to health services was impeded by the lack of medical staff. The Regional Director of Health noted that “*the reluctance of medical staff posted to the north to stay has had a negative effect on health care delivery in the proposed new region.*”

74. The Regional Hospital is located in Ho, 296 km from residents of Kete-Krachi and 248 km from residents of Kpassa. Participants at the public hearings spoke about the difficulty in accessing services from the Regional Hospital due to a combination of bad road infrastructure and inadequate river transport services as well as the long distance between the hospital and districts in northern Volta Region. Over the years, this situation has led to a number of fatalities due to the inaccessibility of the Regional Hospital to many residents of the northern part of the Volta Region notably Dambai, Krachi, and Krachi Nchumuru.
75. Participants at the public hearing in Kete-Krachi complained of the lack of qualified medical personnel working in health facilities located in the proposed new region, especially medical doctors. Data provided by the Ghana Health Service confirm the assertions made by participants in the public hearings in the proposed Oti Region as contained Table 5.11. The data demonstrate the huge disparity between southern and northern Volta Region in terms of the distribution of health personnel, especially doctors.
76. Table 5.11 shows that of the 230 medical doctors in the Volta Region, 205 (about 89%) are in districts in southern Volta Region and only 25 (about 11%) in five districts in northern Volta. Using the 2018 projected total population of all districts in the Volta Region provided by GSS gives a doctor-population ratio of 1: 8,895 and 1: 30,110 respectively for southern and northern Volta Region. The inequalities of health personnel relative to population is also evident in the case of nurses and medical/physician assistants.

Table 5.12: Distribution of Medical Personnel in the Volta Region

District	Population (2018)	Nurses	Medical/Physician Assistants	Medical Doctors	Total
Southern part of the Volta Region					
Agotime Ziope	35,722	68	0	0	68
Akatsi South	114,599	216	2	5	223
Anlo Keta Municipality	178,252	380	7	17	404
South Dayi	56,027	201	1	4	206
Ho Municipality	213,960	881	12	81	974
Hohoe Municipality	201,190	318	4	12	334
Ketu South	193,549	283	5	3	291
Central Tongu	71,302	180	1	7	188
South Tongu	106,947	364	8	14	386
Ketu North	119,743	185	6	11	202
Afadzato South	114,597	121	2	0	123
Adaklu	43,292	92	2	0	94
Akatsi North	40,738	75	0	0	75
Ho West	114,586	151	2	1	154
North Dayi	48,382	359	6	20	385
North Tongu	106,957	299	7	30	336
Sub-total	1,823,504	4,173	65	205	4,443
As % of Regional Total	71.5	76.2	72.2	89.1	76.6
Population ratio	-	437	28,054	8,895	410
Proposed Oti Region					
Jasikan	71,310	267	5	9	281
Kadjebi	71,301	173	5	6	184
Krachi East	140,066	117	0	0	117
Krachi West	58,570	232	5	4	241
Nkwanta South	142,602	267	3	4	274
Biakoye	78,934	93	3	0	96
Nkwanta North	76,394	119	3	2	124
Krachi Nchumuru	86,575	38	1	0	39
Sub-total	725,756	1,306	25	25	1,356
As % of Regional Total	28.5	23.8	27.8	10.9	23.4
Population ratio	-	556	30,110	30,110	535
Grand total	2,549,256	5,479	90	230	5,799

Source: Received from Ghana Health Service, Accra, 2018

77. Besides the limited health facilities and health personnel, access to health services in the northern part of the Volta Region is further impeded by the lack of logistics. A key logistic which got the attention of contributors at the public hearings was the availability and access to ambulance services in emergency cases. Many of the health facilities do not have ambulance services and therefore are unable to respond promptly to emergencies and referral cases. As a contributor at the Kpassa public forum noted

“when our pregnant mothers and wives are due for delivery, we have to struggle to convey them to the health centres because our area cannot even boast of a single bicycle ambulance to transport them to the hospital. So, I still ask, are we part of Ghana?”

78. While the poor road conditions in the northern part of the Volta Region was generally seen as preventing the population from accessing health services located in the south as well as the few health facilities in the north, some participants also highlighted the health impact of the dusty roads. A participant at a public hearing in Kpassa spoke about health issues emanating from the dusty nature of the roads in Kpassa.
79. Article 35(3) of the 1992 Constitution mandates the state to promote just and reasonable access by all citizens to public facilities and services in accordance with law, provision of health services and health facilities in the proposed new region is inadequate. In sum, the northern part of the Volta Region has no referral hospital and access to the region’s referral hospital in the south is challenged due to distance. This situation is compounded by deplorable access roads and, in effect, this denies residents of the northern part of the Volta Region services guaranteed by the 1992 Constitution.

5.4.5.3 Other Government and Public Services

Access to Justice

80. Participants who spoke at the public hearings in the proposed region complained of the lack of access to justice. A traditional leader who spoke at the Kete Krachi public hearing stated that there were no High Courts in the proposed region. Information obtained from the Judicial Service of Ghana confirms the assertions made (Table 5.13). According to Table 5.13, there are 38 courts in the Volta Region; 33 are located in the south and five in the north of the region. In addition, the Court of Appeal is located in Ho, and all High Courts and Circuit Courts are located in the south. Five (5) District Courts representing 13 percent of the total courts in the Volta Region are located in northern part of the Volta Region.

Table 5.13: Distribution of Courts in the Volta Region

	Court of Appeal	High Court	Circuit Court	District Court	Total	%
Southern part of the Volta Region	1	5	7	21	33	86.8
Proposed Oti Region	0	0	0	5	5	13.2
Total	1	5	7	26	38	100.0

Source: Received from the Judicial Service of Ghana, Accra, 2018

81. The uneven distribution of courts in the region impedes access to justice for the residents of northern part of the Volta Region. To access services in The Court of Appeal, High Court or Circuit Court, one must travel to the south. The absence of such essential and constitutionally mandated service is a major challenge to the people resident in

the area and a challenge to the administration of justice. In addition, the Attorney General's Department is also located in southern part of the Volta Region, precisely at Ho – which is as already noted claimed to be far from the north and compounded by poor road conditions. Therefore, service delivery of the judicial service to residents of the northern part of the Volta Region is hampered due to the absence of the Attorney General's Department and the full complement of the Judicial Service in that part of the region. Some participants stated that the underdevelopment and neglect was borne out by absence of the High Courts in their area.

82. Article 35(3) of the 1992 Constitution enjoins Government to promote just and reasonable access by all citizens to public facilities and services in accordance with law. In the Volta Region, the residents of the northern Volta Region are to a large extent excluded from the services of the Attorney General's office, and the Judicial Service in the area is limited to service provided by the district courts.

Other Services

83. The residents of the proposed new region and petitioners bemoaned inadequate presence of officers of the Ghana Police Service in their districts. In all, the Volta Region has seven divisional police districts: the north has one and the south has six. During the Commission's interaction with the Regional Coordinating Council in Ho, a Senior Police Officer of the Ghana Police Service in the region confirmed the following:

“The Police Service has difficulty deploying staff to the Oti area as officers on accepting posting ask for transfers once they arrive at post. Hence, there are challenges retaining staff in the area, and inadequate logistical support to maintain law and order in the district. For instance, the Krachi Divisional Police Headquarters has just two vehicles for its work couple with dilapidated structures. In fact, the Krachi Police Divisional Headquarters could be best described as a slum”.

84. Essential government and public services such as Birth and Death Registry, Passport Office, Ghana Fire Service, Lands Commission/Office of Administrator of Stool Lands, Forestry Commission, Attorney General's Office, Judicial Service, Registrar-General of Companies and Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority are all located in the regional capital, Ho. However, the poor road network and distance from the regional capital as already noted impede access of residents in the northern Volta area to these essential services. The location of Births and Death Registry impedes registration of births and deaths in the eight districts of the proposed new Region. Births and deaths are not registered and estates are not administered in the area due to location of service delivery offices in Ho.
85. It is evident that these services are not available to the residents of proposed Oti Region as required by the Article 35(3) of the 1992 Constitution. Consequently, the area does not have just and reasonable access to public facilities as guaranteed by the 1992

Constitution. The area has one prison, few police stations, no High Court and facilities are woefully inadequate to support the population resident in the proposed new region.

5.4.6 Empowerment and Participation

86. The petitioners and several participants at the public hearings in the proposed new region, spoke of issues of unequitable distribution of appointments to government positions and employment in regional administration since independence. These issues were discussed along the lines of marginalisation and exclusion based on the distance from the regional capital to the northern part of the Volta Region as well as perceived ethnocentrism. These sentiments were raised by participants across the proposed new region.
87. In addition, the disparity in representation of the resident of the proposed Oti Region in public institutions and in governance is clearly evident in the representation in the National House of Chiefs. Each region per the 1992 Constitution has five representatives from each Regional House of Chiefs. Currently Volta Region is represented by five chiefs, however all five are from Southern Volta.
88. A petitioner speaking at a public hearing in Nkwanta, spoke of their exclusion from regional administration but noted that they are capable of running their own affairs when the new region is created. In general, the petitioners and participants at the public hearings in the proposed new region, argued that the creation of a new region will bring about inclusion and improve participation of the people in governance.
89. Article 35 (6) of the 1992 Constitution mandates government to decentralize the administration and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts to afford all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision making . Although government has in recent years embarked on decentralization to promote participation and decision making at all levels, participation in regional administration, according to the participants and petitioners still has significant gaps, as residents of the proposed area complain of exclusion.

5.4.7 Economic and Employment Issues

90. In all, economic and employment issues were ranked as the fourth theme after infrastructure, access to government and public services, and spatial issues at the Public Hearings organized in the Volta Region. The discussions of limited economic opportunities and employment centred mainly on the untapped and potential rich natural resources (including fertile agricultural lands, mineral resources, water bodies and eco-tourism sites) of the proposed region and the limited jobs and employment opportunities for the youth and school graduates. In other words, the discussions centred on a situation of the abundance of resources amidst the high prevalence of unemployment and limited economic opportunities for the people.

91. Several contributors highlighted the rich natural resources of the proposed region which remain untapped (including huge water bodies which can be utilized for agriculture, aquaculture, tourism and water transport). Of particular concern was the lack of investments in agriculture and tourism due to what the public hearing contributors perceived as the neglect by regional and national decision-makers. On tourism, a participant and staff of the Ministry of Tourism at the Kete-Krachi public hearing noted that:

“This place [Oti Region] has a huge tourism potential. If we get our own region we can develop the tourist sites in the area which will also generate employment for the people. We are well placed to bring watercrafts on the Oti River. Can we not wine and dine on the Oti River? When you go to Egypt, people wine and dine on the Nile River in watercrafts. If we get more tourists here our brothers and sisters in the south will also benefit. Tourism will also help us in the construction of roads and hotels.”

92. Several contributors lamented about the limited availability of jobs and employment opportunities for the youth due to the underdevelopment of their areas and the limitations imposed by the absence of quality senior high secondary schools in the Oti Region as well as their inability to access tertiary education in the regional capital, Ho. They were of the general view that creation of a new region will provide opportunities for the rich natural resources of the proposed region to be tapped to create employment, improve income levels and the well-being of the population.
93. Employment creation and unemployment among the youth and school graduates are major concerns for government and this is reflected in the plethora of institutions and interventions established in recent years to deal with the situation. The extensive focus on employment by households and government is understandable given the fact that employment is the primary channel through which economic growth reduces poverty, and employment opportunities are directly proportional to expansion in economic activity, and are a means by which the benefits of growth are seen to be broadly shared (Heintz & Vanek, 2007; GSS, 2015).
94. However, data on employment and unemployment numbers especially among the youth is difficult to come by (Baah-Boateng & Turkson, 2005; GTUC, 2005; ISSER, 2012; GSS, 2015). Even where data is provided on employment and unemployment, GSS (2015, 5) has urged caution noting that:

“The interpretation of this figure [employment and unemployment] requires caution based on the wide difference in the nature of employment in the formal and informal sectors.... Such statistics must be interpreted with the cautiousness it deserves not only because majority of informal activities go unrecorded but also due to the fact that the unemployment figure will be very huge if the portion of the labour force absorbed by the informal sector were to be added to the unemployed.”

This, really, has implications on the economic growth and development of Ghana in terms of household wealth and employment.”

95. Table 5.14 shows the population 15 years and older by economic activity status (employed, unemployed and not active), district and locality (rural and urban) as per the 2010 Population and Housing Census. The Table shows that districts in the proposed Oti Region compared to those in southern Volta have relatively higher rates of the employed, and lower rates of the unemployed. Indeed the proportion of those employed was relatively higher than the regional average of 67 percent, particularly in the rural areas where districts such as Nkwanta North and Krachi East have rates of over 80 percent. When the districts in the proposed Oti Region are compared to the southern Volta, the same pattern is discernible.

Table 5.14: Population 15 years and older by economic activity Status, District and Locality in the Volta Region

District	Urban					Rural						
	Total	Emp-loyed	Unemp-loyed	Not active	Total	Emp-loyed	Unemp-loyed	Not active	Total	Emp-loyed	Unemp-loyed	Not active
Southern part of the Volta Region												
South Tongu	52,893	68.0	2.9	29.1	7,287	64.5	3.1	32.4	45,606	68.6	2.9	28.6
Keta Municipal	96,558	59.7	4.2	36.1	52,314	57.5	4.3	38.2	44,244	62.4	4.0	33.6
Ketu South	100,044	67.7	3.2	29.1	46,317	66.1	3.8	30.1	53,727	69.1	2.7	28.1
Ketu North	62,790	68.1	2.1	29.8	22,562	62.0	3.0	35.0	40,228	71.5	1.6	27.0
Akatsi	80,059	71.8	1.7	26.5	20,654	65.3	2.5	32.1	59,405	74.1	1.4	24.5
North Tongu	92,036	66.8	2.4	30.8	27,739	54.6	3.8	41.6	64,297	72.1	1.7	26.2
Adaklu Anyigbe	40,635	66.9	2.5	30.6	4,492	64.7	2.1	33.2	36,143	67.2	2.5	30.3
Ho Municipal	182,444	62.4	3.7	33.9	84,424	57.5	4.5	38.0	98,020	66.6	3.0	30.4
South Dayi	28,483	62.8	2.9	34.2	11,083	58.9	3.0	38.1	17,400	65.3	2.9	31.8
North Dayi	59,736	61.6	3.9	34.5	19,095	59.2	4.5	36.3	40,641	62.7	3.6	33.7
Hohoe Municipal	165,542	63.0	2.6	34.5	67,760	60.6	3.3	36.1	97,782	64.6	2.1	33.3
Proposed Oti Region												
Biakoye	39,417	75.3	1.8	22.9	13,383	70.7	1.6	27.8	26,034	77.6	2.0	20.4
Jasikan	36,802	70.6	1.9	27.5	10,303	64.2	2.5	33.3	26,499	73.1	1.7	25.2
Kadjebi	36,125	70.9	1.9	27.2	9,630	64.6	2.0	33.4	26,495	73.2	1.9	24.9
Krachi East	64,589	76.5	1.4	22.1	19,074	64.7	1.7	33.6	45,515	81.4	1.3	17.3
Krachi West*	68,038	72.0	1.1	26.9	13,936	64.1	1.9	34.0	54,102	74.1	0.8	25.1
Nkwanta South	64,832	70.5	1.2	28.3	18,151	59.1	2.3	38.6	46,681	74.9	0.8	24.3
Nkwanta North	34,404	77.0	0.7	22.3	10,300	68.3	1.4	30.3	24,104	80.7	0.4	18.8
All districts	1,305,427	67.0	2.6	30.4	458,504	61.0	3.4	35.6	846,923	70.3	2.1	27.6

*Includes Krachi Nchumuru District carved out of the Krachi West District in June 2012

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013b)

94. Table 5.14 provides information on the proportion of the employed persons 15 years and older by district and occupation for the Volta Region. Similar to the national situation, the dominant occupation in the Volta Region is in skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery sector. However, this is very high for the districts in the proposed Oti Region compared to those in southern Volta, particularly for Nkwanta North (84.4%), Krachi West (75.3%), Nkwanta South (71.2%) and Krachi East (70.1%). The percentage of workers in skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery in the proposed Oti Region is far higher for the Volta Region and national averages of about 50 percent and 42 percent respectively.
95. Tables 5.14 and 5.15 suggest that the relatively high rates of the employed in the proposed Oti Region are due to the predominance of agriculture as the main economic activity in the proposed region. According to the World Bank (2015, 12), the primary sector (agriculture, forestry and fishing) continues to be the key employment sector in Ghana, though there was a significant decrease in the national share engaged in it from 52.3 per cent in 2000 to 41.6 per cent in 2010, and that unemployment in general tends to be relatively lower in rural areas compared to urban areas.
96. However, the World Bank (2015) adds that this does not imply that the rural sector performed better than the urban as the lower unemployment rate of rural areas disguised massive underemployment and subsistence agriculture production below the breakeven point. Indeed, overall assessment of the poverty mapping of the Volta Region revealed that the districts in southern Volta fared relatively better compared with those in the northern parts of the region with Krachi East District having the highest number of poor persons (58,329) in the region (GSS, 2015).
97. Table 5.14 and the views of the contributors at the public hearings confirm the petitioners assertion that the proposed Oti Region is a predominantly agricultural region. More importantly, the high levels of poverty associated with rural agricultural food crops producing areas as evidenced in various poverty analysis reports of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2008, 2014) would need to attract the attention of regional policy makers and decision-makers. In particular, the importance of regional growth poles as catalysts for agricultural development and employment generation need not be underestimated. As the World Bank (2015) and GoG/MLGRD (2012) note, the importance of urban centres in creating jobs should not be undervalued, and the key to successful urbanization and economic development of both rural and urban areas of the proposed region is how to strengthen the economic base and job creation capacity of cities.

Table 5.15: Employed persons 15 years and older by District and Occupation in the Volta Region

District	No.	Managers	Professionals	Technicians & Associate Professionals	Clerical Support Workers	Service & Sales Workers	Skilled Agric., Forestry & Fishery workers	Craft & related trades workers	Plant & machine operators & assemblers	Element. Occupations	Other Occupations
<i>Southern part of the Volta Region</i>											
South Tongu	35,973	1.7	4.6	1.1	0.7	15.9	46.4	20.5	3.3	5.6	0.0
Keta Municipal	57,674	2.3	4.6	1.2	1.0	21.8	34.8	25.4	3.1	5.9	0.0
Ketu South	67,762	2.0	4.1	2.2	1.6	28.2	17.3	31.0	5.2	8.3	0.1
Ketu North	42,741	1.8	3.6	1.1	0.6	16.7	47.1	19.8	4.6	4.7	0.0
Akatsi	57,511	1.1	3.7	0.7	0.7	13.5	60.7	13.7	3.2	2.7	0.0
North Tongu	61,507	1.1	3.9	0.9	0.5	12.7	62.0	12.8	2.8	3.3	0.0
Adaklu Anyigbe	27,195	1.1	3.7	1.0	0.5	13.6	58.0	17.3	2.4	2.4	0.0
Ho Municipal	113,874	2.7	8.1	2.1	2.1	21.9	34.4	20.3	4.2	4.1	0.2
South Dayi	17,894	1.8	6.3	1.5	1.0	19.8	43.5	18.6	3.1	4.4	0.0
North Dayi	36,783	3.2	6.3	1.5	1.0	21.5	38.1	19.4	3.8	5.1	0.0
Hohoe Municipal	104,235	2.0	6.6	1.5	1.1	19.3	43.5	18.0	3.8	4.2	0.0
Sub-Total	623,149	1.9	5.0	1.3	1.0	18.6	44.2	19.7	3.6	4.6	0.0
<i>Proposed Oti Region</i>											
Biakoye	29,663	1.2	3.8	1.0	0.4	13.5	60.4	14.9	2.2	2.6	0.0
Jasikan	25,980	1.3	4.5	1.1	0.7	14.3	57.3	14.1	3.3	3.3	0.0
Kadjebi	25,613	1.5	4.0	1.4	0.7	13.9	60.3	12.1	2.9	3.2	0.0
Krachi East	49,389	0.9	2.2	0.5	0.3	8.5	70.1	13.9	1.3	2.4	0.0
Krachi West*	49,004	0.6	2.0	0.4	0.3	8.8	75.3	10.0	0.9	1.7	0.0
Nkwanta South	45,718	1.2	3.3	0.8	0.4	8.7	71.2	11.2	1.8	1.4	0.0
Nkwanta North	26,487	0.5	1.1	0.3	0.2	6.1	84.4	6.0	0.7	0.8	0.0
Sub-total	251,854	1.0	3.0	0.8	0.4	10.5	68.4	11.7	1.9	2.2	0.0
All Districts	875,003	1.7	4.7	1.2	0.9	16.6	50.1	17.6	3.2	3.9	0.0
National		2.4	5.3	1.8	1.4	21.0	41.7	15.2	4.9	5.9	0.2

*Includes Krachi Nchumuru District carved out of the Krachi West District in June 2012

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013b)

5.4.8 Cultural, ethnic and religious issues

98. Cultural, ethnic and religious issues were the least discussed at the public hearings conducted in the Volta Region. As shown earlier in Table 5.6 cultural, ethnic and religious issues were raised 66 times representing about 7.6 percent of the issues discussed at the public hearings. Despite being the least discussed issues at the public hearings, they still require attention as cultural, ethnic and religious issues are very much connected to other socio-economic issues. More specifically these issues provide indications of the extent to which different population groups co-exist and the extent of diversity of the population for a peaceful and harmonious economic, institutional and cultural life of the population.
99. Migration, intermarriages, education and urbanization ensure that there is intense mixing of the population of the country, particularly in towns and cities, as recent census results have shown (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010; Owusu & Agyei-Mensah, 2011). Although there is significant migrant population in all the regions of Ghana, there is also a coincidence of ethnicity and administrative region (Langer, 2007; Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010; Owusu & Agyei-Mensah, 2011). As such, each of the major ethnic groups (Akan, Mole-Dagbon, Ga-Adangme, and Ewe) as a result of historical, economic, and socio-cultural reasons associated with the movements and settlement of the population is numerically dominant in particular administrative regions, notwithstanding the presence of large minority ethnic groups in each region (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010).
100. The petitioners in both their oral and written submissions to the Commission highlighted strongly the ethnic diversity of the proposed region, and indicated that their petition for the creation of a new region out of the existing Volta Region is mainly for purposes of socio-economic development. Also, submissions and attendance by the different traditional areas at the public hearings provided evidence of the heterogeneity and diversity of the ethnic make-up of the population in the proposed Oti Region. Indeed on p. 6 of the petition document titled *Petition for the Creation of a Region for the Northern Part of the Volta Region under Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution: The 5th Petition* dated 1st June 2017, notes as follows:

“... the proposed Oti Region is composed of a multiplicity of tribes. Its tribal [ethnic] diversity appears to be [the most] unique in Ghana. In addition to the allodial owners of the land, namely, Akans and Guans (comprising Krachi, Nchumuru, Nkonya, Buem, Bowiri, Likpe, Akpafu, Santrofi, Adele, Atmode, Ntrubo, Challa, and Shiare), there are several settler communities whose inhabitants have been attracted to the area by the arable farming land and fishing waters of the Volta Lake and River Oti. These groups include Ewes, Gas, Konkombas, Basare, Kotokolis, Kabre, Gurmas and Chokosi. Some of these settlers have migrated from other West African countries like Togo and Benin.”
101. The ethnic diversity of the population is strongly corroborated by the results of the 2010 population and housing census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS)

(see Tables 5.15 and 5.16). The classification of the population in Ghana into major ethnic groups (Akan, Ga-Dangme, Ewe, Guan, Gurma, Mole Dagbon, Grussi and Mande) by GSS since the 1960 census is based on official classification provided by the Bureau of Ghanaian Languages (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010). Within each major ethnic group are sub-groups: Akan (Ahanta, Asante, Akyem, Akuapem and 18 others); Mole Dagbon (Dagomba, Kusasi, Mamprusi and Nanumba); Ga-Dangme (Ga and Dangme); Mande (Busanga and Wangara); Gurma (Basari, Bimoba, Konkomba) and Grusi (Frafra, Sisaala, Dagbani, Hausa, Mossi) (see GSS, 2005).

102. A careful reading of Table 5.16 shows that the districts in the proposed Oti Region are most ethnically diverse compared to districts in southern Volta Region. The Ewes constitute an average of 93 percent in southern Volta, and even almost 99 percent in the case of Keta Municipal and Akatsi District. However, nowhere in the proposed Oti Region does one ethnic group constitute more than 46 percent of the population, with the exception of Nkwanta North and Nkwanta South where the Gurma ethnic group constitutes 87 percent and 50.7 percent respectively of the total population of the districts as at 2010.

Table 5.16: Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Volta Region

Districts	Akan	Ga Dangme	Ewe	Guan	Gurma	Mole Dagbon	Grusi	Mande	Others
<i>Southern part of the Volta Region</i>									
South Tongu	1.1	1.7	96.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.8
Keta Municipal	0.6	0.3	98.7	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ketu South	1.4	0.5	96.9	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.8
Ketu North	1.0	0.2	98.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2
Akatsi	0.5	0.2	98.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
North Tongu	1.0	1.0	96.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.9
Adaklu Anyigbe	1.4	1.4	88.5	0.8	6.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.2
Ho Municipal	2.0	0.8	91.1	3.6	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.0	1.0
South Dayi	1.2	2.1	93.9	0.7	1.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.4
North Dayi	1.5	1.9	93.1	0.9	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.7
Hohoe Municipal	1.3	0.6	74.8	17.5	3.7	0.6	0.1	0.1	1.2
Sub-Total	1.2	1.0	93.3	2.2	1.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.7
<i>Proposed Oti Region</i>									
Biakoye	13.8	4.2	44.3	29.1	5.9	1.0	0.1	0.2	1.4
Jasikan	2.1	0.4	45.4	36.7	13.4	0.8	0.1	0.1	1.1
Kadjebi	14.6	1.4	45.3	3.8	30.5	1.1	0.1	0.1	3.1
Krachi East	9.6	7.9	37.1	13.6	26.0	0.9	0.3	0.3	4.2
Krachi West*	4.1	5.5	14.0	24.9	40.9	1.1	0.4	0.2	4.3
Nkwanta South	2.9	0.6	18.0	16.1	50.7	0.7	0.1	0.1	10.6
Nkwanta North	1.8	0.2	7.0	1.2	87.0	0.4	0.0	0.2	2.1
Sub-Total	7.0	2.9	30.2	17.9	36.3	0.9	0.2	0.2	3.8
All Districts	2.8	1.5	73.8	8.1	11.3	0.5	0.1	0.1	1.8
National	47.5	7.4	13.9	3.7	5.7	16.6	2.5	1.1	1.4

*Includes Krachi Nchumuru District carved out of the Krachi West District in June 2012

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013b)

Table 5.17: Ghanaians by major ethnic group and region, 2010

Ethnic Group	West-ern	Cen-tral	Gt. Accra	Volta	East-ern	Ash-anti	Brong Ahafo	North-ern	Upper East	Upper West
Akan	78.2	81.7	39.7	2.8	51.1	74.2	58.9	3.1	2.3	1.4
Ga-Dangme	3.1	2.5	27.4	1.5	17.9	1.2	1.3	0.3	0.1	0.1
Ewe	6.2	6.2	20.1	73.8	18.9	3.8	3.7	1.7	0.3	0.4
Guan	0.8	5.3	1.9	8.1	5.3	1.5	4.1	8.6	0.3	0.8
Gurma	0.9	0.9	1.6	11.3	1.6	2.8	6.9	27.3	4.7	1.2
Mole-Dagbani	8.6	1.7	5.2	0.5	3.2	11.3	18.2	52.7	74.7	73.0
Grusi	0.8	0.5	1.3	0.1	0.8	2.0	3.9	3.7	8.6	20.6
Mande	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.3	2.0	1.8	0.5	5.6	0.3
Others	0.6	0.8	2.0	1.8	0.8	1.1	1.3	2.1	3.4	2.1

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013b)

104. The uniqueness of the proposed Oti Region is second only to the Greater Accra Region where intensive migration from all parts of the country as a result of rapid urbanization has led to diversified ethnic makeup of the region. However, taking into account the fact that the proposed Oti Region is predominately rural, the diverse nature of the ethnic groupings makes it indeed unique.
105. The Volta Region in general and the proposed Oti Region are particular is similar to the rest of Ghana in their religious diversity (see Table 5.18). At all the public hearings, there was the presence of religious leaders from the Christian, Islam, and Traditional religions. All the public hearings started with a Christian prayer and ended with a Muslim prayer. Also the public hearings provided no evidence of conflicts among the religious groupings but peaceful co-existence and support for the creation of the region.

Table 5.18: Population by Religion in the Volta Region

District	No religion	Catholic	Protestants	Pentecostal/Charismatic	Other Christian	Islam	Traditionalist	Other
<i>Southern part of the Volta Region</i>								
South Tongu	9.4	11.5	24.0	27.8	12.4	2.0	12.0	0.9
Keta Municipal	12.9	15.2	21.1	19.6	4.0	1.0	25.4	0.8
Ketu South	9.1	15.3	12.7	27.0	4.0	3.5	27.9	0.5
Ketu North	8.9	12.3	11.7	21.9	9.7	0.9	33.5	1.1
Akatsi	8.5	17.3	11.8	25.2	6.3	2.1	27.9	1.0
North Tongu	7.4	11.5	27.0	31.3	10.7	3.2	8.3	0.7
Adaklu Anyigbe	3.0	14.3	28.3	26.6	10.5	1.3	7.9	0.9
Ho Municipal	2.5	15.8	35.6	30.9	9.2	2.8	2.7	0.5
South Dayi	4.0	7.1	37.0	34.2	9.9	3.3	3.8	0.6
North Dayi	1.7	31.4	27.1	27.3	6.3	3.4	2.1	0.7
Hohoe Municipal	1.3	28.7	30.1	25.5	6.2	5.7	1.5	1.0
<i>Proposed Oti Region</i>								
Biakoye	4.5	19.3	23.4	31.2	7.4	8.5	4.2	1.5
Jasikan	4.3	27.8	19.6	22.7	5.7	12.7	6.6	0.5
Kadjebi	2.1	22.7	18.5	19.7	5.4	29.6	1.4	0.7
Krachi East	10.4	13.3	12.7	32.5	6.9	8.2	15.0	1.0
Krachi West*	10.2	17.5	8.0	27.1	6.7	10.2	19.5	0.6
Nkwanta South	10.0	18.7	10.8	21.5	5.6	10.2	22.2	0.9
Nkwanta North	12.6	3.2	6	21.9	2.1	10.3	43.3	0.6
All Districts	6.6	17.6	21.5	26.6	7.1	5.7	14.1	0.8

*Includes Krachi Nchumuru District carved out of the Krachi West District in June 2012

Source: 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013b).

106. Despite the diversity of the ethnic groups resident in the Volta Region, both contributors at the public hearings and the petition documents gave an impression of the marginalization of the languages and cultures in the northern part of the Region. For instance, a teacher participant at the Kete-Krachi public hearing noted that “*when beauty pageants are organised in Ghana, the culture of the people of the northern part of the Volta Region is not portrayed because all the participants come from the south*”. Another participant at the Ho Technical University public hearing, an NDC Member of Parliament from the Region in his submission at the hearing stated emphatically that: “*when you are from the north [Oti Region] and reside in Ho, you are sometimes made to feel as though you do not belong there. For instance, sometimes you go to a meeting and abruptly they change the language to Ewe*”.

107. Also, a critical issue raised in the petition document is the use of Ewe as the medium of instruction in schools. On p. 10 of the petition document titled *Petition for the Creation of a Region for the Northern Part of the Volta Region under Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution: The 5th Petition*, the petitioners note that:

“... the attempt to undermine our development is the open effort to impose the Ewe language on all the communities in the northern Volta through evangelization and teaching in the primary and secondary schools. Contrary to the Ghana Education Service child-policy that teachers should start educating children in their mother tongue, there is a vigorous attempt by the Volta Regional Education authorities to impose Ewe language on all the schools in the region, whether or not the children’s mother tongue is the Ewe language. Parents in the Twi and Guan speaking enclaves have resisted this move to the extent that there are some schools where no Ghanaian language is being taught today.”

108. The foregoing discussions suggest some feelings and perceptions of marginalization of the cultures and languages of the people of the northern part of the Volta Region, which is the consequence or outcome of what the petitioners claim as the monopoly over political power and control of regional administrative structures by southern Volta. As paragraph 22 on p. 9 of the petition document notes:

“Since Ghana’s independence in 1957, the Volta Regional Administration has been controlled essentially by officials from southern part of the region. They have had direct access to central Government and thereby participated in the formulation of development policy to the exclusion of the Volta north.... By this dual political and administrative control they decided what should happen in the Region. In the process, they followed the colonial policy and practices of failing to factor into the Region’s development agenda the exceptional developmental needs of the northern part of the Region. This is a pattern that we have observed for over 60 years.”

5.5 Need and Substantial Demand for a Region

109. In this section of the Report, we provide a summary of the analysis of the needs for the creation of a region out of the existing Volta Region as well as examine the popularity of the demand for the creation of the region. The conclusions here are drawn based on our approach and methodology as discussed in Chapter Three of this Report.

5.5.1 Need for a Region

110. In the following, we assess the need for the creation of the proposed Oti Region based on the overall findings and conclusions drawn on the thematic areas as discussed at the public hearings and petition documents: spatial extent of existing region; access to government and public services (including education, health, sanitation and water supply, and other public services such as prison, courts, police and DVLA); road

infrastructure; economic and employment; participation and empowerment and; cultural, ethnic and religious issues.

111. *Spatial extent of Existing Region:* On the one hand, a key argument made in the petition for the creation of a region out of the existing Volta Region is the spatial structure of the region, and specifically its elongated nature. At the public hearings and engagements with petitioners, contributors and others making the case for the creation of the region highlighted the limitations or challenges imposed by the spatial extent of the region which is compounded by the poor road surface conditions and network in the region and the effects of these on access to services located in the present regional capital, Ho. On the other hand, proponents against the creation of a new region out of the existing region note that the existing challenges are mainly infrastructure-related, particularly the poor road surface conditions and network. In other words, improving the road infrastructure will enhance mobility and address the questions related to the spatial size and access to services across the region.
112. However, it is the view of the Commission that if even the infrastructure question is addressed, the present spatial extent of the region will still impose challenges for the population in the northern part of the Volta Region because of the distance between these parts of the region and the present regional capital, Ho. In addition, public investment required for meeting road infrastructure are unlikely to be met in the short to medium-terms; hence, the need for the creation of the proposed region to meet the expectations of the population, particularly access to regional high-order services.
113. *Access to government and public services:* While our overall assessment of access to government and public services in the Volta Region is poor, the proposed Oti Region is most deprived. This is because access to government and public services such as higher education, referral hospitals, courts and judicial system, remain out of reach of many districts in northern Volta as a result of the long distance between these districts and the regional capital, which is further worsened by the poor road conditions.
114. Due to their inability to effectively access government and public services, many citizens of the proposed Oti Region as stressed in the petitioners' argument feel isolated and too far removed. The consequences are feelings and perceptions of marginalization by regional decision-makers and policy-makers many of whom are seen as originating from and based in southern Volta and therefore insensitive to the development needs of the proposed Oti Region.
115. *Road infrastructure:* This is by far the most discussed issue during public hearings and consultations across the Volta Region. Indeed, road infrastructure and the surface conditions of the road have huge implications for enabling access to medical facilities, education, markets and income generation, as well as provide local employment. It has been argued that the provision of services at various locations alone is not enough as without transport many individuals and households would still not be able to reach these services (GSS, 2013b).

116. In addition, road infrastructure has huge impact on the level and intensity of rural-urban interactions and linkages, and can serve as a conduit through which inequalities in terms of access to services and development in general can be bridged. In this direction, road infrastructure is critical in allowing rural households/firms to access services and facilities in towns/cities to support economic activities, and urban households/firms on the other hand to have access to rural produce.
117. The Commission's overall assessment is that there is a wide gap between northern and southern Volta in terms of road infrastructure and conditions. In general, road infrastructure and conditions tend to be relatively better in southern Volta compared to the northern part. The situation can be partly blamed on the neglect of regional decision-makers; the weak supervisory role of GHA and the general neglect of the development of the northern part of the Volta Region by both central and regional governments.
118. *Economic and employment:* All groups and individuals consulted both in-camera and public hearings by the Commission acknowledged the economic potentials of the proposed Oti Region, particularly in the area of agriculture. However, the proposed region remains underdeveloped due to poor infrastructure and limited attention to the developmental needs of the region by both the state and regional decision-makers. Consequently, employment opportunities in the proposed Oti Region are limited, especially among the youth.
119. The creation of the proposed Oti Region is seen as a means to address the challenge of untapped economic opportunities by opening up the region to both domestic and foreign investments. It will also facilitate infrastructural development to fully exploit the region's natural resources, particularly in the areas of agriculture and tourism. This is expected to enhance employment creation and economic opportunities in the proposed Oti Region.
120. *Participation and empowerment:* The Commission found that the people of the proposed new region had not been well represented in the regional administration since independence of Ghana. Although residents of the proposed new region voted in the 1956 plebiscite in favour of joining Ghana, they have been marginalised from participating in regional administration since independence.
121. *Cultural, ethnic and religious issues:* Compared to southern Volta, the proposed Oti Region is culturally and ethnically diverse. The proposed region is unique in Ghana in terms of the diversity of ethnic groups present in a region with largely rural characteristics. Consequently, the proposed region does not take on a single ethnic character but diversity of ethnic groupings and languages.
122. ***The overall assessment of the Commission is that the need for the creation of the proposed Oti Region out of the existing Volta Region has been made.*** The Commission is of the view that there is the need to create the region in order to provide the same

level of services in the existing regional capital in the proposed region. In other words, there is the need for the creation of the region in order to bring these referral services or high-order services to the areas without access to these services. This will address the existing challenges imposed by the elongated nature of the current region, and the long distances between the districts in the northern part of the Volta Region and the regional capital, Ho.

123. The Commission also acknowledge the contributions of road infrastructure (urban and feeder roads) to rural and urban socio-economic development. Therefore, there is the need to create the proposed Oti Region so that regional policy makers and decision-makers will pay attention to the special needs of the proposed region in terms of road infrastructure.
124. The Commission is of the view that addressing the concerns of the people of the proposed region on access to government and public services, and improving road infrastructure would serve as catalysts for unlocking the economic potentials of the region in terms of food production and enhance economic opportunities and jobs creation. The end goal will be citizens feeling closer and having access to government, and enhance participation and empowerment of the population in contributing to the development of their communities, region and nation.

5.5.2 Substantial Demand for a Region

125. This sub-section of the Report assesses the extent of the popularity of the demand for the creation of the new region, and the extent to which various stakeholders (individuals, groups, communities, etc) are worked and mobilized to achieve this goal. The substantial demand for a new region, Oti Region, is assessed on the basis of the following considerations:

Persistence of the demand for the creation of the Oti Region

126. Available records provided by the petitioners and verified by the Commission indicate that the present petition is the fifth petition by the chiefs and people of northern Volta since 1954. This makes the proposed Oti Region, the longest standing demand for a new region in Ghana. The first petition was made to the UN Trusteeship Council, the then authority of Trans-Volta Togoland of which the Oti Region was part, at a time Ghana was preparing for its independence and; followed by a 1970 petition to the government of K. A. Busia of the Second Republic. The third and fourth petitions respectively were submitted in 1996 and 2003 under the Fourth Republic to the governments of Presidents J. J. Rawlings and John A. Kufour. The petition to President Nana Akufo-Addo is the fifth petition and the third under the Fourth Republic.
127. The Commission takes the view that such long and consistent agitations suggest a unified position of the chiefs and people of northern part of the Volta Region and the rise of regional consciousness and identity, which require a response from the state. This if not attended to could translate into possible confrontation between the state and

the people of this part of the country. Again, the basis of the demand for a creation of a new region in terms of population, number of districts to be administered, choice to exercise power and control of administrative structures are more pressing under the current democratic context than ever before.

Mobilization of support and level of commitment

128. There is evidence to suggest intense level of mobilization and commitment of individuals, groups and specially-established committees to champion the creation of the Oti Region. Here, mention can be made of the Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) which is made up of chiefs and other traditional leaders, intellectuals, religious leaders and opinion leaders of the proposed Oti Region. The JCC has branches and networks across all the traditional areas and districts of the proposed region and they play an active role in the mobilization of the people to participate actively in the public hearings organized by the Commission.
129. Besides mobilizing, sensitizing and educating the local population, the Commission can also attest to the commitment to fundraise and mobilize resources towards the creation of the proposed Oti Region by individuals, groups and the JCC. For instance, at a conference of the chiefs and people of the proposed Oti Region held at Nsuta (Buem) on April 7, 2017, GH¢7,560 was raised to mobilize the population for the creation of the region (JCC, 2017). In addition, the Commission can attest to vehicles with proposed Oti Region branded maps and other paraphilia being used as well as individuals wearing branded T-shirts.

Participation at public hearings

130. There was a high level of attendance and active participation of all groups of society at all the public hearings organized by the Commission. Key participants present include paramount chiefs and their divisional chiefs; MPs of the main political parties, especially the NPP and NDC, and other political party executives; heads of religious groups; heads of departments of the District Assembly; the youth and students. In all the towns where public hearings were organized and even as the Commission travelled through the region, hundreds of school children and ordinary citizens lined up the streets to welcome the Commission, a demonstration of the demand for the creation of the region.
131. In addition, there was wide display of placards and banners in support of the creation of the region across the proposed Oti Region. Furthermore, different cultures, ethnic groups and languages were demonstrated at the public hearings through presentations, cultural displays and banners. All these provide evidence of the popular appeal of the idea to create a new region, Oti Region.

Absence of conflicts/disputes regarding the petition for the creation of the region

132. Another clear indication of the substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Oti Region is the absence of conflicts or disagreements regarding the submissions made for the creation of the region. As noted earlier, the petition for the creation of the proposed

Oti Region is the longest standing and persistent demand in post-independence era. Perusing the petition documents plus engagements with petitioners as well as the people of the proposed region revealed that the petitioners have been consistent with their reasons and justifications for the creation of the region and appear to have a unified position on all matters pertaining to the petition.

133. On the basis of the persistence and history of the demand for the creation of the region, extent of mobilization of support and level of commitment shown, active participation of citizens of the proposed Oti Region during public hearings, absence of conflicts and disagreements regarding the petition for the creation of the region, it is the view of this Commission that substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Oti Region has been demonstrated by both the petitioners and the people of the proposed region.

5.6 Conclusion and Recommendations

134. Based on the review of the petition documents submitted by the petitioners and other existing literature; the Commission's interactions with various stakeholders in Accra, Ho and areas within the proposed region as well as observations made traveling through the Volta Region, it is the candid view of the Commission that the petitioners' request for the creation of the proposed Oti Region out of the existing Volta Region be accepted.
135. We recommend that the proposed Oti Region should comprise the following municipalities and districts: Biakoye District, Jasikan District, Kadjebi District, Krachi East Municipality, Krachi Nchumuru District, Krachi West District, Nkwanta North District and Nkwanta South Municipality. These Districts have a total land area of 10,066 sq. kilometres representing about 49 percent of the total land area of the Volta Region, and an estimated population and density of 725,752 and 72 persons per sq. kilometre respectively in 2018. Both land size and population are substantially large enough to constitute a region, and manageable in size to allow for the efficient and effective regional administration. With a land size of about 10,066 sq. kilometres, the proposed Oti Region would be bigger in size than the Greater Accra, Upper East and Central Regions.
136. The recommendation for the proposed region includes the four traditional areas in the Hohoe Municipality, namely, Lolobi, Akpafu, Santrokofi and Likpe. These traditional areas located in the Hohoe Municipality were an integral part of the petition submitted by the JCC for the creation of the proposed Oti Region.
137. In respect of Kpandai District, the Commission recommends its exclusion on the basis that substantial demand has not been established. At several public hearings, engagements as well as written submissions made to the Commission three clear groups emerged from Kpandai District. One group made up mostly of Nawuris and Nchumurus preferred to join the proposed Oti Region. A second group made up mostly

of Kokombas expressed a preference for the proposed Savannah Region. A third group opted to remain in the existing Northern Region.

138. The petitioners in their submission to the President as well as the public hearings provided evidence of the challenges imposed by the geographical size of the existing region and access to the regional capital, Ho. It is the recommendation of the Commission that the geographical land size of the proposed region addresses the challenges imposed by the elongated land area of the existing Volta Region, and the long distances between the proposed Oti Region and access to referral services located in the regional capital, Ho.
139. The Commission is of the view that the proposed region provides opportunities for a redistribution of the population of the Volta Region through a deliberate effort to promote new growth poles and centres in line with policy recommendations as contained in existing national policy frameworks such as the National Urban Policy Framework and Action Plan, 2012 and Ghana National Spatial Development Framework, 2015-2035. Deliberate effort to promote urbanization in the proposed Oti Region will impact positively on development in the long-run as the current under-development of this part of the Volta Region is partly a cause and consequence of low level of urbanization.

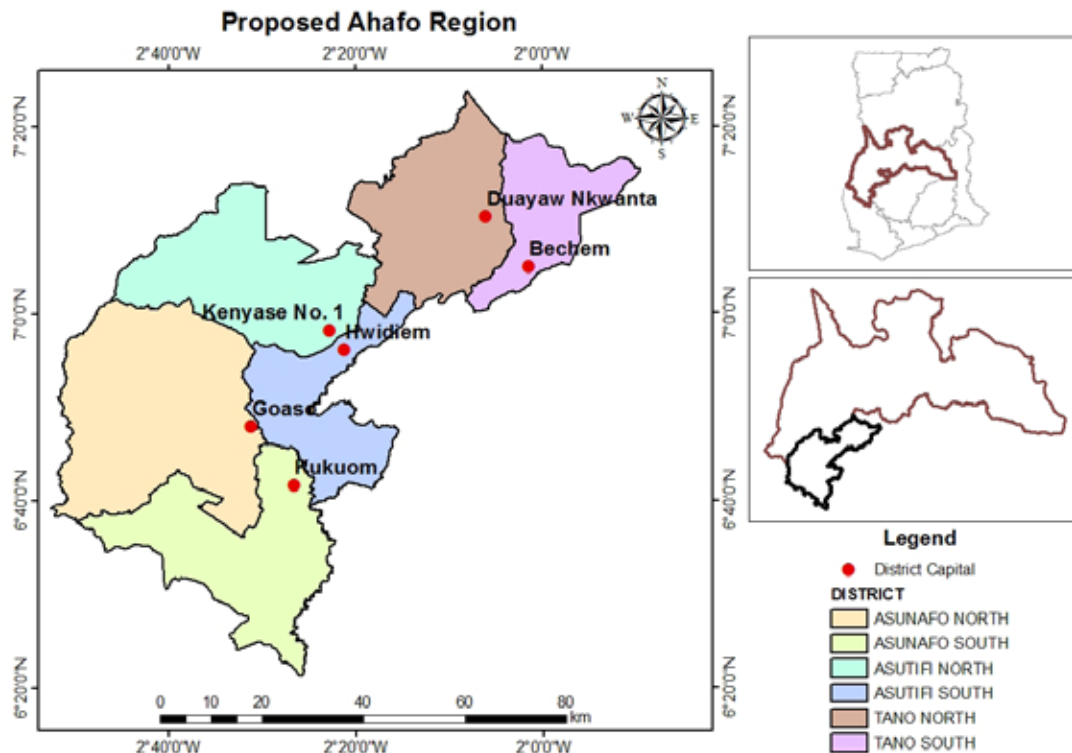
CHAPTER SIX

PROPOSED AHAFO REGION

6.1 Background

1. To catalyse balanced development, maximise citizen participation and elicit effective government responsiveness, successive governments have over the years been influenced to reorganise districts and regions. Over 40 years, the chiefs and people from the Ahafo part of the Brong-Ahafo Region have persistently petitioned successive governments for the reorganisation of the Region. On 28th February 2017, the Council of Chiefs from Tewa, Bechem, Duayaw Nkwanta, Goaso, Kukuom, Sankore and Acherensua re-echoed their quest for Ahafo Region and submitted a petition to His Excellency, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo.
2. The petition covered municipalities and districts within the seven (7) paramount areas in the Ahafo Traditional Council which sought to be carved out of the existing Brong-Ahafo Region into a separate region to be named “Ahafo” Region. The proposed region is made up of Tano South Municipality, Tano North Municipality, Asunafo North Municipality, Asunafo South District, Asutifi North District, and Asutifi South District.

Figure 6.1: Proposed Ahafo Region



Source: Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

3. In adherence to Article 5 of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana, and on the advice of the Council of State, the President appointed a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the need and substantial demand for the creation of the proposed new region.
4. On 23rd November 2017, the Commission met with petitioners from the Ahafo Council of Chiefs at the Osu Castle in Accra for an in-camera engagement. The purpose of the meeting was to interact with the petitioners to seek further information and clarification from the petitioners. Table 6.1 summarises the basis of the petition submitted to the Commission.

Table 6.1: Petition for the Creation of Ahafo Region

Petitioners Issues	Commentary/Remarks
1. Historical summary of petitions and presentations made to successive governments since (1981, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1994, 2003 to 2017)	Consistency in the submission of petitions (1981-2017) indicate that the people from the Ahafo enclave are united with a common purpose
2. Large size (The region is the second largest in Ghana in geographical terms covering an area of approximately 39,557 square kilometers) and underdeveloped infrastructure account for the ineffective administration and difficulty by ordinary citizens to access government services.	Administration of such a vast area is difficult and limits the benefits of decentralization. The issue about accessibility due to size and location as well as underdeveloped infrastructure hinder widespread economic growth and balanced development. The creation of a new region in Ahafo will therefore ensure easy access to government services and accelerate the development of the area.
3. The region has the human resource and many natural resources such as forestry, cocoa, gold, timber and the river Tano which contributes immensely to the development of the Ghanaian economy. These resources are not commensurate with the development in the region.	The region is the bread basket of Ghana but this is not reflective in the pace of development to date. Creating a new region will provide new investment opportunities not only from the public sector but also from the private sector to accelerate developmental projects in the form of improved road network, hospitals, educational institutions, agro -industries and water supply. It will also provide employment opportunities for the unemployed youth in the region.
4. Political appointments as stipulated by the constitution advocate regional balance but that is not the case in the Ahafo area which has an outstanding crop of professionals in all sectors.	From 1992 to date, the Ahafo area has had only 2 indigenes being given Ministerial appointments.
5. Petitioners are Paramount Chiefs that represent the seven traditional authorities within the proposed region.	To date there has been no counter petitions not to carve out a new region.

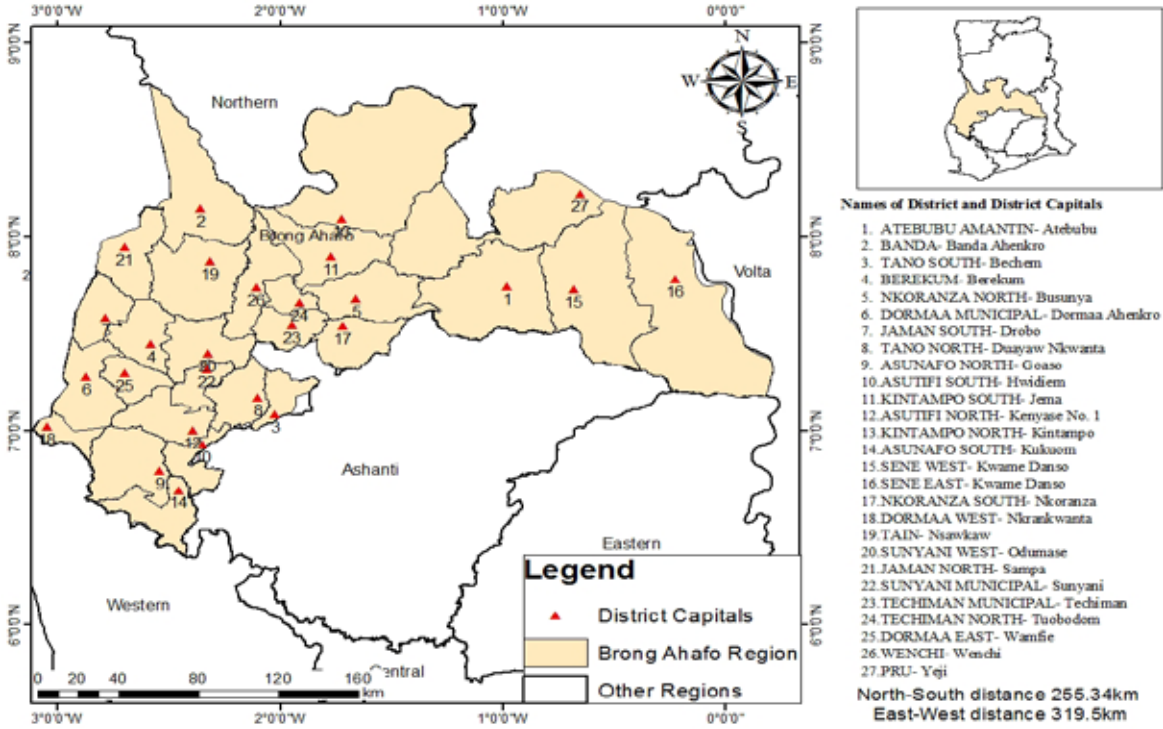
Source: Compiled from proposed Ahafo Region petition documents, 2017.

5. The main argument advanced by the petitioners was that, apart from facilitating effective governance and administration, the creation of the proposed new region will also open up opportunities for balanced political appointments, service delivery and accelerated development.
6. In order to validate the claims made by the petitioners, the Commission embarked on a fact-finding mission to Brong-Ahafo Region from 13th to 17th February 2018. This provided an opportunity for the Commission to interact with the chiefs and the people of the region especially those from the Ahafo part. It also afforded the Commission the opportunity to observe useful situations in their natural setting for informed decision making on the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region.
7. This report is a synthesis and analysis of the interactions between the Commission and the people of the Ahafo part of the Brong-Ahafo Region as well as other consultations on the creation of the region. The remainder of the report captures the profile of the Brong-Ahafo Region, brief report of the methodology employed and analysis of the need and substantial demand for the creation of Ahafo Region out of the Brong-Ahafo Region. The final part discusses the recommendations including issues and areas for referendum.

6.2 Profile of the Brong-Ahafo Region

8. The Brong-Ahafo Region is one of the 10 Administrative Regions in Ghana. It was carved out of the former Ashanti Province in March 1959. Sunyani is the administrative capital of the Region. There are 22 administrative districts in the Region. In 1960, the Brong-Ahafo Region had a population of 587,920 which accounted for 8.8 percent of the total national population. By 2010, the population of the region had risen to 2,310,983 representing 9.4 percent of the total national population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). According to the Ghana Statistical Service projections, the estimated population was 2,660,642 in 2017 accounting for 9.4 percent of the total population. The region's land size covers an area of approximately 39,557 square kilometers out of Ghana's total land size of 238, 533 square kilometers representing 16.6 percent of the nation's total land mass (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). The Brong-Ahafo Region is bordered by the Ashanti, Eastern and Western Regions to the south, La Côte d'Ivoire to the west, the Northern Region to the north and the Lake Volta to the East (See Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Administrative Map of Brong-Ahafo Region



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

9. With the exception of the Sene District, where Guans constitute the largest ethnic group, the Brong-Ahafo Region is predominantly inhabited by the Akan ethnic group. The Mole-Dagbon group constitutes the second largest ethnic group except in Sene and Atebubu Amantin Districts. Other ethnic groups include Ga-Dangme, Ewe, Gurma, Grusi, Mande and other minor ethnic groups (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). There are 45 Paramountcies and traditional councils in the region, some owe allegiance to the Asantehene while others govern themselves. Brong-Ahafo Region is richly endowed with natural resources, particularly tourist attraction sites, mineral deposits, forest and timber species, rich soil and good climatic conditions. Described as the ‘bread basket’ of Ghana, the region contributes about 30 percent of the local food requirements of the country.

10. The Region is the third largest producer of cocoa in the country and attracts a lot of manpower from the three northern regions of Ghana. It has indeed one of the largest cocoa producing areas in the country in the Ahafo area, which shares a common border with Western and Ashanti Regions. Most cashew products in Ghana are produced in the Region. The Region has several tourist attractions: rivers, waterfalls, and the Buabeng-Fiema Monkey sanctuary. Another type of tourist attraction consists of caves, sanctuaries and groves. The Bui National Park, stretching northwest of Banda to the site of the Bui Dam, is home to many rare wildlife and vegetation.

11. Many of the Districts have rich deposits of minerals such as gold, diamond, iron-ore and bauxite that have been proven to be economically viable. There are large reserves of gold deposits in the region. These are currently mined by Newmont Gold Ghana Limited in Asutifi, Asunafo North and Tano North Districts.

6.3 Approach and Methodology

12. The process of eliciting views to support claims of petitioners from the Ahafo Region followed all the stages outlined in Chapter 3. In-camera engagement with petitioners on Ahafo was on the 23rd November 2017. This was followed by a regional fact-finding mission from 13th to 17th February 2018. There were four levels of consultations in the Region. These comprised a meeting with the government functionaries (RCC and MMDAs); the Brong-Ahafo Regional House of Chiefs and courtesy calls on the Paramount Chiefs; and public hearings in the selected district capitals in the proposed Ahafo Region.
13. Five public hearings were held by the Commission to elicit the views of the public on the proposed new region. Participants came from a cross section of the society. These included traditional, religious and political leaders, women, youth, farmers, traders, representatives of associations, the aged and people with disability. No inhibition was placed on views expressed except an admonition to avoid inflammatory statements.

6.4 Participation at the Ahafo Public Hearings

14. Through a head count, a total of 20,203 participants attended the five public hearings held in the Ahafo enclave by the Commission. The most attended public hearings were at Hwidiem (9,440 participants) and Goaso (5,317 participants) centres. In addition to these numbers, there were large numbers of pupils, adults standing on both sides of the roads with placards and various forms of inscriptions wherever the commissioners passed to the main public hearing centres. This showed an indication of their readiness for a new region. However, the number of participants in Sunyani (816), the regional capital was low perhaps due to the general characteristics of urban residents who may not have direct interest or are not affected by issues of concern such as inadequate access to government services, referral hospital and tertiary education. Table 6.2 show the locations and venues for the public hearings and the number of attendants.

Table 6.2: Locations and Venues for Public Hearings and Number of Participants Attending

Location	Date	Venue	Participants			Number of participants who made contributions
			Total Number of Registered Participants	Head Count	Total	
Sunyani	13-02-2018	Eusbett Conference Centre	487	329	816	20
Goaso	14-02-2018	Church of Pentecost	1,825	3,492	5,317	37
Sankore	15-02-2018	St. Peter's Catholic Church	884	770	1,654	31
Hwidiem	16-02-2018	Hwidiem SHS Assembly Hall	2,040	7,400	9,440	28
Bechem	17-02-2018	St. Joseph Catholic Church	1,036	1,940	2,976	28
Total			6,272	13,931	20,203	178

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

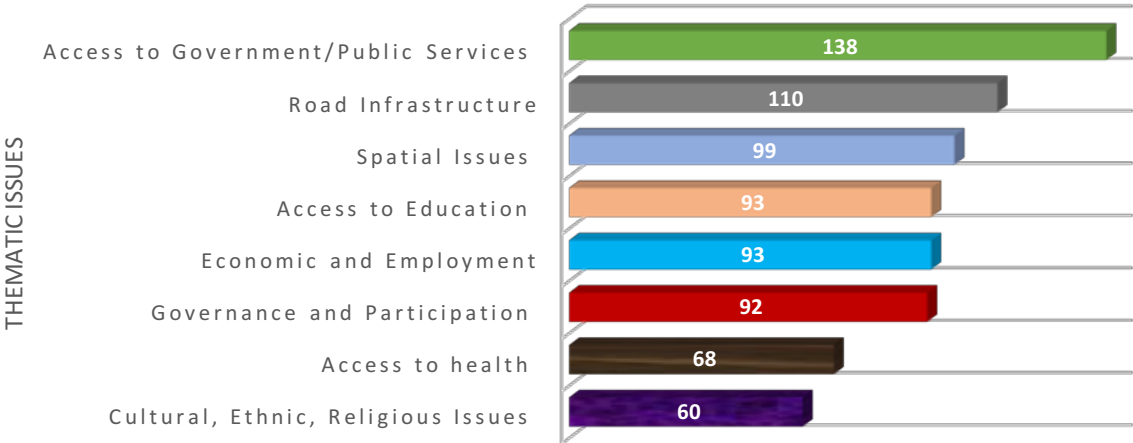
- All the 178 participants who spoke at the public hearings in Bechem, Goaso, Hwidiem, Sankore and Sunyani were in support of the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. There were no dissenting views. Participants who had the chance to speak were asked to provide reasons why they support, or otherwise of the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. Their reasons were later categorised into eight (8) thematic areas per location as shown in Table 6.3 and cumulative response in Figure 6.3.

Table 6.3: Issues raised at the Ahafo Public Hearings

No.	Thematic Issues	Locations Visited												Total	
		Bechem		Goaso		Hwidiem		Sankore		Sunyani		No.	%		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
1	Spatial Issues	21	11.9	29	14.9	18	11.1	19	14.1	12	14.3	99	13.1		
2	Access to Government or Public Services	30	16.9	37	19.0	25	15.4	30	22.2	16	19.0	138	18.3		
3	Road Infrastructure	24	13.6	23	11.8	33	20.4	17	12.6	13	15.5	110	14.6		
4	Access to Education	21	11.9	25	12.8	14	8.6	22	16.3	11	13.1	93	12.4		
5	Access to Health	18	10.2	23	11.8	13	8.0	10	7.4	4	4.8	68	9.0		
6	Cultural/Ethnic/Religious Issues	13	7.3	16	8.2	16	9.9	8	5.9	7	8.3	60	8.0		
7	Governance and Participation	24	13.6	15	7.7	26	16.0	17	12.6	10	11.9	92	12.2		
8	Economic and Employment	26	14.7	27	13.8	17	10.5	12	8.9	11	13.1	93	12.4		
	Total	177	100.0	195	100	162	100	135	100	84	100	753	100		

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Figure 6.3: Thematic issues from the Ahafo Public Hearings



Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

16. The most dominant issue emerging from the public hearings was access to government and public services which accounted for 18.3 percent of the total number of issues raised by contributors. This was followed by road infrastructure needs which accounted for 14.6 percent of the thematic issues raised. Ethnic, cultural and religious issues were mentioned the least accounting for 8 percent of all contributions. These statistics corroborated the issues raised during the in-camera engagement in Accra and the various regional courtesy calls on chiefs by the Commission.
17. The ranking of the issues followed similar trends in all locations where public hearings were held except Hwidiem which ranked road infrastructure needs as first with a percentage of 20.4 percent. Sankore, Goaso, Sunyani and Bechem ranked access to government and public services as 22.2 percent, 19 percent, 19 percent, and 16.9 percent respectively. Ethnic, religious and cultural issues recorded the least in all centres. The ratings seem to suggest that the communities have difficulty accessing higher order government and public services such as Security, Education and Health, etc. given their current state of infrastructural deficits and long distances (e.g. Sankore to Sunyani-135 km) to the regional capital, Sunyani.

6.4.1 Spatial Extent of the Brong-Ahafo Region

18. To adequately appreciate the spatial extent of the Brong-Ahafo Region and its implications for development, it is important that it is contextualized within its immediate environs. This way, important human settlements and landmarks can be identified so that distances between them, especially those between the extreme ends of the region, can be appreciated.
19. The region covers an area of 39,554 square kilometers and it occupies about 16.6 percent of the total land area of Ghana. With an estimated 2018 regional population of 2,750,474, the regional population density of 68.48 persons per square kilometer is still

lower than the national average of 124.00 persons per square kilometer in 2018 (see Table 6.4). This relatively low population density of the region indicates that there are still large tracts of land within the region which can be used for human settlements and agricultural purposes. This potential can be exploited for the eventual development of the region.

Table 6.4: Land Areas and Population of Districts in the Brong-Ahafo Region

MMDA	Land Area Km² (a)	Population 2010 (b)	Population Density p/km² (2010) (c)	Population 2018 (d)	Population Density p/km² (2018) (e)
Ahafo	5,121	484,206	94.55	576,290	112.53
Remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region	11,481	922,609	80.36	1,098,068	95.64
Bono East	22,952	904,168	39.39	1,034,421	45.07
Brong-Ahafo Region	39,554	2,310,983	58.43	2,708,779	68.48
Ghana	238,535	24,658,823	103.38	29,578,586	124.00

- Sources: (a) and (b) Ghana Statistical Service (2012). Population and Housing Census. Analytical Report: Brong-Ahafo Region
(c) Computed from (a) and (b)
(d) Projected using the 2010 figures and empirically determined growth rates
(e) Computed from (d) and (a)

20. It is evident from Table 6.4 that the population density of the proposed Ahafo region of 112.53 persons per square kilometre is higher than similar figures for the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region and the proposed Bono East Region (see Table 6.4). Although, the proposed Ahafo Region's density of 112.53 persons per square kilometre is higher than the Brong-Ahafo's regional average of 68.48 persons per square km in 2018, it is still lower than the national average of 124.00 persons per square kilometer in 2018 (see Table 6.4). The Ahafo enclave's population density indicates that the area can still become a favourable destination for migrant farmers who want to engage in either commercial or subsistence agriculture in the area.
21. The eastern portion of the Brong-Ahafo Region runs along the western portion of the Volta Lake and extends from Bunaso in the south to Kadelso in the north; a distance of about 205 km, "as the crow flies". On the western boundary of Brong-Ahafo Region, it extends from Asawinso No. 2 in the south to Ntoreso in the north; a distance of nearly 270 km, "as the crow flies". In an east-west direction, the region extends for about 320km. The region therefore covers a large expanse of land and distances between the regional capital and selected locations can be very long but what we find critical

are the travel times, waiting times and the limited supply of transport vehicles which ultimately result in long travel times to access critical services.

22. However, the travel distances from the regional capital, Sunyani, to the farthest northern and southern district capitals by road are respectively 142km to Banda Ahenkro and 50km to Bechem respectively (see Table 6.5). In terms of eastern and western directions, the farthest points from Sunyani are 292km to Kajaji in Sene East District and about 166 km to Nkrankwanta in Dormaa West district but in a north-south direction from, say, Kintampo to Goaso it is about 203 km by road.
23. The shape of the region and its coverage of a vast area together with the poor road conditions has resulted in a situation where some island communities near Kajaji in Sene East District including Kplama, Atigagome, Sekpati, Domeabra and Wayo Kope, occasionally find it more expedient to access the regional capital, Sunyani, through Kwahu Mpraeso and Nkawkaw in the Eastern Region.
24. The vast expanse of the region has several implications for development; especially as residents desire to access a range of high order services located in either the district centres or the regional capital. The distances involved and travel times could may be exaggerated because of poor road conditions, long waiting times and the limited supply of transport vehicles but they nonetheless provide indicative travel times between various location pairs within the region.
25. Another major implication of the region's wide spatial extent is the inability of the Regional Minister and other central government representatives to effectively supervise and monitor various on-going initiatives and projects in various communities within the region. Also, the isolation of some locations in the region has led to a situation whereby some residents of the region refer to those from the outlandish areas of the region as "those from Siberia".
26. Indeed, from the public hearings in Ahafo area, spatial issues ranked third among eight thematic areas, accounting for 13.1 percent of total contributions (refer to Table 6.3). In short, based on only the spatial extent of the Brong-Ahafo Region and, implicitly the distances between various towns and the regional capital, as well as the poor condition of connecting roads, the limited supply of transport vehicles and the long waiting times; the petitioners' claim for the creation of a new region can be endorsed. However, this has to be considered alongside other factors to enable a more comprehensive recommendation to be made.

Table 6.5: Distances between Sunyani and Selected Towns in the Brong-Ahafo Region

No.	Route	District	KM	Travel Time, Hours & Minutes
1	Sunyani – Duayaw Nkwanta	Tano North	36.5km	46mins.
2	Sunyani – Bechem	Tano South	50km	1hour.
3	Sunyani – Hweddiem	Asutifi South	60.6km	1hour 5mins.
4	Sunyani – Goaso	Asunafo North	81.5km	1hour 32mins.
5	Sunyani – Kukuom	Asunafo South	96.8km	1hour 47mins.
6	Sunyani – Kenyasi	Asutifi North	59.4km	1hour 19mins.
7	Sunyani – Techiman	Techiman Municipal	62.7km	1hour 26mins.
8	Sunyani – Nkoranza	Nkoranza South	89.2km	1hour 42mins.
9	Sunyani – Busunya	Nkoranza North	110km	2hours.
10	Sunyani – Atebubu	Atebubu Amantin	204km	3hours 46mins.
11	Sunyani – Kwame Danso	Sene West	239km	4hours 53mins.
12	Sunyani – Kajaji	Sene East	292km	5hours 44mins.
13	Sunyani – Yeji	Pru	264km	4hours 26mins.
14	Sunyani – Wenchi	Wenchi	61.2km	1hour 18mins.
15	Sunyani – Nsawkaw	Tain	90.5km	1hour 48mins.
16	Sunyani – Banda Ahenkro	Banda	142km	2hours 33mins.
17	Sunyani – Sampa	Jaman North	118km	2hours 30mins.
18	Sunyani – Drobo	Jaman South	67.5km	1hour 35mins.
19	Sunyani – Berekum	Berekum	37.1km	35mins.
20	Sunyani – Wamfie	Dormaa East	60.6km	1hour 19mins.
21	Sunyani – Dormaa Ahenkro	Dormaa Municipal	81.81km	1hour 40mins.
22	Sunyani – Nkrankwanta	Dormaa West	121km	2hours 25mins.
23	Sunyani – Tuobodom	Techiman North	68.2km	1hour 33mins.
24	Sunyani – Jema	Kintampo South	103km	2hours 15mins.
25	Sunyani – Kintampo	Kintampo North	122km	2hours 24mins.

Source: Data provided by the Regional Planning and Coordinating Unit of the Regional Coordinating Council, Sunyani, February, 2018.

6.4.2 Road Infrastructure

27. In this section of the report, road infrastructure is used to cover the three categories of roads found in the region and which are administered by statutory agencies as well as those that have current data on them. More specifically, road infrastructure refers to the urban roads, feeder roads and highways within the region. These roads are all important because they all play important roles in the movement of both freight and passengers from various origins to destinations. The roads will also be critical in the

transformation of the entire region so that the benefits of development will be felt everywhere within the Brong-Ahafo Region.

Urban Roads

28. The level of development or deprivation in urban areas can be assessed from operations of the Department of Urban Roads (DUR) within the Brong-Ahafo Region. Urban areas play a crucial role in economic development and hence DUR's activities can be seen as facilitating overall development of urban areas in the Brong-Ahafo Region. Currently, the DUR is fully established in five municipalities, namely: Sunyani, Techiman, Asunafo North and Berekum as well as Dormaa Ahenkro. Under the current arrangement, the Techiman Municipal Road Unit has oversight responsibility for Wenchi, Kintampo North and Nkoranza South. All told, it is very clear that apart from Asunafo North Municipality in the proposed Ahafo Region as well as Techiman and Nkoranza South Municipalities in the proposed Bono East Region, the other five municipalities where the DUR operates are all concentrated in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region. This goes to reinforce further the claim by petitioners that their area has been discriminated against in terms of all types of development and in this specific case, the development of roads in urban areas of the Brong-Ahafo Region.
29. In terms of the total network length, Asunafo North Municipality has a fairly reasonable length of urban roads (269km). As can be seen from Table 6.6, a substantial proportion (59.5%) of these roads is unpaved (160km out of 269km). The situation is even worsened by the fact that only a small portion (31%) of the unpaved roads in the Municipality is in "Good" condition. In much the same way, only a small proportion of the paved network in Asunafo North Municipality is in "Good" condition (refer to Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Network Length and Road Condition Mix for Paved and Unpaved Urban Roads in Brong-Ahafo Municipalities

Municipality	Total Network (km)	Paved Roads				Unpaved Roads			
		Total (km)	Good (km)	Fair (km)	Poor (km)	Total (km)	Good (km)	Fair (km)	Poor (km)
Sunyani	432	206	75.3	89.4	41.3	217	62.92	67.92	86.15
Techiman	473	128	57.3	45.6	25.1	345	106.95	107.99	130.07
Asunafo North	269	109	46.0	27.2	35.8	160	49.6	40.96	69.44
Berekum	277	58	25.3	19.6	13.1	219	57.6	54.97	105.43
Dormaa	188	56	22.2	16.0	17.8	132	27.72	39.34	64.94
Nkoranza	95	28	11.1	9.8	7.1	67	13.07	19.1	34.84
Wenchi	117	17	7.5	8.5	1.0	100	18.9	23.6	57.5
Kintampo	118	16	9.2	5.7	1.1	102	20.71	30.4	50.9

Source: Department of Urban Roads, Regional Directorate, Brong-Ahafo Region, Sunyani, February, 2018.

30. This level of deprivation is what residents of Ahafo area see as unfair and it is one of the bases for their petition. At the Goaso Public Hearing on 14th February, 2018, a mature student of the University of Cape Coast aptly sums up the situation by stating that:

“A car nearly knocked us down at Hwidiem when we were crossing the road as there are no traffic lights in the area. So, I asked the driver why he did not stop, and he queried if there is a single traffic light or zebra crossing in the Ahafo area.

I called my mate at the University to inform them about our near-death experience and all he could say was “no traffic light, no zebra crossing”.

The lack of traffic light and zebra crossing has accounted for reckless driving in Ahafo. Therefore, when you are crossing the road and do not take care, a car might just knock you down.”

31. In another development, a traditional ruler from the Ahafo enclave opined that:

“Ahafo has many resources that are of immense benefit to the country. These resources include cocoa, timber, and gold. The chunk of plantain and cassava consumed in many households in Accra come from the Ahafo area. However, the area does not benefit from any development.

Presently, there is no single traffic light in Ahafo and we believe that with the creation of the region the area can get the needed infrastructure for development.”

32. These quotations describe the anxiety of residents of Ahafo to have their fair share of urban roads development and the installation of traffic signal lights and zebra crossings irrespective of what the existing capacity of these roads may be. Whereas these facilities are common place in the more developed parts of the region, they are not associated with the undeveloped parts such as Ahafo.

Feeder Roads

33. Given the predominantly rural nature of the Brong-Ahafo Region, feeder roads would play a very critical role in the development of agriculture and industry. They connect settlements with each other and to higher order settlements in addition to serving as farm-to-market roads. The ability of farmers to transport their farm produce to buying centres depends on the availability, length and condition of feeder roads.
34. Table 6.7 shows the network length and condition of all feeder roads in Brong-Ahafo Region. Out of the total length of 7,228.28km of feeder roads in the entire region, 1,493.32km (20.7%) are in the Ahafo enclave possibly because of its small land mass. In terms of land mass, the Ahafo enclave occupies nearly 22.3 percent of the region's land area but has 20.7 percent of its total feeder road network. This can be considered as being fair but in reality it is partly because of the high cocoa production within a smaller land mass. However, what is more important for such roads to play their critical role in economic development is the maintenance regimes and the conditions in which the roads are for most times of the year, especially during the rainy season. Prior to a discussion of this subject, an examination of feeder road densities within the Ahafo enclave is presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Road Length, Surface Type and Condition of Feeder Roads in the Brong-Ahafo Region, 2018

	MMDA	ROAD LENGTH (KM)	SURFACE TYPE														
			Bitumen (Km)			Gravel (Km)			Earth (Km)								
			Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor						
	AHAFO																
1		768.13	70.29	20.73	5.60	151.53	242.32	186.03	12.20	32.04	47.40						
2	Asumafo North and South	358.15	18.36	1.00	0.00	142.04	80.63	59.17	3.00	10.95	43.00						
3	Asutifi North and South	367.04	43.40	0.96	8.06	154.30	74.89	36.60	3.83	26.46	18.54						
			132.05	22.69	13.66	447.87	397.84	281.8	19.03	69.45	108.94						
			(78.4%)	(13.5%)	(8.1%)	(39.7%)	(35.3%)	(25%)	(9.6%)	(35.2%)	(55.2%)						
	TOTAL	1,493.32	168.4	1127.51	197.42	1127.51	75.5%	13.2%	100%								

Table 6.7 Continued

MMDA	ROAD LENGTH (KM)	SURFACE TYPE											
		Bitumen (Km)			Gravel (Km)			Earth (Km)					
		Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor			
REMAINING PART OF THE BRONG-AHAFO REGION													
4	Sunyani Municipal and Sunyani West	483.94	6.52	1.35	0.00	116.43	157.02	87.45	4.37	26.80	83.51		
5	Berekum	280.68	11.80	0.00	0.00	95.56	55.15	65.52	2.00	24.65	24.00		
6	Jaman North and South	500.78	9.40	0.00	0.00	264.10	53.18	53.50	16.50	36.05	68.05		
7	Tain and Banda	627.50	3.00	2.00	1.50	126.10	67.20	360.50	4.70	6.40	56.10		
8	Wenchi	341.34	15.80	0.00	0.00	35.15	44.29	145.62	15.10	27.80	57.58		
9	Dormaa Municipal, Dormaa East and Dormaa West	449.69	42.47	3.71	1.00	185.08	86.43	80.21	5.65	10.50	34.65		
			88.99 (90.3%)	7.06 (7.2%)	2.5 (2.5%)	822.42 (42.5%)	463.27 (22.3%)	792.8 (38.1%)	48.32 (9.6%)	132.2 (26.2%)	323.89 (64.2%)		
TOTAL		2,683.93 (100%)		98.55 (3.7%)		2078.49 (77.5%)				504.41 (18.8%)			

Table 6.7 Continued

MMDA	ROAD LENGTH (KM)	SURFACE TYPE											
		Bitumen (Km)			Gravel (Km)			Earth (Km)					
		Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor			
PROPOSED BONO EAST REGION													
10	Techiman Municipal and Techiman North	508.87	6.00	0.00	0.00	119.11	83.72	56.04	19.14	104.38	120.48		
11	Nkoranza North and South	480.37	6.80	1.00	0.05	44.37	41.85	31.74	17.39	44.89	292.29		
12	Atebubu Amantin	851.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	74.96	135.72	63.45	9.65	134.92	432.8		
13	Kintampo North and South	550.37	0.00	0.00	0.00	59.49	44.00	63.34	28.15	19.09	336.30		
14	Sene East, Sene West and Pru Sene	660.81	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.20	82.81	133.2	5.80	4.90	388.0		
			12.8	1	0.05	343.1	388.1	347.8	80.13	308.2	1569.9		
			(92.4%)	(7.2%)	(0.4%)	(31.8%)	(36%)	(32.2%)	(4.1%)	(35.4%)	(80.2%)		
TOTAL		3051.03		13.85		1079				1958.18			
		(100%)		(0.4%)			(35.4%)			(64.2%)			

Source: Department of Feeder Roads, Brong-Ahafo Regional Directorate, Sunyani, 2018.

NOTE: AC – Asphaltic Concrete

GR – Gravel

ST – Surface Treated

35. Table 6.7 shows that feeder road densities within the proposed Ahafo Region are most favourable within Asunafo South and Asunafo North with an index of 0.576km/km² compared to a national average of 0.50km/km². Similar indices for Tano North and Tano South, which are virtually the same as for Asutifi North and Asutifi South, show feeder road densities of 0.25km/km² and 0.26km/km² respectively. What these latter figures portray is a situation where there are fewer feeder roads in Asutifi and Tano which are both major cocoa growing and logging areas.
36. In addition, as can be seen from Table 6.8, Asutifi North and Asutifi South as well as Tano North and Tano South districts have less than 3m of road length for every 1,000 population. The level of feeder road development in both Asunafo South and Asunafo North Districts, compared to Asutifi and Tano districts is much better. The extent of these developments is woefully inadequate to enable them contribute meaningfully towards evacuation of cocoa and the overall economic development. There is therefore the need for new road developments in these areas.
37. As indicated earlier on, for the above to occur the condition of these roads is critical. Table 6.7 shows the condition and surface type of feeder roads in the Brong-Ahafo Region. Surprisingly, the Ahafo enclave has the lowest or shortest length of earth roads within the entire region more than half of which are in “Poor” condition. In addition, there are a few gravel roads in “Poor” condition (25.0%) and this impedes smooth evacuation of cocoa and other agricultural produce as they provide a link between the earth and bitumen surface feeder roads that are in “Poor” condition throughout the Brong-Ahafo Region. The bitumen surfaced roads in “Poor” condition are high (8.1%) in the Ahafo enclave compared to remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region and the proposed Bono East with 2.5 percent and 0.4 percent respectively.

Table 6.8: Feeder Road Densities in Ahafo Sub-Region

MMDA		Population (a)	Area (km ²) (b)	Length of feeder roads (km) (c)	Feeder road density (km/ km ²) (d)	Length/ Population (e)
Asunafo South	Asunafo	95,580	923	768.13	0.576	0.0035
Asunafo North		124,685	410			
Asutifi North	Asutifi	52,259	935	358.15	0.252	0.0027
Asutifi South		78,129	489			
Tano North	Tano	53,584	597	367.04	0.258	0.0027
Tano South		79,973	837			

- Sources:
- (a) and (b) Compiled from analytical reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census.
 - (c) Data received from the Department of Feeder Roads, Brong-Ahafo Directorate, February, 2018.
 - (d) Calculated from (b) and (c)
 - (e) Calculated from (a) and (c)

Highways

38. A more comprehensive picture of road infrastructure in the Brong-Ahafo Region can be appreciated with a brief presentation of the condition of highways within the region. Table 6.9 shows the regional distribution of highways or trunk roads comprising asphaltic concrete roads, gravel roads and surface treated roads with an overall regional network length of nearly 2,000km. Out of this total, only 330km are in the Ahafo enclave, 601.1km in the proposed Bono East Region and 1,042.2km in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region. As is to be expected, a large proportion of the region's highways in poor condition are located in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region. However, the Ahafo area with the least length of highways has 8 percent of such roads in "Poor" condition while proposed Bono East Region has none of its highways in "Poor" condition.
39. As can be seen from Table 6.10, the density of highways in the region shows a marginal concentration of 0.292km/km² in the Ahafo area primarily because of its small area which is only about 50 percent in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region and nearly 22 percent of the proposed Bono East Region. In general terms, therefore, it may be said that the distribution of highways in the region is unequal.
40. The regional breakdown of highways indicate that the Ahafo area has only 330km or 16.7 percent of the regional network with 601.1km or 52.8 percent in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region. The distribution of highways in the Brong-Ahafo Region is inequitable. The proposed Ahafo Region, an area which produces a substantial portion of the cocoa produced in the region, has less motorable roads. This is attributable to the spatial structure of the proposed Region with one major arterial and few radial highways.

Table 6.9: Length of Highways in Brong-Ahafo Region by Districts (2018)

Districts	Surface Type (Km)			Percentages (%) (Km)			Condition-Length (Km)			Condition (%)			Total Length (Km)
	AC	GR	ST	AC	GR	ST	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	
PROPOSED AHAFO REGION													
Asunafo North	35	42.1	27.4	33.5	40.3	26.2	71.5	8.0	25	68.4	7.6	23.9	104.50
Asutifi	21.5	59.1	51.7	16.2	44.7	39.1	95.5	36.8	-	72.2	27.8	-	132.30
Tano South	50.2	10.1	14.9	66.8	13.4	19.8	59.7	15.5	-	79.4	20.6	-	75.2
Tano North	2.6	-	15.4	14.4	-	85.5	18	-	-	100	-	-	18
Total Length in Region													
330													
PROPOSED BONO EAST REGION													
Atebubu Amantin	-	115	124.8	-	48	52.0	139.1	100.1	-	58.0	42	-	239.80
Nkoranza	3.4	-	111.6	3.0	-	97.0	88.6	26.4	-	77.0	23	-	115.0
Pru	-	15.40	2.1	-	88	12							17.5
Sene	-	91.2	23	-	80	20	91	23.2	-	79.7	20.3	-	114.2
Techiman	30.8	-	83.8	26.9	-	73.1	82.3	32.3	-	71.8	28.1	-	114.6
Total Length in Region													
601.1													

Table 6.9 continued

REMAINING PART OF THE BRONG-AHAFO REGION													
Berekum	33.9	17.6	19.8	76.2	13.0	10.8	28.2	43.1	-	60	40	-	71.3
Dormaa Ahenkro	59.4	73.3	61.2	30.6	37.8	31.6	100.7	41.6	51.6	51.9	21.5	26.9	193.9
Jaman North	-	54.3	56.4	-	49.1	50.9	54.7	2.2	53.8	49.4	2.0	48.6	110.70
Kintampo North	89.8	-	-	100	-	-	54.9	34.9	-	61.1	38.9	-	89.8
Kintampo South	72.2	56.3	1.20	55.7	43.4	0.9	114.1	15.6	-	88	12	-	129.70
Sunyani Municipality	5.5	-	55.3	9.0	-	90.9	7.4	53.4	-	12.2	88.8	-	60.8
Tain	-	172.8	144.5	-	54.4	45.6	102.3	170.3	45.1	32.2	53.6	14.2	317.7
Wenchi East	2.5	-	92.6	2.6	-	97.4	62.8	32.3	-	66.0	34.0	-	95.1
Total Length in Region													1042.2

Source: Data received from Ghana Highway Authority, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, January, 2018.

Table 6.10: Highway Density by proposed Regions in the Brong-Ahafo Region

Regions	LAND AREA (km²)	ROAD LENGTH (km)	ROAD DENSITY (km/km²)
	(a)	(b)	(c)
Proposed Ahafo	5,121	1,493.32	0.292
Remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region	11,481	2,683.93	0.234
Proposed Bono East	22,952	3,051.03	0.133
Brong-Ahafo Region	39,554	7,228.28	0.183

Sources: (a) Compiled from analytical reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census
 (b) Data received from Ghana Highway Authority, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, January, 2018.
 (c) Computed from (a) and (b).

41. Thus far, the presentation of road infrastructure development in the Brong-Ahafo Region indicates that there are inequities in the distribution of urban roads, feeder roads and highways within the three major enclaves. Road infrastructural needs ranked second to access to government and public services during the public hearings in Ahafo. Out of a total of 753 contributions, 110 were on road infrastructural needs, representing 14.6 percent of total contributions. These inequalities are noticeable from data presented for feeder roads and highways. In the case of urban roads, petitioners described such inequalities in vivid terms. The petitioners claim that their demand is rooted in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.
42. Article 35 (3) of the 1992 Constitution mandates government to provide citizens equal access to public facilities and services. Although government provides public facilities and services in each region, it has minimal impact on the communities in which the petition emanated from for a number of reasons namely: growth in the population, poor road network, large size of the region and obsolete facilities. Article 35 (6) (c) also enjoins government to provide adequate facilities to encourage free movement of people, goods and services.

6.4.3 Access to Government and Public Services

43. The difficulty in accessing government and public services was discussed extensively throughout the Commission's interactions with the chiefs and people of the Ahafo enclave. There was a general sense of alienation from government by the people due to their inability to access essential government services or state institutions like the Courts, Armed Forces, Immigration, Fire and Prisons Services, Utility Service Providers, Passport Offices, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority, Lands Commission and Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands and Forestry Commission.

44. The petitioners and speakers who interacted with the Commission complained about their inability to have access to certain public services at the existing regional capital due to vastness of the region and the need to travel long distances to access high order government and public services. A contributor at the public hearing in Goaso had this to say:

“Currently, public sector workers like police officers, nurses and teachers have to travel to their regional offices in Sunyani to do their paper work. Sometimes teachers spend days before they can access administrative services in Sunyani. Also, nurses often leave their post to travel long distances to access the Regional Health Directorate in Sunyani. The new region will therefore bring the regional offices of various government agencies closer to the people.”

This in most cases evoke a sense of frustration, stress and a drain on the financial resources of individuals and organizations seeking to access these services.

45. In a number of cases, the services required by participants relate to higher level services which are only made available at the regional capital due to its population threshold and the sphere of influence advantage for the optimum use of those services. The planning standards stipulate that higher order service provisions should be supported by a larger complementary region. For example, within the health service sector, a Regional Hospital is a higher-level service provider than a Hospital because it has a wider range of facilities that include all those offered by a hospital, health centre and more. The qualitative difference between the areas of influence of higher and lower services is that the latter always falls within the former.
46. The 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana mandates government to provide just and reasonable access to public facilities under Article 35 (3). In the proposed Ahafo Region, it became evident from the public hearings and the engagements with chiefs and other stakeholders that the area did not have just and reasonable access to public facilities as guaranteed by the 1992 Constitution.

6.4.3.1 Access to Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions

47. The location, distribution and numbers of all types of educational institutions in the proposed Ahafo Region was an issue of concern to selected members of the communities during the public hearings in the area. It was raised 93 times, this means that 12.4 percent of the contributors were concerned about education in their area. Speakers at the public hearings in the proposed Ahafo Region kept emphasizing the point that, there was inequality in the distribution of educational facilities at all levels of education. This also implies that access to these facilities may be impaired in some locations.
48. Indeed, as can be seen from Table 6.11, at every level in the educational ladder, there are more institutions in the proposed Bono East Region and in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region than there are in the proposed Ahafo Region. Even surprising are the cases of Kindergartens and Primary Schools which are normally ubiquitous

because of the sheer numbers and yet available data indicate that they are still more concentrated in the other two areas than they are in the Ahafo area. The situation or pattern is still the same for Junior and Senior High Schools. At the public hearings in Goaso, a contributor described the situation rather more accurately when he stated that: *“... development is about education of the youth but of the 56 Senior High Schools benefitting from the Secondary Education Improvement Project, only 19 are in the proposed Ahafo Region.”*

49. A teacher at the public hearing in Goaso also indicated that: *“...the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region such as Atebubu, Berekum, Techiman, Kintampo and Sunyani have teacher training colleges even though most of the natural resources are in the Ahafo area. Also, all the universities are sited in the Brong area notably: Fiapre, Sunyani, Wenchi and Techiman.”*

Table 6.11: Educational Institutions by Districts in the Brong-Ahafo Region

MMDA	KG	PRIMARY	JHS	SHS	COLLEGE OF EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY	SPECIAL EDUCATION
PROPOSED AHAFO							
Asunafo North	97	97	73	2	0	0	0
Asunafo South	81	81	65	2	0	0	0
Asutifi North	61	58	17	2	0	0	0
Asutifi South	51	51	43	2	0	0	0
Tano North	64	56	56	4	0	0	0
Tano South	55	56	42	3	1	0	0
TOTAL	409	399	296	15	1	0	0
REST OF THE BRONG-AHAFO REGION							
Banda	23	23	20	1	0	0	0
Berekum	67	67	64	5	1	0	0
Dormaa East	46	46	27	2	1	0	0
Dormaa Municipal	48	65	66	2	0	0	0
Dormaa West	29	29	45	1	0	0	0
Jaman North	60	60	46	5	0	0	0
Jaman South	70	69	57	2	0	0	0
Sunyani Municipal	56	66	60	5	0	2	1
Sunyani West	69	72	51	5	0	0	0
Tain	79	79	46	4	0	0	0
Wenchi	79	80	67	4	1	1*	0
TOTAL	626	656	549	36	3	2	1

MMDA	KG	PRIMARY	JHS	SHS	COLLEGE OF EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY	SPECIAL EDUCATION
PROPOSED BONO EAST							
Atebubu Amantin	80	87	44	2	1	0	0
Kintampo North	69	70	47	2	0	0	0
Kintampo South	77	77	50	1	0	0	0
Nkoranza North	56	56	48	2	0	0	0
Nkoranza South	77	77	50	1	0	0	0
Pru	91	92	49	3	0	0	1
Sene East	49	49	11	1	0	0	0
Sene West	51	50	25	1	0	0	0
Techiman Municipal	93	95	63	5	0	1*	0
Techiman North	46	49	39	5	0	0	1
TOTAL	689	702	426	23	1	0	2

*Campus of Valley View University

KG – Kindergarten

JHS – Junior High School

SHS – Senior High School

Source: Ghana Education Service Sunyani, January, 2018.

50. The foregoing are only two of the views expressed by several people at the public hearings to drive home the fact that there is inequality in the location and distribution of educational facilities in the region. Access to education was one of the critical issues that was stressed during the public hearings in the Ahafo enclave accounting for, in total, 12.4 percent of all contributions.
51. The above position is further supported by an analysis of the situation taking into account the population distribution within the region. When the ratios of the region's total number of educational institutions are compared with the ratios of the population of the proposed Ahafo, proposed Bono East Regions and the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region – it is abundantly clear that the Ahafo area does not have its fair share of educational facilities; particularly Senior High Schools, Colleges of Education, Universities and Special Education institutions (see Table 6.12). In each of these cases, Ahafo's ratio of its population to the regional population is not commensurate with the ratio of educational facilities located in the area.
52. The foregoing situation may have influenced one of the petitioners to claim that: *“Education is another area that is lagging behind in comparison with Brong area and Ghana in general. Our primary and second cycle institutions are not well resourced leading to low quality standards of education. With the proliferation of universities or higher institutions of learning and research across Ghana in recent years, there is no single university in the area to trigger research that can guarantee the needed human capacities”* (Petition in support of the Creation of Ahafo Region by Council of Ahafo Chiefs by Ahafo Development Association (2018). The petitioners are of the strong view that, one of the best ways of addressing their educational problems is through the creation of an Ahafo Region that will allow them to take their destiny into their own hands.

Table 6.12: Distribution of Educational Facilities in the Brong-Ahafo Region

REGION	Population (2018)		KG		Primary		JHS		SHS		College of Education		University		Special Education	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ahafo	576,290	21%	409	24%	399	23%	296	23%	15	20%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region	1,098,068	41%	626	36%	656	37%	549	43%	36	49%	3	60%	2	100%	1	33%
BonoEast	1,034,421	38%	689	40%	702	40%	426	34%	23	31%	1	20%	0	0%	2	67%
Total	2,708,779	100%	1724	100%	1757	100%	1271	100%	74	100%	5	100%	2	100%	3	100%

Source: Computed from 2018 Population Estimates by GSS and data provided by Ghana Education Service Sunyani, January, 2018.

6.4.3.2 Access to Health Care Facilities

53. Access to good health is a fundamental human right and must be accessible to all irrespective of location. The petitioners and participants at the public hearings indicated that the state of health care delivery in the area was deplorable. The issue was raised 68 times (Table 6.13), representing 9 percent of the total contributions from participants in all the five public hearings in the proposed Ahafo Region. The health issues raised focused on the availability, quality of facilities and service delivery. According to the participants, the provision of health facilities are either impeded by infrastructure deficit or inadequate access due to poor road network and long distances (Section 6.5.1). The distribution of health facilities by type in the Brong-Ahafo Region is presented in Table 6.13.
54. Out of the 867 health facilities in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the proposed Ahafo region has 167 across the six districts. The proposed Bono East Region has 303 and the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 397. In terms of hierarchy (levels) of service, the lowest health facility, Community-Based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) covers nearly 75 percent of the total health facilities in the region. The distribution across the three divides: the Ahafo, Bono East and the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region are 76 percent; 80 percent and 68 percent respectively.
55. Per the Planning Standards, each District is supposed to have a Hospital to address some referral cases within the districts. Of the six districts within the proposed Ahafo region, 4 (66.6%) have hospitals. A contributor at the forum remarked:

“If you look at social services like healthcare, there are 43 hospitals in the region but there are only 4 in Ahafo. Even two of those 4 hospitals are Mission Hospitals and majority of the health facilities in the area are CHPS compounds. This shows the low level of health care delivery in the Ahafo area. The new region when created will bring physical infrastructure which will cause the area to have its fair share of the national cake”.

Table 6.13: Health Facilities by Type in Brong-Ahafo Region

NO.	District	CHPS	Clinic	District Hospital	Health Centre	Hospital	Maternity	Mines	Polyclinic	Regional Hospital	Total
Proposed Ahafo											
1.	Asunafo North	26	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	41
2.	Asunafo South	15	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	20
3.	Asutifi North	25	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	31
4.	Asutifi South	24	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	29
5.	Tano North	25	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	30
6.	Tano South	12	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	16
	Sub Total	127	5	4	19	3	6	1	2	0	167
Proposed Bono East											
1.	Atebubu-Amantin	29	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	34
2.	Kintampo North	18	0	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	25
3.	Kintampo South	31	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	35
4.	Nkoranza North	22	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	26
5.	Nkoranza South	21	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	30
6.	Pru	20	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	28
7.	Sene East	17	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	20
8.	Sene West	19	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	22
9.	Techiman Municipal	36	0	1	4	1	4	0	0	0	46
10.	Techiman North	30	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	37
	Sub Total	243	5	7	37	2	9	0	0	0	303

Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region													
1.	Banda	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
2.	Berekum	27	1	1	12	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	49
3.	Dormaa East	22	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	27
4.	Dormaa Municipal	30	0	1	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	38
5.	Dormaa West	10	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	15
6.	Jaman North	13	2	1	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
7.	Jaman South	33	1	1	4	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	45
8.	Sunyani Municipal	34	19	1	4	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	65
9.	Sunyani West	36	5	0	4	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	49
10.	Tain	29	0	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	36
11.	Wenchi	32	0	1	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	40
Sub Total		273	28	8	53	5	26	0	3	1	3	1	397
Regional Total		643	38	19	109	10	41	1	5	1	5	1	867

Source: Data received from Ghana Health Service, Brong-Ahafo Regional Directorate, Sunyani, 2018.

56. The proposed Bono East Region and the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region have 7(70%) and 8(72.7%) hospitals respectively. For higher order health establishments such as Maternity, Polyclinic and the Regional Hospitals where complex health-related referral cases could be attended to, the proposed Bono East and Ahafo Regions are disadvantaged. For instance, in the Ahafo enclave, only four (4) of the six (6) districts have Maternity Services and two (2) Polyclinic services with inadequate facilities. At the Goaso public hearing a contributor noted that, there is only one ambulance to serve all of the district. An Ambulance Driver at the public hearing in Goaso had this to say:

“I want the Ahafo Region created because before the Ambulance Service came to Goaso, I was the only ambulance driver in the whole area. There was only one doctor who usually could not take more than 3 accident cases a day. Thus, emergency cases had to be sent to Kumasi or Sunyani where you usually would be informed upon arrival that there are no beds. This has led to the death of many patients. This situation is very disheartening as sometimes you would be on your way to the Sunyani Regional Hospital conveying a patient but would be called to come back and pick another dying patient to Komfo Anokye Hospital in Kumasi.”

57. The situation is worse in proposed Bono East Region which has five (5) Maternity Centres as their highest order health facility and no polyclinic for all the 10 districts. The remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region with Sunyani as the Regional Capital has the only referral Regional Hospital and three (3) Polyclinics with well-equipped facilities. As is to be expected, the distribution of health personnel is skewed in favour of the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region which has the highest number of health facilities in the region.

Table 6.14: Distribution of Health Personnel in the Brong-Ahafo Region

No	District	Personnel Type			Total	
		Nurses	Medical or Physical Assistants	Medical Doctors	No	%
Ahafo						
1	Asunafo North Municipal	295	8	8	311	4.55
2	Asunafo South	100	1	1	102	1.49
3	Asutifi North	190	5	0	195	2.85
4	Asutifi South	119	3	10	132	1.93
5	Tano North	140	3	0	143	2.09
6	Tano South	373	7	15	395	5.77
Sub-Total		1,217	27	34	1,278	18.69
Bono East						
1	Atebubu-Amantin	229	2	4	235	3.43
2	Kintampo North Municipal	212	12	9	233	3.40
3	Kintampo South	157	5	4	166	2.42
4	Nkoranza North	103	2	0	105	1.53
5	Nkoranza South Municipal	264	6	8	278	4.06
6	Pru	215	4	7	226	3.30
7	Sene East	6	0	0	6	0.08
8	Sene West	264	2	2	268	3.92
9	Techiman Municipal	581	19	52	652	9.53
10	Techiman North	110	4	0	114	1.66
Sub Total		2,141	56	86	2,283	33.4
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region						
1	Banda	68	1	0	69	1.0
2	Berekum Municipal	333	7	22	362	5.29
3	Dormaa Central Municipal	397	3	15	415	6.07
4	Dormaa East	128	1	1	130	1.90
5	Dormaa West	106	2	1	109	1.59
6	Jaman North	189	6	2	197	2.88
7	Jaman South	231	7	5	243	3.55
8	Sunyani Municipal	901	18	101	1020	14.9
9	Sunyani West	168	5	0	173	2.53
10	Tain	178	6	3	187	2.73
11	Wenchi Municipal	350	11	8	369	5.39
Sub Total		3,049	67	158	3,274	47.9
Grand Total		6,407	150	278	6,835	100.00

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, 2018

58. From Table 6.14, given the combined number of health personnel: including nurses, medical or physical assistants, and medical doctors in the region, the proposed Ahafo Region has only 18.69 percent of the total 6,855 personnel. Bono East has 33.4 percent and the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 47.9 percent. An analysis of Doctor-Patient ratio indicates that, the proposed Ahafo Region is worst off with a Doctor-Patient ratio of 1: 15,805. This is followed by Bono East with a ratio of 1: 10,199. The remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has a Doctor-Patient Ratio of 1:5,444. Even though the Doctor-Patient ratio in Ahafo is lower than the Brong-Ahafo Regional average of 1:18,629, it is about twice the national average of 1:8300. However, most of the doctors are concentrated in Sunyani, the regional capital located in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region.
59. The deficit in both the health facilities and personnel in respect of the overall health care delivery system in the Ahafo enclave require attention. The creation of the proposed Ahafo region has the potential of:
- Establishing a Regional Health Directorate that will oversee the implementation of the gaps in the health facilities and personnel to improve the health care system in the area;
 - Mandating Ministry of Health to provide a regional hospital that will address all referral cases at the regional level;
 - Attracting health professionals, especially nurses and doctors, to man the various health facilities to reduce the doctor-patient ratio for better health care delivery; and
 - Attracting investment and private health providers such as hospitals and pharmaceutical companies into the area. Also, the health infrastructure will provide direct and indirect employment. The multiplier effect will be total accelerated development in the entire region in particular and Ghana as a whole.

6.4.3.3: Judicial Services

60. One of the concerns raised by participants during public hearings in the Ahafo enclave was their inability to access higher order judicial services. Out of the 31 courts in the Brong-Ahafo Region (Table 6.15), the proposed Ahafo Region has seven (7) or 22.6 percent of the total number: Two Circuit Courts in Goaso and Duayaw Nkwanta and five (5) District Courts at Bechem, Duayaw Nkwanta, Kenyasi, Goaso and Kukuom.

Table 6.15: Distribution of Courts in Brong-Ahafo Region by Areas

Location	Type of Court			Totals	
	High Court	Circuit	District	No.	%
Ahafo Area	-	2	5	7	22.6
Bono East	-	1	5	6	19.4
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region	6	4	8	18	58
Total	6	7	18	31	100

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018.

61. The rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 18 (58%) of the courts in the region. Of the 6 High Courts in the entire region, Sunyani alone has three (3) High Courts and two (2) Commercial Courts while the other High Court is in Wenchi; all within the Bono enclave. The distribution of courts point to the skewness of the justice system in favour of the Sunyani enclave. Apart from the long distances and high financial implications in accessing these services from the current regional capital, most lawyers are unwilling to operate in the proposed Ahafo Region due to the few courts and judges stationed in the proposed Ahafo Region. A lawyer at the Sankore hearing had this to say:

“I am talking about the administration of justice in the Brong-Ahafo Region. There are currently seven (7) Circuit Courts with only two (2) here in Ahafo. Even with the two (2) Circuit Courts we have sometimes only one Judge who handles all cases in these two (2) Courts. So, when you go to Court at Ahafo you realize there are several people waiting for their cases to be handled only to be told that the Judge is at the other Court, so we need to get another date. What I consider disheartening is that by the time you get to the High Court at Sunyani, Fiapre, you will be told that the Judge has closed for the day at 9am while Judges in Ahafo are struggling to handle the overwhelming number of cases in their Courts.”

62. The creation of the proposed Ahafo Region will compel the government to establish an Attorney General’s Office, High Courts and Circuit Courts at the regional and district levels to address the myriad of concerns raised by the people of the proposed Ahafo Region in respect of service delivery from the Judicial Service and the Attorney Generals Department. Justice delivery will therefore be closer to the people and cases will take less time to conclude. The creation will also attract private legal practitioners since there will be complementary services in the areas of good business opportunities, banking services, access to higher order services such as education, health and security. Where delivery of justice is effective and timely, it promotes business and investment drives thereby ensuring overall socio-economic development of the area.

6.4.3.4 Water supply

63. Water supply distribution and coverage seem to be fairly balanced in all parts of the Brong-Ahafo Region. Boreholes (BH) and hand dug wells (HDW) are the main potable water supply systems in the region. Out of the 3,352 BHs and 427 HDWs in the region,

the proposed Ahafo Region has 705 BHs and 242 HDWs; Bono East has 1,308 BHs and 93 HDWs and the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 1,339 BHs and 92 HDWs. The rural water supply coverage for the Ahafo enclave with a population of 537,382, the proposed Bono East Region with a population of 877,154 and the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region with a population of 860,226 are about 70 percent, 62.5 percent and 66.5 percent respectively. In terms of access to potable water supply, the proposed Ahafo Region is better placed than the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region with overall water coverage of nearly 70 percent (Ghana Water Company Limited-Sunyani, 2018).

64. The situation is not different from the urban water supply. While the Sunyani enclave has three (3) of the operating systems at Berekum, Dormaa and Sunyani, the Bono East area has only one operating system at Techiman. The Ahafo area has two systems; one at Acherensua in the Asutifi South and the other at Dwomo in the Tano South District. Access to potable water sources from both urban and rural water supply systems is fairly balanced in the Brong-Ahafo Region.
65. Given the International Standard of access to potable water by all citizens irrespective of their race, colour or place of origin, there is the need to fill the water coverage gap in the three proposed regions. The creation of Ahafo Region apart from having the potential of attracting investment to increase water supply coverage in that enclave, will also provide the opportunity for the establishment of Community Water and Sanitation Agency (CWSA) and Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) regional offices. These offices will ensure that effective monitoring and supervision for improved water supply in the area is attained.

6.4.3.5 Other Services

66. Other services such as the Police, Prisons, Fire Service, Armed Forces, Immigration, and Forestry Commission all provide complementary services to make government responsive to the needs of the people. In all the public hearings in the Ahafo enclave, their inability to access these services were highlighted. For instance, the total number of personnel in the Police Service in the region is skewed in favour of the rest of Brong-Ahafo Region and, especially, the Sunyani enclave. Of the 2,349 personnel in the region (Table 6.16), the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region takes 1,328 (56.5%) with Sunyani alone taking 765 (32.5%); Ahafo 405 (17.2%) and Bono East 616 (26.2%).

Table 6.16: Distribution of Police Personnel in the Brong-Ahafo Region

District	No. of personnel (a)	Population of Area (2010 Census) (b)	Ratio of Personnel To Population (c)
Proposed Ahafo Area			
Goaso	100		
Mim	39		
Kenyase	70		
Kukuom	53		
Duayaw Nkwanta	77		
Bechem	66		
Total	405		
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region			
Wenchi	160		
Sunyani	197		
Berekum	144		
Sampa	66		
Drobo	67		
Dormaa	74		
Wamfie	19		
Amansi	15		
Nkrankwanta	18		
Total	760		
Regional Headquarters	568		
Total	1,328	922,609	1:694.74
Proposed Bono East Area			
Techiman	200		
Tuobodom	12		
Tanoso	27		
Kintampo	115		
Jema	25		
Atebubu	70		
Yeji	57		
Kwame Danso	18		
Nkoranza	72		
Busunga	20		
Total	616		
Brong-Ahafo Region Grand Total	2,349	2,310,983	

- Sources:
- (a) Data received from the Ghana Police Service, Brong-Ahafo Regional Command, 2018;
 - (b) Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census
 - (c) Computed from (a) and (b)

67. The distribution provide police-population ratios in Ahafo, Bono East and in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region as 1: 1,195; 1:1,468 and 1:695 respectively which are significantly higher when benchmarked with the United Nations standard of 1:500. Though the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region has the lowest, the distribution varies as one moves away from the regional capital, Sunyani. In addition, and by virtue of Sunyani being the regional capital, it has the highest order police establishment. The Headquarters in Sunyani with its attendant facilities facilitate the quick and efficient resolution of security concerns in a timeous manner than in the proposed Ahafo Region.
68. In the view of the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings, the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region will provide avenues for the construction of police facilities including the regional headquarters to combat crimes and protect the citizenry. Furthermore, more personnel will be employed. Private investment and security will be guaranteed for the overall socio-economic development in the area.
69. The other services such as the Prisons Service, Fire Service, Armed Forces follow similar imbalanced distribution patterns. Sometimes, service providing agencies such as the Passport Office, the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority, and Forestry Commission are only located at the regional capital, Sunyani. Therefore, the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region will open up opportunities for the establishment of these services.

6.4.4 Economic and Employment Issues

70. The objective of this part of the report is to present the current status of economic and employment activities in the Brong-Ahafo Region and draw inferences for the proposed Ahafo Region because of limited data. In some respect, lack of current data on this part of the region makes it a little more difficult to go beyond the general region-wide generalizations and inferences. However, based on these inferences, the future state of economic and employment issues in the Ahafo enclave can be better appreciated so it can be determined whether it supports the creation of the region on a sustainable basis.
71. As earlier noted in all the public hearings in Bechem, Goaso, Hwidiem, Sankore and in Sunyani for the Ahafo stakeholders, economic and employment issues attracted the attention of 93 contributors and this represented 12.4 percent of all contributions made in these hearings. Details of the frequencies and their respective scores for each thematic area are shown in Table 6.3.
72. As a predominantly rural region, agriculture, comprising farming, forestry and logging as well as fishing, constitutes the major source of employment in the region. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2010), about 66 percent of the active labour force is engaged in these activities. However, our field visits in the Ahafo enclave indicated that logging and lumbering, which are aspects of forestry, are gradually diminishing in importance because there were several timber processing plants with either very little

activity compared to earlier periods, or plants which are on the verge of collapse and folding up as was confirmed by some petitioners.

73. The aforementioned state of affairs was confirmed by several contributors including, a photographer, of Susanso when he stated that: “...our forests are being destroyed because of inadequate personnel to monitor the activities of illegal chain saw operators but with the creation of the new Ahafo Region, we will have the numbers to adequately monitor our forests”.
74. Cocoa is grown in the forest zones of Asunafo, Asutifi, Dormaa, Berekum, Sunyani, Tano and Techiman areas. Data from the Ghana Cocoa Board indicates that during the 2015/16 crop season, for example, the Brong-Ahafo Region produced 15 percent (3,579,617 mT) of Ghana’s cocoa production (24,237,236 mT) and a substantial portion (nearly 90%) of this production was from the Ahafo enclave (Ghana Cocoa Board, 2018). Cashew and mangoes have also grown in popularity and they are grown in Techiman, Nkoranza, Wenchi, Tain, Banda, Atebubu, Sene, Pru, Kintampo, Jaman and Berekum. Hence, it appears that the proposed Ahafo Region is still a major producer of cocoa but it is yet to get into the large scale plantation of cashew and mangoes as it currently pertains in Nkoranza and other adjoining areas.
75. Other farmers, including those in the Ahafo enclave, are also engaged in the cultivation of oil palm, citrus, ginger and pineapple. Vegetable farming is also popular in several areas including Tano, Asutifi, Asunafo, Techiman, Wenchi and Dormaa areas. Maize, cassava, yam, rice, cowpeas, ginger, sorghum, sugar cane and watermelon are also cultivated in various parts of the Brong-Ahafo Region. The planting of teak trees is gaining popularity in areas around Chiraa, Dormaa and Techimantia.
76. Apart from agriculture, forestry and related activities, other economic activities include manufacturing which employs 6.7 percent of the active labour force and wholesale and retail trade which account for (7.4%), construction, public administration, financial intermediation and education are gradually gaining popularity in the region (GSS, 2013c). In virtually of these activities, males dominate or are more than women. Most of the women are engaged in petty trading. The service industry is also active and it includes activities such as hotel and restaurant workers, personal and social activities which also seemore women than men (GSS, 2013c).
77. As is the case in other regions of the country, about 75 percent of the population is self- employed; followed by those employed by companies and “others” in the private sector (9.7%) and unpaid family workers (6.4%). The formal sector is still rather small in terms of numbers employed and the organization of economic activities within the region because those employed by the informal sector constitute about 83 percent of the working population and so the proportion of public sector employees is rather low (1.5%) (GSS, 2013c)

78. According to the petitioners, there are several clay deposits in the proposed region and the region has the largest clay deposits in the whole country. Perhaps, this is why there are several locations, including Tanoso and Adantia, which are well-noted for the production of brick and tile as well as pottery products in other locations scattered throughout the Ahafo enclave. The potential impact of these activities on the construction industry in the region can be enormous if the appropriate investments are attracted for development of the sub-sector. For example, many public sector projects can be built in brick and tile to minimize cost as well as provide further impetus for direct, indirect and induced employment.
79. An important sector which played a very critical role in the regional and national economies in the past was the string of sawmills scattered all over the proposed region, especially around Goaso and Mim. The activities of these saw mills have declined due to unsustainable forestry management practices. Key industrial establishments such as Scanstyle Ltd. and Mim Timber Company, which are located in the Ahafo area, have declined very rapidly in importance in recent years.
80. Industrial establishments in the region include plants at Sampa, Suma Ahenkro, Mim and Nsawkaw for cashew production and selected agro processing industries at Techiman and other locations together with a fish processing plant at Yeji. Major agricultural marketing centres include Techiman, Sunyani, Goaso and Atebubu where farm produce and livestock are traded.
81. In recent times, mining has become a major economic activity in the region with operations by Newmont Gold Ghana Limited in Kenyasi, Ntotroso and Hwidiem, all in the Ahafo enclave. Already, there are signs that these operations are beginning to adversely impact agricultural production in the area because they are taking up productive agricultural lands and reducing food production. This has grave consequences for poverty reduction in the mining areas.
82. In spite of all the foregoing economic activities in the region in general and the proposed Ahafo Region in particular, unemployment is still a major problem. Most petitioners hold the view that once the proposed Ahafo Region is created, several employment opportunities would be generated. This stems from the fact that, even the very little resources from government sources will be better controlled and prioritized to generate the needed employment. In the view of an Assembly Member in Kukuom:

“One of the problems here is that most of the young men in the area do not have jobs. But if the region is created there will be a regional police command and military base in Ahafo. Our youth can get the opportunity to be recruited into these security agencies and will be prevented from engaging in criminal activities and causing trouble in the area, especially when it is time for the general elections.”

This was further supported by a Teacher from Ahafo Akrodie at the Goaso public hearing when he intimated that:

“The area will have a lot of government agencies if the region is created. For instance, if five organizations were recruiting 100 people, there will be 500 jobs available for people in the area. This will prevent the youth in the area from travelling to other areas to seek job opportunities”

83. It is very clear from this section that, because the proposed Ahafo Region has a comparative advantage in the production of various agricultural commodities, in future, it may be advantageous to formulate comprehensive policies and strategies that will effectively utilize the agricultural potential and concentrate on value addition instead of exporting the various crops out of the area in their raw state. The processing of cashew and maize into neatly packaged corn dough and other similar products for the local and international markets are steps in the right direction.

6.4.5 Empowerment and Participation

84. This section relates to participation in governance through access to government institutions and political appointments of officials at the regional, districts and local levels. This invariably enhances citizens’ access and contacts with key staff of MDAs and promote responsiveness to their needs and concerns. The issue of participation and governance was raised 92 times (Table 6.3), representing 12.2 percent of the total contributions from participants.
85. Participants complained that in certain parts of the Ahafo enclave, especially, the Sankore Kasapin areas, health personnel, teachers and other public officials refuse postings due to the bad nature of roads. The poor roads affect participation in all spheres of public and government engagements. Of particular importance is residents’ inability to attend meetings, participate in chieftaincy, administrative and local governance issues at the regional and district levels. Gender concerns are also paramount in the current decentralisation discourse. However the people of the area’s participation in governance is also impeded by the limited space in the governance structures. Empowerment of women and gender mainstreaming has the potential of ensuring that women’s and children’s concerns are factored in to policy initiatives of the democratic governance processes. Consider this statement by a contributor at the public hearing in Hwidiem:

“It is part of every Government’s policy to promote the participation of women in all sectors. Thus, successive governments have shown commitment towards enhancing women’s participation in governance by giving a quota to them. Thus, if 100 slots are available, 10 are given to women. However, due to the large size of our region, from Sene, Gyinigyini, Kasapin, it makes it difficult for the hardworking women in all the areas of the region especially Ahafo to have the opportunity to contribute to nation building. The creation of the proposed Ahafo Region which is

smaller, would give recognition to the side-lined women of Ahafo and allow them to be part of the governance process.”

86. In terms of political appointments, petitioners lamented on the low number of Ministerial appointments made to people from the proposed Ahafo Region since independence. Based on information provided by the Regional Coordinating Council, out of the 56 regional commissioners, regional secretaries, regional ministers and deputy regional ministers appointed between 1959 and 2017, only eight (8), representing 18 percent are from the Ahafo area. The remaining 82 percent are all from the Bono East area and the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region, denying the people from the proposed Ahafo Region opportunity to lobby for developmental projects in their area. The petitioners have argued that the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region will bring about inclusion and participation as governance processes would be closer to the people.
87. Although government has in recent times created more districts to increase participation in decision making at the local level, the petitioners and participants drew the attention of the Commission to the exclusion of people in the Ahafo enclave in participation in regional decision making, as they are not often appointed as regional ministers. In addition, they alleged they are rarely appointed as government ministers. This seems to validate what the available data indicates. The 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana mandates government to decentralize the administration and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts to afford all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision making. Among other things, Article 35(6) (b) stipulates that the State shall take appropriate measures to achieve reasonable regional and gender balance in recruitment and appointment to public offices.

6.4.6 Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Issues

88. Ethnicity, culture and religion are all important ingredients in the organization of any society. The peaceful co-existence of people from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds is an essential prerequisite for peace and development. While these three elements could become agents for facilitating cohesion, in other circumstances they could become destabilizing factors. Current developments indicate that there are very few areas in various regions of Ghana which are inhabited by homogeneous ethnic, cultural and religious groups of people. The reality is that, most regions in Ghana have become “melting pots” because of migration, education and intermarriages. As such, these regions accommodate people from diverse ethnic groups who live peacefully with each other to pursue their different vocations. At each of the public hearings in the proposed Ahafo Region, there was a demonstration of the presence of various ethnic groups residing in the enclave.
89. Out of a total of 753 contributions expressed during the public hearings in the proposed Ahafo Region, 60 contributions or 8 percent were concerned about ethnic, cultural and religious issues (refer to Table 6.3). In terms of the numbers recorded for each thematic area, this theme attracted the least number of responses or interventions partly

because there has not been any major ethnic or tribal conflict in the enclave in the recent past. The numbers were lower for the public hearing in Sunyani partly because of the relatively high level of urbanization and the high level of apathy among urban residents of most Ghanaian urban areas towards such matters.

90. As can be seen from Table 6.17, Akans were the major ethnic group (61.0%) and this is hardly surprising considering that the Ahafo are essentially Ashantis. This is followed by the Mole Dagbon group (19.0%), Gurma (6.0%) and Ewe (5.0%). Each of the other ethnic groups constitute less than 4.0 percent of the total of all ethnic groups, namely: Mande (3.0%), Grusi (2.0%), Ga Dangme (2.0%) and Guan (1.0%). Other minority ethnic groups made up 1.0 percent of the total population and they comprised Mamprusi, Kusasi and Sissala; among others (GSS, 2013c). Apart from the indigenous Akans, the other ethnic groups are generally migrant farmers. Most of the ethnic groups specialize in the production of specific agricultural products.
91. The ethnic composition of the entire region is not very different from what was exhibited by the Ahafo enclave since there were 58.9 percent Akans; followed by Mole Dagbon (18.2%), Gurma (6.2%) and so on (refer to Table 6.17). The only exception was that there are about twice the number of “all other tribes” in the region than there are in the Ahafo enclave. This would seem to imply that there were more minority ethnic groups in the region than there are in the Ahafo enclave. Given the peaceful coexistence of the different ethnic groups in the proposed Ahafo Region, the creation of a new region will further facilitate a safe environment in which residents can pursue their economic and social activities.

Table 6.17: Ethnic composition by Districts in the Brong-Ahafo Region

District (Population)	Akan	Ga-Dangme	Ewe	Guan	Gurma	Mole-Dagbon	Grusi	Mande	All other tribes	Total
All Districts	58.9	1.3	3.7	4.1	6.9	18.2	3.9	1.8	1.3	100.0
PROPOSED AHAFO REGION										
Asunafo South (95,580)	58.4	3.7	5.2	1.2	6.8	20.5	1.2	2.4	0.6	100.0
Asunafo North (124,685)	61.8	2.3	6.4	0.9	4.8	19.2	1.8	2.0	0.7	100.0
Asutifi (105,843)	60.0	2.0	7.1	0.3	5.5	17.2	2.1	4.4	1.3	100.0
Tano South (78,129)	60.5	0.3	3.3	0.7	10.6	19.0	1.6	2.7	1.4	100.0
Tano North (79,973)	63.8	1.9	4.6	0.4	4.4	18.8	1.7	3.5	0.9	100.0
REST OF THE BRONG-AHAFO REGION										
Dormaa Municipal (159,789)	82.3	0.3	0.9	0.2	1.1	11.8	1.3	1.2	0.9	100.0
Dormaa East (50,871)	87.0	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.3	8.4	2.2	0.3	0.4	100.0
Sunyani Municipal (123,224)	69.2	2.9	4.0	0.8	1.6	15.4	2.9	2.1	1.1	100.0
Sunyani West (85,272)	73.9	1.1	1.9	0.3	1.2	18.1	2.2	0.7	0.6	100.0
Berekum Municipal (129,628)	90.5	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.4	5.6	0.7	0.3	0.5	100.0
Jaman South (92,649)	89.3	0.1	0.6	0.2	1.6	5.9	1.1	0.7	0.4	100.0
Jaman North (83,059)	89.6	0.1	0.2	1.3	0.2	2.5	2.1	3.4	0.4	100.0
Tain (108,386)	78.7	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	17.9	1.9	0.3	0.1	100.0
Wenchi Municipal (89,739)	50.9	0.2	1.0	1.0	0.8	36.6	4.3	2.7	2.5	100.0

Table 6.17 continued

District (Population)	Akan	Ga-Dangme	Ewe	Guan	Gurma	Mole-Dagbon	Grusi	Mande	All other tribes	Total
PROPOSED BONO EAST REGION										
Techiman Municipal (206,856)	58.1	0.4	1.5	2.4	2.9	24.6	6.0	2.2	1.8	100.0
Nkoranza South (100,929)	58.2	0.2	0.6	0.4	4.2	30.7	4.6	0.6	0.5	100.0
Nkoranza North (65,895)	62.4	0.1	0.1	0.9	4.1	26.5	5.4	0.1	0.4	100.0
Atebubu Amantin (105,938)	32.3	0.3	1.0	2.9	29.1	22.7	4.3	4.8	2.6	100.0
Sene (118,810)	10.0	6.5	19.2	32.3	18.9	9.6	1.0	0.6	1.9	100.0
Pru (129,248)	16.6	2.7	13.4	21.7	26.6	12.6	1.9	0.5	4.1	100.0
Kintampo South (81,000)	35.5	0.1	0.2	1.0	7.8	41.2	12.4	0.8	1.0	100.0
Kintampo North (95,480)	17.8	0.4	1.7	12.4	16.3	20.1	25.2	3.1	3.0	100.0

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census. Regional Analytical Report: Brong-Ahafo Region (p.38)

92. In terms of religious affiliation, there are as many as eight (8) major different groupings including Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostal/Charismatic, Islamic and Traditionalists (refer to Table 6.18). The Pentecostals/Charismatic constitute the majority (29.0%). This is followed by the Protestants (18.0%), and Catholics (17.0%). The Islamic religion also attracts about 16.0 percent of the population. These are still the major religious affiliations at the regional level but at this same level, there were others that indicated that they are “Traditionalists” and those who profess “No religion”. These groupings are potentials for mobilization of the residents of the proposed Ahafo Region for any major national initiative as was demonstrated during the public hearings. It is understood that these religious groupings were the focal agents used by the petitioners to mobilize the many people who participated in the public hearings.
93. In addition to the foregoing, these religious groupings also usually complement Government’s social and economic investments in health, education and water supply. Examples of such investments include the Catholic Hospital at Hwidiem, boreholes dug by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission and the Presbyterian Senior High School at Techimantia. In future, such partnerships will become crucial for the eventual development of the Ahafo region when it is created because of the current deficit of such social infrastructural facilities. As the enclave experiences population increases in future, these partnerships will become more and more important.

Table 6.18: Religious Affiliations by Districts in the Brong-Ahafo Region

All Districts		Population	No religion	Catholic	Protestants	Pentecostal/ Charismatic	Other Christian	Islam	Traditionalist	Other
	%	100%	7.3	20.1	17.7	24.5	9.9	17.0	2.7	0.7
	No.	2,310,983	168,702	464,508	409,044	566,191	228,787	392,867	62,397	16,177
PROPOSED AHAFO REGION										
Asunafo South	%	100	6.7	15.7	18.8	26.6	12.3	17.7	0.6	1.7
	No.	95,580	6,404	15,006	17,969	25,424	11,756	16,918	573	1,625
Asunafo North	%	100	5.9	15.2	17.1	30.9	14.6	14.9	0.7	0.7
	No.	124,685	7,356	18,952	21,321	38,528	18,204	18,578	873	873
Asutifi	%	100	7	14.1	16.3	32.3	9.8	18.8	0.7	1
	No.	105,843	7,409	14,924	17,252	34,187	10,373	19,898	741	1,058
Tano South	%	100	8	18.1	16.1	26.9	11.1	16.9	2	0.9
	No.	78,129	6,250	14,141	12,579	21,017	8,672	13,204	1,563	703
Tano North	%	100	6.2	21.8	20.3	27.2	9.3	13.8	0.8	0.6
	No.	79,973	4,958	17,434	16,235	21,753	7,437	11,036	640	480
Total	%	100%	7	17	18	29	12	16	1	1
	No.	484,210	32,378	80,458	85,356	140,909	56,443	79,634	4,390	4,739

All Districts		Population	No religion	Catholic	Protestants	Pentecostal/Charismatic	Other Christian	Islam	Traditionalist	Other
REST OF THE BRONG-AHAFO REGION										
Dormaa Municipal	%	100	5.5	18.6	23.6	30.1	8.5	12.3	0.8	0.6
	No.	159,789	8,788	29,721	37,710	48,096	13,582	19,654	1,278	959
Dormaa East	%	100	6.6	18.8	22.3	32.7	11.6	7.1	0.5	0.4
	No.	50,871	3,357	9,564	11,344	16,635	5,901	3,612	254	203
Sunyani Municipal	%	100	3.6	18.3	18.3	35.1	11.3	12.6	0.3	0.6
	No.	123,224	4,436	22,550	22,550	43,252	13,924	15,526	370	739
Sunyani West	%	100	5.8	18.2	19	32.6	14.2	9.2	0.3	0.6
	No.	85,272	4,946	15,520	16,202	27,799	12,109	7,845	256	512
Berekum Municipal	%	100	4.1	17.3	23.5	38.8	8.8	6.5	0.4	0.7
	No.	129,628	5,315	22,426	30,463	50,296	11,407	8,426	519	907
Jaman South	%	100	3.6	31.7	24.2	23.8	3	12.2	0.9	0.6
	No.	92,649	3,335	29,370	22,421	22,050	2,779	11,303	834	556
Jaman North	%	100	2.2	35.9	26.5	18.4	2.7	13	1.2	0.2
	No.	83,059	1,827	29,818	22,011	15,283	2,243	10,798	997	166
Tain	%	100	8.6	29.3	21.2	14.5	6.4	16.5	2.8	0.7
	No.	108,386	9,321	31,757	22,978	15,716	6,937	17,884	3,035	759
Wenchi Municipal	%	100	8.2	29.9	14	16.7	4.9	21.9	3.7	0.7
	No.	89,739	7,359	26,832	12,563	14,986	4,397	19,653	3,320	628

All Districts		Population	No religion	Catholic	Protestants	Pentecostal/ Charismatic	Other Christian	Islam	Traditionalist	Other
PROPOSED BONO EAST REGION										
Techiman Municipal	%	100	5.7	19.3	15.1	21.5	11.9	25	1	0.4
	No.	206,856	11,791	39,923	31,235	44,474	24,616	51,714	2,069	827
Nkoranza South	%	100	10.1	23.8	16.6	19.4	16.4	10.3	2.9	0.5
	No.	100,929	10,194	24,021	16,754	19,580	16,552	10,396	2,927	505
Nkoranza North	%	100	11.8	25.6	19.8	13.3	12.6	14	2.6	0.4
	No.	65,895	7,776	16,869	13,047	8,764	8,303	9,225	1,713	264
Atebubu Amantin	%	100	7.8	14.3	9.5	19.2	9.6	33.5	5.6	0.5
	No.	105,938	8,263	15,149	10,064	20,340	10,170	35,489	5,933	530
Sene	%	100	16.7	12.6	14.2	22.9	11.5	11	9.5	1.5
	No.	118,810	19,841	14,970	16,871	27,207	13,663	13,069	11,287	1,782
Pru	%	100	11.2	13.5	14.4	19.7	6.6	21.7	12.6	0.3
	No.	129,248	14,476	17,448	18,612	25,462	8,530	28,047	16,285	388
Kintampo South	%	100	11.8	26.5	12.2	15.2	8.5	20.9	4	0.9
	No.	81,000	9,558	21,465	9,882	12,312	6,885	16,929	3,240	729
Kintampo Municipal	%	100	6.4	17.9	9.4	14.4	11.4	36.1	4.1	0.2
	No.	95,480	6,111	17,091	8,975	13,749	10,885	34,468	3,915	191
TOTAL		903,801	88,009	166,937	125,441	171,889	99,604	199,337	47,368	5,215

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census. Regional Analytical Report: Brong-Ahafo Region (p.39)

6.5 Need for Creation of Ahafo Region

94. In this section, the need for creation of the proposed Ahafo region is presented based on results of thematic analyses in the foregoing relating to: spatial issues and accessibility, access to government and public services, road infrastructure needs, economic and employment issues, ethnic/cultural and religious issues as well as participation and economic empowerment. In assessing the need and using it to justify the creation of the region, the status quo for various facilities are benchmarked to others within the Brong-Ahafo Region, Ghana and, occasionally, internationally recommended standards.
95. One underlying assumption made is that, the current Brong-Ahafo Region is too large for all areas to receive equal attention or emphasis in development. Consequently, it is implied that once the new region is created it will help tackle many of the current problems of imbalance or inequities in development, service delivery and, in general, make good current inefficiencies and service deficits in the Ahafo enclave. In this regard, it is expected that the service deficient areas will receive unfettered attention.
96. The analyses revealed that, spatial issues and accessibility are important because distances between major locations and the regional capital are very long and occasionally impaired because of the conditions of connecting roads of all categories, long waiting times and the limited supply of transport vehicles. Consequently, trips which should have taken about an hour in real time can take about three and one half hours when waiting times and travel times are considered. For example, the distance between Sankore to Sunyani is only 135km and in real time should take a travel time of two hours but in reality, it takes more than two hours by existing public transportation and its organization.
97. The above state of affairs is basic to an understanding of some of the other problems encountered in the region and, in several circumstances, the extreme difficulties in accessing various government and public services. On the basis of only this consideration, it is clear that there is need for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region which will better prioritize surface access to reduce future travel times to the regional capital where there will be a concentration of several government facilities and public services.
98. The deficit in both health facilities and personnel in the health care delivery system in the Ahafo enclave will receive urgent attention when the proposed Ahafo Region is created. This is because a Regional Health Directorate will be established to oversee the implementation of the gaps in the health facilities and personnel to improve health care delivery in the area. In particular, the Ministry of Health would be mandated to provide a regional hospital that will address all referral cases at the regional level and attract investment and private institutions such as banks and pharmaceutical companies to the area. The multiplier effect will be total accelerated development in the entire region in particular and Ghana as a whole.

99. In the case of education and judicial services, there are clear areas of concentration and service deficiency within the region. For reasons that are not too clear, most of these service deficient areas are in the Ahafo enclave of the Brong-Ahafo Region. More specifically, in the education and justice delivery systems, the deficits are so wide that petitioners were of the considered opinion that they have been unduly discriminated against for a relatively long period of time and that the current inequalities can only be tackled seriously through the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. The creation of the proposed Ahafo Region will compel the government to establish education offices, attorney-general's office, high courts, circuit courts at the regional and district levels to address the myriad of educational and judicial concerns expressed by the people of the Ahafo area.
100. Inability of the people within the proposed Ahafo Region to attend meetings, participate in chieftaincy, administrative and local governance issues at the regional and district levels; limited space for equitable women representation at the regional level for mainstreaming gender concerns; and limited political appointments hinder their participation in governance. The need for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region as articulated by the petitioners is justifiable.
101. An area of concern that reinforces the need for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region is inadequate access to government and public services obtained from judicial service, passport office, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority and Birth and Death Registry. The analyses show clearly that in the area of security services, for example, the current number of police personnel at post in the proposed Ahafo Region falls short of what is required international standards and practices.
102. On road infrastructure needs, the analyses revealed that there are huge deficits because the extent of urban, feeder and highway/trunk roads developments are lower than what they should be because road densities are low. This implies that there are several communities which are either unserved by roads or are underserved. The implications of this include the fact that travel between and within urban areas, rural areas and other parts of the region is indeed impaired because of lack of direct connectivity between such places. In addition, the conditions of existing roads and surface types imply that the maintenance backlog could increase in future if the current systems continue to neglect planned maintenance activities because of limited funding.
103. The above partly explains why cocoa is occasionally locked up for months in some production areas and some communities are also cut off during the rainy season. Again, the assumption is that given the extensive network of roads in the Brong-Ahafo Region and limited financial and human resources, roads within the proposed Ahafo Region do not receive the needed attention for road maintenance and development. However, with the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region, the situation is likely to improve because vital roads would be prioritized better and they would receive the needed attention timeously. Hence, there is need for the creation of the Ahafo Region based on the condition of most of the roads in that part of the region.

104. In general terms, the proposed Ahafo regional economy can perform much better than it is currently doing because the production of most agricultural crops is still not optimized and there are substantial crop spoilage and losses partly as a result of poor road conditions. The results of the analyses also revealed that the proposed Ahafo Region has comparative advantage in agriculture, mining, construction and production of value added agricultural commodities. The existing economy has underperformed because extension services from Sunyani have been inadequate.
105. The analyses also revealed further that there are several ethnic groups in the proposed Ahafo Region. This can be seen as both an advantage and a challenge. Given that the indigenous population constitutes about 57 percent of the enclave's total population, the presence of migrant farmers can also be seen as a major pool of labour for exploiting the vast agricultural and mining resources in the enclave. Some of these migrants also come in with specialized skills in fishing and distilling of local gin which can all be exported to other parts of the country.
106. Without these migrants, it would have been extremely difficult to adequately exploit the range of resources in the enclave. Since the various ethnic groups have lived peacefully together in the past, the ethnic structure of the enclave is unlikely to change in the near future. The petitioners believe that these ethnic groups would even be able to contribute more to the enclave's economy once it becomes Ahafo Region and they are able to procure most of their inputs from within the enclave instead of having to travel all the way to Sunyani, the current regional capital.
107. In conclusion, the need for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region is premised on the grounds that:
- There will be better access to government institutions, systems and structures and officials at the regional level. This will invariably enhance citizens' access and contacts to key staff of MDAs and MMDAS; thus, enhance responsiveness to their needs and concerns.
 - There will be better population/service ratios, as adequate thresholds are maintained, leading to easing of congestion and ensuring effective and efficient services delivery. Previously underserved and unserved areas will be better served on account of proximity to services and new investments in government services and facilities.
 - Employment generation and increased socio-economic activities due to complementary investments in infrastructure and socio-economic facilities of a higher order are expected. Selected higher order services will become available to once distant places and citizens will have easy and enhanced access to these services.
 - Private sector will respond by making complementary investments in banking, hospitality industry, health facilities and educational institutions to open up the new

region for brisk businesses. Banks and other companies will move in to establish regional head offices.

- The regional capital will become an emerging marketing, trading, distribution and commercial centre.

6.6 Evidence of Substantial Demand

108. Just as the demand was assessed using several indicators derived from their importance during the public hearings, substantial demand was determined using a combination of factors or indicators, with the first being the persistence in the demand for the creation of the proposed region. In this regard, it must be noted that there has been consistency and persistency in the need for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. Petitions for the creation of the proposed region was first presented in 1981 and the latest petition was presented on 28th February, 2017 from the Council of Chiefs from Tapa, Bechem, Duayaw Nkwanta, Goaso, Bechem, Kukuom, Sankore and Acherensua Traditional Areas. The petition covered six districts within seven paramountcies in the Ahafo Traditional Council Area. Hence, the petitions from the area for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region has a long history and the petitioners have been persistent and consistent in their demand for over 35 years.
109. Despite the passage of time, the petitioners have been persistent in their demand for the creation of a new region. Available evidence indicates that, in spite of several changes in the political administration of the country, the petitioners have stood by their resolve to request for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. In short, the chiefs and people of the proposed Ahafo Region have also been stable and regular in their decision or request for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. The Commission observed that petitioners have never wavered in their demand for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region.
110. Efforts of petitioners to have their own region is premised on the fact that the existing Brong Ahafo Region covers a very large land area, being the second largest region in Ghana, and as such they do not receive their fair share of development benefits. In relative terms, the distance between the remotest human settlements in the proposed region to the current regional capital is about 97 km (Sunyani – Kukuom) and petitioners claim that the proposed region does not receive its fair share of development benefits from central government can be endorsed by the Commission. For example, the distance between the proposed Ahafo Region and the existing regional capital may not be so long but it takes petitioners nearly two and half hours to travel this relatively short distance between Sunyani and Kukuom. Creation of the proposed Ahafo Region will therefore bring the proposed regional capital closer to its residents.
111. Extent of mobilization or the level of preparation as evidenced by the existence of preparatory committees and sub-committees established for the purpose and comprehensiveness of supporting documents presented in support of the latest petition

was another indicator of substantial demand. In the submission of the petition and all its supporting documents, the Commission found that the petitioners were led by a coordinating committee which took it upon itself to mobilize people, organize all materials submitted to the Commission and campaign for financial resources to sustain the Committee's work in their campaign for the creation of the proposed region. This same Committee served as a liaison between the Commission and the Chiefs of the traditional areas on one hand, and the proposed region's residents, on the other hand. The Committee prepared reports, brochures and fact sheets based on available evidence for submission to the Commission. It was this same Committee that arranged venues for the public hearings, drew up relevant programmes for the same purpose and ensured that everything was organized successfully.

112. Enthusiasm at the local, regional and the national levels among petitioners to meet with the Commission and their role in organizing and mobilizing both human and financial resources for the public hearings was another important indicator of substantial demand within the proposed Ahafo Region. Various home town associations from the proposed Ahafo Region in Accra and other regional capitals within the country were mobilized very well and they were present at the public hearings in the proposed region and also in Accra. Some of these people included professionals from the area working in Accra, Members of Parliament as well as distinguished individuals from the proposed region who have sojourned to Accra and its immediate environs. Within the proposed region itself, Commissioners could see enthusiasm written on the faces of residents who came to welcome the team. The public hearings were well-attended and school children registered their endorsement with placards which they carried as they stood by the roads along which the Commission travelled.
113. In most contributions during the public hearings, the Commission observed that, in spite of the numerous ethnic groups in the area, no major conflicts and disputes have been recorded among them in the recent past. All the ethnic groups have co-existed peacefully in the enclave and this indicated that they were well prepared for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. This is a clear indication of the existence of peace for development and sustenance of the proposed Ahafo Region. What was also admired by the Commission during the public hearings in the proposed region was the extent to which all these various ethnic groups came together in their numbers to demonstrate their support for the creation of a new region for the development of the area. In some cases, some of these ethnic groups were allowed to perform their traditional dances during interludes between major components of the programmes rolled out during the public hearings.
114. The Commission is of the view that all the public hearings in the proposed Ahafo Region were very well patronized by people from various segments of society including Members of Parliament, District Chief Executives, People With Disabilities (PWDs), students, opinion leaders and other dignitaries. Irrespective of how participation is measured, attendance at each of the public hearings in the proposed Ahafo Region was very high. In short, the number of participants present at each of the public hearings

was indeed substantial and gives a clear indication of evidence of substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region.

115. On the basis of the foregoing considerations and the earlier analyses, there is enough evidence to suggest that there is substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. Consequently, the Commission endorses the petition for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region out of the existing Brong-Ahafo Region. It will have a land area of 5,191 square kilometers with an estimated 2018 population of 586,317 which will increase to 613,049 in 2020. With the signs that the population is going to increase, there is further evidence that these population figures make the proposed Ahafo Region even more viable and gives another indication of substantial demand. This population figures will contribute to the sustenance of the proposed Ahafo Region.

6.7 Conclusion and Recommendations

116. The purpose of this chapter was to examine the merit of the petition submitted by petitioners for the creation of the proposed Ahafo Region. Analyses of the region's current circumstances together with the presentations by petitioners and interactions with them as well as field visits to the affected areas reveal that the region has a lot of potential which remain untapped but currently poverty is still widespread in the area. This is partly attributable to the large expanse of the Brong-Ahafo Region which has serious infrastructure deficits that seem to stall the diffusion of development benefits to every nook and cranny of the region.
117. The petitioners are of the view that if the region is divided into smaller manageable units, it will enhance development management and administration. This position is endorsed by the Commission and such an approach would hasten the development of areas of the proposed region which may not have received any serious development benefits thus far.
118. Under the circumstances and based on our review of existing literature, interactions with petitioners at various levels, discussions with various MMDA staff, travel through the area and the trajectory of development in this part of the country; we are of the considered opinion that the petitioners' request that the Ahafo Region be carved out of the current Brong-Ahafo Region should be granted. This is certainly one of the surest ways of ensuring "*.....even and balanced development of all regions and every part of each region of Ghana, and, in particular, improving the conditions of life in the rural areas and generally redressing any imbalance in development between the rural and the urban areas*" strictly in line with Article 36(2) (d) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.
119. The Commission recommends that the proposed Ahafo Region be made up of the following municipalities and districts: Tano South Municipality, Tano North Municipality, Asunafo North Municipality, Asunafo South District, Asutifi North District, and Asutifi South District. The Commission established the need and substantial

demand for the creation of the new region comprising the municipalities and districts listed. The population of the area is projected to be 586,317 in 2018 with a land size of 5,121 square kilometres which will be far bigger than the Greater Accra Region which has a land size of 3,245 square kilometres.

120. The Commission's recommendation excludes the Ahafo Ano South District and Ahafo Ano North Municipality. This is because the Commission was unable to establish the need and substantial demand to recommend the inclusion of these two districts in the proposed Ahafo Region.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROPOSED BONO EAST REGION

7.1 Background to the Petition

1. This Chapter focuses on the petition submitted to the President of the Republic of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, by the chiefs and people of the Brong-Ahafo Region for the creation of a new region to be named, Bono East Region. It reports on the petition submitted, and the outcome of the assessment undertaken by the Commission to determine the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region. Specifically, the Chapter first presents a brief profile of the Brong-Ahafo Region and the proposed Bono East Region. This is followed by a discussion of the approach and methodology used by the Commission. Next, analyses of the petition and the Commission's consultations with the chiefs and people of the proposed and existing regions as well as others who expressed their views on the merits and demerits of the petition is undertaken. The Chapter ends with conclusions and recommendations on the issues of need and substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Bono East Region out of the existing Brong-Ahafo Region.

2. The chiefs and people of the proposed Bono East Region, representing paramountcies and traditional areas in 11 municipalities and districts of the Brong-Ahafo Region petitioned the President of the Republic of Ghana on 1st June, 2017, to request for the creation of the proposed region. This petition was signed by 14 Chiefs of the various traditional areas within the municipalities and districts of the proposed Bono East Region as presented in Table 7.1. The petitioners indicated that their claim for a new region is supported by all the traditional areas within the administrative districts of the proposed Bono East Region.

Table 7.1: Land size and Population of Districts in the proposed Bono East Region

District	Land size (sq. km)	Population (2010)
Atebubu Amantin	2264.0	105,938
Kintampo Municipal	5105.0	95,480
Kintampo South	1513.3	81,100
Nkoranza North	2322.0	65,895
Nkoranza South	1100.0	100,929
Pru*	2195.0	129,248
Sene East	4893.0	61,076
Sene West	3262.0	57,734
Techiman Municipal	669.7	147,788
Techiman North	330.5	59,068
Total	24014.5	993,895

* Pru District now split into Pru West and Pru East District

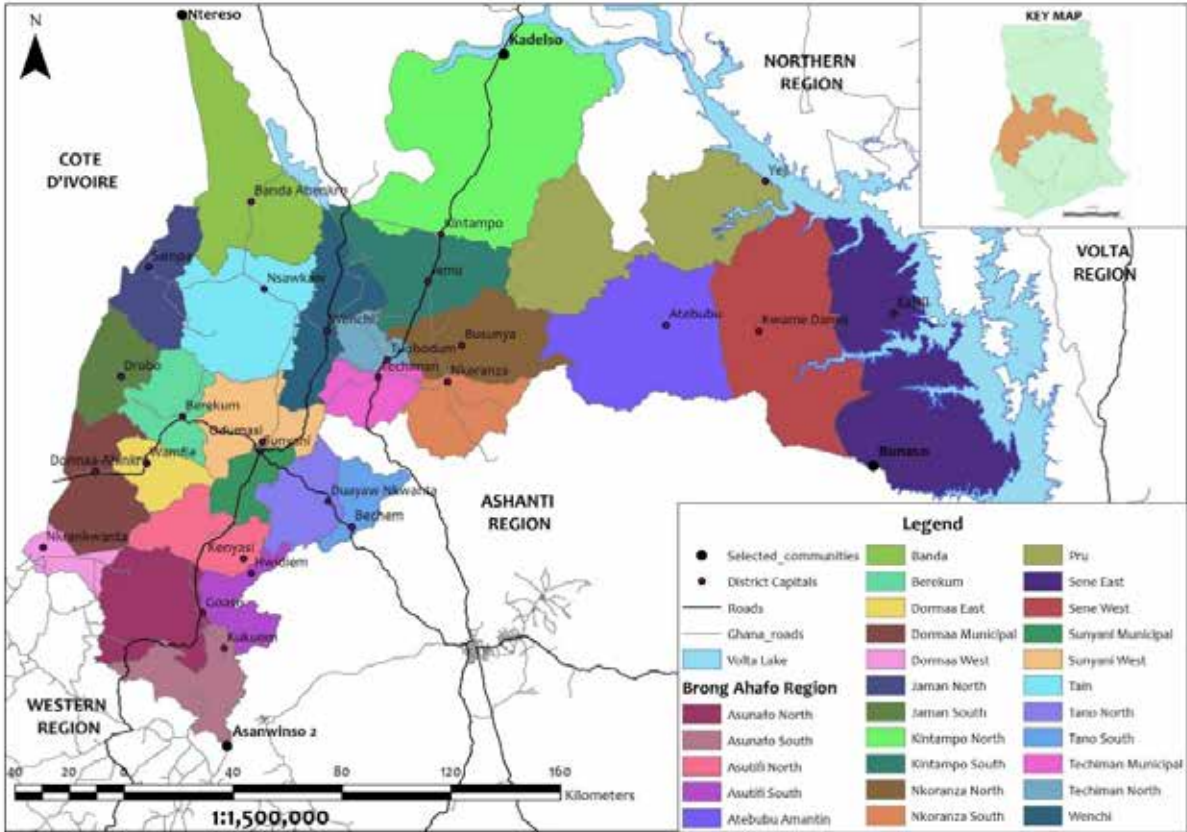
Source: GSS, 2013c

3. The petitioners justified based on their demand for the creation of the new region on the following: need to deepen governance and bring government and its agencies and activities closer to the people; equitable and distribution of statutory funds and development projects; the enhancement of infrastructural development and access to services and; creation of growth poles using agriculture as a catalyst for growth and industrialization. In the view of the petitioners, these objectives when implemented through the creation of the proposed Bono East Region, will increase socio-economic opportunities and promote effective governance of the region and Ghana.
4. Upon receiving the petition, the President of the Republic of Ghana, in accordance with Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution, referred the petition to the Council of State for advice. Pursuant to this, the President by C.I.105 as amended, established a Commission of Inquiry to assess the petition and determine the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region. The nine-member Commission's work began on 19th October, 2017, following its inauguration by the President of Ghana.

7.2 Overview of the Brong-Ahafo Region

5. On 4th April, 1959, with the passing of the Brong-Ahafo Region Act, 1959 (Act No 18), the territories occupied by two dominant sub-groups of Akans, Bono and Ahafo, in the Ashanti Region were constituted into a separate political administrative unit, designated as the Brong-Ahafo Region. In other words, the Ashanti Region was split into Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti Regions. This was to solve long-standing grievances of the Bonos and Ahafos, of marginalization and neglect by regional and traditional leaders of Ashanti Region (Bening, 1972, 1999). Figure 7.1 shows the districts of the Brong-Ahafo Region and highlights those in the proposed Bono East Region.
6. In particular, the creation of the Brong-Ahafo Region was to address the discontent expressed by some chiefs from Bono, regarding how they were treated when they had to swear the oath of allegiance to the Asantehene. Therefore, the creation of the Brong-Ahafo Region was seen to be the only way of asserting the political autonomy of the Ahafo and Bono as well as assuring peace in the area. At the time the region was created, it had a population of about 561,000.

Figure 7.1: Map of the Brong Ahafo Region



Source: Provided by Department of Planning, KNUST, 2018.

7. The Brong-Ahafo Region covers an area of 39,557 square kilometres, representing about 16 percent of the total land size of Ghana. It is the second largest political administrative region in Ghana after the Northern Region. The Brong-Ahafo Region is bordered on the west by the Republic of La Côte d'Ivoire, and on the south by Western, Ashanti and Eastern Regions. It is bordered on the east by Volta Region and on the north by the Northern Region. The region is well drained by many rivers and water bodies with Lake Volta and River Tano being the major ones.
8. There are 45 paramountcies and traditional councils in the Brong-Ahafo Region. In terms of political administration, the Brong-Ahafo Region has 27 districts, comprising four Municipal Assemblies and 23 District Assemblies.
9. In 1960, the population of the Brong-Ahafo Region was 587,920, making it the fifth largest region by population size, with a population density of 14.8 persons per square kilometre (Table 7.2). The population of the region was over 1.2 million in 1984, and it grew to 2.3 million in 2010. It is estimated to grow to about 2.9 million in 2020. Considering, the estimated 2018 population of nearly 2.8 million, the population of the region has almost increased five-fold, since 1960. This is due to high natural population increase and migration, especially, movements of the population from northern part of Ghana to the region on account of ethnic conflicts, arable land and agriculture, and environmental pressures.

Table 7.2: Demographic Characteristics of the Brong-Ahafo Region

	Population (National Census Figures)						
	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010	2018*	2020*
Population	587,920	766,509	1,206,608	1,815,408	2,310,983	2,786,400	2,915,624
As a percentage of National Population	8.6	9.0	9.8	9.6	9.4	9.4	9.4
Density per square kilometre	14.8	19.4	30.5	45.9	58.4	70.4	73.7
Growth rate	-	2.7	3.3	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.3

*Projected population by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2015

Source: Derived from GSS (2013c, 2015)

10. Table 7.2 shows that Brong-Ahafo Region's population of 2,310,983 in 2010, accounted for 9.4 percent of Ghana's population, which made it the sixth largest region by population size. It is, however, the second largest Region by land size with a land size of 39,557, as already noted. The region had a population density of 58.4 persons per square kilometre in 2010 and is projected to reach 74 persons per square kilometre by 2020. The Brong-Ahafo Region is predominantly rural, with 55.5 percent of its population residing in rural areas in 2010. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census report, there were 23,571 settlements in the region, of which 92.4 percent were settlements with less than 100 people (GSS, 2013c).
11. According to the analysis of the 2010 Population and Housing Census by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), the Brong-Ahafo Region has a relatively young population (GSS, 2013c). About 77 percent of the population were under 35 years. This places a high burden of dependency on the adult population. In 2010, the child dependency ratio, which is the ratio of children under 15 years of age to the working age population (15-64 years) was 73.3 percent. It is estimated that child dependency ratio declined to 69.8 per cent in 2017, while that of the elderly increased from 6.6 percent in 2010 to 7.2 percent in 2017. Overall, the region's dependency ratio of 79.8 percent in 2010 declined marginally to 77 percent in 2017.
12. The Brong-Ahafo Region is largely inhabited by the Akan ethnic group. However, inter-marriages and migration are rapidly changing the demographic composition of the population. The region is predominately composed of two sub-groups of the Akans, namely, Bonos and Ahafos. The Mole-Dagbon group constitutes the second largest ethnic group. Other ethnic groups include the Guans (Banda, Badu, Mane, Nafaana, Mo, Nchumuru, Bassa, Gonja, Krachi and Dwan); Gurma (mainly Konkombaba) and; Grusi.
13. The Brong-Ahafo Region had an illiteracy rate of 30.2 percent in 2010, which was relatively higher than the national average of 25.9 percent. This average regional illiteracy rate was even higher for some districts within the region; a reflection of the inequalities in access to education within the region in comparison to other regions

of Ghana. Available data indicate that female illiteracy rates in both rural and urban settings were worse off than their male counterparts (GSS, 2013c).

14. The Brong-Ahafo Region is rich in natural resources, including mineral deposits (gold, diamond, iron-ore and bauxite), valuable rocks for quarrying, forest and timber, as well as ecotourism sites. In particular, the Brong-Ahafo Region is well-recognized as Ghana's food basket, where a large proportion of the country's maize, plantain, yam and other agricultural products are produced. It is the third largest producer of cocoa and the largest producer of cashew nuts in Ghana. Data from the Ministry of Food and Agricultural (MoFA) revealed that the total arable land area of the Brong-Ahafo Region is 23,734 square kilometres, representing about 60 percent of the region's total land area. Out of this, 9,746 square kilometres, representing 46 percent of the arable land in the area is under cultivation. This gives an indication of the huge potential in the region in terms of agriculture.
15. Among the key natural resources in the Brong-Ahafo Region are the many tourist sites, several of which are yet to be developed for the purposes of job creation, income generation and general development of the region and Ghana. These include waterfalls, forest reserves and wildlife/game reserves. Examples include Kintampo, Chiridi and Fuller waterfalls; Buabeng-Fiema monkey sanctuary; Bui National Park; Buoyem caves and; Tanoboase sacred grove.
16. Three out of four of the population aged 15 years and above are economically active representing 76 per cent of males and 73 per cent of females (GSS, 2013c). These rates are higher than the average rates for the country by about 3 percentage points. The unemployment rate is lower in the Brong-Ahafo Region, compared to the national average, due to the presence of a large proportion of the economically active population in the dominant agriculture sector of the region. About 61 percent of the employed are in the agriculture, forestry and fishing industry, 12 percent in wholesale and retail and repairs, and 7 percent in manufacturing (GSS, 2013c).
17. The manufacturing sector of the Brong-Ahafo Region remains undeveloped. Hence, the limited number of economically active population in the sector. However, a number of agro-processing firms involved in cashew nuts, soya beans, cassava, and maize can be found in Sunyani, Wenchi, Berekum and Techiman. Besides agro-processing, the Brong-Ahafo Region has potential for the manufacturing of cement, ceramic, and wood processing.

7.3 Profile of the Proposed Bono East Region

18. The proposed Bono East Region is made up of three (3) Municipal and seven (7) District Assemblies. These Municipal and District Assemblies (MDAs) are: Kintampo North, Techiman and Nkoranza Municipalities as well as Kintampo South, Techiman North, Nkoranza North, Atebubu Amantin, Sene West, Sene East and Pru Districts. It shares boundaries with the Northern Region to the north, Ashanti Region to the south,

to the east by the Volta Region and the west by the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region.

19. The land area of the proposed Bono East Region is about 25,314 sq.km, representing about two-thirds or 68 percent of the entire land mass of Brong-Ahafo Region and 10 percent of Ghana's total land size. The overall population of the proposed region as at 2010 was approximately 904,256 with a growth rate of 2.3 percent and an average density of about 38.2 people per square kilometre. Table 7.3 shows various districts, their capitals, land areas and population characteristics.

Table 7.3: Population Distribution of various districts and their capitals

Districts	Existing District Capitals	Land Area (sq.km)	Population	Population Density (people/sq.km)
Atebubu Amantin	Atebubu	2,264	105,938	46.8
Kintampo Municipal	Kintampo	5105	95,480	18.7
Kintampo South	Jema	1513.34	81,100	53.6
Nkoranza North	Busunya	2322	65,895	28.4
Nkoranza South Municipal	Nkoranza	1100	100,929	91.8
Pru*	Yeji	2195	129,248	58.9
Sene East	Kajaji	4893	61,076	12.5
Sene West	Kwame Danso	3262	57,734	17.7
Techiman Municipal	Techiman	669.7	147,788	220.7
Techiman North	Tuobodom	330.5	59,068	178.7
Total		25,314	904,256	38.2

*Pru District divided into Pru East and Pru West District

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 PHC (GSS, 2013c).

20. The proposed Bono East Region is ethnically diverse, the area is mostly dominated by Bonos and Akans (41.5%). Other ethnic groups include Mole-Dagbon (22.2%), Grusi (6.9%), Mande (1.5%), Gurmas (12.3%), Guans, Ewes (4.3%) and Ga-Dangmes (1.2%). The Ewe and Ga-Dangme tribes are largely fisher folks who have settled along and ply their trade on the Volta Lake.
21. The predominant economic activity in the proposed Bono East Region is agriculture (farming and minimal rearing of livestock). The Volta Lake also provides an avenue for inland fishing activities with Yeji being a major centre. About 61.3 percent of the economically active population are engaged in agricultural activities comprising crop farming, fishing and livestock farming. This makes the proposed Bono East Region largely an agrarian area. The development of the agricultural sector will be a crucial part in the eventual development of the proposed new region when it is created.

22. Crops such as maize, yam, cashew, cassava, groundnut, cowpea, watermelon, mangoes, onion, plantain, cocoyam, and various vegetables ranging from tomatoes to cabbage are produced in the proposed Region. Kintampo, Techiman, Nkoranza and Atebubu Amantin are popular for the production of yam. Cash crops such as cashew, ginger and mango which can boost economic growth in the proposed region are cultivated in the area. Sene West and Nkoranza North Districts, as well as Nkoranza South Municipal Assembly are major producers of maize and non-traditional crops like water melon, cabbage, carrot, pineapple, sweet potato, sesame, sunflower, cashew and soya. The valleys of the two major rivers (the Volta and the Sene) in the proposed region have the potential for the development of small or large scale irrigation schemes to support agricultural activities.
23. Techiman market, one of the largest markets in Ghana, is located within the proposed Bono East Region. The proposed Bono East Region is a major producer of several agricultural produce, namely yam, tomatoes, soyabean and cashew. It also host agro-processing factories such as Ghana Nut Limited, which produces shea butter soyabean and vegetable oils for domestic and international markets.
24. The proposed Bono East Region has rich natural resources such as clay deposits within Techiman Municipality and Atebubu Amantin Municipality specifically, at Parambo, Konkoma, Tanoso and Sunsam Valley which can be tapped as a major raw material for bricks, ceramic and cement. The proposed region is also endowed with forest vegetation with several tree species such as Mahogany, Rosewood, Baobab, Papaa and Teak for the development of a timber industry.
25. Tourism serves as a potential sector that can boost the economy, if properly managed. The proposed Bono East Region is endowed with beautiful natural scenes that can serve as a source of revenue for the proposed Bono East Region. Some of these existing sites are already in use and potential tourist sites that need to be developed to serve as major source of income for the proposed region are summarised in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Tourist Sites and Locations within the Proposed Bono East Region

Category	Tourist Sites	Location
Water falls	Kintampo Water Falls, Fuller Falls	Kintampo
	Dandwa Waterfalls, Akropong Waterfalls	Nkoranza
Sanctuaries	Buabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary, Butterfly Sanctuary,	Nkoranza ,Kintampo,
Slave market and relics	Brong Manso Slave Market, European Cemetery, and other original British buildings	Brong Manso, Kintampo, Techiman
Caves and Shrine	Buoyem Cave and Bat Colony, Caves and Night Lamp, Forikrom Boaten Shrine and Caves, Bee Shrine, River Tano Sacred Fish, Tortoise’s shrine	Brong Manso, Atebubu, Tano near Techiman, Tano Boase, Duabone
Parks	Kintampo Geographical Centre of Ghana	Kintampo
Palace	Magical Bell, Palace of the Paramount Chief of Nkoranza	Atebubu, Nkoranza
Sacred Groves	Tano Boase Sacred Grove, Amanfoomu sacred grove (Nana Ameyaw shrine), ancient Nsamankwa forest, Kristo Boase Monastery	Tanoboase, Techiman

Source: Compiled by Commission of Inquiry, 2018

7.4 Approach and Methodology

26. The Commission adopted the approach used to ensure the participation of as many stakeholders as possible. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to collect and analyse data on the proposed Bono East Region. The qualitative method was used to enable the Commission assess the realities and issues from the local settings and perspectives. The quantitative methods were used to help organise information with basic statistical tools such as charts, graphs and tables. The Commission also relied on secondary data from various sources for its analysis. These secondary data sources included information on roads, educational facilities, health facilities, population, demographics and economic indicators (see details in Chapter Three).
27. There were six main consultation processes used to collect data in the proposed Bono East Region. First, the Commission met the petitioners from the proposed Bono East Region on 28th November, 2017, for an in-camera engagement at the Osu-Castle in Accra. This was followed by a regional fact-finding mission from 5th to 13th February, 2018, which involved four types of consultations. These comprised a meeting with government functionaries (RCC and MDAs); Regional House of Chiefs and courtesy calls on the Paramount Chiefs; as well as public hearings in selected district capitals in the proposed Bono East Region. The consultation process was concluded with engagement of the general public who for some reason could not participate in the regional consultations on 6th April, 2018, at the Accra International Conference Centre, Accra.

28. The Commission held one public hearing in the regional capital, Sunyani and six others in the selected district capitals. This was to obtain views from the public on the proposed Bono East region. Participants at the public hearings came from a cross section of society, including traditional, religious and political leaders, farmers, teachers, nurses, representatives of associations and retired persons. School children were not left out, as most of them came out in their numbers to meet the Commission with placards. No inhibition was placed on the views expressed except that contributors were cautioned by the Commission to avoid use of inflammatory statements. Contributions made by the various stakeholders were recorded electronically and transcribed.

7.5 Analysis of Participation at the Public Hearings

29. A total of 4,277 persons registered at the public hearings in the Brong-Ahafo Region. However, not all the people present registered, so a headcount was used to estimate the number of participants. Across the proposed Bono East Region, 10,109 people were counted at the venues listed in Table 7.5. Comments and suggestion from registered participants are analyzed under eight broad thematic areas. The Commission also relied on secondary data from various sources for its analysis.

Table 7.5: Locations for Public Hearings and Number of Participants in Attendance

Date	Location	No. of Participants Registered			Head Count
		Men	Women	Total	
6 th Feb 2018	Sunyani Municipal	128	27	155	163
7 th Feb 2018	Kajaji	293	93	386	564
8 th Feb. 2018	Yeji	381	264	645	1044
9 th Feb 2018	Atebubu	614	278	892	1243
10 th Feb 2018	Nkoranza	744	274	1018	1890
12 th Feb 2018	Techiman	634	169	803	4669
1 th Feb 2018	Kintampo	222	156	378	536
Total		3116	1261	4277	10,109

Source: Compiled from records of the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

30. Table 7.5 shows that the most attended public hearing was in Techiman (headcount 4,669). Nkoranza followed with a total head count of 1890, while Atebubu recorded 1243. However, the number of participants in Sunyani (163), the regional capital was low perhaps due to the general apathy of urban residents who may not have direct interest in the issues of concern in the proposed Bono East Region such as inadequate access to government services, referral hospitals and tertiary education. The statistics provided from Table 7.5 also indicate that about 73 percent of the registered participants at the public hearings were males with 27 percent being females. The reason for the low participation of women could be attributed to some of the public hearing days

coinciding with market days and the fact that women generally do not want to speak in public.

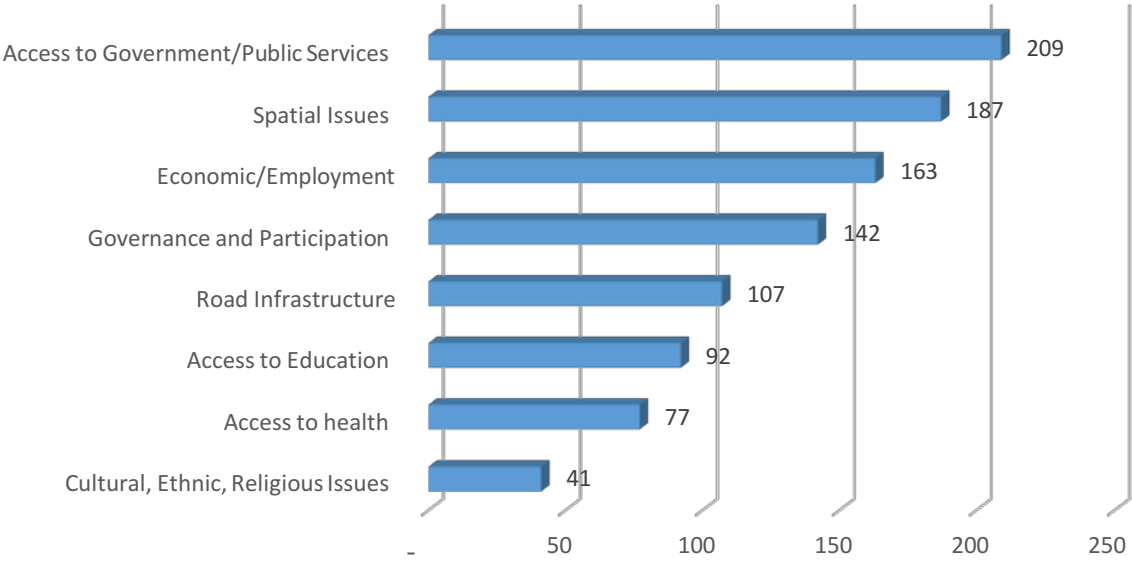
31. There were no dissenting views from all the 10,109 participants who made contributions at all six public hearings. Their contributions focused on a wide range of issues, including access to government and public services, infrastructural needs, access to social amenities, economic participation and employment, governance and participation, cultural, ethnic and religious issues. For further analysis, these issues were categorised into eight thematic areas shown in Table 7.6 and Figure 7.2.

Table 7.6: Thematic Issues at Public Hearings by Location

No.	Thematic Issues	Locations Visited														Total	
		Sunyani		Kintampo		Techiman		Kajaji		Yeji		Atebubu		Nkoranza		No.	%
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1	Spatial Issues	17	17.0	21	14.9	33	17.1	35	21.3	23	22.5	37	23.9	21	12.9	187	18.4
2	Access to Government and Public Services	21	21.0	20	14.2	50	25.9	31	18.9	22	21.6	30	19.5	35	21.5	209	20.5
3	Road Infrastructure	13	13.0	19	13.5	16	8.3	19	11.7	10	9.8	17	11.0	13	8.0	107	10.6
4	Access to Education	9	9.0	14	9.9	12	6.2	18	11.0	8	7.8	11	7.1	20	12.3	92	9.0
5	Access to health	6	6.0	15	10.6	13	6.7	9	5.5	13	12.8	10	6.5	11	6.7	77	7.6
6	Cultural, Ethnic, Religious Issues	5	5.0	2	1.4	8	4.1	10	6.1	3	2.9	5	3.2	8	4.9	41	4.0
7	Governance and Participation	10	10.0	23	16.3	30	15.6	24	14.6	11	10.8	22	14.2	22	13.6	142	13.9
8	Economic and Employment	19	19.0	27	19.2	31	16.1	18	11.0	12	11.8	23	14.8	33	20.2	163	16.0
	Total	100	100	141	100	193	100	164	100	102	100	155	100	163	100	1,018	100

Source: Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Figure 7.2: Thematic Issues Raised at the Public Hearings



Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

32. The most dominant issue emerging from the public hearings was access to government and public services, which accounted for 20.5 percent of the total number of issues raised by contributors. This was followed by spatial issues (18.4%), as well as economic and employment issues (16%). Ethnic, cultural and religious issues were the least mentioned, accounting for 4 percent of all contributions (see Table 7.6). These statistics corroborated the issues raised during the various regional courtesy calls on chiefs and the public hearing from the Accra International Conference Centre, Accra.
33. However, the ranking of issues as shown in Table 7.6, differ across the various locations where public hearings were held. Locations such as; Kajaji, Yeji and Atebubu to the east of Sunyani, the regional capital of Brong-Ahafo Region ranked spatial issues first and access to government and public services second. The remaining locations, especially, Nkoranza and Sunyani rated access to government and public services first with economic and employment issues second. Kintampo is the only exception which ranked economic and employment issues as their first choice and governance and participation as the second choice.
34. The implications are that, the issue of distance and conditions of the road network, which are characteristics of spatial issues have implications for access to government and public service. The creation of the proposed Bono East Region has the potential of opening up the area to address these concerns, including access to high order government and public services.

7.5.1 Spatial Issues of the Proposed Bono East Region

35. Spatial issues are concerned with the land size, its vast expanse and the challenges that are imposed by these on travel times and distances between the regional capital, Sunyani, and various districts and major towns in the present Brong-Ahafo Region. The proposed Bono East Region comprises the following Municipal and District

Assemblies: Techiman Municipal, Techiman North, Nkoranza South, Nkoranza North, Atebubu Amantin, Kintampo South, Kintampo North, Sene West, Sene East and Pru. It shares boundaries with the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region to the west, proposed Savannah Region to the north, Ashanti Region to the south and the proposed Oti Region to the east.

36. As stated earlier, the proposed Bono East Region covers a land area of 25,314 square kilometres out of the total 40,097 square kilometres of the Brong Ahafo Region, stretching about 292 kilometres from Techiman to Kajaji in an east–west direction and about 60 kilometres from Yeji to Atebubu in a north–south direction. The size of the current Brong-Ahafo Region, the location of the regional capital, and the location of some districts in the proposed Bono East Region impedes access to essential government services and higher order services. This situation denies many citizens access to important services and deprives them of participation in, and benefits of regional administration. A youth activist complained of the lack of development in the proposed Bono East region as follows: “... *though the Brong Ahafo has a huge land mass, the people of the eastern corridor lag behind when it comes to development.*”
37. As can be seen from Table 7.7, travel distances and travel times from Sunyani, the regional capital, and various district capitals in the Brong-Ahafo Region are relatively long in the proposed Ahafo and Bono East Regions. The situation is worse for districts in the proposed Bono East Region, as they are located farther away from the regional capital, resulting in prolonged travel times to access critical government services. A former political leader at the Atebubu public hearing lamented about the spatial extent of the region and challenges associated in the following quote:

“if we go to Sunyani, we are referred to as the ‘Far East People’. Also, if you look at the distance from Kajaji to Sunyani, the Regional Minister will struggle to do effective supervision. But if we get the new region, it will ease administration of the region.”

Table 7.7: Road Distances and Travel Time from Districts to the Regional Capital, Sunyani

District	District Capital	Distance to Sunyani	Travel time
Proposed Bono East Region			
Atebubu Amantin	Atebubu	204 km	3hr 46min
Kintampo North	Kintampo	122 km	2hr 24min
Kintampo South	Jema	103 km	2hr 15min
Nkoranza North	Busunya	110 km	2hr
Nkoranza South	Nkoranza	89.2 km	1hr 20min
Pru	Yeji	264 km	4hr 26min
Sene East	Kajaji	292 km	5hr 44m
Sene West	Kwame Danso	239 km	4hr 53min
Techiman Municipal	Techiman	62.7 km	1hr 26min
Techiman North	Tuobodom	68.2 km	1hr 33min
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region			
Sunyani Municipal	Sunyani	-	-
Sunyani West	Odumase	-	-
Berekum	Berekum	37.1km	53min
Jaman South	Drobo	67.5km	1hr 35min
Jaman North	Sampa	118km	2hr 30min
Tain	Nsawkaw	90.5km	1hr 48min
Banda	Banda Ahenkro	142km	2hr 33min
Wenchi	Wenchi	61.2km	1hr 18min
Dormaa Municipal	Dormaa Ahenkro	81.81km	1hr 40min
Dormaa East	Wamfie	60.6km	1hr 19min
Dormaa West	Nkrankwanta	121km	2hr 25min
Proposed Ahafo Region			
Asunafo South	Kukuom	96.8km	1hr 47min
Asunafo North	Goaso	81.5km	1hr 32min
Asutifi North	Kenyasi	59.4km	1hr 19min
Asutifi South	Hwidiem	60.6km	1hr 30min
Tano South	Bechem	50km	1hr
Tano North	Duayaw Nkwanta	36.5km	46min

Source: Data received from Regional Coordinating Planning Unit, Sunyani, February, 2018

38. Notwithstanding the distances and travel times shown in Table 7.7, it is instructive to note that these do not take into consideration existing road surface conditions, particularly during the rainy season, as well as availability or supply of means of transport. In terms of road distance from Sunyani, the regional capital, the farthest of all district capitals is Kajaji, Sene East District Capital. It takes close to six (6) hours to cover a road distance of 292 kilometres to access the regional capital. Due to the time spent and distance covered to get to the regional capital, some residents find it more prudent to cross the Volta Lake to Kete Krachi and travel to Accra for higher order services.

39. There are also island communities within the Sene East District, further east of Kajaji including, Atigagome, Sekpati and Domeabra, which also have to rely on Sunyani to access government services and higher order services but are mostly unable to do so because of the long distance and poor condition of roads. Considering the time it takes to travel on the Volta Lake to landing sites on the eastern lake shore, long waiting times and limited supply of transport vehicles to continue the journey to the regional capital on poor roads, some people are discouraged from embarking on such trips to access essential services including health, education and judicial services; to mention but a few.
40. Apart from the sheer length of roads from various districts in the proposed Bono East Region to the regional capital, Sunyani, travel time between these areas is prolonged by the poor surface condition of roads and limited supply of means of transport. Contributors at the public hearings in the Bono East area bemoaned this troubling situation and emphasized that because of the poor nature of roads in the proposed Bono East Region, some of the residents, especially those living in isolated islands have to access the regional capital, Sunyani, through Kwahu Mpraeso and Nkawkaw in the Eastern Region. They claimed that, in spite of the long nature of such trips, travel times are relatively shorter than to the regional capital in Sunyani.
41. The vast spatial extent of the Brong-Ahafo Region also has implications on security, especially on roads in the proposed Bono East Region. Traders in an attempt to embark on a day's round trip are compelled to travel early at dawn and return late at night. There have been several occasions that traders and market women have been robbed of their monies and wares either on their way to or return from marketing centres. This is due to the inadequately low numbers of security personnel and Police in the Bono East area and the delay in getting re-enforcements during periods of distress. At present, the distribution of security personnel in Brong-Ahafo Region tends to favour the regional capital and the more developed towns located mostly in the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region and the proposed Ahafo Region to the detriment of the proposed Bono East Region.
42. The security situation is further worsened by the poor nature of roads in the proposed Bono East Region, as security re-enforcements from regional and district commands are not able to reach crime scenes swiftly and timeously, to support the limited personnel in the area. They have to deal with long journey times, as well as the poor nature of roads which often result in late arrival at crime scenes, by which time harm would have been done and the robbers made away with their booties. With the creation of the proposed Bono East Region, and subsequent location of a regional capital closer, there are hopes that a more permanent solution to the security challenge will be instituted through the establishment of a regional command centre coupled with the supply of personnel and equipment to fight crime in the area.

43. Administration of the region also suffers from the challenges associated with the spatial extent of the Brong Ahafo Region. The regional governance set up, ministries, departments and agencies have difficulties in smooth administration of the region because of its vast expanse. It was practically impossible to reach some communities to undertake, supervise and monitor development projects. When such trips are eventually undertaken, personnel have to forgo considerable amount of man hours to travel with additional implications on cost. In most cases, the proposed Bono East Region is adversely affected, as it has the farthest communities from the regional capital, and is plagued with inadequate road infrastructure. A youth leader in his contribution at the Yeji public hearing opined that:

“...also, the region is too large for effective administration by the Regional Minister but with the division of the region, it will help ease administrative oversight responsibility of the area by government officials.”

44. Citizens from the proposed Bono East Region are unable to participate in, and benefit from good governance, as they do not have access to the Regional Minister and other government officials to communicate their peculiar development challenges. It is only on very rare occasions do their representatives get to meet with and report developmental challenges to regional administrators. This happens when they have the opportunity to attend meetings and other functions in the regional capital, Sunyani. This challenge posed by the vast expanse of the Brong-Ahafo Region, has led to the call for the division of the region so that a regional capital can be located closer to oversee the smooth administration of the area and ensure its rapid development. Based on experiences from division of districts, and their subsequent development impact on newly created ones, a student indicated during the public hearing at Kajaji that:

“I support the creation of the Bono East Region. For me, the developments in Kajaji (Sene East) as a result of the split from Kwame Danso (Sene West) is a testament to the importance of dividing large administrative areas into smaller ones; the smaller, the better.”

45. In summary, the vast spatial extent of the Brong Ahafo Region impedes the smooth administration of the entire region, access to high order services and security. There are clear spatial disparities in the present region in terms of access to governance, security personnel, road distances, travel times and road infrastructure with Bono East Region being the most adversely affected area. Based on the foregoing, it is anticipated that the creation of the proposed Bono East Region will bridge the spatial inequality gap and promote rapid development, as expressed in the views of a traditional leader as follows:

“... When Kintampo was divided into two – Kintampo North and Kintampo South, there have been some major developments in the area...so when we have a new region, our area will develop more and faster.”

A former Regional Chairman of a political party also had this to say:

“...since the rate of development in the Bono area has been slow paced due to the vastness of the region, there is the need for additional regions in the Brong Ahafo Region to ensure development.”

7.5.2 Road infrastructure

46. Road transport is the dominant mode of transport in Ghana, accounting for 97 percent of passenger traffic and 92 percent of freight traffic. In spite of this, road infrastructure has not developed to a point where both passengers and freight can be transported in a cost efficient and effective manner. Road transport is characterized by high transport cost, run-down infrastructure, lack of east-west connections, difficulty in integrating road transport with other modes of transport, a substantial deficit in terms of road development and a backlog of neglected maintenance of all classes of roads.

47. The above description of the state of roads in Ghana, adequately depicts the situation of road infrastructure in the proposed Bono East Region. However, it needs to be mentioned that, in the proposed region, water transport offers an alternative mode of transport but its role in the movement of passenger and freight is limited to the eastern portions of the region and specifically along the lake shore communities. Road transport is the predominant mode of transport within the proposed Bono East Region. However, where road development is limited or has lagged behind residents have, by default, become dependent on water transport. The complementarity offered by water transport was emphasised by a contributor at the Yeji public hearing as follows:

“... in terms of transport, we can use the Volta River to transport goods to the rest of the country.”

48. In addition, road infrastructure in the region comprises urban roads, feeder roads and highways. The highways are of national importance as they connect large urban centres or other towns such as district capitals. They are normally of bitumen or asphaltic surfaces but would also have gravel surfaces and are administered by the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA). In contrast, feeder roads connect smaller towns or villages and other large settlements. In addition, they include the many farm-to-market roads and generally, all untarred roads, roads in the rural areas which carry very little average daily traffic volumes in the order of a few vehicles (less than five) to as many as about 20 vehicles a day. Such roads are administered by the Department of Feeder Roads (DFR) and are primarily of local interest.

49. On the other hand, urban roads, as the name implies, are essentially, all roads in the urban areas, irrespective of their surface type. There is also heavy traffic with thousands of vehicles plying them daily. These roads are administered by the Department of Urban Roads (DUR). As indicated in the proposed Bono East Region, occasionally, there may be an overlap between GHA and DUR as in the case of a trunk road traversing towns such as Techiman, Nkoranza or Atebubu.

50. The proposed Bono East Region has a network of roads of all categories traversing its entire land space. However, as will be seen later in this chapter, the network does not serve all parts of the proposed region equally. The network comprises 849.5Km of trunk or highways, 3,051.03km of feeder roads and 686 km of urban roads. For these roads to contribute meaningfully to socio-economic development of the proposed Bono East Region, their surface type and condition would be critical. Consequently, they are discussed in the next three sections.

Urban Roads

51. Given that urbanization and urban areas will be crucial in the economic development process of the proposed Bono East Region, construction of urban roads will be equally important. Without these roads, delays could occur in the transportation of both raw materials and finished products to points of sales or consumption, as well as those meant for export. DUR's activities in the proposed Bono East Region are therefore, critical for the region's overall development.
52. DUR's activities in the proposed Bono East Region are mainly concentrated in the Techiman and Nkoranza South Municipalities, but it must be mentioned that Techiman Municipality has oversight responsibility for the Nkoranza South Municipality. Hence, the full operation of the DUR is yet to be realised in Nkoranza South Municipality. In short, it can be seen that the limited operations of the DUR in the proposed Bono East Region, will be an impediment to rapid urban and socio-economic development in the region.
53. In terms of the total length of road network in Techiman and Nkoranza Municipalities, Nkoranza has only 95 km compared to Techiman's 473 km. In the Techiman area, 128 km are paved and the rest (345 km) are unpaved (see Table 7.8). In the Nkoranza Municipality, 28 km of the roads are paved and 95 km are unpaved. In each of the two cases, a sizeable proportion of the network length is unpaved and in fair to good condition.
54. Apart from the foregoing, all other urban areas in the proposed Bono East Region do not benefit from DUR's services. Apart from the highways running through these towns, the internal roads are unpaved, without drains and generally in poor condition. Indeed, this could be a basis for the petitioners' claim that virtually all development benefits are concentrated in the proposed Ahafo Region and the rest of Brong-Ahafo Region. Relatively, large areas including, Yeji, Atebubu, Amantin and Abaase are yet to benefit from the operations of the DUR. A quote from a traditional leader summarizes the seriousness of the problem as follows:

“the Mo area of the region does not have good roads and some people in the area have never seen an asphalted road”.

55. The distribution of the urban roads in the current Brong Ahafo Region is not balanced because of the concentration of such roads, in and around Sunyani, the regional capital.

Very few of such roads are in the proposed Bono East and Ahafo Regions. Indeed, this and many other aspects of development are the basis for petitioners' call for the creation of the proposed region where all urban roads will receive equal attention because they would be better prioritized. Petitioners are of the view that creating the new region will lead to development of more roads. A Senior High School student at the Kintampo public hearing expressed his optimism as follows:

“the creation of the Region will also enhance transportation because more roads will be constructed”

56. As can be seen from Table 7.8, most of the paved urban roads in Techiman and Nkoranza Municipalities, (both in the proposed Bono East Region), are in good condition, whereas most of the unpaved roads are in poor condition. As the DUR consolidates its operations in Techiman and Nkoranza Municipalities, it is anticipated that most of the roads within these areas would be paved so that transport costs can be reduced and socio-economic development can be enhanced. In virtually all the cases, these urban roads are connected to highways or trunk roads, which facilitate movement between urban areas and smaller sized towns.

Table 7.8: Network Length and Road Condition Mix for Paved and Unpaved Urban Roads in Brong-Ahafo Municipalities

Municipality	Total Network (km)	Paved Roads				Unpaved Roads			
		Total (km)	Good (km)	Fair (km)	Poor (km)	Total (km)	Good (km)	Fair (km)	Poor (km)
Sunyani	432	206	75.3	89.4	41.3	217	62.92	67.92	86.15
Techiman	473	128	57.3	45.6	25.1	345	106.95	107.99	130.07
Asunafo North	269	109	46.0	27.2	35.8	160	49.6	40.96	69.44
Berekum	277	58	25.3	19.6	13.1	219	57.6	54.97	105.43
Dormaa	188	56	22.2	16.0	17.8	132	27.72	39.34	64.94
Nkoranza	95	28	11.1	9.8	7.1	67	13.07	19.1	34.84
Wenchi	117	17	7.5	8.5	1.0	100	18.9	23.6	57.5
Kintampo	118	16	9.2	5.7	1.1	102	20.71	30.4	50.9

Source: Data received from the Department of Urban Roads, Regional Directorate, Brong-Ahafo Region, Sunyani, February, 2018.

Highways

57. These roads connect large towns and facilitate access into or out of the proposed Bono East Region. Examples of these roads include Nkoranza-Atebubu and Yeji-Atebubu roads. As can be seen from Table 7.9, the proposed Bono East Region has a fair length of highways (849.5 km) because of the areal extent of the region as well as the relatively small urban places. The distribution of length of highways by district in the proposed Bono East Region are shown in Table 7.10.
58. Overall, the proposed Bono East Region has the longest length of highways (849.5 km), followed by rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region (820.6 km) and the proposed Ahafo Region (330 km) in that order. Within the proposed region, Atebubu- Amantin District has the longest length and Pru District has the lowest length. All the other districts have some appreciable length of highways (between 87 km – 129.7 km). Table 7.10 also shows that that none of these highways in the proposed Bono East Region are in poor condition, irrespective of their surface type. Again, from Table 7.10, it can be seen that most of the highways are single surface treated and gravel roads. Only a short stretch of roads have asphaltic concrete surfaces, especially, in Kintampo North Municipality and Kintampo South District.
59. It is on the basis of the foregoing and in comparison with other enclaves within the Brong-Ahafo Region, particularly, in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region that petitioners' claim that they have been discriminated against. It is evident from Table 7.9 that the proposed Bono East Region has the lower highway road density of 0.037 km/km² with the regional average being 0.051 km/km². Having the lowest highway density is primarily because of the relatively low road length compared to the large land area of the proposed Bono East Region.

Table 7.9: Highway Road Densities in the Proposed Regions

REGION	LAND AREA (Km ²) (a)	ROAD LENGTH (b)	HIGHWAY ROAD DENSITY (Km/Km ²) (c)
Proposed Ahafo Region	5,121	330	0.064
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region	11,481	820.6	0.071
Proposed Bono East Region	22,952	849.5	0.037
Brong-Ahafo Region	39,554	2000.1	0.051

- Source:
- (a). Compiled from Analytical Reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census;
 - (b). Data received from Ghana Highway Authority, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, January, 2018; and
 - (c). Computed from (a) and (b).

60. The foregoing analysis reveals substantial highway deficit within the proposed Bono East Region. Based on intra-regional comparisons, it is clear that the proposed Bono East Region even though has the highest length of highways nevertheless has the least density because of its land size. An estimated 0.037 km/km² or 37m per km² is inadequate and indicates the difficulty that petitioners could experience in their bid to travel on the highways to access public and government services. For the majority of the proposed region's residents, however, feeder roads are also of importance in the transportation of goods and services.

Table 7.10: Length of Highways in Brong-Ahafo Region by proposed Regions (2018)

Districts	Surface Type			Percentages (%)			Condition-Length			Condition (%)			Total Length (Km)
	(Km)			(Km)			(Km)						
	AC	GR	ST	AC	GR	ST	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	
PROPOSED AHAFO REGION													
Asunafo North	35	42.1	27.4	33.5	40.3	26.2	71.5	8	25	68.4	7.6	23.9	104.5
Asutifi	21.5	59.1	51.7	16.2	44.7	39.1	95.5	36.8	-	72.2	27.8	-	132.3
Tano South	50.2	10.1	14.9	66.8	13.4	19.8	59.7	15.5	-	79.4	20.6	-	75.2
Tano North	2.6	-	15.4	14.4	-	85.5	18	-	-	100	-	-	18
Total Length in the proposed Region													
PROPOSED BONO EAST													
Atebubu Amantin	-	115	124.8	-	48	52	139.1	100.1	-	58	42	-	239.8
Nkoranza	3.4	-	111.6	3	-	97	88.6	26.4	-	77	23	-	115
Pru	-	15.4	2.1	-	88	12							17.5
Sene	-	91.2	23	-	80	20	91	23.2	-	79.7	20.3	-	114.2
Techiman	30.8	-	83.8	26.9	-	73.1	82.3	32.3	-	71.8	28.1	-	114.6
Kintampo North	89.8	-	-	100	-	-	54.9	34.9	-	61.1	38.9	-	89.8
Kintampo South	72.2	56.3	1.2	55.7	43.4	0.9	114.1	15.6	-	88	12	-	129.7
Total Length in the proposed Region													
REST OF BRONG-AHAFO REGION													
Berekum	33.9	17.6	19.8	76.2	13	10.8	28.2	43.1	-	60	40	-	71.3
Dormaa Ahenkro	59.4	73.3	61.2	30.6	37.8	31.6	100.7	41.6	51.6	51.9	21.5	26.9	193.9
Jaman North	-	54.3	56.4	-	49.1	50.9	54.7	2.2	53.8	49.4	2	48.6	110.7
Sunyani Municipality	5.5	-	55.3	9	-	90.9	7.4	53.4	-	12.2	88.8	-	60.8
Tain	-	172.8	144.5	-	54.4	45.6	102.3	170.3	45.1	32.2	53.6	14.2	317.7
Wenchi East	2.5	-	92.6	2.6	-	97.4	62.8	32.3	-	66	34	-	95.1
Total Length in the proposed Region													
849.5													

Source: Data received from the Ghana Highway Authority, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, January, 2018.

Feeder Roads

61. As indicated earlier in this chapter, feeder roads in the proposed Bono East Region serve a wide range of functions, including transportation of farm produce to the market as well as enhancing access to a range of social and economic facilities and services. Table 7.12 indicates that there are a total of 3,051.03km of the feeder roads in the proposed Bono East Region. Out of this, 0.4 percent have bitumen surface, 35.4 percent have gravel surfaces, and 64.2 percent have earth surfaces. The earth surface roads may not have been surveyed, designed or constructed.
62. The condition of feeder roads in the proposed Bono East Region also indicates that, 92.4 percent of the bitumen surface roads are in good condition, compared to 31.8 percent of gravel roads and 4.1 percent of earth roads in the same category. On the other hand, 80.2 percent of feeder roads with earth surfaces, 32.2 percent of gravel roads and only 0.4 percent of bitumen surface roads are also in poor condition. In spatial terms, a greater majority of poor gravel and earth roads are in Sene West and Sene East, Kintampo North and South, Pru, as well as Atebubu-Amantin Districts.
63. Most of the districts mentioned in the foregoing are incidentally areas with high agricultural production in the proposed Bono East Region. The agricultural products include mangoes, cashew, ginger as well as other vegetables and fish. It can therefore be inferred that the transportation of these products to urban centres and markets could be impeded. Another major disadvantage is the relatively short length of feeder roads, in relation to the region's large size. A farmer mentioned during the public hearing at Nkoranza that:

“There are a lot of farming communities located in the Bono East area but the roads are bad, and as a result, farmers are unable to transport their farm produce to the market centres and nearby towns when it rains. Also, the roads in the Nkoranza township are in bad shape. I wonder why 60 years since independence, a lot of the roads in areas like Atebubu, Kwame Danso and Bassa have been immotorable and people are not able to access nearby towns from them.”
64. Table 7.11 shows feeder road densities by sub-regions in the Brong Ahafo Region. The estimated density of 0.133km/km² in the proposed Bono East is lower than the overall Brong Ahafo Regional average of 0.183km/km². Indeed, the proposed Bono East Region has the lowest feeder road density among all sub-regional groups within the Brong-Ahafo Region (refer to Table 7.11). This implies that within the proposed Bono East Region, there are only 133m of feeder roads per square kilometer of land, compared to the regional average of 188m/sq km both of which are lower than the recommended 250m/sq km for Ghana.

Table 7.11: Feeder Road Density of Proposed Regions in the Brong Ahafo Region

Regions	LAND AREA (km²) (a)	ROAD LENGTH (km) (b)	ROAD DENSITY (km/ km²) (c)
Proposed Ahafo	5,121	1,493.32	0.292
Rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region	11,481	2,683.93	0.234
Proposed Bono East	22,952	3,051.03	0.133
Brong Ahafo Region	39,554	7,228.28	0.183

Source: (a) Compiled from analytical reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census

(b) Data received from the Ghana Highway Authority, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, January, 2018.

(c) Computed from (a) and (b).

65. The foregoing therefore implies that there is a substantial deficit in feeder roads development in the proposed Bono East Region, and this has implications for agricultural production, as well as access to many government and public services. Once again, this finding validates petitioners' claim that development of roads in general, and more specifically feeder roads, have not been equitable in the proposed Bono East Region. Consequently, they have argued that creation of the proposed Bono East Region will facilitate better prioritization and maintenance of feeder roads in the new region.

Table 7.12: Road Length, Surface Type and Condition of Feeder Roads in the Brong Ahafo Region, 2018

MDA	SURFACE TYPE											
	ROAD LENGTH (KM)		Gravel (Km)			Earth (Km)						
	Bitumen (Km)		Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	
PROPOSED AHAFO												
1	Asunafo South	Asunafo	768.13	70.29	20.73	5.60	151.53	242.32	186.03	12.20	32.04	47.40
2	Asunafo North											
3	Asutifi North	Asutifi	358.15	18.36	1.00	0.00	142.04	80.63	59.17	3.00	10.95	43.00
4	Asutifi South											
5	Tano South	Tano	367.04	43.40	0.96	8.06	154.30	74.89	36.60	3.83	26.46	18.54
6	Tano North											
TOTAL												
	1,493.32 (100%)	168.4 (11.3%)		132.05 (78.4%)	22.69 (13.5%)	13.66 (8.1%)	447.87 (39.7%)	397.84 (35.3%)	281.8 (25%)	19.03 (9.6%)	69.45 (35.2%)	108.94 (55.2%)
				1127.51 (75.5%)		197.42 (13.2%)						

Table 7.12 Continued

MDA	ROAD LENGTH (KM)	SURFACE TYPE																
		Bitumen (Km)			Gravel (Km)			Earth (Km)										
		Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor					
REST OF BRONG-AHAFO REGION																		
7	Sunyani Municipal																	
8	Sunyani West	483.94	6.52	1.35	0.00	116.43	87.45	4.37	26.80	83.51								
9	Berekum	280.68	11.80	0.00	0.00	95.56	65.52	2.00	24.65	24.00								
10	Jaman South	500.78	9.40	0.00	0.00	264.10	53.50	16.50	36.05	68.05								
11	Jaman North																	
12	Tainso	627.50	3.00	2.00	1.50	126.10	360.50	4.70	6.40	56.10								
13	Banda																	
14	Wenchi	341.34	15.80	0.00	0.00	35.15	145.62	15.10	27.80	57.58								
15	Dormaa Municipal																	
16	Dormaa East	449.69	42.47	3.71	1.00	185.08	80.21	5.65	10.50	34.65								
17	Dormaa West																	
TOTAL			88.99 (90.3%)	7.06 (7.2%)	2.5 (2.5%)	822.42 (42.5%)	792.8 (38.1%)	48.32 (9.6%)	132.2 (26.2%)	323.89 (64.2%)								
	2,683.93 (100%)	98.55 (3.7%)	2078.49 (77.5%)	504.41 (18.8%)														

Table 7.12: Continued

MDA	ROAD LENGTH (KM)	SURFACE TYPE									
		Bitumen (Km)			Gravel (Km)			Earth (Km)			
		Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	
BONO EAST											
18	Techiman Municipal		508.87	6.00	0.00	0.00	119.11	83.72	56.04	19.14	104.38
19	Techiman North										120.48
20	Nkoranza South										
21	Nkoranza North		480.37	6.80	1.00	0.05	44.37	41.85	31.74	17.39	44.89
22	Atebubu Amantin		851.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	74.96	135.72	63.45	9.65	134.92
23	Kintampo South										
24	Kintampo North		550.37	0.00	0.00	0.00	59.49	44.00	63.34	28.15	336.30
25	Sene West										
26	Sene East		660.81	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.20	82.81	133.2	5.80	388.0
27	Pru										
TOTAL			3051.03	12.8	1	0.05	343.1	388.1	347.8	80.13	308.2
			(100%)	(92.4%)	(7.2%)	(0.4%)	(31.8%)	(36%)	(32.2%)	(4.1%)	(35.4%)
					13.85			1079			1958.18
					(0.4%)			(35.4%)			(64.2%)

Source: Department of Feeder Roads, Brong Ahafo Regional Directorate, Sunyani, 2018.

NOTE: AC – Asphaltic Concrete

GR – Gravel

ST – Surface Treated

7.5.3 Access to Government and Public Services

66. The public sector is required to drive all development interventions in Ghana's economy. Hence, the concentration of development around regional capitals, where most of the public sector institutions are located. The apparent neglect of other parts of the region, due to absence of these services, prompted petitioners and a number of contributors at all public hearings, to raise concerns about their inability to access government and public services. The issue was raised 209 times, representing 20.5 percent of the total contributions made at the public hearings in the proposed Bono East Region. Petitioners and contributors at the various public hearings complained about the frustrations they go through to access essential government and public services, due to the long hours of travel to the regional capital.
67. The government and public services complained about by most contributors during the public hearings and other engagements with petitioners included services of agencies such as the Fire Service, Immigration Service, Registrar General's Department, Judicial Service, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority (DVLA) and other state agencies. The participants expressed the view that the difficulty encountered in accessing these services has led to a general sense of alienation. Sentiments expressed implied that they were excluded from services provided by the government. In a number of cases, the services required by participants relate to high order services, which are only available at the regional capitals. An electrician at the Kintampo public hearing stated:
- “One major problem that affects agriculture in this area is bush fires. If the Forestry Commission were to have an office in Kintampo for example, many of the bush fires which were destroying forest would be curbed. The creation of the region would have such government institutions replicated here.”*
68. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana mandates government to provide just and reasonable access to public facilities under Article 35 (3). In the proposed Bono East Region, it is evident from the public hearings and engagements with chiefs and other stakeholders that the area did not have just and reasonable access to public facilities as guaranteed by the 1992 Constitution.

7.5.3.1 Access to Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions

69. One of the issues of concern raised during the public hearings was the distribution of all types of educational institutions in the proposed Bono East Region. This issue was raised 92 times, representing 9 percent of the total contributions made. They lamented that most tertiary education facilities were located in, and around Sunyani to the detriment of the proposed Bono East Region. In addition, they have to endure long journeys on bad roads in order to access higher order educational facilities in the region. Petitioners and contributors emphasised the point that, there was inequality in the distribution of educational facilities, especially, where SHS and tertiary levels of education are concerned.

70. It is evident from Table 7.13 that, out of the 74 SHS in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the proposed Bono East has 23 (31%), while the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 36 (nearly 50%); a situation which participants at the public hearings see as unfair. The situation is even more pronounced, as one moves up the educational ladder. Of the eight (8) tertiary institutions in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the proposed Bono East has one college of education at Atebubu. In support of this claim, a student of the Yeji Midwifery Training College stated that:

“There is only one Midwifery Training Institution in the Yeji, Atebubu, Bassa and Kwame Danso area and this is even far from town. I hope that if the region is created, the school will get resources and reach the level of the nursing training institutions in Sunyani and the Okomfo Anokye Nursing College in Kumasi.”

71. The above position is further validated by uneven population distribution within the region. When the ratios of the region’s total number of educational institutions are compared with the ratios of the population of the various areas (Bono East, Ahafo and the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Regions), it is clear that the proposed Bono East and Ahafo areas do not have their fair share of educational facilities, particularly Senior High Schools, Colleges of Education, Universities and Special Education institutions (see Table 7.14). In each of these cases, the proposed Bono East and Ahafo Regions’ ratios of population to the regional population are not commensurate with the ratio of educational facilities located in their areas.

Table 7.13: Educational Institutions by Sub-Regions and Districts in the Brong Ahafo Region

MDA	Kindergarten	Primary	Junior High School	Senior High School	College of Education	University	Special Education
PROPOSED AHAFO							
Asunafo North	97	97	73	2	0	0	0
Asunafo South	81	81	65	2	0	0	0
Asutifi North	61	58	17	2	0	0	0
Asutifi South	51	51	43	2	0	0	0
Tano North	64	56	56	4	0	0	0
Tano South	55	56	42	3	1	0	0
TOTAL	409	399	296	15	1	0	0
REST OF BRONG-AHAFO REGION							
Banda	23	23	20	1	0	0	0
Berekum	67	67	64	5	1	0	0
Dormaa East	46	46	27	2	1	0	0
Dormaa Municipal	48	65	66	2	0	0	0
Dormaa West	29	29	45	1	0	0	0
Jaman North	60	60	46	5	0	0	0
Jaman South	70	69	57	2	0	0	0
Sunyani Municipal	56	66	60	5	0	2	1
Sunyani West	69	72	51	5	0	0	0
Tain	79	79	46	4	0	0	0
Wenchi	79	80	67	4	1	1*	0
TOTAL	626	656	549	36	3	2	1

PROPOSED BONO EAST REGION										
Atebu Amantin	80	87	44	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kintampo North	69	70	47	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kintampo South	77	77	50	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nkoranza North	56	56	48	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nkoranza South	77	77	50	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pru	91	92	49	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sene East	49	49	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sene West	51	50	25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Techiman Municipal	93	95	63	5	0	0	1*	0	0	0
Techiman North	46	49	39	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	689	702	426	23	1	0	0	0	1	2

*Campus of Valley View University

Source: Data received from the Ghana Education Service Sunyani, January, 2018.

Table 7.14: Distribution of Educational Facilities in the Brong-Ahafo Region

Region	Population (2018)		KG		Primary		JHS		SHS		College of Education		University		Special Education	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Proposed Ahafo	576,290	21	409	24	399	23	296	23	15	20	1	20	0	0	0	0
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region	1,098,068	41	626	36	656	37	549	43	36	49	3	60	2	100	1	33
Proposed Bono East	1,034,421	38	689	40	702	40	426	34	23	31	1	20	0	0	2	67
Total	2,708,779	100	1724	100	1757	100	1271	100	74	100	5	100	2	100	3	100

Source: Computed from 2018 Population Estimates by GSS and data provided by Ghana Education Service Sunyani, January, 2018.

72. The above analysis, points to the frustration residents within the proposed Bono East Region enclave go through, as a result of concentration of educational institutions including the regional education directorate at the regional capital, Sunyani. The difficulty some teachers face in accessing administrative services in the proposed Bono East Region prompted a teacher during the Kintampo public hearing to share his experience as follows:

“Teachers go through difficulties in accessing and processing documents. For example, to get your promotion letter takes days. Also, to process a simple document anyone who goes to the regional educational directorate will be surprised by the number of files that are piled up. You will waste the whole day for your file to be retrieved. Sometimes you are told to come the next day, all these are as a result of the vastness of the region and the concentration of everything in Sunyani. In the end, several pupils and students suffer. The creation of the region will reduce our burden.”

7.5.3.2 Access to Health Care Facilities

73. Access to health care in the Brong-Ahafo region is hindered by the spatial extent of the region. The further away a district is from the regional capital, the more difficult it is to access quality health care. Petitioners and contributors at the public hearings indicated that the state of health care delivery in their area was deplorable. This issue was raised 77 times (Table 7.6), representing 7.6 percent of the total contributions from participants in all the seven public hearings held in the proposed Bono East Region. As mentioned earlier, petitioners bemoaned that the provision of health facilities are either impeded by inadequate access due to poor road network and long distances. Out of the 867 health facilities in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the remaining part of Brong-Ahafo Region has 397 and the proposed Bono East Region and Ahafo have 303 and 167 respectively (see Table 7.15).
74. For District hospitals, the proposed Bono East Region and the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region have 36.8 percent and 42.1 percent respectively. For higher order health establishments such as Maternity Centres, Polyclinics and Regional Hospitals where complex referral cases could be attended to, the situation is worse in the proposed Bono East Region which has only five (5) Maternity Centres and no Polyclinics in all the 10 districts. Commenting on the inadequacy of health facilities in the proposed Bono East Region, a student nurse at the Yeji Public Hearing stated that:

“The only hospital available for clinical training is the Mathias Hospital in Yeji which is small and cannot service all the students in the area adequately. As a result of that majority of us prefer to do our practical training in places outside the Bono East area. I hope that the new region will lead to the creation of a regional hospital in the Bono East area which will enable the students get more practical experience.”

75. The remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region with Sunyani as the regional capital has the Regional referral hospital and three (3) Polyclinics with relatively well-equipped facilities. As is to be expected, the distribution of health personnel is also skewed in favour of the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region which has the highest number of health facilities in the region.
76. Comparing the total health personnel of 6,835 including nurses, medical or physical assistants, and medical doctors within the Brong-Ahafo Region, the proposed Bono East Region has 33.4 percent, proposed Ahafo Region has 18.7 percent and the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 47.9 percent (see Table 7.16). Analysis of doctor-population ratio indicate that, the proposed Bono East has a doctor-population ratio of 1: 10,199. The remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has a doctor-population ratio of 1:5,444. Even though the doctor-population ratio in the Bono East is lower than the Brong-Ahafo regional average of 1:18,629, it is more than the national average of 1:8300. Creation of the proposed Bono East Region will provide opportunities to address the imbalance in the distribution of health facilities and staff in the area, bringing quality health care closer to the people.

Table 7.15: Health Facilities by Type in Brong-Ahafo Region

NO.	District	CHPS	Clinic	District Hospital	Health Centre	Other private Hospitals	Maternity	Mines	Polyclinic	Regional Hospital	Total
Proposed Ahafo Region											
1.	Asunafo North	26	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	41
2.	Asunafo South	15	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	20
3.	Asutifi North	25	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	31
4.	Asutifi South	24	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	29
5.	Tano North	25	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	30
6.	Tano South	12	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	16
	Sub Total	127	5	4	19	3	6	1	2	0	167
Proposed Bono East Region											
1.	Atebubu-Amantin	29	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	34
2.	Kintampo North	18	0	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	25
3.	Kintampo South	31	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	35
4.	Nkoranza North	22	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	26
5.	Nkoranza South	21	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	30
6.	Pru	20	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	28
7.	Sene East	17	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	20
8.	Sene West	19	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	22
9.	Techiman Municipal	36	0	1	4	1	4	0	0	0	46
10.	Techiman North	30	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	37

NO.	District	CHPS	Clinic	District Hospital	Health Centre	Other private Hospitals	Maternity	Mines	Polyclinic	Regional Hospital	Total
Sub Total		243	5	7	37	2	9	0	0	0	303
Rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region											
1.	Banda	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	9
2.	Berekum	27	1	1	12	1	7	0	0	0	49
3.	Dormaa East	22	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	27
4.	Dormaa Municipal	30	0	1	6	0	1	0	0	0	38
5.	Dormaa West	10	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	15
6.	Jaman North	13	2	1	7	1	0	0	0	0	24
7.	Jaman South	33	1	1	4	0	5	0	1	0	45
8.	Sunyani Municipal	34	19	1	4	2	4	0	0	1	65
9.	Sunyani West	36	5	0	4	0	3	0	1	0	49
10.	Tain	29	0	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	36
11.	Wenchi	32	0	1	4	1	2	0	0	0	40
Sub Total		273	28	8	53	5	26	0	3	1	397
Regional Total		643	38	19	109	10	41	1	5	1	867

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Brong Ahafo Regional Directorate, 2018

Table 7.16: Distribution of Health Personnel in the Brong Ahafo Region

No.	District	Personnel Type			Total	
		Nurses	Medical or Physical Assistants	Medical Doctors	Number	Percentage
Proposed Ahafo						
1	Asunafo North Municipal	295	8	8	311	4.55
2	Asunafo South	100	1	1	102	1.49
3	Asutifi North	190	5	0	195	2.85
4	Asutifi South	119	3	10	132	1.93
5	Tano North	140	3	0	143	2.09
6	Tano South	373	7	15	395	5.77
	Sub-Total	1,217	27	34	1,278	18.69
Proposed Bono East						
1	Atebubu-Amantin	229	2	4	235	3.43
2	Kintampo North Municipal	212	12	9	233	3.40
3	Kintampo South	157	5	4	166	2.42
4	Nkoranza North	103	2	0	105	1.53
5	Nkoranza South Municipal	264	6	8	278	4.06
6	Pru	215	4	7	226	3.30
7	Sene East	6	0	0	6	0.08
8	Sene West	264	2	2	268	3.92
9	Techiman Municipal	581	19	52	652	9.53
10	Techiman North	110	4	0	114	1.66
	Sub Total	2,141	56	86	2,283	33.4

No.	District	Personnel Type			Total	
		Nurses	Medical or Physical Assistants	Medical Doctors	Number	Percentage
Rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region						
1	Banda	68	1	0	69	1.0
2	Berekum Municipal	333	7	22	362	5.29
3	Dormaa Central Municipal	397	3	15	415	6.07
4	Dormaa East	128	1	1	130	1.90
5	Dormaa West	106	2	1	109	1.59
6	Jaman North	189	6	2	197	2.88
7	Jaman South	231	7	5	243	3.55
8	Sunyani Municipal	901	18	101	1020	14.9
9	Sunyani West	168	5	0	173	2.53
10	Tain	178	6	3	187	2.73
11	Wenchi Municipal	350	11	8	369	5.39
Sub Total		3,049	67	158	3,274	47.9
Grand Total		6,407	150	278	6,835	100.00

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Regional Directorate, Sunyani, 2018

7.5.3.3 Other Government and Public Services

Judicial Services

77. The distribution of courts in the Brong-Ahafo Region is skewed in favour of the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region area where the current regional capital Sunyani is located. None of the districts in the proposed Bono East Region has superior courts. Similarly, all the six (6) High Courts are in the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region area with Sunyani having three high courts and two commercial courts. The only Circuit Court in the proposed Bono East Region is located in Techiman. From Table 7.17, it is seen that, out of the 31 courts in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the proposed Bono East Region has six (6), representing 19.4 percent of the total number of courts. This comprise two in Techiman (one circuit and district court) and four (4) District Courts at Nkoranza, Kintampo, Atebubu and Kwame Danso.
78. The imbalance in the distribution of courts in the Bono East enclave was a challenge to many contributors at the various public hearings.. According to the participants, the travel distance alone to the superior courts in Sunyani, is a disincentive to residents who desire to pursue justice. Contributors at the public hearing were of the view that the creation of the proposed Bono East Region will lead to the establishment of superior Courts and other courts in all the districts so as to bring justice closer to the people.

Table 7.17: Distribution of Courts in Brong Ahafo Region by Areas

Location	Type of Court			Total	
	High Court	Circuit Court	District Court	No.	%
Ahafo Area	0	2	5	7	22.6
Bono East Area	0	1	5	6	19.4
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region	6	4	8	18	58
Total	6	7	18	31	100

Source: Judicial Service of Ghana, 2018.

Water Supply

79. Boreholes (BH) and hand-dug wells (HDW) are the main potable rural water supply systems in the region. Out of the 3,352 BHs and 427 HDWs in the region, the proposed Brong East has 1,308 BHs and 93 HDWs, while the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 1,339 BHs and 92 HDWs. The rural water supply coverage in the Bono East area with a population of 877,154 is 62.5 percent while in the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region with a population of 860,226, is 66.5 percent. (Ghana Water Company Limited-Sunyani, 2018).
80. The situation is slightly different in the case of urban water supply. While the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has three (3) of the operating systems at Berekum, Dormaa and Sunyani, the proposed Bono East Region has only one at Techiman. To achieve a complete coverage in that enclave, there is still a gap of rural coverage of

nearly 40 percent to be filled. Also, more operating systems would have to be installed in the urban areas. The creation of the proposed Bono East Region will attract public/private partnership which would increase water supply coverage in the enclave.

Other Services

81. Other agencies such as the Police Service, Prisons Service, Fire Service, Armed Forces, Immigration Service, and Forestry Commission provide complementary services to enhance government's response to the needs of the people. At all the public hearings in the proposed Brong East Region, participants' inability to access these services were highlighted. For instance, out of the 2,349 police personnel in the Brong-Ahafo Region (Table 7.18), the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region has 1,328 (56.5%) staff while the proposed Bono East Region has 616 (26.2%). The remaining 405 (17.3%) are in the Ahafo area.

Table 7.18: Distribution of Police Personnel in the Brong Ahafo Region

District	No. of personnel (a)	Population of Area (2010 Census) (b)	Ratio of Personnel To Population (c)
Proposed Ahafo Region			
Goaso	100		
Mim	39		
Kenyase	70		
Kukuom	53		
Duayaw Nkwanta	77		
Bechem	66		
Total	405		
Rest of Brong-Ahafo Region			
Wenchi	160		
Sunyani	197		
Berekum	144		
Sampa	66		
Drobo	67		
Dormaa	74		
Wamfie	19		
Amansi	15		
Nkrankwanta	18		
Total	760		
Regional Headquarters	568		
Total	1,328	922,609	1:694.74
Proposed Bono East Region			
Techiman	200		
Tuobodom	12		
Tanoso	27		
Kintampo	115		
Jema	25		
Atebubu	70		
Yeji	57		
Kwame Danso	18		
Nkoranza	72		
Busunga	20		
Total	616		
Brong Ahafo Region Grand Total	2,349	2,310,983	

- Sources:
- (a) Data received from the Ghana Police Service, Brong Ahafo Regional Command, 2018;
 - (b) Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census
 - (c) Computed from (a) and (b)

82. Table 7.18 provides police-population ratios in the proposed Ahafo, proposed Bono East and the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region as 1: 1,195, 1:1,468 and 1:695 respectively. These are significantly higher when benchmarked against the United Nations standard of 1:500. Though the remaining part of the Brong-Ahafo Region which includes Sunyani has the lowest ratio, the distribution varies as one moves away from the regional capital (See Table 7.18). Sunyani, being the regional capital, has the highest order police establishment, made up of the Regional Headquarters, and its attendant facilities. This situation gives residents in and around Sunyani easier access to these services. On the other hand, residents of communities such as Atebubu, Kwame Danso and Kajaji, where crimes such as highway robbery and cattle rustling are reportedly very important, are without adequate police services. The creation of the proposed Bono East Region will provide an avenue for the construction of a regional and divisional Police headquarters to complement the existing ones to effectively combat crime and ensure the peace, security and safety of residents.
83. Similarly, all the key government MDAs and Security agencies will establish new headquarters to enhance service delivery. Key institutions such as the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority (DVLA), Ghana National Fire Service (GNFS), Lands Commission, Customs Excise and Preventive Service (CEPS) will have new regional and district offices closer to the people of Bono East for enhanced delivery of services. This will open up the area further for development, as posting of personnel to these institutions will lead to increased demand for goods and services and employment opportunities. Thus far, it is the firm conviction of petitioners in the proposed Bono East Region that the creation of a new region will bridge the development gap within the Brong-Ahafo Region and the nation as a whole.

7.5.4 Economic and Employment Issues

84. As noted in other sections of this Report, economic and employment issues as discussed during the public hearings and consultations with other stakeholders by the Commission, relate to the economic potentials of the proposed Bono East Region. This comprises natural resource endowment and limited employment and other livelihood opportunities. Analysis of the issues discussed at the public hearings indicates that economic and employment issues were the third most frequent issues discussed. Nevertheless, it needs to be stressed that issues of the economy and employment are directly linked to other issues discussed, particularly access to government and public services, and spatial issues.
85. Many of the contributors at the public hearings who commented on the economic and employment issues were of the general view that the proposed Bono East Region is well endowed with natural resources. Yet, these natural resources remain untapped and therefore limits the employment opportunities and the overall socio-economic development of the proposed region. The contributors and petitioners were of the general view that regional policy and decision makers have paid little attention to the socio-economic development of the proposed region. Consequently, the proposed

region has failed to attract the needed investments and infrastructure required to enable tapping of the proposed region's natural resources. Commenting on this, a contributor at the Sunyani public hearings stated the following:

“Apart from Kintampo waterfall, there are several other water falls, slave caves and a monkey sanctuary in the Bono East area which have potential for tourism development.... There are several mineral resources which are untapped. For instance, in the Mo lands there are gold deposits, diamonds, and in Kintampo there is white clay. The people in the area produce yams, onions and cassava. In Nkoranza, there are limestone deposits which can be used to produce cement. But the poor road network impedes the development of these tourist sites and other natural resources in the area.”

86. Other contributors were also of the view that the lack of attention to the economic and employment needs of the proposed region was due to the current size of the Brong-Ahafo Region. The general view here is that the large size of the current region does not allow areas distant from the regional capital, Sunyani, to have a fair share of the regional allocation of funds for its development. In addition, regional policy and decision makers have inadequate knowledge of the economic potentials of areas faraway from Sunyani. As a contributor at the public hearing at the Atebubu public hearing stated that:

“The proposed Bono East Region is endowed with numerous untapped natural resources. In particular, the Bono East area has a lot of potential tourist attraction such as waterfalls which can attract visitors to this area, but these have not been developed.”

87. Several contributors stressed the importance of strengthening agriculture in the proposed Bono East Region through investments, improvement in infrastructure, especially roads, and access to markets as critical to employment generation. At the Kajaji public hearing, a farmer commented on the huge employment potential in agriculture but lamented that because of the poor roads in the Bono East area, farmers are not able to transport and sell their agricultural produce at the nearby market centres on time. This situation does not encourage the youth to go into agriculture, neither does it allow farmers to gain the full benefits of their hard work.
88. Table 7.19 shows the economic activity rates of the population of 15 years and older in the Brong-Ahafo Region by district and locality. In all, there is not much difference in terms of the rates of employment, unemployment and economically-inactive population in the Brong-Ahafo Region which includes the proposed Bono East Region. As noted earlier in this Report, rural agricultural regions such as the Brong-Ahafo Region tend to have relatively higher rates of employment of the active population, largely on account of agriculture. Nevertheless, studies have also shown that agriculture tends to produce under-employment and other disguised forms of unemployment (World Bank, 2015).

Table 7.19: Activity status of persons 15 years and older by district and locality of residence

District	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Em- ployed	Un- employed	Total	Em- ployed	Un- employed	Total	Em- ployed	Un- employed	Total
Asunafo South	76.9	2.2	100.0	69.2	3.5	100.0	79.8	1.7	100.0
Asunafo North	71.9	3.2	100.0	64.1	5.2	100.0	77.1	1.8	100.0
Asutifi *	69.6	4.1	100.0	63.4	6.5	100.0	73.3	2.8	100.0
Dormaa Municipal	73.9	2.5	100.0	64.9	3.9	100.0	78.9	1.8	100.0
Dormaa East	72.8	2.8	100.0	67.4	3.6	100.0	82.5	1.5	100.0
Tano South	73.6	1.9	100.0	69.7	2.4	100.0	78.3	1.3	100.0
Tano North	70.6	3.5	100.0	64.7	4.7	100.0	76.9	2.2	100.0
Sunyani Municipal	57.6	4.2	100.0	54.3	4.6	100.0	76.4	2.2	100.0
Sunyani West	65.3	5.0	100.0	62.4	6.0	100.0	72.9	2.5	100.0
Berekum Municipal	62.1	5.2	100.0	59.8	5.3	100.0	66.6	5.0	100.0
Jaman South	70.7	2.1	100.0	66.0	3.4	100.0	72.5	1.6	100.0
Jaman North	68.1	2.2	100.0	64.5	2.6	100.0	72.2	1.8	100.0
Tain	79.6	1.3	100.0	75.2	1.2	100.0	82.9	1.4	100.0
Wenchi Municipal	71.3	2.6	100.0	62.6	3.9	100.0	76.9	1.9	100.0
Proposed Bono East Region									
Techiman Municipal*	71.1	3.4	100.0	69.2	3.9	100.0	74.1	2.7	100.0
Nkoranza South	75.6	2.8	100.0	67.6	4.4	100.0	83.3	1.2	100.0
Nkoranza North	78.0	1.9	100.0	72.9	3.3	100.0	79.2	1.6	100.0
Atebubu Amantin	73.6	2.6	100.0	66.9	3.9	100.0	80.1	1.4	100.0
Sene*	80.3	1.2	100.0	71.9	1.0	100.0	81.5	1.3	100.0
Pru*	70.0	1.7	100.0	61.0	2.3	100.0	76.0	1.3	100.0
Kintampo South	78.9	2.0	100.0	70.5	2.6	100.0	79.8	1.9	100.0
Kintampo North	72.3	2.5	100.0	67.0	3.2	100.0	79.8	1.5	100.0
Sub-Total (Proposed Bono East Region)	75.0	2.3	100.0	68.3	3.2	100.0	79.2	1.6	100.0
All Districts	71.5	2.9	100.0	64.7	4.0	100.0	77.5	1.9	100.0

*Now split into Techiman Municipal and Techiman North District; and Sene District divided into Sene West and Sene East. *Asutifi (North & South) Districts. *Pru District (Pru West and Pru East)

Source: GSS (2013c)

Table 7.20: Occupation of employed persons (15 years+) by district

Locality/District	Man-agers	Profess- ionals	Tech- nicians & associate profess- ionals	Clerical support workers	Service & sales workers	Skilled agricultural forestry & fishery workers	Craft & related trades workers	Plant & machine operators & assemblers	Elementary occupations	Other	Total
Urban	2.5	6.9	2.0	1.7	24.2	37.2	14.5	5.5	5.5	0.1	100.0
Rural	0.8	2.2	0.5	0.3	6.7	78.9	6.7	2.0	1.9	0.0	100.0
Asunafu South	1.1	2.8	1.2	0.3	9.1	74.2	6.6	1.9	2.7	0.0	100.0
Asunafu North	1.7	4.0	1.4	0.8	13.4	60.3	11.0	3.9	3.4	0.1	100.0
Asutifi **	1.9	3.2	0.6	0.4	10.3	56.5	9.3	12.9	4.9	0.0	100.0
Dormaa Municipal	1.5	3.8	1.2	0.9	12.9	66.3	8.3	2.5	2.6	0.0	100.0
Dormaa East	1.2	4.0	0.8	0.5	12.8	67.2	8.3	2.5	2.8	0.0	100.0
Tano South	1.3	4.3	0.9	0.7	12.2	67.4	8.2	2.3	2.6	0.1	100.0
Tano North	1.2	4.7	1.0	0.8	11.8	65.4	8.9	3.1	3.0	0.0	100.0
Sunyani Municipal	3.9	9.3	3.0	3.3	28.1	25.5	15.0	5.7	6.0	0.2	100.0
Sunyani West	2.3	5.7	1.6	1.3	20.0	47.1	12.0	5.9	4.0	0.0	100.0
Berekum Municipal	1.7	6.6	1.7	1.3	22.4	43.4	12.8	5.1	5.0	0.0	100.0
Jaman South	1.3	5.5	1.2	0.6	8.4	72.0	7.3	1.5	2.0	0.0	100.0
Jaman North	0.9	4.4	1.1	0.8	10.0	71.6	7.2	1.7	2.3	0.0	100.0
Tain	0.8	2.7	0.6	0.5	6.8	79.2	6.2	1.4	2.0	0.0	100.0
Wenchi Municipal	1.5	4.8	1.3	0.8	15.2	57.8	9.9	3.6	5.1	0.0	100.0
Proposed Bono East Region											
Techiman Municipal	2.2	4.8	1.6	1.2	25.8	40.0	13.6	5.3	5.5	0.0	100.0
Nkoranza South	1.6	3.7	1.0	0.8	13.1	65.7	8.2	2.7	3.3	0.0	100.0
Nkoranza North	0.5	2.7	0.4	0.2	7.0	81.5	4.3	1.3	2.0	-	100.0
Atebubu Amanatin	1.0	3.6	0.8	0.5	13.9	66.1	8.6	3.0	2.5	0.0	100.0
Sene	0.8	2.0	0.4	0.6	5.1	73.5	15.1	0.8	1.7	0.0	100.0
Pru	0.9	2.5	0.9	0.5	11.7	65.9	14.1	1.2	2.4	0.0	100.0
Kintampo South	0.8	2.2	0.7	0.4	6.4	80.5	4.8	1.7	2.4	0.0	100.0
Kintampo North	1.6	4.4	1.3	1.0	18.7	54.2	10.8	3.7	4.3	0.0	100.0
Sub-Total	1.2	3.2	0.9	0.6	12.7	65.9	9.9	2.5	3.0	0.0	100.0
All Districts	1.5	4.2	1.2	0.9	14.1	61.3	10.0	3.5	3.4	0.0	100.0

*Now split into Techiman Municipal and Techiman North District; and Sene District divided into Sene West and Sene East. **Asutifi(North &South)

Source: GSS (2013c)

89. Table 7.20 confirms the claims of the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings that the proposed Bono East Region (and the Brong-Ahafo Region in general) is an agricultural region. The Table presents the occupation of those employed persons, 15 years and above by districts in the Brong-Ahafo Region as per the 2010 Population and Housing Census. Across localities (rural and urban) and districts in the region, skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers are dominant. Even in urban areas, they accounted for almost four out of ten workers in Brong-Ahafo Region in 2010.
90. In the proposed Bono East Region, the proportion of the skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers in 2010 was 65.9 percent compared to 61.3 percent for the whole of the Brong-Ahafo Region. In Nkoranza North and Kintampo South Districts in the proposed Bono East Region, the proportion of skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers in 2010 was 81.5 percent and 80.5 percent respectively. This is the highest in the whole of the Brong-Ahafo Region.
91. An avenue for promoting economic activities and employment stressed by the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings is the presence of large markets in the proposed Bono East Region. According to a former MP who spoke at the Kintampo public hearing, some of these big markets in the Bono East area such as the Techiman market have existed for even centuries. A contributor further added that:

“Besides Techiman, the proposed Bono East has big markets at Yeji, Nkoranza, Atebubu and Kintampo. These markets together with the natural resources in the Bono East will make the region economically stronger.”

Further, a traditional leader at the Yeji public hearing stated that:

“Every traditional area from Atebubu, Bassa, Nkomi, Prang, Abaase to Yeji have well established and thriving markets. So, we are confident of increased economic activity when a new region is created.”

92. Given the high proportion of the active population in the agriculture sector, relatively abundant arable land and low population density in the proposed Bono East Region, agriculture remains key to the economic growth and development of the region. However, the present challenges confronting the sector such, as poor roads which were well highlighted by both the petitioners and contributors at the public hearing need to be addressed. Both the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings see the creation of the proposed region as a means of strengthening agriculture and other economically viable sectors in the area for job creation. A contributor at the Yeji public hearing indicated that:

“If the new region is created, agriculture extension services will improve due to the reduction in the size of the region. In addition, farmers will have better access to farming inputs and equipment because there will be a better focus in a region now smaller in size. This will allow for the creation of more jobs for the youth in the region.”

93. Besides deliberate efforts to improve economic opportunities through agriculture, exploitation of mineral resources and tourism, the petitioners and some contributors at the public hearings see the increased presence of the public sector as an avenue for job creation. In their view, the presence of regional offices of ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) as a result of the creation of the proposed Bono East Region will lead to the creation of several job opportunities. In addition, the presence of several civil and public servants, especially, in the regional capital of the proposed new region, will increase purchasing power with multiplied effects on the regional economy and opportunities for employment generation. In other words, the increased presence of the public sector provides opportunity for both public and private sector investments in the proposed region which will also provide employment opportunities for the youth.

7.5.5 Issues of Empowerment and Participation

94. Issues of empowerment and participation relate to perceived unequal distribution of development projects, allocation of funds, appointments to government positions and feelings of marginalization and neglect in development. As earlier noted, the issues of empowerment and participation were raised 142 times out of 1,018 contributions at the public hearings in the proposed Bono East Region. This represents almost 14 percent of all contributions and the fourth most frequent issues raised at the public hearings in the proposed region.
95. The petitioners and contributors at the public hearings were of the general view that given the size of the Bono East area of the Brong-Ahafo Region, it has been disadvantaged in the allocation of development projects and funds. This, they blamed on inadequate representations at regional decision-making levels, especially, in the appointment of regional ministers and deputy regional ministers. Information submitted by the petitioners in making the case for the creation of the proposed Bono East Region revealed that of the 17 Regional Secretaries/Ministers for the Brong-Ahafo Region appointed since 1982, only three have hailed from the proposed region (Table 7.21). For Deputy Regional Secretaries/Ministers, the Table shows that out of the eight (8) appointed since 1993, three of the appointees originated from the proposed Bono East Region.

Table 7.21: Representation of Political Leadership of the Brong-Ahafo Region since 1982

No.	Name*	Government	Office tenure date/period	Place of Origin
Regional Ministers				
1.	K. Saarah Mensah	PNDC	25-01-1982 – 15-12-1982	Tanoso
2.	K. K. Kwayie	PNDC	21-12-1982 – 11-06-1983	Sampa
3.	C. S. Takyi*	PNDC	25-07-1983 – 10-11-1984	Techiman
4.	S. K. Asare-Sawiri*	PNDC	14-11-1984 – 24-07-1985	Atebubu
5.	Col. (rtd) Alex Antwi	PNDC	05-08-1985 – 04-04-1988	Begoro
6.	J. H. Owusu-Acheampong	PNDC	04-04-1988 – 05-04-1993	Berekum
7.	I. K. Adjei Mensah*	NDC	05-04-1993 – 07-04-1997	Techiman
8.	David Osei Wusu	NDC	07-04-1997 – 08-12-1998	Kukuom
9.	Donald Adabre	NDC	08-12-1998 – 06-01-2001	Bolgatanga
10.	Ernest A. Debrah	NPP	14-02-2001 – 07-04-2003	Tanoso
11.	Nana Kwadwo Seinti	NPP	07-04-2003 – 21-05-2006	Duayaw Nkwanta
12.	Ignatius Baffour Awuah	NPP	16-06-2006 – 07-01-2009	Nsoatre
13.	K. Nyamekye-Marfo	NDC	18-02-2009 – 18-02-2013	Kwatire
14.	Eric Opoku (MP)	NDC	18-02-2013 – 27-03-2013	Sankore
15.	Paul Evans Aidoo (MP)	NDC	27-03-2013 – 01-04-2014	Sefwi-Wiawso
16.	Eric Opoku (MP)	NDC	01-04-2014 – 06-01-2017	Sankore
17.	K. Asomah-Cheremeh	NPP	2017 – Date	Jinijini
Deputy Regional Ministers				
1.	Kojo Mahama Adam*	NDC	1993-1994	Techiman
2.	George Owusu*	NDC	1994-2000	Techiman
3.	Yaw Adjei Duffour	NPP	2001-2005	Jema
4.	Ignatius Baffour Awuah	NPP	2005-2006	Nsoatre
5.	Kwadwo Kwakye*	NPP	2006-2008	Atebubu
6.	Eric Opoku	NDC	2009-2013	Sankore
7.	Justice Samuel Adjei	NDC	2013-2017	Odomase
8.	Evans Opoku Bobie (MP)	NPP	2017-Date	Goaso

*Appointed Regional and Deputy Regional Ministers who hailed from the proposed Bono East Region.

Source: Extracted from petition documents

96. According to the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings, the number of people appointed from the proposed Bono East Region as regional political heads and in central government is woefully inadequate. In the view of a traditional leader who spoke at the Atebubu public hearing, this represents discrimination among residents in terms of government appointments. This is because he always see the appointment of people from Berekum, Dormaa and Sunyani to political positions over people from the Bono East area. A contributor at the Kintampo public hearing argued that:

“Since the creation of the Brong-Ahafo Region in 1959, a few regional political heads have come from the Bono East area. The political elites in the Brong-Ahafo Region are usually oblivious of the development needs of the proposed region.”

97. Some contributors at the public hearings also argued that the people from Bono East area are often ignored by central government when it comes to political appointments, due to the large size of the present Brong-Ahafo Region as well as the remoteness of the Bono East area. Consequently, the view generally expressed is that the creation of the new region will lead to more inclusion of the people of the Bono East area in the governance process.
98. Beyond the view on inadequate representation in regional administration and its adverse impact on distribution of development projects, another related issue articulated at the public hearings in the proposed Bono East Region, was the description of the area and its people in disparaging terms by some within the Brong-Ahafo Region, due to its remoteness from Sunyani. Some comments made in respect of this are as follows:
- “When the people of the Bono East area travel to Sunyani they are referred to as the “Far East people.”* (a political figure at Kajaji public hearing)
- “When we attend meetings in Sunyani, they often referred to us as the “Brong North people”. Are we different from the people in Sunyani and why are the people in Sunyani considering us as “remote people?”* (Female contributor at Kajaji public hearing).
99. It is the view of both the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings that the creation of the new region will provide opportunities for development, and enhance their participation in regional and national governance. More specifically, they expect a more equitable distribution and allocation of development projects and funds in a relatively smaller region, and an enhanced pace of development, to address the perceptions of discrimination, marginalization and neglect of the Bono East area.

7.5.6 Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Issues

100. The petitioners, in both their written and oral submissions to the Commission emphasized strongly the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of the proposed Bono East Region. On pp. 4-5 of a document titled *Profile of the Eastern Corridor of Brong-Ahafo* submitted to the Commission in support of their petition states as follows:

“Due to the vibrant trade, large expanse of arable land for agriculture and long stretch of the Volta River for fishing, the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region has become a microcosm of the country, populated by people from all its parts. Dominant among the inhabitants are the Akans (Bonos), Nchumuru, Dwan, Krachi Bassa, Wiase, Mole-Dagbani, Guan, Ewes, Dagaaba, Grusi, Sisala, Konkomba among others... Christianity and Islamic religions are the two predominant religions practiced by the people. Also, traditional religion is visibly present in the region.”

101. Contributors at the public hearings in the proposed Bono East Region corroborated the view of the petitioners, regarding the diversity of the ethnic, cultural and religious groupings in the region. A senior public servant at the public hearing at Nkoranza commented on the diversity of the population in the proposed region as follows:

“The presence of the various traditional leaders from different groups at the public hearing illustrates the unity of purpose, and the drumming and dancing of the different ethnic and cultural groups at the venue of the hearing is a testament that we are all fully in support of the creation of the proposed Bono East Region. Indeed, the Bono East area is the home of different ethnic groups and what we have is unity in diversity. Based on this, we hope the Commission will recommend to the President the need to create the region.”

102. Secondary data obtained from the Ghana Statistical Service (2013c) report on the ethnic groupings in the Brong-Ahafo Region, based on the 2010 Population and Housing Census, confirms the assertion of the ethnic diversity of the proposed Bono East Region by the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings. Table 7.22 provides information on the proportion of the ethnic groups across all districts in the Brong-Ahafo Region in 2010. It shows that the dominant ethnic group is Akan (58.9%) followed by Mole-Dagbon (18.2%) for all districts in the Brong-Ahafo. However, figures for the proposed Bono East Region revealed a more diverse ethnic groupings, compared to the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region. While there were 36.4 percent of Akans in the proposed Bono East Region, they were 72.6 percent in the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region. In addition, the proposed Bono East Region had significant proportions of other ethnic groups such as the Mole-Dagbon (23.5%), Gurma (13.7%), Grusi (7.6%) and Ewe (4.7) compared with the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region.
103. Table 7.23 shows the religious affiliations in the Brong-Ahafo Region and the proposed Bono East Region. The Tables indicates that all the religious affiliations in Ghana, namely, Christianity, Islam and Traditional are present in the proposed region. However, there is the predominance of Christianity (Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal/Charismatic and other Christian sects). Also, it can be observed from Table 7.23 that there is a relatively higher proportion of the Islam religion (17%); no religion (10.2%) and; traditionalist (5.3%) in the proposed Bono East Region (17%) compared to the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region.

Table 7.22: Ethnic groups by district in the Brong-Ahafo Region

District	Akan	Ga-Dangme	Ewe	Guan	Gurma	Mole- Dagbon	Grusi	Mande	All other tribes	Total
Asunafo South	58.4	3.7	5.2	1.2	6.8	20.5	1.2	2.4	0.6	100.0
Asunafo North	61.8	2.3	6.4	0.9	4.8	19.2	1.8	2.0	0.7	100.0
Asutifi *	60.0	2.0	7.1	0.3	5.5	17.2	2.1	4.4	1.3	100.0
Dormaa Municipal	82.3	0.3	0.9	0.2	1.1	11.8	1.3	1.2	0.9	100.0
Dormaa East	87.0	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.3	8.4	2.2	0.3	0.4	100.0
Tano South	60.5	0.3	3.3	0.7	10.6	19.0	1.6	2.7	1.4	100.0
Tano North	63.8	1.9	4.6	0.4	4.4	18.8	1.7	3.5	0.9	100.0
Sunyani Municipal	69.2	2.9	4.0	0.8	1.6	15.4	2.9	2.1	1.1	100.0
Sunyani West	73.9	1.1	1.9	0.3	1.2	18.1	2.2	0.7	0.6	100.0
Berekum Municipal	90.5	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.4	5.6	0.7	0.3	0.5	100.0
Jaman South	89.3	0.1	0.6	0.2	1.6	5.9	1.1	0.7	0.4	100.0
Jaman North	89.6	0.1	0.2	1.3	0.2	2.5	2.1	3.4	0.4	100.0
Tain	78.7	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	17.9	1.9	0.3	0.1	100.0
Wenchi Municipal	50.9	0.2	1.0	1.0	0.8	36.6	4.3	2.7	2.5	100.0
Sub-total	72.6	1.2	2.7	0.6	2.8	15.5	1.9	1.9	0.8	100.0
Proposed Bono East Region										
Techiman Municipal*	58.1	0.4	1.5	2.4	2.9	24.6	6.0	2.2	1.8	100.0
Nkoranza South	58.2	0.2	0.6	0.4	4.2	30.7	4.6	0.6	0.5	100.0
Nkoranza North	62.4	0.1	0.1	0.9	4.1	26.5	5.4	0.1	0.4	100.0
Atebubu Amantin	32.3	0.3	1.0	2.9	29.1	22.7	4.3	4.8	2.6	100.0
Sene*	10.0	6.5	19.2	32.3	18.9	9.6	1.0	0.6	1.9	100.0
Pru*	16.6	2.7	13.4	21.7	26.6	12.6	1.9	0.5	4.1	100.0
Kintampo South	35.5	0.1	0.2	1.0	7.8	41.2	12.4	0.8	1.0	100.0
Kintampo North	17.8	0.4	1.7	12.4	16.3	20.1	25.2	3.1	3.0	100.0
Sub-total	36.4	1.3	4.7	9.3	13.7	23.5	7.6	1.6	1.9	100.0
All Districts	58.9	1.3	3.7	4.1	6.9	18.2	3.9	1.8	1.3	100.0

*Now split into Techiman Municipal and Techiman North District; and Sene District divided into Sene West and Sene East.

*Asutifi (North & South) *Pru (Pru West and Pru East)

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013c, 38)

Table 7.23: Population by religion and district

District	Religious Affiliation							Total	
	No religion	Catholic	Protestants	Pentecostal/ Charismatic	Other Christian	Islam	Traditionalist		Other
Asunafo South	6.7	15.7	18.8	26.6	12.3	17.7	0.6	1.7	100.0
Asunafo North	5.9	15.2	17.1	30.9	14.6	14.9	0.7	0.7	100.0
Asutifi *	7.0	14.1	16.3	32.3	9.8	18.8	0.7	1.0	100.0
Dormaa Municipal	5.5	18.6	23.6	30.1	8.5	12.3	0.8	0.6	100.0
Dormaa East	6.6	18.8	22.3	32.7	11.6	7.1	0.5	0.4	100.0
Tano South	8.0	18.1	16.1	26.9	11.1	16.9	2.0	0.9	100.0
Tano North	6.2	21.8	20.3	27.2	9.3	13.8	0.8	0.6	100.0
Sunyani Municipal	3.6	18.3	18.3	35.1	11.3	12.6	0.3	0.6	100.0
Sunyani West	5.8	18.2	19.0	32.6	14.2	9.2	0.3	0.6	100.0
Berekum Municipal	4.1	17.3	23.5	38.8	8.8	6.5	0.4	0.7	100.0
Jaman South	3.6	31.7	24.2	23.8	3.0	12.2	0.9	0.6	100.0
Jaman North	2.2	35.9	26.5	18.4	2.7	13.0	1.2	0.2	100.0
Tain	8.6	29.3	21.2	14.5	6.4	16.5	2.8	0.7	100.0
Wenchi Municipal	8.2	29.9	14.0	16.7	4.9	21.9	3.7	0.7	100.0
Sub-total	5.9	21.6	20.1	27.6	9.1	13.8	1.1	0.8	100.0
Proposed Bono East Region									
Techiman Municipal *	5.7	19.3	15.1	21.5	11.9	25.0	1.0	0.4	100.0
Nkoranza South	10.1	23.8	16.6	19.4	16.4	10.3	2.9	0.5	100.0
Nkoranza North	11.8	25.6	19.8	13.3	12.6	14.0	2.6	0.4	100.0
Atebubu Amantin	7.8	14.3	9.5	19.2	9.6	33.5	5.6	0.5	100.0
Sene *	16.7	12.6	14.2	22.9	11.5	11.0	9.5	1.5	100.0
Pru *	11.2	13.5	14.4	19.7	6.6	21.7	12.6	0.3	100.0
Kintampo South	11.8	26.5	12.2	15.2	8.5	20.9	4.0	0.9	100.0
Kintampo Municipal	6.4	17.9	9.4	14.4	11.4	36.1	4.1	0.2	100.0
Sub-total	10.2	19.2	13.9	18.2	11.1	21.5	5.3	0.6	100.0
All Districts	7.3	20.1	17.7	24.5	9.9	17.0	2.7	0.7	100.0

*Now split into Techiman Municipal and Techiman North District; and Sene District divided into Sene West and Sene East. **Asutifi(North &South) *Pru (Pru West and Pru East)

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013c, 38) 104.

104. The Commission indeed observed that at all the public hearings in the proposed Bono East Region, there was the presence of all ethnic, cultural and religious groups. In addition, there were a number of cultural displays emphasizing the diversity of the people and cultures of the proposed region. Furthermore, following the extensive consultations undertaken in the proposed Bono East Region, the Commission is very much aware of a special committee established by the chiefs and petitioners made up of representatives from various traditional councils, religious leaders and community leaders. The responsibility of this committee was to canvass support for the creation of the new region. All these demonstrate unity in diversity within the proposed region.

7.6 Demand and Need for the Creation of the proposed Bono East Region

105. In all the Commission's consultations with residents of the proposed Bono East Region and the various public hearings organised, it became very clear that there is need for the creation of the new region. This need is based on the current profile of the region, its spatial extent as well as its state of infrastructural development and in general, what they require as residents of the proposed Bono East Region.

106. There were several reasons why the residents who were consulted and the contributors at the various public hearings were of the view that the proposed Bono East Region should be created and virtually all the reasons stem from the quest for overall development of the proposed region. Most speakers bemoaned the fact that the Brong-Ahafo Region was rather too large for administrative purposes. The Brong-Ahafo Region, as currently constituted, makes it rather difficult for any Regional Minister (and his staff) to effectively supervise it simply on account of its large land mass; being the second largest region after the Northern Region. For example, the distance between Sunyani and Kajaji is 292km and between Sunyani and Yeji is 264km.

107. Although it is widely acknowledged that the proposed region is endowed with natural resources, it remains underdeveloped, limiting employment opportunities and its overall economic development. The Commission's analysis suggest that this is partly blamed on inadequate political representation at the regional and national levels which has had adverse impact on the allocation of resources and development projects. It is therefore, clear that residents of the proposed Bono East Region are very much aware of the need for the creation of a new region that will be manageable to facilitate the development of the region.

108. The Commission's analysis revealed substantial deficit in the development of roads in the proposed Bono East Region. Urban roads development are limited to only Techiman and Nkoranza, while other centres are yet to receive attention. The distribution of trunk roads or highways is also limited with low penetration; explaining why access along such roads in the eastern part of the proposed region is usually impeded by poor road conditions and surface types. Feeder roads are fairly well distributed but some deficit areas were also identified. A major rehabilitation and maintenance programme

is required to restore and stabilize the feeder road network which facilitates agricultural production and marketing.

109. Generally, access to government and public services is limited in the proposed Bono East Region. In a number of instances, residents have had impeded access to higher order government and public services located in the regional capital. In addition, there is a deficit in both higher order education and health facilities.
110. It is the view of the Commission that the new region, when created will facilitate the establishment of Regional Directorates of the Health and Education sectors that will oversee the implementation of the steps to close the gaps in education and health delivery in the area. In addition, the creation will mandate, for example, the Ministry of Health to provide a regional hospital that will address all referral cases at the regional level. Similarly, the Ministry of Education will address educational concerns in the area. The education and health infrastructure to be provided will create avenues for both direct and indirect employment generation. The multiplier effect will be a total accelerated development in the entire region in particular and adjoining regions in general.
111. In addition, the creation of the proposed Bono East Region will provide avenues for the establishment of regional and district government service institutions, including the Attorney General's Office, Community Water and Sanitation Agency and Ghana Water Company, to address the myriad of issues raised by the petitioners and contributors at the various public hearings. Private investors and organisations will spring up for the overall socio-economic development in the area. In some cases, government agencies like Immigration Service, Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority, and Forestry Commission, which are usually located at the regional capital will be available when the region is created.
112. The inability of the people within the proposed Bono East Region to attend meetings, participate in regional chieftaincy affairs, administrative and local governance issues at the regional level; low representation of women at the regional level and limited political appointments were some of the concerns expressed during the Commission's interactions with the petitioners and the people in the enclave. The need as has been argued by the petitioners and contributors at the public hearing that creation of the proposed Bono East Region will bring governance closer to the people is supported by the Commission. In view of the foregoing, the Commission is convinced that an earnest need for the creation of the Bono East Region has been established.

7.7 Evidence of Substantial Demand

113. Having established the need for the proposed Bono East Region, this section of the report is concerned with providing evidence of substantial demand. This is done using indicators such as persistence of the demand, extent of mobilization, enthusiasm, absence of conflicts, participation at the public hearings and potentials for development of the proposed region. Each of these indicators is discussed in turn.

114. The Commission observed that the proposed Bono East Region was one of the areas where residents were mobilized extremely well to present their case before the Commission. Right from the national, through the regional to the local district levels, the “Coalition of Chiefs for Bono East Region” mobilised both human and financial resources towards the achievement of their objective.
115. In terms of human resources, the Commission observed that there was a committed group of people helping with the documentation of their petition as well as preparation of other illustrative and background materials. These people were from virtually all parts of the proposed Bono East Region. They included a cross section of the society made up of both educated and uneducated people. The former included three or four former Vice Chancellors, other academics and professionals working across the length and breadth of Ghana. Indeed, the Coalition in the proposed region would appear to be one of the most organised with newly procured pick up vehicles to enhance the Coalition’s mobility to various parts of the proposed region.
116. The Commission also witnessed a very high level of enthusiasm among residents in favour of the creation of the proposed Bono East Region. In urban areas such as Techiman, Nkoranza and Atebubu, the level of enthusiasm was measured by attendance at the public hearings. In fact, people lined up along major access routes to each of the places for the public hearings. Attendance at the Techiman public hearing was exceptional with 4,669 participants followed by Nkoranza where about 1,890 residents attended the public hearing (refer to Table 7.5). In rural locations such as Kajaji, for example, virtually all residents in the town attended the public hearing. Stop-over engagements in Bassa and Kintampo were also indicative of the evidence of substantial demand because of the sheer number of people who attended the public hearing.
117. It is also noted that in spite of the fact that there are several ethnic groups resident in the proposed region, no major conflicts have been recorded over the recent past. Ethnic groups in the proposed region include: Bono and Akan, Mole-Dagbon, Grusi, Gurma, Ewe and Ga-Dangme. These groups hail from other regions in Ghana but have migrated to ply their trade in the proposed region. They have co-existed with each other and in some cases, there have been intermarriages and there is now a generation of these original migrants who consider various places in the proposed region as their home. The Commission observed that all the different ethnic and cultural groups are united in their quest for a new region.
118. Apart from the rich agricultural potentials, including the large scale production of cashew and yam, there are other potentials such as the Volta Lake for water transport, large tracts of land for commercial farming, several potential sites and deposits of mineral resources which could be exploited to the advantage of the proposed region. Special mention must be made of the Techiman market which has a very wide catchment area over West Africa as a major potential for development of the proposed region.

7.8 Conclusion and Recommendation

119. On the basis of the foregoing, the Commission is convinced that substantial demand has been established for the creation of the proposed Bono East Region. The new region if approved will have a land area of 25,314 square kilometres and an estimated 2018 population of 1,083,266 which is projected to increase to 1,133,768 in 2020 as per estimates provided by the Ghana Statistical Service. Within the context of these population potentials and its land size, the Commission endorses the proposed Bono East Region as a viable one. The proposed region is larger than other regions in Ghana and its population size is also bigger than the population of some regions in Ghana.
120. The Commission recommends that the proposed Bono East Region comprises the following: Atebubu-Amantin Municipality, Kintampo North Municipality, Kintampo South District, Nkoranza North District, Nkoranza South Municipality, Pru District, Pru West District, Sene East District, Sene West District, Techiman Municipality and Techiman North District. It is the view of the Commission, that the creation of the proposed Bono East Region will address many of the challenges forwarded by the petitioners as the basis for the demand for the creation of the region.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION

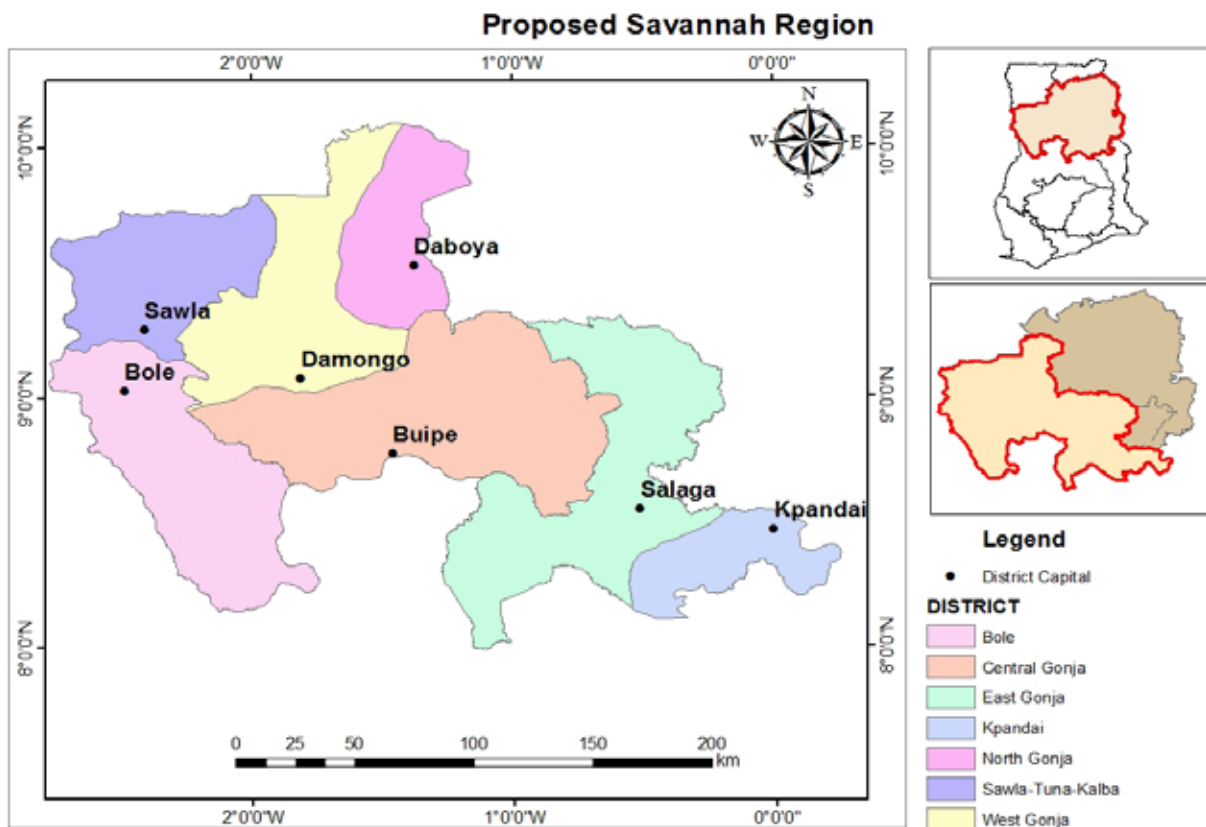
8.1 Background

1. To enhance administrative efficiency and improved socio-economic development, demand for the creation of new regions out of the present Northern Region has been ongoing since independence. This is evidenced by the appeals made to successive governments by various Gonja Overlords, the Gonjaland Youth Association, the Northern Region House of Chiefs, Members of Parliament across the political spectrum from this region, and the intense advocacy by most Regional Ministers assigned to the region.
2. On 6th June 2017, the current Yagbonwura, Boresa Tuntumba I, repeated this appeal to the NPP government under the leadership of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo following submission of a petition for the creation of a new region out of the present Northern Region. The proposed region to be named “Savannah Region” comprises of a Municipality and six (6) Districts namely: Bole District, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District, West Gonja District, North Gonja District, Central Gonja District, East Gonja Municipality, and Kpandai District (See Figures 8.1 and 8.2). In adherence to Article 5 of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana, and on the advice by the Council of State, the President appointed a Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the need and substantial demand for the creation of the proposed new region.
3. On 29th November 2017, the Commission met with petitioners from the proposed Savannah Region at the Osu Castle in Accra for an in-camera engagement. The purpose of the meeting was to interact with the petitioners and to seek more information in support of their petition. During the process, the salient issues raised in support of the creation of the proposed region are summarised as follows:
 - The historical antecedent in the quest for a new region by chiefs, youth groups, political leaders and civil society organisations including churches. A number of Gonja Overlords including the current Yagbonwura Boresa Tuntumba 1 had submitted four separate petitions to successive governments in 1996, 1999, 2007 and 2016.
 - The land area of the Northern Region is 70, 384sq.km and 16.09 percent representing about a third of the total land area of Ghana. This land size impedes the smooth governance and administration of the region. Therefore, there is the need to divide the region to address these challenges.
 - The proposed Savannah Region is the least developed part of the Northern Region despite its abundant natural resources. The area is characterized by poor road

networks, inadequate health and educational facilities, inadequate electricity and water supply, poor sanitation and inadequate telecommunication infrastructure.

- The economic viability of the proposed Savannah Region is guaranteed. The area has very rich and diverse resources that include a wealth of under-utilized fertile agricultural lands, drained by the Volta, the Oti and the Daka Rivers and their tributaries; mineral and tourism potential which can all be harnessed for growth and accelerated development of the proposed region and the nation as a whole.

Figure 8.1: Proposed Savannah Region



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

4. The main argument put forward by the petitioners is that the creation of the new region will enhance administrative efficiency, accelerate socio-economic and infrastructure development, give impetus to the government's decentralization policy, and thus bring government and governance closer to the people, at all levels.
5. In order to validate the claims made by the petitioners, the Commission embarked on a fact-finding mission to the Northern Region from 11th to 19th March 2018. Apart from providing opportunity for the Commission to interact with the chiefs and the people of the region, especially those from the Savannah part of the region, the visit also afforded the Commission the opportunity to observe useful situations in their natural setting for informed decision-making on the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region.

6. This report is a synthesis and analysis of the interactions between the Commission and the people from the proposed Savannah Region. The report presents the profile of the Northern Region, a brief methodology of the process employed by the Commission, analysis of the need and substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Savannah Region out of the existing Northern Region and conclusions and recommendations.

8.2 Profile of the Northern Region

7. The history of the Northern Region dates back to the period when British forces stationed in the coastal areas made attempts to widen their frontiers and colonize the lands previously “carved out for the European powers at the Berlin Conference in 1844 for the British” (GSS, 2013d:1). It therefore seems that the area had been successfully colonised by 1900. From that period, the British Colony “had its eastern boundary marked by the Volta River in the South and extended north along the Daka River”(GSS, 2013d:1). The Northern Region was known as the “Northern Territories” until Germany was defeated in the First World War. By 1949, the Coussey Committee had recommended for the “Protectorate of the Northern Territories, some parts of the Northern Section of Togoland and beyond the Krachi District” to become one region (GSS, 2013d:1).
8. The Coussey Committee’s recommendations were adopted in 1952 and by the time Ghana attained independence in March 1957, “the protectorate and the Northern Section of Togoland had become the Northern Region”. The Upper Region was created out of the Northern Region in 1960 (GSS, 2013d:1). The Northern Region, which occupies an area of about 70,384 square kilometres is the largest region in Ghana in terms of land mass and it has Tamale as its regional capital. It shares boundaries with the Upper East and the Upper West Regions to the north, the Brong Ahafo and the Volta Regions to the south, Togo to the east, and la Côte d’Ivoire to the west.
9. According to the *2010 Population and Housing Census*, the population of the Northern Region was 2,479,461 and the Ghana Statistical Service has also indicated that the 2018 population estimate for the Northern Region would be 2,993,554. These figures indicate that the population densities in the Northern Region and the proposed Savannah Region are low compared to the proposed North East Region as well as the entire country. The estimated 2018 population density for the proposed Savannah Region, when created, will be 42.53 persons per square kilometre compared with 68.18 persons per square kilometre for the proposed North East Region and 46.85 persons per square kilometre for the rest of the Northern Region. The whole of Ghana has an estimated density of 128.51 persons per square kilometre. Consequently, the population densities in Savannah Region and the Northern Region as a whole are all still low compared with the national estimate of 128.51 persons per square kilometre for the entire country. This pattern of population densities has several implications for the delivery of public and government services.

Table 8.1: Land Area and Population of Districts in the Northern Region

	Land Area Km ² (a)	Population (2010) (b)	Population Density (2010) (c)	2020 (Inter- censal Growth rate - 2.9)	Population (2020) (d)	Population Density (2020) (e)
Proposed Savannah Region	36,985.5	577,326	15.61	1.33	767,844	20.76
Proposed North East Region	9,071.3	465,005	51.26	1.33	618,457	68.18
Rest of Northern Region	23,769.3	1,436,130	60.42	1.33	1,911,382	80.41
Northern Region	70,384	2,479,461	35.23	1.33	3,297,683	46.85
Ghana	238,535	24,658,823	103.38	1.24*	30,653,587	128.51

PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION

DISTRICT	Land Area Km ² (a)	Population (2010) (b)	Population Density (2010) (c)	2020 (Inter-censal Growth rate - 2.9)	Population (2020) (d)	Population Density (2020) (e)
Central Gonja	7,555.0	87,877	11.63	1.33	116,958	15.48
West Gonja	4,715.9	41,180	8.73	1.33	54,808	11.62
East Gonja	8,340.1	134,450	16.12	1.33	178,943	21.46
Sawla –Tuna – Kalba	4,226.9	99,863	23.63	1.33	132,910	31.44
Bole	6,169.2	61,593	9.98	1.33	81,976	13.29
Kpandai	1,132.9	108,816	96.05	1.33	144,826	127.84
North Gonja	4,845.5	43,547	8.99	1.33	57,958	11.96
TOTAL	36,985.5	577,326	15.61	1.33	767,844	20.76

PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION						
DISTRICT	Land Area Km² (a)	Population (2010) (b)	Population Density (2010) (c)	2020 (Inter-censal Growth rate - 2.9)	Population (2020) (d)	Population Density (2020) (e)
Chereponi	1,374.7	53,394	38.84	1.33	71,063	51.69
East Mamprusi	1,706.8	121,009	70.90	1.33	161,054	94.36
Bunkpurugu Yunyoo	1,257.1	122,591	97.52	1.33	163,159	129.79
West Mamprusi	2,610.4	121,117	46.40	1.33	161,198	61.75
Mamprugu Moaduri	2,122.3	46,894	22.10	1.33	62,412	29.41
TOTAL	9,071.3	465,005	51.26	1.33	618,457	68.18

REST OF THE NORTHERN REGION						
DISTRICT	LAND AREA Km² (a)	POPULATION (2010) (b)	Population Density (2010) (c)	2020 (Inter-censal Growth rate - 2.9)	Population (2020) (d)	Population Density (2020) (e)
Tamale	646.9	223,252	345.11	1.33	297,132	459.32
Tolon	1,354.8	72,990	53.88	1.33	97,144	71.70
Savelugu - Nanton	2,022.6	139,283	68.86	1.33	185,375	91.65
Karaga	3,119.3	77,706	24.91	1.33	103,421	33.16
Kumbungu	1,599.0	39,341	24.60	1.33	52,360	32.75
Nanumba North	2,260.8	141,584	62.63	1.33	188,438	83.35
Nanumba South	1,789.2	93,464	52.24	1.33	124,394	69.52
Mion	2,714.1	81,812	30.14	1.33	108,886	40.12
Gushiegu	2,674.1	111,259	41.61	1.33	148,077	55.37
Yendi	1,446.3	117,780	81.44	1.33	156,756	108.38
Sagnarigu	200.4	148,099	739.02	1.33	197,109	983.58
Saboba	1,751.2	65,706	37.52	1.33	87,450	49.94
Tatale Sanguli	1,090.5	60,039	55.06	1.33	79,907	73.28
Zabzugu	1,100.1	63,815	58.01	1.33	84,933	77.20
TOTAL	23,769.3	1,436,130	60.42	1.33	1,911,382	80.41

Sources: (a) and (b) are from Ghana Statistical Service (2012). Population and Housing Census. Analytical Report: Northern Region

(c) Computed from (a) and (b) (d) Projected using the 2010 figures and empirically determined growth rates

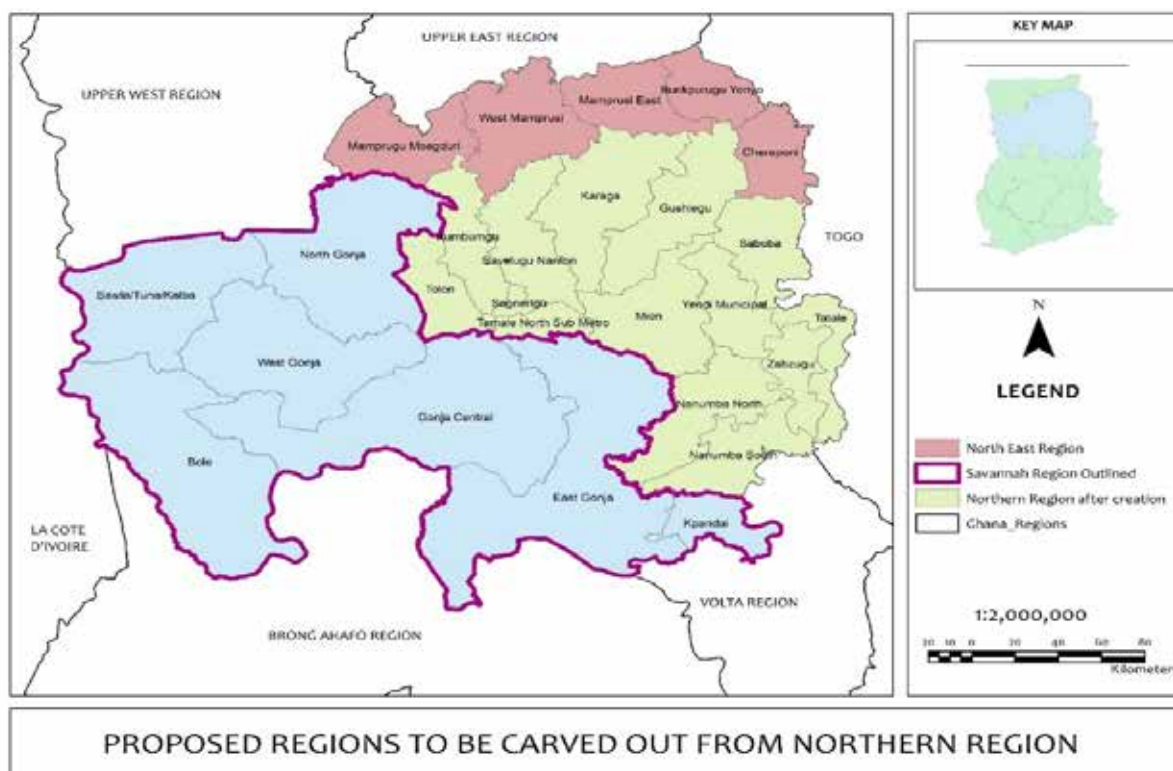
(e) Computed from (d) and (a)

10. The land is mostly low lying except in the north-eastern corner of the Gambaga escarpment and along the western corridor. The region is drained by the Black and White Volta Rivers and their tributaries such as the Nasia and Daka Rivers. The main vegetation is grassland, interspersed with guinea savannah woodland, characterised by drought-resistant trees such as acacia, mango, baobab, shea nut, dawadawa, and neem.
11. The Northern Region is characterized by hot (high daily temperatures) and seasonally dry climatic conditions, short scattered trees with continuous tall grass, low annual rainfall (with a single rainfall regime) and water scarcity. The locals here are peasant farmers who cultivate small parcels of land of cereals and root tubers such as yam and cassava. Another major feature of the region is the relatively low population density and the long physical distances between human settlements which make the provision of, and access to, government and public services rather difficult. In many instances, it is difficult for most of these scattered human settlements to satisfy the required thresholds for the location of basic infrastructural facilities.
12. There are four overlords in the Northern Region. They are the Ya-Na, who is the overlord of Dagbon in Yendi; the Nayiri of Mamprugu in Nalerigu; the Bimbilla Naa of Nanung in Bimbilla and the Yagbonwura of the Gonja Traditional area in Damongo. These overlords as well as other paramount chiefs are members of the Northern Regional House of Chiefs.
13. The popular festivals that are celebrated in the Northern Region include the *Bugum* (fire) and *Damba* festivals. The origin of the *Bugum* festival is shrouded in mystery as Islam and Dagbon cultures each claim to own it (GSS, 2013d). There is, however, some inter-relationship between the festival and the religion as they have influenced each other with the passage of time. The *Damba*, on the other hand, is both a dance and a festival and is the single most important festival celebrated across northern Ghana by the Dagomba, Mamprusi and Gonja.
14. Among the Mole-Dagbon, the main ethnic group of the Northern Region, the largest subgroups are the Dagomba and the Mamprusi, while the Kokomba, Basaari and Bimoba are the largest of the Gurma group. The Chokosi belong to the Akan ethnic group while the Gonja and Chumburu belong to the Guan ethnic group. The predominant languages that are spoken in the region are Dagbani, Gonja and Mampruli. The other languages are Likpakpa, Chokosi, Basaare, Kantosi, Moar, Chamba and Chumburu.
15. Tourist attractions in the Northern Region include the Mole National Park which is located in the West Gonja District. It is a 4,840-square kilometre reserve with over 400 species of animals including elephants, buffaloes, wild pigs, apes and birds. Tamale, Daboya, Sabari, Nasia, Mole, Bui, among other locations, have exotic birds suitable for bird watching. Other attractions are the Nankpanduri waterfalls and the Gambaga Escarpment. Ancient mosques are a particular aspect of the region which underpins the long history of Islam in the region and serve as tourist attractions. The Larabanga Mosque, which is of Sudanese architectural origin, dates back to the 13th century, and the Bole Mosque, also of similar Sudanese architectural teeming, was built later. While

the Banda Nkwanta and Malew Mosques were built in the 18th century, imitating older mosque designs, the Zayaa Mosque in Wulugu is an unusual storeyed traditional design of historical and military interest. Kpalga Sacred Mosque in Kpalga is a mosque where devotees make offerings for their wishes to be answered.

16. The majority of people in the region are engaged in agriculture. The crops they produce include yam, maize, millet, guinea corn, rice, groundnuts, beans, soya beans and cowpea. At Gushie in the Savelugu-Nanton District, there is a large plantation of grafted mangoes cultivated by outgrowers. Bontanga in the Tolon Kumbungu District has a big irrigation dam where farmers engage in large-scale rice cultivation during the dry season.
17. Daboya is noted for the production of good quality yarn for sewing smocks. Some of the people of Daboya are also engaged in salt mining. Following the discovery of limestone deposits, a cement factory (SAVACEM) has been located at Buipe, in the Central Gonja District. Buipe is also where a shea nut processing factory is located, as well as the Bulk Oil Storage and Transport (BOST) Company. This company supplies the northern part of the country with petroleum products. The Teaching Hospital in Tamale, not only provides health services for the people of the Metropolis and the region as a whole but also serves as a referral point for patients from other health facilities. The satellite campuses of the Faculty of Agriculture and the School of Medicine and Health Science of the University for Development Studies are situated at Nyankpala in the Tolon Kumbungu District and Dungu, a suburb of Tamale, respectively.

Figure 8.2: Proposed Administrative Map of Northern Region



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

8.3 Approach and Methodology

18. The process of eliciting views to support claims of petitioners from the proposed Savannah Region followed all the stages outlined in Chapter 3. In-camera engagement with petitioners on the Savannah enclave was on the 29th November 2017. This was followed by regional fact-finding mission from 11th to 19th March 2018. There were three levels of consultations in the Region. These comprised a meeting with government functionaries (RCC and MMDAs); Regional House of Chiefs and courtesy calls on Yagbonwura and the Paramount Chiefs; and public hearings in the selected district capitals in the proposed Savannah Region. The Commission also had the opportunity to interact with the people from the proposed Savannah Region and the general public who for one reason or the other could not participate in the regional consultations at the Accra International Conference Centre (AICC) on 10th April 2018.
19. Six public hearings were held by the Commission to elicit the views of the public on the proposed new region. Participants came from a cross-section of society. This included traditional, religious and political leaders, women, youth, farmers, and traders, representatives of associations, the aged and people with disability. The Commission did not place any inhibition on views expressed at the public hearings except an admonition to avoid inflammatory statements.

8.4 Participation and Analysis of the Savannah Public Hearings

20. The public hearings in all the six locations were well-patronised amidst their unique cultural drumming and dancing. In addition to the large numbers at the public hearing centres, there was a large number of pupils and adults standing on both sides of the roads with placards which had various inscriptions in support of the creation of the region.
21. All the 147 participants who spoke at the public hearings in Damongo, Buipe, Sawla, Bole, Salaga and Tamale were in support of the creation of the proposed Savannah Region (see Table 8.2). There were no dissenting views expressed. Participants who spoke at the public hearings provided reasons why they support, the creation of the proposed Savannah Region. Their reasons were later categorized into eight (8) thematic areas per location as shown in Table 8.3 and cumulative responses in Figure 8.3.

Table 8.2: Contributors at the Public Hearings in the Proposed Savannah Region by Sex

Location	Responses					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bole	20	16.3	4	16.7	24	16.3
Buipe	18	14.6	6	25.0	24	16.3
Damongo	24	19.5	4	16.7	28	19.0
Salaga	22	17.9	4	16.7	26	17.7
Sawla	24	19.5	3	12.5	27	18.4
Tamale	15	12.2	3	12.5	18	12.2
Total	123	100.0	24	100.0	147	100.0

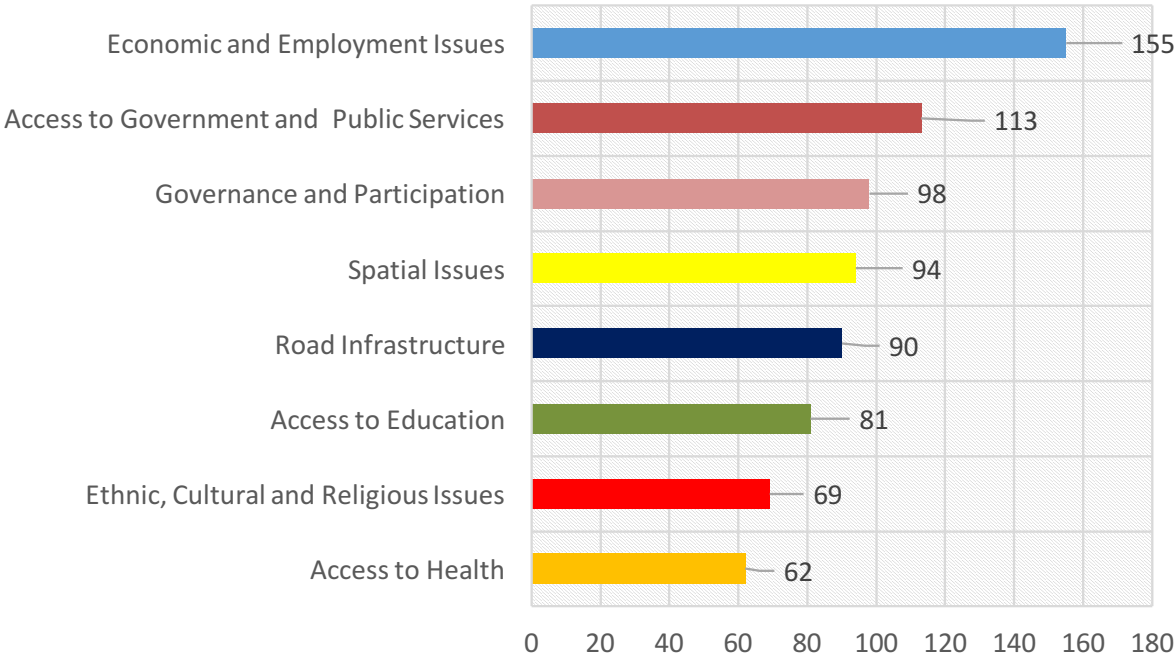
Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Table 8.3: Issues raised at the Savannah Public Hearings

Thematic Issue	Tamale		Bole		Damongo		Buipe		Sawla		Salaga		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spatial Issues	16	14.5	19	16.2	16	13	10	8.1	18.0	14.5	15	9.1	94	12.3
Access to Government and Public Services	23	20.9	17	14.5	17	13.8	13	10.6	22	17.7	21	12.7	113	14.8
Road Infrastructure	18	16.4	14	12	15	12.2	16	13	13	10.5	14	8.5	90	11.8
Access to Education	9	8.2	8	6.8	18	14.6	16	13	10	8.1	20	12.1	81	10.6
Access to Health	8	7.3	12	10.3	12	9.8	12	9.8	12	9.7	6	3.6	62	8.1
Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Issues	4	3.6	11	9.4	8	6.5	9	7.3	14	11.3	23	13.9	69	9.1
Governance and Participation	13	11.8	15	12.8	12	9.8	12	9.8	15	12.1	31	18.8	98	12.9
Economic and Employment Issues	19	17.3	21	17.9	25	20.3	35	28.5	20	16.1	35	21.2	155	20.3
	110	100.0	117	100.0	123.0	100.0	123	100.0	124	100.0	165.0	100.0	762	100.0

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Figure 8.3: Cumulative responses on Thematic issues from the Savannah Public Hearings



Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

22. The most dominant issue which emerged from the public hearings at the regional engagements was economic and employment issues which accounted for 20.3 percent of the total number of issues raised by participants. This was followed by access to government and public services which accounted for 14.8 percent of the thematic issues raised. Access to education recorded the least accounting for only 8.2 percent. These statistics corroborated the issues raised during the engagements in Accra, Osu, the various courtesy calls on chiefs by the Commission in the Northern Region and the public hearings at the Accra International Conference Centre, Accra.
23. The ranking of the issues followed similar trends in all locations where public hearings were held except Tamale and Sawla which ranked access to government and public services as first with corresponding percentages of about 21 and 18 respectively. The remaining locations: Bole, Damongo, Buipe and Salaga ranked economic and employment issues first (see Table 8.3). However, Tamale and Sawla both ranked economic and employment issues second.
24. The ratings seem to suggest the need for interventions that will open up the local economy to generate employment opportunities for the enclave. The quest for economic and employment opportunities by the people was highlighted in almost all centres for the public hearing. A contributor at the Damongo public hearing had this to say: *“Northern Region has 26 districts and it is difficult to monitor activities from Tamale. The creation of the Savannah Region will create more job opportunities in all sectors: education, health, police and so on for the youth to get employed”*. It is also implied

that the opportunities to be generated should be such that the people would have a say in the governance processes. The creation of the proposed Savannah Region has the potential of opening up the local economy to absorb the teeming population in the employment opportunities that will be accompanied by the creation of the proposed region.

8.4.1 Spatial Extent of the Northern Region

25. The Northern Region, as it is currently constituted, is the largest of all the regions in Ghana based on its land area or size. Out of the national land size of 238,533 square kilometres, the Northern Region occupies 70,384 square kilometres which is 29.5 percent of Ghana's total land area. The Northern Region is larger than Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions put together and it is about 22 times the size of Greater Accra Region and far larger than the Western, Eastern, Greater Accra and Central Regions put together. Finally, it is nearly three times the combined area or size of the Upper East and Upper West Regions.
26. The proposed Savannah Region has a land area of about 36,985.5 square kilometres or 52.5 percent of the total land area of the Northern Region. It is located in an area stretching from the northwestern part of Ghana around Bole and Bamboi to the northeastern part of Ghana around Salaga and Kpandai. It comprises Central, West, North and East Gonja, Sawla-Tuna–Kalba, Bole and Kpandai Districts. It is therefore bound to the north and north-west by the Upper West Region; to the south by Brong-Ahafo Region; to the northeastern part by Tolon Kumbungu District and Tamale Metropolitan Area; and to the north-east by Yendi Municipality and Nanumba South district (Refer to Figure 8.3). Some of the important and large human settlements in the proposed region include: Bamboi, Bole, Sawla, Damongo, Busunu. Buipe and Salaga which have tremendous potential for economic development.

27. The Northern Region, and by implication the proposed Savannah Region, has a long stretch of roads but the shape and extent of the region are such that distances between the extreme ends of the region are rather long. For example, in an east-west direction, the distance between Bole and Chereponi is 438 km while in a north-south direction the distance between Kpandai and Walewale is 347 km (see Figure 8.4). Such distances are clearly a hindrance to accessing government and public services. However, these distances would be reduced if the Savannah Region is created with a more central location as the regional capital. Such reductions in trip making patterns to access government and public services appears to be a major underlying assumption for the re-demarcation of the region into small manageable units.

28. The spatial extent and distances between towns in the Northern Region, and particularly in the Savannah enclave was a recurring theme during virtually all the public hearings in towns such as Bole, Sawla, Damongo, Buipe and Salaga. A Senior Officer of the Ghana Education Service at the Bole public hearing reaffirmed this position when he indicated that:

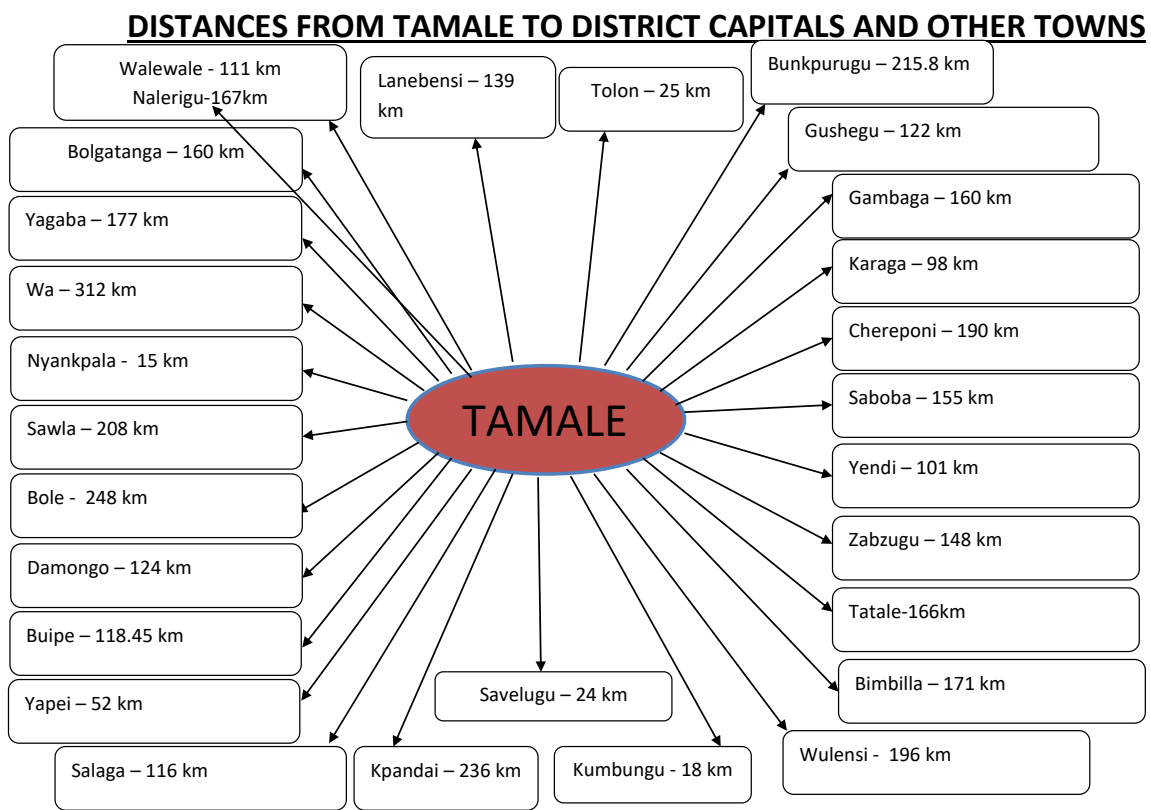
“...anytime we are invited for meetings in the regional capital, Tamale, you need to get there a day earlier in order to be part of the meeting. After the meeting, you cannot leave the same day. What this means is that three (3) whole days in a five-day working week are spent travelling to and from Tamale. There is also the additional problem of financial expense on travelling and accommodation.”

29. In another development, a member of the Northern Region House of Queen Mothers also stressed that “... due to the vastness of the Northern Region, some of the Queen Mothers, especially old ones, are not able to attend the regional queen mothers meetings. Other executives and I have to traverse the entire region to visit these old queen mothers”. The perception of residents regarding the physical distances between settlements and the vast extent of the region is a hindrance in many respects and tends to adversely affect development. In a sense, it may be inferred that the size of the region also tends to affect productivity adversely. A former Northern Regional Minister opined that:

“... When I was Regional Minister and the former President, Prof. Mills, visited the region, he stated that he needed at least two additional weeks for his working visit to the region. He promised that he would allocate a helicopter for administration, health emergencies and security monitoring in the area. When I was previously the Volta Regional Minister, anytime I wanted to go on an administrative visit to all parts of the region, three days were enough for me but when I came back to the Northern Region, I found out that I needed three weeks....The issue of the size of the Northern Region translates into administrative difficulties. Bole is only one and a half hours from Damongo but it is three and a half hours from Tamale, the regional capital...”

30. The above quotation from a person who has served as a Regional Minister in the Northern Region adequately represents the situation regarding the land mass or physical extent of the region. However, whether this current situation is perpetuated or not would also be dependent on the level of access provided by the current network of roads, their length and condition. A long road network that is well maintained and is in good condition with an adequate supply of vehicles would not create any major problems. In other words, it does not really matter where a central facility is located. The next section of this report, therefore, assesses the extent to which the road transport infrastructure facilitates or stalls access to various centrally located facilities in the proposed Savannah Region.

Figure 8.4 Distances from Tamale to District Capitals and other towns



Source: Based on data received from the Regional Coordinating Council, Northern Region, 2018.

8.4.2 Road Infrastructure

31. In Ghana, road transportation can be viewed as a precursor to various types of development. There are empirical pieces of evidence to support the assertion that the effects and impacts of road investments in Ghana are tremendous and they range from the emergence of road side food sellers or itinerant traders to enhanced access to a wide range of public and government services as well as enhanced extension services. Evidence from several projects including the 4th Highway Project, Transport Rehabilitation Project I and II, National Feeder Roads Rehabilitation and Maintenance

Project as well as Highway Sector Investment Project meant to improve the condition of Ghana's road network indeed had several positive impacts. As will be seen subsequently in this report, most of these projects were rehabilitation, maintenance, and new road construction. It is, therefore, clear that these project interventions would ultimately result in an enhanced access to various public and government services.

32. Inventories of road transport infrastructure by Ghana Highway Authority (GHA) and the Department of Feeder Roads (DFR) reveal that there are 2,938.80 km of highways and 6,615.31 km of feeder roads within the Northern Region. The Department of Urban Roads (DUR) has now established offices in three urban towns, namely: Tamale, Sagnarigu and Yendi but has oversight responsibility for the following seven areas and districts: Savelugu, East and West Mamprusi, Saboba, Bole, Damongo and Salaga. It is yet to carry out an inventory of roads in these urban areas. Consequently, it is difficult to determine the conditions of roads in these towns. However, the conditions of highways and feeder roads in various parts of the region are available and are analyzed subsequently in this report.
33. Table 8.4 is a summary of the feeder road network and the surface type in the Northern Region in 2017. Out of the total network length of 6,615.31 km, only 83.76 km are bitumen surfaced with the rest being either gravel or earth roads. Given the difficulty in maintaining gravel and earth roads and the practice of road maintenance in Ghana, it may be inferred that a substantial portion of this network would be in "Poor" condition. In 2016, for example, the proportion of feeder roads in this condition was estimated to be 40.5 percent or 2,679.2km (see Table 8.5). It is therefore clear that under such conditions, access to virtually every government and public services would be impaired. This is further reinforced by the rather low feeder road densities in the entire region and particularly in the proposed Savannah Region (see Table 8.6).

Table 8.4: Feeder Road Network and the Surface Type in the Northern Region

S/N	DISTRICT	LENGTH (KM)	SURFACE TYPES		
			BITUMEN (KM)	GRAVEL (KM)	EARTH (KM)
PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION					
1.	Bole Bamboi	243.81	0	187.81	56.00
2.	Sawla Tuna Kalba	338.30	0	183.00	155.00
3.	East Gonja	602.39	0	402.39	200.00
4.	West Gonja	317.48	0	217.4	100.08
5.	Central Gonja	394.16	25.5	255.66	113.00
6.	North Gonja	241.07	0	106.07	135.00
7.	Kpandai	246.18	0	156.18	90
SUB TOTAL		2,383.39	25.5	1,508.51	849.08
Percentage		100%	1.07%	63.29%	35.62%
PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION					
8.	East Mamprusi	143.95	0	87.00	56.95
9.	Bunkrugu Yunyoo	149.53	0	98.53	51.00
10.	Chereponi	218.52	3	115.00	100.52
11.	West Mamprusi	220.65	4.5	184.30	31.85
12.	Moagduri	147.86	0	82.90	64.96
SUB TOTAL		880.51	7.5	567.73	305.28
Percentage		100%	0.85%	64.48%	34.67%
REST OF NORTHERN REGION					
13.	Gushiegu	195.06	0	102.06	93.00
14.	Karaga	239.83	0	197.83	42.00
15.	Nanumba North	133.88	0	97.00	36.88
16.	Nanumba South	451.73	0	253.73	198.73
17.	Saboba	180.28	0	133.28	47.00
18.	Savelugu Nanton	333.83	33.26	212.81	87.49
19.	Tamale	148.42	15.5	89.61	43.31
20.	Sagnarigu	77.02	0	46.9	30.12
21.	Tolon	274.79	0.0	197.60	78.09
22.	Kumbungu	109.10	2.0	57.90	49.20
23.	Yendi	402.36	0	216.06	186.30
24.	Mion	323.99	0	170.29	153.70
25.	Zabzugu	231.56	0	131.00	100.56
26.	Tatale	249.59	0	156.8	92.79
SUB TOTAL		3,351.44	50.76	2,062.87	1,239.17
Percentage		100%	1.51%	61.55%	36.97%
Total		6,615.31	83.76	4,139.11	2,393.53
Percentage		100.00%	1.27%	62.57%	36.18%

Source: Data received from the Department of Feeder Roads, Regional Directorate, Northern Region, 2018.

Table 8.5: National Road Condition Mix by Region, 2015

Region	Good		Fair		Poor		Total	
	(km)	(%)	(km)	(%)	(km)	(%)	(%)	(km)
Greater Accra	2,582.42	28.9	1,354.90	15.2	4,997.14	55.9	100	8,934.46
Upper West	2,033.97	15	1,573.94	11.5	10,019.57	73.5	100	13,627.48
Ashanti	3,342.70	30.9	2,804.57	25.9	4,677.12	43.2	100	10,824.39
Brong Ahafo	2,959.37	24.7	2,889.94	23.9	6,197.86	51.4	100	12,047.17
Central	1,403.18	22.7	2,327.80	37.6	2,459.88	39.7	100	6,190.86
Northern	3,404.58	28.4	3,733.42	31.1	4,851.78	40.5	100	11,989.78
Upper East	1,803.61	46.3	739.98	18.9	1,355.70	34.8	100	3,899.29
Volta	2,215.57	33.6	1,843.51	28	2,526.62	38.4	100	6,585.7
Western	2,699.56	29.5	2,807.25	30.7	3,649.59	39.8	100	9,156.4
Eastern	1,689.34	30.4	2,211.41	39.8	1,655.52	29.8	100	5,556.27
Total	24,134.3	29.0%	22,286.72	26.3	42,390.78	44.7	100	88,811.8

Source: Ministry of Roads and Highways, Annual Review Report, 2015.

Table 8.6: Feeder Roads Density by Sub-Regions in the Northern Region

Region	Land Area (Km ²) (a)	Road Length (km) (b)	Road Density (km/km ²) (c)
Proposed Savannah	36,985.5	2,383.39	0.064
Proposed North East	9,071.3	880.51	0.097
Rest of Northern Region	23,769.3	3,351.44	0.141
Northern Region	70,384	6,615.31	0.094

Source: (a) Compiled from analytical reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census.

(b) Data received from the Department of Feeder Roads, Regional Directorate, Northern Region, 2018.

(c) Calculated from (b) and (c)

Table 8.7: Feeder Roads Density of the Savannah Region in the Northern Region

District	Land Area (km ²) (a)	Length of Road (km) (b)	Road Density Km/km ² (c)
Sawla – Tuna – Kalba	4,226.9	338.3	0.0800
North Gonja	4,845.5	241.07	0.0498
West Gonja	4,715.9	317.48	0.0673
Bole	6,169.2	243.81	0.0395
Central Gonja	7,555	394.16	0.0522
East Gonja	8,340.1	602.39	0.0722
Kpandai	1,132.9	246.18	0.2173
Total	36,985.50	2,383.39	0.0644

Sources: (a) Compiled from analytical reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census.

(b) Department of Feeder Roads, Regional Directorate, Northern Region, 2018.

(c) Calculated from (b) and (c)

34. The picture does not change when the intra-regional variations are considered. Table 8.7 shows the pattern of feeder road densities in the proposed Savannah Region. It is clear from this Table that in addition to the overall low feeder road densities, there are also substantial variations between the various districts that make up the proposed region with an average feeder road density of 0.0644 km per km square or simply 64.4 metres per square kilometre. Surprisingly, Kpandai District had the highest feeder road density of 0.2173 km per kilometre square followed by Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District and East Gonja District (refer to Table 8.7). This is clearly a situation which can be described as worrying and given the situation with the limited supply of vehicles, it may be concluded that based on only the feeder roads, most residents in the new region may have impeded access to many government and public facilities.
35. The level of access provided by the highways in the proposed region, irrespective of the highway road density as shown in Table 8.8, is by all indications high. Based on field experience, these roads are in good condition taking into account the recently constructed Bole-Tuna road as well as the Sawla-Fufulso roads. Some sections of the latter road have started showing signs of failure with potholes and cracks but, by and large, this trunk road is in very good condition because average speeds of about 120-140 kph are possible along some stretches of this road when one wants to access various critical services such as the referral hospital in Tamale. The major problem usually encountered along this road is the long waiting times which are essential because of the limited supply of transport vehicles with long headways. As a result of this, the utilization of intermediate means of transport including small farm vehicles, tricycles, donkey carts and other three-wheelers are common along this trunk road. Unfortunately, the usage of these modes occasionally results in motor traffic crashes.

Table 8.8: Highway Road Density by Districts of the Proposed Savannah Region in the Northern Region

DISTRICT	ROAD LENGTH (km) (a)	LAND AREA (Km ²) (b)	ROAD DENSITY (km/km ²) (c)
Bole	126.2	6,169.20	0.020
Central Gonja	232.6	7,555	0.031
East Gonja	194.1	8,340.10	0.023
Kpandai	66.4	1,132.90	0.059
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	158	4,226.90	0.037
West Gonja	100.4	4,715.90	0.021
North Gonja	44	4,845.50	0.009
Total	921.7	36,985.50	0.025

Source: (a) Data received from the Ghana Highway Authority, Regional Directorate, Northern Region, 2018

(b) Ghana Statistical Service. 2010 Population and Housing Census

(c) Calculated from (a) and (b)

36. It can be seen from Table 8.7 that rural access and mobility within the proposed region could be very much impaired given the rather low feeder road densities and the “poor” state of these roads as can be inferred from the surface types shown in Tables 8.4. In short, the large land area of the proposed Savannah Region together with the pattern of human settlement and the relatively short road lengths results, in very low feeder road densities which indicate that accessibility in the region could be impaired.

8.4.3 Access to Government and Public Services

37. Access to higher order government and public services is the main pull for most people getting closer to a district, regional and national capital. These services provide satisfaction for a number of residents. Therefore, the inability of residents to access higher order services over the years has become the basis for agitation for the creation of new regions. The difficulty in accessing government and public services was discussed extensively throughout the Commission’s interactions with the chiefs and people of the Savannah enclave. There was a general sense of alienation from government by the people due to their inability to access essential government services or state institutions like the Courts, Armed Forces, Immigration Service, Fire and Prisons Services, Utility Service Providers, Passport Offices and Driver and Vehicle Licensing Services. A contributor had this to say:

“In Ghana, everything is centred on the regional and national capitals. Even a pensioner would have to travel all the way from Bawku to Accra to sort out his pension problems. Teachers who have to be verified for their salary payments have to travel from their various destinations to Accra before they get things done. If you want to do a passport or travel by air outside Ghana, one needs to go to a regional capital or Accra. Unlike Europe or America, irrespective of where the capital city is, one could access everything with ease. Ghanaians see regions and their capitals as a solution to most of these problems - regional hospitals, public sector workers (employment generation), new government buildings, roads, etc. And if we would all be honest to ourselves, regional capitals in Ghana such as, Sunyani, Tamale, Bolga, Wa, etc are better than Asakyiri, Zebilla, and Amoaman.”

38. The petitioners and contributors who interacted with the Commission complained about their inability to have access to certain public services at the existing regional capital due to vastness of the region and the need to travel long distances to access high order government and public services. A Health Administrator at the Damongo public hearing remarked:

“... I am a Health Administrator at Navrongo but I am from Damongo. The issue of the creation of the Savannah Region is not misplaced. Looking at the current Northern Region, it has a land mass of about 78,384 km square and the proposed Savannah Region when created will cover seven administrative districts. By land size, it will have 37,352 km square which is 62 percent of the entire Northern Region. A critical look at most of the administrative activities within this catchment

area, (i.e. Northern Region), shows that moving from the western part of the region which is Bole in the best vehicles at a speed rate of about 100 km per hour, you will need close to four hours to get to the regional capital. In effect, administrative work is impeded based on the time you get there. Most of the workers who travel there for their administrative duties find it difficult returning to their districts on the same day thus affecting the next day's work. Also, the vehicles assigned to these administrative offices in the Northern Region are rickety and this is caused primarily by the long distances between the districts and the regional capital. In this sense, I strongly support the creation of the proposed Savannah Region.”

The long distance and travel time evokes a sense of frustration, stress and a drain on the financial resources of individuals and organizations seeking to access these services. In a number of cases, the services required by participants are of a higher-level establishment which is only available at the regional capital Tamale.

39. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana mandates the government to provide just and reasonable access to public facilities under Article 35 (3). In the proposed Savannah Region, it became evident from the public hearings and the engagements with chiefs and other stakeholders that the area did not have just and reasonable access to public facilities as guaranteed by the 1992 Constitution.

8.4.3.1 Access to Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions

40. Education is the pivot around which development can thrive and therefore, the nation needs to develop its human resource base through formal education to enable achievement of its developmental goals. The quest by the people within the Savannah enclave for higher institutions of learning through the creation of a new region provides the impetus for the people to understand the reality of their environment. A good human resource base is, therefore, key to socio-economic development.
41. The location, distribution and numbers of all types of educational institutions in the Savannah enclave of the Northern Region was an issue of concern during the consultations. It was raised 81 times which is about 10.6 percent of the contributions made at the public hearings. Contributors at the public hearings from Bole, Sawla, Damongo, Salaga, Buipe and Tamale emphasized the point that there was inequality in the distribution of educational facilities at all levels of education particularly at the tertiary level. As shown in Table 8.9, out of the total educational institutions of 3,525 in the Northern Region, the proposed Savannah Region with seven MMDAs has 855 (24.2%); the proposed North East with five MMDAs has 620 (17.5%) and the remaining Northern Region with 14 MMDAs has 2050 (58.1%).

Table 8.9: Distribution of Educational Institutions in the Northern Region

No.	Districts	Basic Schools	Senior High Schools	Colleges of Education and Nursing	University
Proposed Savannah Region					
1.	Bole	130	3	1	0
2.	Central Gonja	143	2	0	0
3.	East Gonja	151	2	1	0
4.	Kpandai	143	1	0	0
5.	North Gonja	57	1	0	0
6.	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	146	2	0	0
7.	West Gonja	70	2	0	0
Sub-Total		840	13	2	0
Proposed North East Region					
1.	Chereponi	83	1	0	0
2.	East Mamprusi	122	2	1	0
3.	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	186	2	0	0
4.	Mamprugu-Moagduri	56	1	0	0
5.	West Mamprusi	163	3	0	0
Sub-Total		610	9	1	0
Rest of the Northern Region					
1.	Gushiegu	152	1	0	0
2.	Karaga	126	1	0	0
3.	Kumbungu	122	1	0	0
4.	Mion	81	0	0	0
5.	Nanumba North	161	1	1	0
6.	Nanumba South	128	1	0	0
7.	Saboba	120	3	0	0
8.	Sagnarigu	219	5	0	0
9.	Savelugu-Nanton	160	2	0	0
10.	Tamale	326	8	3	3*
11.	Tatale-Sangule	74	1	0	0
12.	Tolon	100	1	0	0
13.	Yendi	164	2	0	0
14.	Zabzugu	82	1	0	0
Sub-Total		2,015	28	4	
Northern Region Total		3,465	50	7	3

Source: Data received from the Ghana Education Service, 2018; Ghana National Accreditation Board

*The three (3) Universities in Tamale are:

- University of Development Studies, Tamale
- Tamale Technical University
- Technical University College of Tamale (a private university affiliated to the University of Development of Studies and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology)

42. The distribution of educational institutions in the proposed region seems balanced with the exception of the universities that are all skewed in favour of the remaining Northern Region because of the inclusion of the regional capital, Tamale. The proposed Savannah Region accounts for 26 percent of the MMDAs in the current Northern Region, and has about 26 percent of all levels of educational institutions except university.
43. Comparing these figures, the situation is revealing since about 16 percent and 43 percent of SHS and Colleges of Education and Nursing Training respectively are located in Tamale alone. In addition, all the three universities in the region are all located in Tamale. In support of this assertion, an Assemblyman at the Sawla public hearing had this to say:

“More schools will be established in the proposed region such as Secondary Schools, Training Colleges, and Universities. Every Region needs to have a University and so when we get the region we will also stand a chance of getting a university.”

In addition, Teacher from Kpandai at the Salaga public forum remarked:

“I am more than 100 percent happy with the creation of the Savannah Region. It has not been easy. Our younger brothers and sisters who apply for admission into tertiary institutions have to queue and at the end of the day, they wouldn’t even get access to the schools. I believe with the creation of the Savannah Region we shall also have the opportunity to have a public university in Gonjaland so our brothers and sisters can also attend.”

44. Again, the concentration of educational institutions in Tamale is so because of the pull factors such as employment opportunities, health facilities, economic activities etc. that are characteristics of a regional capital. Therefore, the creation of the proposed region will open up opportunities for the establishment of higher level educational facilities. There will also be an establishment of other institutional structures such as the Regional Education Directorate that will oversee the implementation of educational policies of the nation. The gaps identified in the educational delivery will be addressed at the regional level.

Table 8.10: District Distribution of Teaching Staff at the Basic and Senior High School Level

No.	Districts	Basic Level	Senior High School Level	Total
Proposed Savannah Region				
1.	Bole	708	92	800
2.	Central Gonja	580	68	648
3.	East Gonja	733	138	871
4.	Kpandai	550	47	597
5.	North Gonja	264	14	278
6.	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	479	76	555
7.	West Gonja	533	125	658
Sub-Total		3,847	560	4,407
Proposed North East Region				
1.	Chereponi	426	52	478
2.	East Mamprusi	651	119	770
3.	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	678	92	770
4.	Mamprugu-Moagduri	231	26	257
5.	West Mamprusi	922	185	1107
Sub-Total		2,908	474	3,382
Rest of the Northern Region				
1.	Gushiegu	532	82	614
2.	Karaga	559	57	616
3.	Kumbungu	988	93	1081
4.	Mion	483	0	483
5.	Nanumba North	1163	55	1218
6.	Nanumba South	829	54	883
7.	Saboba	596	96	692
8.	Sagnarigu	2597	333	2930
9.	Savelugu-Nanton	1332	171	1503
10.	Tamale	2916	577	3493
11.	Tatale-Sangule	354	29	383
12.	Tolon	903	70	973
13.	Yendi	1280	151	1431
14.	Zabzugu	430	75	505
Sub-Total		14,962	1,843	16,805
Northern Region Total		21,717	2,877	24,594

Source: Data received from the Ghana Education Service, Tamale, 2018

45. The staffing situation follows the same trend as Tamale and its environs having the chunk of the staff in all levels of education (Table 8.10). For instance, in the proposed Savannah Region, while the Basic and Secondary levels have 3847 (17.7%) and 560 (19.4%) of the staffing for the whole region, that of Tamale alone are 2916 (13.4%) and 577 (20%) respectively. Again, the primacy of Tamale as a regional capital is influenced by the distribution of staff. The staffing situation could also be explained by the fact

that other higher level complementary services like health, police and courts will prefer their wards to be closer to their places of work.

46. Petitioners are of the strong view that, one of the best ways of addressing their educational problems, especially access to higher institutions of learning, is through the creation of the proposed Savannah Region. A lecturer at the Bolgatanga Polytechnic during the Tamale public hearing supported this claim with this statement:

“I support the creation of the Savannah Region for two main reasons: We all agree that education is a major tool in poverty alleviation. The whole of the Northern Region has only one Polytechnic. I remember that before the Upper Region was split into two, there was only one Polytechnic in Bolgatanga. Since the region was split into two there is also another Polytechnic in Wa to at least help the youth there to access tertiary education. Also, in the Northern Region, we have very few Teacher Training Colleges. In all the seven districts of the proposed Savannah Region, there is no single Teacher Training College. Most of the youth that you find at the “galamsey” sites are my brothers who completed SHS but could not gain admission into the few tertiary institutions in Tamale. I believe with the creation of the Savannah Region, there would be at least a Polytechnic and campuses of established universities. This would allow more students to have access to higher education for the human resource of Gonjaland to be enhanced for the benefit of Ghana.”

8.4.3.2 Access to Health Care Facilities

47. Access to good health is a fundamental human right and must be accessed by all irrespective of location. The petitioners and participants at the public hearings indicated that the state of healthcare delivery in the area was deplorable. The issue was raised 62 times, representing 8.1 percent of the total contributions from participants in all the six public hearings in the proposed Savannah area (Table 8.2). The health issues raised focused on the availability and quality of facilities and service delivery. According to the participants, the provision of health facilities is either impeded by infrastructure deficit or inadequate access due to the poor road network and long distances (Section 8.5.1). A staff of the NCCE at the Sawla public hearing had this to say:

“The distance from Sawla to Tamale is far and during the 2010 Population and Housing Census, Dr. Bediako could attest to the fact that it was not easy transporting materials from here to Tamale. Apart from that, although I live in the Northern Region, I do not access health facilities in my Regional Hospital which is a teaching hospital. I have fallen sick several times but I had to go to Wa for medical attention. Transportation is another problem in the district. At the moment, when you want to travel to Wa or Damongo there are many commercial vehicles, but you will not get a vehicle to Tamale. Even when you are lucky, and you find a vehicle to Tamale, coming back will be a problem.”

48. As can be seen from Table 8.11, out of the 460 health facilities in the Northern Region, the proposed Savannah Region has 121 across the seven districts. The proposed North East Region has 96 and the remaining Northern Region has 243. In terms of hierarchy (levels) of service, the lowest health facility, Community-Based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) which covers nearly 77.8 percent of the total health facilities in the region, the distribution is skewed in favour of the remaining Northern Region. The distribution across the region: proposed Savannah, proposed North East and the remaining Northern Region are 26.3 percent; 20.8 percent and 52.8 percent respectively. The health centres which cover 104 or about 17.6 percent of the total health facilities in the region also follow the same skewness in favour of the remaining Northern Region.
49. The proposed Savannah Region has hospitals in four (4) out of the seven Districts to address some referral cases within the districts. Central Gonja, North Gonja and Sawla district where there are no public district hospitals, are however compensated by higher level facilities: private Hospital and two (2) Polyclinics. The proposed North East Region, has a similar trend except for Mamprugu-Moagduri District where there is no hospital, the remaining four (4) districts have hospitals. In addition to district hospitals, West Mamprugu District has a polyclinic. The 14 Districts making up the rest of the Northern Region, there are nine (9) have hospitals while five (5) districts namely Mion, Nanumba South, Sagnarigu, Tatale Sangule and Tolon do not have hospitals. Tamale, the current regional capital, has all the health facilities including polyclinics and a referral hospital. A retired Director of Ghana Health Service, at the Tamale public hearing supported the need for more and upgraded health facilities with this statement:

“As a health professional, I want to inform the Commission that we want development and economic improvement in the Northern Region and so recommend to the President for the creation of the Savannah Region out of the Northern Region. I say so because the Northern Region has one of the poorest health indicators; it has high maternal deaths. We have about 546 maternal deaths per year so if the region is created, we will have a fair share of health facilities and distribution to cater for people in the Savannah Region. The area we are asking for has seven (7) districts, but there are only four (4) districts that have hospitals. I hope that with the creation of the new region, health centres will be upgraded and also there will be a regional hospital to make healthcare more accessible for the overall improvement in health care in the region.”

50. In terms of the distribution of lower level health facilities, the distribution seems to be fairly balanced across the entire region. However, in terms of the number of health facilities per district in the proposed regions, there are gaps which can be addressed when the proposed regions are created. The mandatory referral hospitals in the proposed regions when created will provide opportunities for an upgrading of the existing district hospitals. A participant at the Buie public hearing remarked that there was an increase in health facilities when the Central Gonja District was created. He supported this claim with a statement:

“I speak for the creation of the Savannah Region as it would lead to the establishment of a regional hospital which will reduce the burden on the regional hospital in the current Northern Region. On the issue of maternal health, the Northern Region is not doing too well. In 2016, we recorded 136 maternal deaths and in 2017, the story is not different. And again, before the creation of the Central Gonja District there were only three health facilities namely; Buipe Health Centre, Yapei Health Centre and Mpaha Health Centre. But now because of the creation of the Central Gonja District, we can boast of 22 health facilities in the area. In this regard I think, the creation of the Savannah Region will lead to the expansion of health infrastructure in the districts.”

Table 8.11: Health Facilities by Type in Northern Region

No	Districts	CHPS	District Hospital	Health Centers	Other Hospitals Govt & CHAG	Polyclinics	Regional Hospital	Teaching Hospital	Total
Proposed Savannah Region									
1.	Bole	16	1	6	0	0	0	0	23
2.	Central Gonja	16	0	5	0	0	0	0	21
3.	East Gonja	27	1	1	0	0	0	0	29
4.	Kpandai	12	1	7	1	0	0	0	21
5.	North Gonja	9	0	5	0	1	0	0	15
6.	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	21	0	3	0	1	0	0	25
7.	West Gonja	20	1	5	0	0	0	0	26
	Sub-Total	121	4	32	1	2	0	0	160
Proposed North East Region									
1.	Chereponi	21	1	2	0	0	0	0	24
2.	East Mamprusi	30	1	4	0	0	0	0	35
3.	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	23	1	5	0	0	0	0	29
4.	Mamprugu-Moagduri	11	0	5	0	0	0	0	16
5.	West Mamprusi	11	1	3	0	1	0	0	16
	Sub-Total	96	4	19	0	1	0	0	120
Rest of the Northern Region									
1.	Gushiegu	20	1	2	0	0	0	0	23
2.	Karaga	19	1	2	0	0	0	0	22
3.	Kumbungu	22	1	3	0	0	0	0	26
4.	Mion	23	0	5	0	0	0	0	28
5.	Nanumba North	9	1	5	0	0	0	0	15
6.	Nanumba South	13	0	3	0	0	0	0	16
7.	Saboba	27	1	3	0	0	0	0	31
8.	Sagnarigu	17	0	5	0	1	0	0	23
9.	Savelugu-Nanton	14	1	8	0	0	0	0	23
10.	Tamale	13	1	4	2	0	1	1	22
11.	Tatale-Sangule	14	0	3	0	1	0	0	18
12.	Tolon	11	0	4	0	0	0	0	15
13.	Yendi	31	1	4	0	0	0	0	36
14.	Zabzugu	10	1	2	0	0	0	0	13
	Sub-Total	243	9	53	2	2	1	1	311
	Northern Region Total	460	17	104	3	5	1	1	591

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Northern Regional Directorate, 2018.

51. Table 8.12, gives the combined number of health personnel: nurses, medical assistants, and medical doctors in the region. The proposed Savannah Region has 17.7 percent out of the total 7,398 personnel while the proposed North East Region has 14 percent and the remaining Northern Region has nearly 70 percent. Analysis of Doctor-Patient ratio indicates that the proposed Savannah Region and North East Region are worse off with a Doctor-Patient ratio of 1: 49,969 and 1: 43453 respectively. These ratios are about three times the Northern Regional average of 1:18,629, and about six times the national average of 1:8300. However, most of the doctors are concentrated in Tamale, the regional capital of the remaining Northern Region.

Table 8.12: Distribution of Health Personnel in the Northern Region

No	District	Personnel Type			Total	
		Nurses	Medical Assistants	Medical Doctors	No	%
Proposed Savannah Region						
1.	Bole	256	9	4	269	3.6
2	Central Gonja	166	0	1	167	2.3
3	East Gonja	211	3	3	217	2.9
4	Kpandai	190	3	2	195	2.6
5	North Gonja	83	0	0	83	1.1
6	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	129	3	1	133	1.8
7	West Gonja	239	3	5	247	3.3
Sub-Total		1,274	21	16	1,311	17.7
Proposed North East						
1	Chereponi	126	1	1	128	1.7
2	East Mamprusi	338	14	6	358	4.8
3	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	129	1	2	132	1.9
4	Mamprugu-Moagduri	76	0	0	76	1.0
5	West Mamprusi	331	4	5	340	4.6
Sub Total		1,000	20	14	1,034	14.0
Rest of the Northern Region						
1	Gushiegu	195	7	3	205	2.8
2	Karaga	147	0	1	148	2.0
3	Kumbungu	134	2	0	136	1.83
4	Mion	109	0	0	109	1.5
5	Nanumba North	212	5	2	219	2.96
6	Nanumba South	81	0	0	81	1.09
7	Saboba	210	4	2	216	2.9
8	Sagnarigu	289	0	0	289	3.9
9	Savelugu-Nanton	333	9	4	346	4.7
10	Tamale	2,282	42	184	2,508	33.9
11	Tatale-Sangule	90	1	2	93	1.3
12	Tolon	253	7	0	260	3.5
13	Yendi	275	6	3	284	3.8
14	Zabzugu	156	1	2	159	2.1
Sub Total		4,766	84	203	5,053	68.3
Grand Total		7,040	125	233	7,398	100

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Regional Directorate, Tamale, 2018

52. The deficit in both the health facilities and personnel in respect of the overall health care delivery system in the Savannah enclave requires attention. The creation of the proposed Savannah Region will lead to the establishment of a Regional Health Directorate that will address the gaps in the health facilities and personnel in order to improve the healthcare system in the area. In addition, the creation of the region will mandate the Ministry of Health to provide a regional hospital that will address all referral cases at the regional level.

8.4.3.3 Judicial Services

53. One of the concerns raised by participants during the public hearings in the Savannah enclave was their inability to access higher order judicial services. From Table 8.13 we see that, all the four (4) High Courts are located in the rest of the Northern Region precisely Tamale. There are no High and Circuit Courts in the proposed Savannah and North East Regions. There are only two (2) District courts located in Bole and Salaga in the proposed Savannah Region. A female contributor at the Sawla public hearing had this to say in respect of the inadequacy of court systems in the Savannah enclave:

“...As you will all agree; the creation of the new region will bring a High Court and other Human Rights institutions where women who are abused can easily travel to the regional capital and seek redress.”

Table 8.13: Distribution of Courts in the Northern Region

Location	Type of Court				
	High Court	Circuit	District	No.	%
Proposed Savannah Region	-	-	2	2	15.4
Proposed North East Region	-	-	2	2	15.4
Rest of the Northern Region	4	2	3	9	69.2
Total	4	2	7	13	100

Source: Data received from the Regional Coordinating Council, Northern Region, 2018

54. Four (4) High Courts, two (2) Circuit Courts and three (3) District courts are located in Tamale and Bimbilla. The distribution of courts points to the skewness of the justice system in favour of the Tamale enclave. A contributor from Kpandai at the Tamale hearing remarked:

“I’m going to talk about the size of the Northern Region. It covers almost one-third of the total landmass of Ghana and makes administration very difficult. So, the creation of another region from the current Northern Region is long overdue. For instance, we have our Attorney General’s Department and one High Court in Tamale. Crimes such as rape and murders, are all brought here for hearing. If another region is being carved from the Northern region it will take care of all these issues as a new AG will be created which will ease the congestion.”

Apart from the long distances and high financial implications in accessing these services from the current regional capital, most lawyers are unwilling to operate in the Savannah enclave due to the absence of courts in the area.

55. The creation of the proposed Savannah Region will compel the government to establish an Attorney General’s Office, High Courts and Circuit Courts at the regional and district levels to address the myriads of judicial concerns of the people of the Savannah area. Justice will, therefore, be closer to the people. The creation of the region will also attract private legal practitioners since there will be complementary services in

the areas of good business opportunities, banking services and access to higher order services such as education, health, security etc. Where delivery of justice is effective, it promotes business and investment drives thereby ensuring the overall socio-economic development of the area.

8.4.3.4 Water supply

56. Access to potable water is life. However, the distribution of rural water supply coverage in the Northern Region is about 62 percent leaving the remaining 38 percent to their fate. A pragmatic approach is therefore needed to address the gap in the rural water supply in that enclave. The coverage across the region: Savannah, North East and the remaining Northern Region are 55.2 percent, 65.5 percent and 64.6 percent respectively. The proposed Savannah Region is worse off in terms of the coverage (Table 8.14). Three districts: Central Gonja, East Gonja and Kpandai are the most affected with coverage of 44.7 percent, 30.4 percent and 46.4 percent respectively. The proposed North East and the remaining Northern Region are better off except Tamale rural which has the lowest coverage of about 24.5 percent.
57. Boreholes (BH) and hand dug wells (HDW) are the main potable water supply systems in the region. Out of the 4,730 BHs and 607 HDWs in the region, the proposed Savannah Region has 1135 BHs and 60 HDWs.
58. The situation is different with urban water supply. Of the three water supply operating systems in the Northern Region, the proposed Savannah Region has one operating system at Damongo. The remaining two operating systems are in Tamale metropolis and Yendi municipality. The proposed North East Region has no operating system. Access to potable water sources from both urban and rural water supply systems favour the remaining Northern Region.
59. Given the international standard of access to potable water by all citizens irrespective of their race, colour, place of origin, there is the need to fill the water coverage gap in all the proposed regions. The creation of the proposed Savannah Region, apart from having the potential of attracting investment to increase water supply coverage in that enclave, will also provide the opportunity for the establishment of Community Water and Sanitation Agency (CWSA) and Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) regional offices. These offices will ensure effective monitoring and supervision for improved water supply in the area.

Table 8.14: Community Water and Sanitation Distribution of Functioning Facilities and Planned Projects

District	Population	FUNCTIONING FACILITIES							2016 PLANNED PROJECTS			
		BH/ HP	HDW	SCPS	STPS	LMS	RHS	Rural Coverage (%)	BH/HPs	PEs	STPS	
Proposed Savannah Region												
Bole	105,649	238	3	0	2	0	0	74.21	3			
Central Gonja	116,514	73	21	0	4	8	8	44.67			1	
East Gonja	150,275	128	14	0	0	10	0	30.42	8			
Kpandai	146,970	189	3	2	4	0	0	46.4	4	10		
North Gonja	51,835	87	3	0	3	1	0	77.77				
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	162,507	295	4	0	1	0	0	58.2				
West Gonja	65,769	125	12	0	1	10	0	64.95				
Sub-Total	799,519	1,135	60	2	15	29	8	55.23	15	10	1	
Proposed North East Region												
Chereponi	83,140	193	34	0	1	0	0	63.21	11	1		
East Mamprusi	154,803	167	48	0	2	0	0	56.12	13	1	2	
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	177,964	326	1	0	2	0	0	60.25	5	8		
Mamprugu-Moagduri	48,388	108	52	0	1	0	0	85.55				
West Mamprusi	144,058	206	120	0	6	3	0	63.59	12	6	1	
Sub-Total	608,353	1,000	255	0	12	3	0	65.54	41	16	3	

District	Population	FUNCTIONING FACILITIES							2016 PLANNED PROJECTS			
		BH/ HP	HDW	SCPS	STPS	LMS	RHS	Rural Coverage (%)	BH/HPs	PEs	STPS	
Rest of the Northern Region												
Gushiegu	134,592	345	46	0	1	6	0	75.18			1	
Karaga	91,569	184	32	0	1	7	0	77.18	10	7		
Kumbungu	103,602	66	20	0	0	2	0	28.1				
Mion	60,522	159	9	0	1	2	0	79.95				
Nanumba North	155,503	308	13	0	3	5	0	77.45	8	2		
Nanumba South	96,262	158	3	0	3	0	0	70.28	5	3		
Saboba	97,721	203	38	0	2	0	0	58.67	5	5	1	
Sagnarigu	11,449	0	4	0	0	1	0	41.6				
Savelugu-Nanton	144,252	261	27	0	3	12	0	90.01				
Tamale (Rural)	67,061	9	1	0	0	2	0	24.48		1		
Tatale Sangule	79,912	254	4	0	1	0	0	85.02	10	2		
Tolon	121,393	115	66	0	0	11	0	41.8				
Yendi	98,548	289	25	0	2	1	0	79.73	5			
Zabzugu	100,375	244	4	0	1	2	0	75.68				
Sub-Total	1,362,761	2,595	292	0	18	51	0	64.65	43	20	2	
Grand Total	2,770,633	4,730	607	2	45	83	8	62.1	99	46	6	

Note:

BH/HP-Borehole with Hand Pump

HDW- Hand Dug Well

SCPS- Small Communities Pipe System

STPS- Small Towns Pipe System

BH/HPs- Borehole with Hand Pump

PEs- Pipe Extension to Schools and Health Facilities

Source: Data received from the Community Water and Sanitation Agency, Tamale, 2018

8.4.3.5: Other Services

60. Other public services such as the Police, Prisons, Fire Service, Armed Forces, and Immigration all provide complementary services to make government responsive to the needs of the people. In all the public hearings in the Savannah enclave, inadequacy and inability to access these services were highlighted. For instance, out of the total number of 1,704 personnel in the Police Service, the distribution is skewed in favour of the remaining Northern Region (including Tamale) (see Table 8.15). The remaining Northern Region will have 1,232 (72.4%) personnel with Tamale alone taking 886 (51.9%); the proposed Savannah Region 302 (17.7%) and the proposed North East Region 170 (9.9%).

Table 8.15: Distribution of Police personnel in the Northern Region

District	No. of personnel (a)	Population of Area (b)	Ratio of Personnel To Population (c)
Proposed Savannah Area			
Bole	65		
Central Gonja	83		
East Gonja	52		
Kpandai	18		
North Gonja (Daboya Station)	9		
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	45		
West Gonja	30		
Total	302	799,519	1: 2647.4
Proposed North East Area			
Chereponi	13		
East Mamprusi	41		
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	48		
Mamprugu-Moagduri (Yagaba Station)	5		
West Mamprusi	63		
Total	170	608,353	1:3578.5
Rest of the Northern Region			
Gushegu	25		
Karaga	12		
Kumbungu	7		
Mion	-		
Nanumba North	48		
Nanumba South	19		
Saboba	27		
Sagnarigu (Post)	5		
Savelugu-Nanton	40		
Tamale	259		
Tatale-Sangule	18		
Tolon	11		
Yendi	113		
Zabzugu	21		
Sub-Total	605		
Regional Headquarters	627	1,362,761	1:2252.4
Northern Region Grand Total	1,704		

- Sources:
- (a) Data received from the Ghana Police Service, Brong-Ahafo Regional Command, 2018;
 - (b) Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census
 - (c) Computed from (a) and (b)

61. Table 8.15 provides the police-population ratios in the proposed Savannah Region. The proposed North East Region and the remaining Northern Region has 1: 2647.4; 1:3578.5 and 1:2252.4 respectively. Though the remaining Northern has the lowest ratios, the distribution varies as one moves away from the regional capital, Tamale. For instance, there is no police presence in the Mion District. In addition, Tamale being the regional capital, has the highest order police establishment. The Headquarters in Tamale with its attendant facilities make security concerns to be addressed in a quicker and efficient manner than they are in the proposed Savannah Region. The distribution of other services such as the Fire Service is no different from the police service. Out of the 15 fire stations in the region, five (5) are in the proposed Savannah region, three (3) in the North East and seven (7) in the remaining Northern Region.
62. The creation of the Savannah Region will provide avenues for the construction of police structures including the regional headquarters to combat crime and protect the citizenry. Furthermore, more personnel will be employed. Private investment and security will be guaranteed for the overall socio-economic development in the area. The other services such as the Prison Service, Fire Service and Armed Forces follow similar imbalanced distribution. In some cases, service providing agencies such as the Immigration Service and Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority are only sited at the regional capital. Therefore, the creation of the Savannah Region will open up opportunities for the establishment of these services.

8.4.4 Economic and Employment Issues

63. Data from the Ghana Statistical Service indicates that about 74 percent of the population in the Northern Region are employed in the agriculture sector (see Table 8.16). The proportion of the population living in the proposed Savannah Region that are engaged in agriculture (76%) is slightly higher than that of the average for the Northern Region (74%) (Refer to Table 8.16). Being a predominantly rural region, agriculture is the mainstay of the majority of residents in the proposed Savannah Region who produce several food crops including: yam, maize, guinea corn, soya beans, sorghum, millet and other cereals.
64. Apart from food crops, shea production is a major crop that offers employment opportunities, particularly to women, who process shea nuts into butter and oil. Sawla area is noted for cashew production and Kasajan Industries Limited is also noted as the major buyer and processor of shea nuts. Cattle and other livestock rearing is also widespread in the proposed Savannah Region and it is undertaken by both nomadic and Fulani herdsmen. The Kalba area located in the Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District is well known for the supply of cattle to meet demands in the southern parts of the country. A few residents are also engaged in fishing along the Black Volta. They sell their catch in towns such as Yapei, Kpandai and Makango.

65. One major problem that the current Northern Region faces and one which will transition to the proposed Savannah Region is the relatively high rates of under employment and unemployment. From the *2010 Population and Housing Census report*, it is estimated that, the unemployment rate for the entire region is 24.9 percent. Given that a bulk of the population is engaged in the agricultural sector, it is important that more jobs are created within that sector to absorb as many unemployed youth as possible. Arts and craft as well as tourism resources abound in the enclave and, when properly developed, they can attract a sizeable number into these sectors. It may also be possible to reflect on the idea of providing interested youth with bankable projects and financial support to help them establish themselves in order to operate small businesses that will provide related services to the agricultural sector.

Table 8.16: Occupation of Employed Persons 15 Years and older in the Northern Region (Percentages)

	Total	Managers	Professionals	Technicians and associated professionals	Clerical support workers	Services and sales workers	Skilled agricultural forestry and fishery workers	Craft and related trades Workers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Elementary occupations	Other
All Districts	986,177	0.8	2.6	0.6	0.4	9.3	73.7	8.1	1.4	3.0	0.1
PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION											
Bole	25,514	0.9	2.8	1.1	0.4	13.1	59.6	8.2	11.2	2.8	0.0
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	41,064	0.4	1.5	0.4	0.2	5.5	82.3	7.9	0.6	1.2	0.0
West Gonja	31,430	1.0	3.2	0.5	0.4	9.3	72.7	10.4	0.7	1.8	0.0
Central Gonja	36,298	0.6	1.2	0.5	0.1	7.6	77.7	9.5	0.7	2.0	0.0
East Gonja	53,198	0.7	1.8	0.6	0.2	6.0	77.3	11.1	0.7	1.6	0.0
Kpandai	48,247	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.2	4.5	85.7	6.5	0.4	1.1	0.0
REST OF THE NORTHERN REGION											
Nanumba South	38,445	0.2	1.2	0.1	0.1	6.5	85.4	5.4	0.4	0.8	0.0
Nanumba North	50,444	0.4	2.8	0.4	0.2	8.0	79.4	6.2	0.6	1.8	0.0
Zabzugu Tatale	53,524	0.3	0.9	0.2	0.2	4.4	88.5	3.5	0.3	1.7	0.0
Yendi Municipal	81,669	0.6	1.9	0.4	0.2	9.7	77.3	6.9	0.8	2.2	0.0
Tamale Metropolis	133,570	2.6	9.3	2.0	1.6	30.7	19.1	21.7	4.8	7.7	0.6
Tolon Kumbungu	49,661	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.1	3.2	88.6	5.2	0.6	0.8	0.0
Savelugu Nanton	59,791	0.5	1.3	0.6	0.3	5.7	74.1	6.4	1.0	10.1	0.0
Karaga	32,244	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	2.0	93.7	1.8	0.3	1.3	0.0
Gushiegu	47,493	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.1	4.4	88.3	2.7	0.4	2.6	0.0
Saboba	26,072	0.4	1.9	0.4	0.3	1.9	87.2	4.5	0.3	3.2	0.0
PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION											
Chereponi	19,365	0.4	1.8	0.3	0.2	4.8	87.4	3.8	0.5	1.0	0.0
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	49,015	0.4	1.8	0.3	0.2	3.3	88.3	4.4	0.3	1.0	0.1
Mamprusi East	47,245	0.5	1.5	0.4	0.3	7.1	84.4	3.9	0.6	1.5	0.0
Mamprusi West	61,888	0.7	1.7	0.3	0.3	5.2	84.8	4.9	0.6	1.4	0.0

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, (2013d)

66. Potential employment opportunities exist in the mining, tourism and hospitality and transportation sectors in the proposed Savannah Region. Junction towns such as Sawla and Fufulso currently play important roles in the transportation sector with a lot of potential for development of the proposed Savannah Region in the hospitality industry. As a nodal town between Brong-Ahafo, Upper West and Northern Regions, Sawla presents an enormous opportunity to be developed into a hub for hotels, guest houses and restaurants that will cater for the needs of travellers. People could pass the night or even break their journeys to take meals in Sawla if it becomes well-developed with the appropriate facilities.
67. Another key contributor to the economy of the proposed Savannah Region with potential for expansion and development is the construction and operation of modern vehicle terminals with a wide range of functions and facilities for both domestic and international transit truckers. Currently, most of these trucks use fuel re-sale stations as well as road shoulders as parking places. Considering the fact that these trucks generate substantial amounts of traffic, there is the potential for the establishment of freight terminals with ancillary facilities such as rest rooms, wash rooms and added security of wares. Buipe, Yapei, Fufulso and Sawla can play this role effectively through the provision of added services such as vulcanizing, mechanical as well as general servicing of trucks with backup spare parts to support the international transit trucking industry.
68. Mining activities in the Savannah enclave have the potential to provide and sustain employment for residents. Bole has served as a mining town for several years now and it has even gained more popularity in recent times with the influx of mine workers from different parts of the country as well as across the border from La Cote d'Ivoire. Small-scale gold miners have been operating in the area alongside illegal "galamsey" operators. When the activities of these miners are streamlined and made formal, it could contribute to the revenue stream of the new region while also generating more employment opportunities for the youth. Limestone also abounds in commercial quantities in the Buipe area. Currently, this serves as raw material for the production of cement by the Savannah Diamond Cement Factory at Buipe.
69. Other areas in the proposed Savannah Region that have several mineral deposits include Daboya, Dakurpe, Tinga, Talkpa, Salaga, Digma, Fimbu and Kpembe. Daboya is noted for salt and barite mining. Dakurpe, Tinga, Talkpa, Salaga and Kpembe have gold ore deposits with the last two towns having iron ore deposits as well. Digma and Fimbsaltu in West Gonja District have diamond deposits while the former has bauxite deposits.
70. These minerals sites have the potential for creating employment opportunities as well as contributing to the economic growth of the region and the country as a whole. This is because mining is a major economic activity that can turn around the fortunes of the proposed Savannah Region and the Northern Region as a whole.
71. There are a handful of industrial establishments that currently offer employment to various segments of the population within the proposed Savannah Region. The Bulk

Oil Storage and Transportation Company Limited (BOST) – distributors of petroleum products to the northern part of the country and its Sahelian West African neighbours including Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger is located in Buipe. Processing of shea nuts is undertaken by the PBC Shea Limited also located at Buipe. With the creation of the Savannah Region, Buipe could serve as the industrial hub of the region with far reaching implications on employment creation and development which would ultimately lead to an improvement in living standards.

72. An important economic sector that contributes to the economic development of selected communities, districts and regions is tourism. The proposed Savannah Region is noted for important national tourist sites including the famous Mole National Park, Salaga Slave Wells and Market, Ndwura Jakpa Graveyard and Worship Centre, and the Mystery Stone and Mosque at Larabanga. These tourist sites currently attract some patronage even though it is relatively low. They offer some level of direct and indirect employment to host communities and their residents through the provision of food and beverages as well as hospitality services.

8.4.5 Empowerment and Participation

73. The appointment to political positions at the regional, district and local levels is seen as a way of involving citizens in governance. Issues related to governance and participation formed 12.9 percent (98 out of 762) of the thematic issues raised during the public hearings in the proposed Savannah Region.
74. Since 1969 there have been 27 regional ministers appointed for the Northern Region, out of which seven (7) have come from the Savannah enclave. The remaining 74.1 percent of the appointed ministers are from towns outside the enclave (See Table 8.17). Also, petitioners bemoaned the situation whereby there is a low representation of the Savannah enclave at the Regional House of Chiefs. With over 20 dialects spoken in the proposed region, a real representation of all the people could be a problem; hence, they always feel unrepresented. The creation of the new region will elevate some of the chiefs to the new Regional House of Chiefs.
75. Being the largest region in Ghana, the division of the Northern Region into smaller and manageable units would make decentralization effective so that there would be easy channels of communication between the centre and other areas. In addition, governance and development would be brought to the local or community level since leaders would ensure the participation of the citizenry in setting developmental priorities.

Table 8.17 List of Northern Regional Ministers from 1969 to Date.

S/ NO.	N A M E	PARTY	PERIOD	HOMETOWN
1	J. A. Braimah	PP	9 th Sept., 1969 – 12 th Jan., 1972	Kpembe, East Gonja District
2	Lt. Col. Iddisah	NRC	13 th Jan., 1972 – 25 th May, 1973	Maluwe
3	Col. P. K. Agyekum	NRC	26 th May, 1973 – 14 th March, 1974	N/A
4	Lt. Col. F. F. Addai	NRC	15 th March, 1974 – 9 th Oct., 1975	N/A
5	Col. R. K. Zumah	SMC	11 th Oct., 1975 – 15 th Nov., 1977	Northern Region
6	Lt. Col. L. K. Kodjiku	SMC	13 th Nov., 1977 – 4 th June, 1979	Volta Region
7	Alhaji I. Haruna	PNP	19 th Oct., 1979 – 30 th Sept., 1981	Kpembu
8	Alhaji A. M. Baba	PNP	1 st Oct., 1981 – 31 st Dec., 1981	Northern Region
9	A. J. Ndebugre	PNDC	8 th Feb., 1982 – 19 th Aug., 1982	Zebilla-Upper East
10	Huudu Iddrisu Yahaya	PNDC	3 rd Feb., 1983 – 12 th April, 1988	Sabonjida – Tamale Metro
11	John E. Bawa	PNDC	12 th April, 1988 – 5 th March, 1992	Kpembe – East Gonja District
12	Lt. Col. Rtd. Abdulai Ibrahim	PNDC/ NDC	5 th March, 1992 – 3 rd Aug., 1994	Yendi
13	Alhaji B. A. Fuseini	NDC	3 rd Aug., 1994 - 24 th Mar., 1997	Tamale- Tamale Metro
14	Gilbert Iddi	NDC	24 th Dec., 1997 – 4 th Dec., 1998	Bole – Bole District
15	Joshua Alabi	NDC	4 th Dec., 1998 – 3 rd February, 2000	Accra – Greater Accra
16	Alhaji Seidu Iddi	NDC	3 rd Feb., 2000 – 6 th Jan., 2001	Bole – Bole District
17	Ben Bukari Salifu	NPP	14 th Feb., 2001 – 17 th Nov., 2001	Janga – West Mamprusi District
18	Prince Imoro Andani	NPP	17 th Nov., 2001 – 1 st May, 2003	Vogu – Kumbungu District
19	Ernest A. Debrah	NPP	1 st Mar., 2003 – 17 th Feb., 2005	Brong-Ahafo Region
20	Alhaji Abubakari Sadiq Boniface	NPP	18 th Feb., 2005 – 22 nd June., 2006	Salaga – East Gonja District
21	Alhaji Mustapha Ali Idris	NPP	23 rd June, 2006 – 7 th Jan., 2009	Tamale- Tamale Metro
22	Steven Sumani Nayina	NDC	18 th Feb., 2009 – 25 th Jan., 2010	Janga – West Mamprusi District
23	Moses B. Mabengba	NDC	22 nd Feb., 2010 – 19 th Mar., 2013	Saboba – Saboba District
24	Bede A. Ziedeng	NDC	19 th March, 2013 – 19 th Mar., 2014	Eremong – Lawra District, UWR
25	Alhaji M. M. Limuna	NDC	19 th March, 2014 – 1 st March, 2016	Damongo – West Gonja District
26	Abdallah Abubakari	NDC	1 st March, 2016 – 6 th Jan., 2017	Walewale – West Mamprusi Dist.
27	Salifu Sa-eed	NPP	20 th February, 2017 to date	Bimbilla – Nanumba North District

Source: Data received from the Regional Coordinating Council. Northern Region, 2018.

8.4.6 Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Issues

76. In spite of the low population densities of the Northern Region and the proposed Savannah Region, as previously discussed, the areas is inhabited by people from various

ethnic backgrounds. It would be recalled that, in the early 1960s Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana, moved people in substantial numbers from the highly densely populated Upper East Region to settle in and around Damongo with rather very low population density. This was aimed at encouraging large scale farming and since then, the area has been home to people from various ethnic groups. For those who have migrated and those in the receiving areas, peace is, and will continue to be, an essential requirement for development. In other words, peaceful co-existence among people of varied cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds is a pre-requisite for development.

77. The various ethnic groupings could become a major source of unity and cohesion but they could also become lines along which such cohesion can be undermined if various situations are not properly managed. Consequently, it may be said that religion, culture and ethnicity are forces required for the organisation of any society; including the proposed Savannah Region. It may be misleading to consider the people of the “north” as one people with a common culture, religion and ethnicity simply because of its geographical location, because a closer examination of the situation shows otherwise. Major towns in the region are points of convergence for people from smaller and different villages in the area and even people from other parts of the country and beyond mostly because of economic reasons. Consequently, the perceived homogeneity is lost even though there are similarities in the culture of various peoples.
78. The diversity in cultural and ethnic issues were made prominent during the public hearings in various locations within Tamale (for the Regional House of Chiefs), Bole, Damongo, Buipe, Sawla and Salaga. During each of these public hearings, people of the different ethnic groupings show-cased and performed various traditional music and dances as well as display of their rich diversity of clothing styles. It came, therefore, as no surprise that among various issues discussed at the public hearings cultural, ethnic and religious issues were of the least concern. Out of the total number of 762 contributions expressed during the hearings in the proposed Savannah Region, 69 or 9.1 percent were about culture, religion and ethnicity. Cultural, religious and ethnic issues were the second least important of all the number of responses or interventions among the eight thematic issues considered during the public hearings. This gives an indication of the level of cohesion and unity among the various people in the proposed Savannah Region.
79. In the present day Northern Region, the Mole-Dagbon make up the largest ethnic group consisting of mainly Dagombas and Mamprusis. This is followed closely by the Gurma ethnic group consisting largely of Kokomba, Basaari and Bimobas. As can be seen from Table 8.18, Mole-Dagbon constitutes 52.7 percent of the entire region’s population followed by the Gurma and Guan ethnic groups with 27.3 percent and 8.6 percent respectively. Among the minority ethnic groupings are the Mande, Grusi, Ewe, Ga-Dangme and Akan. Of the ethnic groups from southern Ghana, the Ewe ethnic group is located mainly in the East Gonja, Central Gonja and Kpandai District while the Akans are domiciled mainly in Chereponi District.

80. As can be seen from Table 8.18, the composition of minority ethnic groupings in the proposed Savannah Region mimics that of the Northern Region but the major groupings differ. While the Mole-Dagbon make up 52.7 percent of the Northern Region, the proposed Savannah Region is composed of 34.4 percent Guans. Other major ethnic groupings in the Savannah Region include Mole-Dagbon (24.6%), Gurma (14.8%) and the Grusi (14.5%). The ethnic diversity of the Savannah Region can be seen as a force for unity and common purpose as this was demonstrated during public hearings in the area. People from all the various ethnic groupings indicated their desire for the creation of the new region and also showed their preparedness to offer any necessary support for the realisation of the Savannah Region. Indeed, the stakeholders indicated that their motto for the new region is *“Unity in Diversity for Peace and Development”*.
81. However, a note of caution was sounded by a former Regional Minister when he said that: *“... The nature of ethnicity is complex in this area as a result of the non-recognition of some of the chiefs at the Regional House of Chiefs. If we are able to establish the Savannah Region, we will have our own Regional House of Chiefs and bring more members on board. I hope this will also offer us the opportunity to discuss issues more dispassionately for consensus building rather than resorting to conflicts”*. As indicated, this situation must be handled properly in order not to allow it to escalate.
82. Religion is a major conduit for mobilizing people for collective initiatives and decision making. Table 8.19 shows that all the major religious groupings are present in the Northern Region which includes the proposed Savannah Region. The Islamic religion is dominant in the region accounting for 59.7 percent. Traditionalists and Catholics are the next dominant religious group after Islam accounting for about 16 percent and 7.6 percent respectively. The proposed Savannah Region has relatively lower proportion of Muslims (48.5%) as compared to the Northern Region.
83. Religious groups complement government efforts at promoting social and economic development of communities. This is achieved through partnerships in providing health, water and educational needs. The Catholic Church through the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), for example, is widely known for the provision of health services such as child and maternal health, emergency transport systems, medical supplies and staff trainings in northern Ghana.

Table 8.18: Ethnicity by District in the Northern Region

	DISTRICT	AKAN	GA-DANGME	EWE	GUAN	GURMA	MOLE-DAGBON	GRUSI	MANDE	OTHERS	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION	Central Gonja	5.9	0.4	8.5	64.1	0.3	16.8	0.5	0.3	3.2	100
	West Gonja	1.0	0.1	0.6	41.8	0.8	23.1	27.0	0.1	5.6	100
	East Gonja	7.1	2.6	9.3	47.8	14.1	14.6	0.8	1.0	2.8	100
	Sawla –Tuna – Kalba	0.7	0.0	0.1	6.8	1.4	54.3	35.5	0.1	1.0	100
	Bole	2.9	0.1	1.9	29.1	3.0	37.8	23.0	0.3	1.8	100
	Kpandai	2.8	1.6	6.4	17.0	69.4	0.8	0.1	0.3	1.6	100
	TOTAL	3.4	0.8	4.5	34.4	14.8	24.6	14.5	0.4	2.7	100
PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION	Chereponi	67.8	0.2	1.5	0.1	25.6	1.4	0.2	0.2	3.2	100
	East Mamprusi	0.6	0.1	0.2	1.1	21.6	63.3	3.1	5.1	4.9	100
	Bunkpurugu Yunyoo	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	87.1	9.5	0.1	0.6	1.7	100
	West Mamprusi	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.5	90.3	4.1	0.5	3.3	100
	TOTAL	17.4	0.1	0.6	0.5	33.7	41.1	1.9	1.6	3.3	100
	Tamale	2.8	0.4	1.4	2.9	1.3	88.1	1.6	0.3	1.1	100
	Tolon	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	98.2	0.1	0.0	0.4	100
REST OF NORTHERN REGION	Savelugu – Nanton	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.2	0.2	95.8	0.1	0.2	2.1	100
	Karaga	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	16.2	80.7	0.1	0.1	2.2	100
	Nanumba North	1.3	0.1	0.5	0.2	63.3	33.1	0.1	0.3	0.9	100
	Nanumba South	0.6	0.0	2.4	0.3	67.6	27.9	0.0	0.3	0.8	100
	Gushiegu	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	34.7	62.2	0.0	0.2	2.3	100
	Yendi	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.2	34.9	61.0	0.1	0.2	2.6	100
	Saboba	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.1	91.2	3.0	1.3	0.2	2.4	100
Zabzugu Tatale	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1	71.6	25.7	0.1	0.2	1.7	100	
TOTAL	0.8	0.1	0.7	0.4	38.1	57.6	0.4	0.2	1.7	100	
NORTHERN REGION	3.1	0.3	1.7	8.6	27.3	52.7	3.7	0.5	2.1	100	

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2013). 2010 Population and Housing Census, Regional Analytical Report, Northern Region (p.35).

Table 8.19: Distribution of Religious Affiliations in the Northern Region, in Percentages.

PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION										
District	No Religion	Catholic	Protestant	Pentecostal	Other Christians	Muslim	Traditionalist	Other	Total Population	
Bole	5.4	26.3	4.9	8	1.5	41.7	11.7	0.4	61,593	
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	5.7	26.3	4.4	9.8	1.9	20.2	31	0.6	99,863	
West Gonja	1.2	12.5	3.8	3.4	2.4	74.3	2.4	0.1	84,727	
Central Gonja	1.6	3.3	2.9	4.7	1.2	84.3	1.8	0.2	87,877	
East Gonja	2.3	6.3	8.4	9	2.6	65.5	5.5	0.5	135,450	
Kpandai	11.2	13.5	10.2	22.6	5.5	7.9	28.3	0.8	108,816	
SUB-TOTAL	26,744	79,177	35,657	58,508	15,416	280,205	80,024	2,654	578,385	
PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION										
Chereponi	2.4	8.2	5.2	7.2	0.8	58.8	17.3	0.1	53,394	
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	3.2	12.2	19.1	21.4	2	14.8	26.9	0.4	122,591	
Mamprusi East	1.8	2.5	7.2	7.9	4.6	59.2	15.7	1.1	121,009	
Mamprusi West	1	4	3.3	5.1	1.6	79.6	5.3	0.2	168,011	
SUB-TOTAL	9,063	29,080	40,448	48,207	11,134	254,913	70,117	2,211	465,173	

REST OF THE NORTHERN REGION										
District	No Religion	Catholic	Protestant	Pentecostal	Other Christians	Muslim	Traditionalist	Other	Total Population	
Nanumba South	4.7	6.7	3.2	7.4	2.7	27.2	47.8	0.4	93,464	
Nanumba North	5.3	7.5	3.7	3.9	1.9	35.1	42.1	0.6	141,584	
Zabzugu Tatale	4.9	8.7	2.9	7.4	2.8	29.1	43.9	0.3	123,854	
Yendi Municipal	2.2	7.4	5.1	2.3	2.7	65	14.9	0.5	199,592	
Tamale Metropolis	0.2	4.7	2.7	2.9	1.3	87.6	0.4	0.2	371,351	
Tolon Kumbungu	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.6	94.6	1.4	0.1	112,331	
Savelugu Nanton	0.3	0.8	1.1	0.8	0.7	95.4	0.8	0.1	139,283	
Karaga	0.5	1.5	0.9	0.8	0.6	82.9	12.8	0.1	77,706	
Gushiegu	1.6	3.4	2.3	0.9	1.2	68.1	22.2	0.3	111,259	
Saboba	5.8	19.3	15.8	14.4	6.1	9.5	28.6	0.6	65,706	
SUB-TOTAL	30,058	79,859	48,098	50,173	26,356	951,767	246,004	4,393	1,436,708	

Proposed Savannah Region	26,744	79,177	35,657	58,508	15,416	280,205	80,024	2,654	578,385
	4.62	13.69	6.16	10.12	2.67	48.45	13.84	0.46	100
Proposed North East Region	9,063	29,080	40,448	48,207	11,134	254,913	70,117	2,211	465,173
	1.95	6.25	8.7	10.36	2.39	54.8	15.07	0.48	100
Rest of the Northern Region	30,058	79,859	48,098	50,173	26,356	951,767	246,004	4,393	1,436,708
	2.09	5.56	3.35	3.49	1.83	66.25	17.12	0.31	100
Total	65,826	187,846	124,011	156,832	52,903	1486937	395,756	9,350	2,479,461
	2.65	7.58	5	6.33	2.13	59.97	15.96	0.38	100

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2013). 2010 Population and Housing Census. Regional Analytical Report: Northern Region (p.36).

8.5 Need for Creation of Savannah Region

84. In this report, the need for the creation of a region is tackled from several perspectives including: geography, regional planning and development, logic, equity and human rights as well as legal perspectives. As can be inferred from the foregoing analyses on access to the location and distribution of development benefits throughout the proposed region, it was made clear that such development is concentrated in and around Tamale, the Northern Regional capital.
85. The analysis reveal that the current Northern Region is too large occupying an area of 70,384 square kilometres to be administered efficiently from one central location that is Tamale. The current size of the Northern Region is about a third of Ghana's total land area. This creates a situation whereby several communities within the Savannah enclave are too distant from accessing higher order services in the regional capital, Tamale. The proposed Savannah Region occupies an area of 37,582 square kilometres constituting 53.45 percent of the land area of the Northern Region and 16 percent of the total land area of Ghana. The creation of the proposed Savannah Region will enhance the efficient delivery of services and bring governance closer to the people.
86. The discussions so far in this Chapter reveals that for virtually all infrastructure and services considered, there were substantial deficits to overcome to enable the proposed region function more efficiently. For example, analysis of the distribution of various categories of roads in the proposed Savannah Region indicates that with the construction of the Sawla-Ffulso road now completed, trunk roads or highways are now fairly well-distributed because they run in an east-west direction with a few north-south linkages. The current problems with roads in the proposed region are mostly concerned with tarring of major trunk roads including the Tamale-Salaga and the Tamale-Daboya roads as well as the construction of the Buipe-Salaga road which is now a missing link which when constructed will enhance access to the western parts of the proposed Savannah Region.
87. The main problem with other roads, such as feeder roads, is their poor condition but in any case, they connect various communities and also the main highways. Since the feeder roads remain in poor condition, access of many small communities to social and economic services as well as government and public services located in central places remain impaired. The major implication here is that, given that the various services and facilities are not located in central places, potential users would have to access them using the feeder roads. Of course, an underlying assumption is that once a new region is created and the administrative units become small and more manageable, the roads will receive the required attention. This, therefore, indicates that there is demand for the creation of the proposed Savannah Region.
88. As has been alluded to earlier on in this section, analyses of health, water, educational institutions, judicial services and security services reveal that there are substantial deficits to be made good. In addition, efforts would have to be made to attain more equitable

distribution of each of these government and public services. There is a perception among residents of the proposed region that irrespective of the government and public services under consideration, particularly education, health, judicial, water and security, their distributions have always not favoured the proposed Savannah Region. In other words, the skewness in the distribution is almost always not in favour of the proposed Savannah Region. What may seem to work against the proposed Savannah Region has always been its low population density implying that they are almost always unable to satisfy the minimum threshold required for some of the services under consideration.

89. However, the basis of the petition for the creation of the proposed Savannah Region is cast within the framework of equity rather than efficiency considerations. The Salaga Hospital is yet to be completed for what contributors at the public hearings described as “lack of interest” by the authorities and there are no Colleges of Education within the enclave. Irrespective of what the argument is, residents further argue that it is a human rights issue implying that in spite of the low population of an area, they are citizens of Ghana who require access to these services and hence the need for them to have a region to facilitate the installation of such facilities.
90. There were several complaints that International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and Local Non-Governmental Organizations (LNGOs) are very careful in selecting where they operate and they would rather select areas within the proximity of Tamale instead of selecting places away from this location. Further mention was made of several projects, including Ghana – Canada Water Project and Ghana Agricultural Pilot Project, which did not have any outstations in the Savannah enclave. Currently, there are no High Courts or Circuit Courts (there are only two District Courts) within the Savannah enclave and neither are there any tertiary educational institutions.
91. Having followed the same pattern of development for the past 60 years and which has been slow in yielding any positive measureable outcomes, the situation calls for a paradigm shift that will lead to accelerated development. Hence, the administration of large geographical areas should give way to the administration of small and manageable units. It is also claimed that suspicion among the ethnic groups would subside and meaningful cohesion fostered between residents of smaller geographic units. There will be ethnic cohesion through the creation of the Savannah Regional House of Chiefs and this will reduce suspicion and bring about ethnic inclusion. The situation where there was the non-recognition of some ethnic groups in the House of Chiefs will be a thing of the past and there will be opportunities to discuss issues more dispassionately rather than resorting to conflicts. Given the numerous conflicts within the Northern Region, this is another reason for the demand for a new region.

8.6 Evidence of Substantial Demand

92. Following the establishment of the need for creation of the proposed Savannah Region, the next stage in the process is to show evidence of substantial demand for the said region. This can be established by analyzing the consultative processes involved in

dealing with the petitioners' request. This involved the various levels of consultations in Accra, the Regional Coordinating Councils, Regional House of Chiefs and public hearings in the regions and in Accra.

93. As was presented in Chapter One of this report, records available to the Commission indicate that the first petition from the Savannah enclave to the President for the creation of a new region out of the current Northern Region was initiated over two decades ago. Since then the petitioners have been consistent in their demand with more refined and better particulars as well as widening the base of petitioners to include a lot more and varied people. What was originally an idea or a plea from a few persons has grown to involve several people and institutions as well as an organizing committee with near-formal structures for organization and decision-making. The major political parties in the country have also lent their support to the process.
94. Another indication of substantial demand was the extent of mobilization by the petitioners and their level of preparedness towards the creation of the region. There was a preparatory committee that did all the required preliminary works including reports submitted to the President and the Commission. This Committee comprised chiefs, prominent citizens, academics, industrialists, students as well as other citizens from the enclave.
95. Another aspect of the mobilization was the level of preparedness as measured by the quality and completeness or comprehensiveness of various documents submitted to the Commission. These submissions included reports, brochures and other publications submitted in support of the petition. The chiefs may not have been involved directly in the preparation of these documents but such documents had their tacit approval. All these actions demonstrate very deep collaborations and partnerships which are indications of substantial demand.
96. In every town that the Commission visited for the public hearings, there was great enthusiasm about the creation of the proposed region. This is partly because some sensitization had taken place before then, given the extent of awareness demonstrated by residents. It was also clear that similar efforts had taken place at both the regional and national levels where various 'home town' associations had also mobilized to support the initiative. Any onlooker could easily tell that there was some intense excitement and happiness or euphoria, as though this was the best time in their lives. Almost everyone was excited about the fact that the initiative would eventually be endorsed given the tremendous amount of work done so far by the various committees. Judging from the presence of various people who hail from these towns and who had sojourned to other places but found time to attend the public hearings, one can say that there was tremendous support and excitement of the people of this enclave.
97. There may have been conflicts of various forms and differences among some residents of the enclave but on the occasion of the public hearing, they set these differences aside and formed a united front. This position was expressed at all public hearings in Bole,

Sawla, Buipe, Salaga, Damongo and Tamale, as NDC, CPP, and NPP functionaries all demonstrated their support for creation of the proposed Savannah Region by stating that *“this is not an NPP, NDC matter but a development issue that affects all of us”*. This statement also evidences substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Savannah Region. On the other hand, others also see the creation of the region as a human right issue because it is based on moral principles or standards of human behaviour which are viewed as legal rights. In essence, there was evidence of unanimity of purpose as well as the peace required for development and sustenance of the new region.

98. The Commission also used the number of people attending each of the public hearings in various locations as a surrogate measure or index for substantial demand. At each of these venues for the public hearings, participants were registered as and when they arrived at the venue but at a point in time, this approach had to be abandoned because it was physically impossible to register every participant. There were simply too many participants and in some cases, they arrived in droves and, therefore the Commission had to resort to head count. Students, persons with placards, people with disabilities, Members of Parliament, District Chief Executives, Opinion Leaders, other dignitaries and several other people attending the public hearings were all seen as indicators or evidence of substantial demand for the creation of the proposed Savannah Region.
99. Another aspect of substantial demand is the enclave’s current population and its potential for growth over the medium to long-term. Ghana Statistical Service’s 2010 Population and Housing Census Report and its recent estimates of population for various intercensal periods indicates that there is great potential for growth and that there are no signs of this growth slowing down over a twenty-year period. Indeed, the enclave’s population estimates for the year 2020 show that the population will grow from its current size of about 699,580 in 2018 to 732,502 in 2020. In other words, this is another aspect of substantial demand which indicates clearly that in future, population of the enclave will grow but not to a point where it will become a threat to the enclave’s future development.
100. It was repeated over and over again that the proposed Savannah Region has an abundance of both human and natural resources to support the future development activities when the region is created. These resources are many and varied but abound in several parts of the enclave. However, detailed studies are required to facilitate a determination of how long they could be exploited. The situation is also similar to the range of human resources but it is assumed that all critical positions in the region would be filled by only indigenes. In any case, the presence of these resources could provide a wide range of employment opportunities for those within the employable age group.
101. Based on the foregoing factors, the Commission has established that there is substantial demand for creation of the proposed Savannah Region.

8.7 Conclusion and Recommendation

102. The objective of this chapter was to examine the merits of the petitioners' claim for the creation of the proposed Savannah Region. Analyses of the spatial extent of the proposed region and its current circumstances as well as the several interactions with the residents and field visits together with several presentations by petitioners have revealed that there is still tremendous potential in agriculture which will enhance value addition to the basic agricultural products. In spite of this great potential the area is still characterized by widespread poverty which has been attributed to the inability of government officials to efficiently manage development in the wide expanse of land.
103. Petitioners are of the view that, to the extent that the Northern Region remains in its current large expanse of land and development benefits do not trickle to the local level; to that same extent it is likely to continue to wallow in poverty. To facilitate development of the Northern Region, there is the need for a change in the development paradigm that has been practiced. Hence, it is important that the Savannah Region is created out of the current Northern Region. This will mean that the region must be divided into smaller and more manageable spatial units or regions for administrative efficiency as well as development management. As one of the placards carried by a petitioner read: *"Savannah Region Is Our Only Hope"* and as the representative of the petitioners said in his presentation at Bole, *"Equity can only be served by dividing the Northern Region into two or more regions"*.
104. Based on the above, the Commission recommends the creation of the proposed Savannah Region comprising a Municipality and six (6) Districts namely: Bole District, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District, West Gonja District, North Gonja District, Central Gonja District and East Gonja Municipality. Per Ghana Statistical Service analysis, the estimated population of the proposed region in 2018 is 567,978 and it is projected to reach 767,844 in 2020. The total land area of the proposed Savannah Region is about 36,985 square kilometres.
105. The Commission recommends the exclusion of Kpandai District from the proposed Savannah Region on the grounds that substantial demand has not been established. At the Salaga and Accra public hearings on the proposed Savannah Region, a number of contributors expressed support for Kpandai District to join the proposed Savannah Region. However, at the public hearings in Kete-Krachi, Nkwanta, Jasikan and Accra as well as engagement with the Members of Parliament from selected regions, a similar number of contributors expressed their preference for the Kpandai District to join the proposed Oti Region. A third group was of the view that the Kpandai District should remain in the Northern Region after the new region(s) is created. Hence, the Commission's decision to exclude the Kpandai District.

CHAPTER: NINE

PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION

9.1 Background to the petition

1. This Chapter focuses on the petition by the Chiefs and people of the Mamprugu Traditional Council led by the Overlord, the Nayiri, Naa Boahagu Mahami Abdulai Sheriga, for the creation of a proposed North East Region out of the current Northern Region. It reports on the profile of the proposed North East Region, the outcome of the assessment undertaken by the Commission to determine the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region. The Chapter presents an analysis of the petition and the claims made therein, as well as the Commission's engagements with those who would be directly affected by the change; that is, the chiefs and people of the proposed North East Region on one hand, and the rest of the Northern Region and any part of the country who expressed their views on the merits and demerits of creating a new region.
2. As part of the background, the report provides an overview of the proposed North East Region. It reports on the approach used by the Commission to deliver on its mandate of establishing the need and substantial demand for the creation of the region and explains the methodology used for gathering the required information. The data gathered from the petitions, the public hearings, field observations and submissions, as well as those from published sources, were analysed. In addition, conclusions and recommendations were drawn on the need and substantial demand for the creation of the North East Region out of the existing Northern Region.
3. A petition was submitted to His Excellency, The President of the Republic of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, for the creation of the North East Region out of the Northern Region, by the Overlord of Mamprugu and supported by six paramount chiefs of the areas in the northeastern part of the Northern Region, namely: East Mamprusi, Mamprugu-Moagduri, West Mamprusi, Chereponi, Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo and Tanpulma traditional areas. According to the petitioners, the current Northern Region is too large to remain under one regional administration. Due to its large size and underdeveloped infrastructure, some districts are too far away, in terms of both distance and travel time, from the regional capital, Tamale. There is therefore the urgent need to bring governance closer to the people as enshrined in Article 35(6) (d) of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. In the view of the petitioners, the creation of a new region will assist in the realization of the aspiration of the people of the northeastern part of the Northern Region.
4. His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Ghana, on 26th June 2017, referred this petition along with others to the Council of State for advice. The Council of State on 15th August 2017 advised the President to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to establish

whether there was the need and a substantial demand for the creation of a new region. The Commission commenced its work by studying the petitions which had been referred to it by His Excellency the President.

5. On 5th December 2017, the Commission met with the petitioners of the proposed North East Region at the Osu Castle, Accra. The purpose of the meeting was to interact with the petitioners and to seek further information on their petition for the creation of a new region out of the Northern Region. Subsequent to this meeting, the Overlord of the Mamprugu Traditional Area and his chiefs or representatives as indicated in Table 9.1, from the proposed North East Region submitted more detailed background information and justification for their initial request to the Commission.

Table 9.1: Chiefs and Representatives in the Proposed North East Region

Name of Chief/Representative	Title	District/Traditional Area
J. W. Grumah	Tarana	East Mamprusi
Mumuni Wuni	Yab-Raana	Mamprugu-Moagduri
John Sebiyam Nabila	Wulugu-Naaba	West Mamprusi
Haruna Laar	Gbanko Naaba	Bunkpurugu- Yunyoo
Musah Mahamadu	Kadichari-Tana II	Tanpulma Traditional Area
Ibrahim Nasomah	Nasoni	Chereponi

Source: Compiled from proposed North East Region petition documents, 2018

6. Subsequently the Commission embarked on a fact-finding mission to the Northern Region from 11th to 25th March 2018, to give the Commission the opportunity to interact with the chiefs and people of the region, and to ascertain the basis for the creation of the new region. Details of these regional consultations are provided in subsequent sections of this Chapter.
7. The petitioners' document titled *An Overview of the Proposed North East Region* on pp. 3-4 provide details of the persistent demand for creation of another region out of the current Northern Region dating back to 1996. It notes that the idea was reinforced in 2000, with the Northern Regional Minister appointed at the time, Mr. Ben Salifu, at his vetting by Parliament, also suggested the division of the Region for the purposes of effective administration. In 2005, during the vetting of ministerial nominees, former President John Mahama, then Member of Parliament (MP) for Bole-Bamboi Constituency, asked incoming Northern Regional Minister, Boniface Abubakari Sadique, about his opinion on the need to split the region. The then incoming Regional Minister was unequivocal on the enormity of the daunting administrative challenges that the size of the region posed to effective governance.
8. Furthermore, agitations over the years have come from traditional leaders of the region, notably the Northern Region House of Chiefs, which on 14th October, 2009, presented a resolution to the then Vice-President of the Republic Ghana for the creation of a new region or regions from the existing Northern Region. In addition, Yagbonwura,

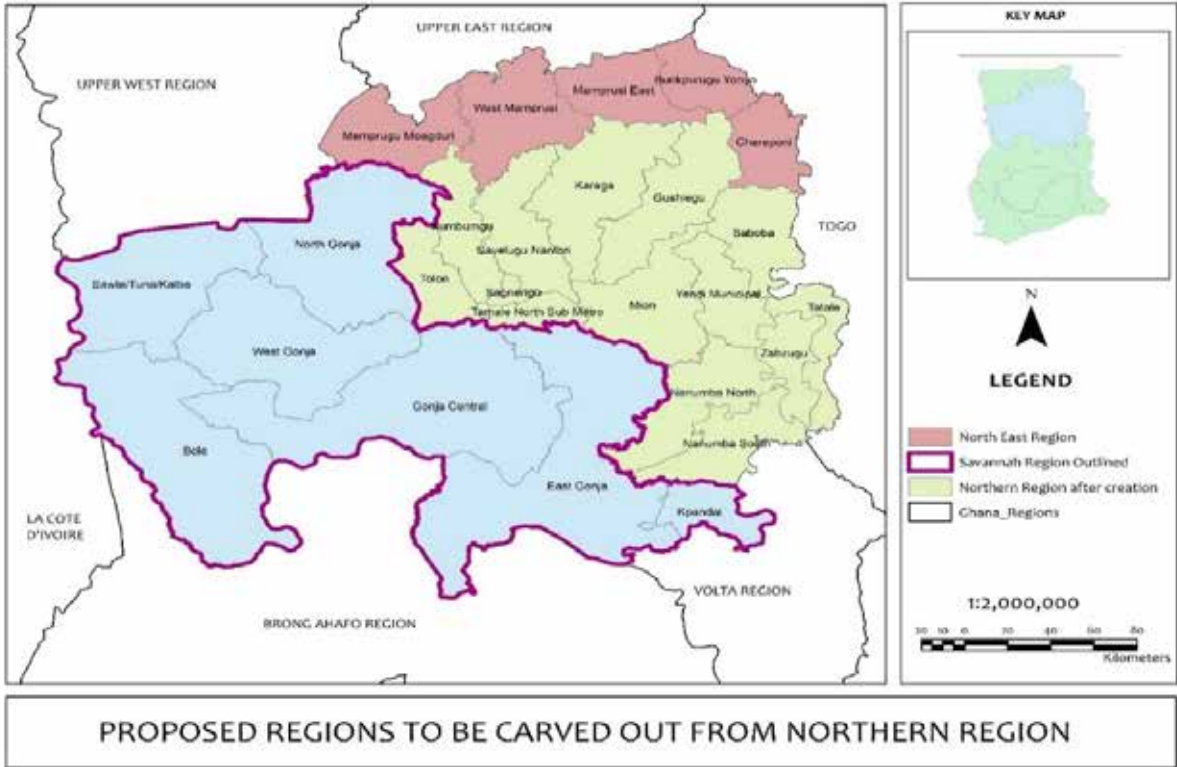
Safo Amantana II at the Gonjaland Youth Association Easter Convention at Buipe in 1996, made a passionate appeal for the splitting of the Northern Region to minimize the challenges posed by the size of the region, which makes its administration and governance daunting.

9. Although similar appeals were made to past Governments for the creation of new region or regions out of the Northern Region, the chiefs and people of the Mamprugu Traditional Council sought an opportunity to invoke the provisions of the 1992 Constitution on the creation of new regions in this present petition. This move is against the backdrop of the positive signals from most of the political parties during the political campaigns leading up to the 2016 general elections.
10. The rationale for the call for a new region to be carved out of the Northern Region, as presented by the petitioners, is the vastness of the region. They argued that the Northern Region is the largest in land size of all the regions in Ghana. Due to the large size of the region, the Regional House of Chiefs finds it extremely difficult to deal with the complexities due to the volume of work involved. The creation of a new region out of the Northern Region in the view of the petition will significantly reduce the land size of the resulting regions, and would subsequently make management, administration and supervision of these regions more effective and efficient.
11. Furthermore, the petitioners argued that the creation of new regions out of the Northern Region would therefore reduce the distance and travel time from the new regional capital to faraway places like Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo to effectively handle emergency situation, particularly health and security. Moreover, the creation of a new region would not only enhance local governance and decentralization as envisaged by the 1992 Constitution but would also increase broader participation that would bring about transparency, accountability and the rule of law in the governance of Ghana.

9.2 Overview of the Northern Region

12. The present Northern Region was part of one of the three administrative divisions of the Gold Coast in 1902. These divisions were Ashanti Protectorate, Gold Coast Crown Colony, and Northern Territories (which included Northern Region). At independence in 1957, the Northern Territories together with the northern part of the Trans-Volta Togoland became the Northern Region. The Ashanti Protectorate was transformed into Ashanti Region, and the Gold Coast Colony was also split into Eastern and Western Regions. These re-organisations of the regions of the country resulted in five administrative regions, namely, Northern, Ashanti, Eastern, Western and Trans-Volta Togoland. In 1960, the Northern Region was also split into Northern and Upper Regions. By 1983, Ghana had 10 administrative regions of which the Northern Region was one (Figure 9.1).

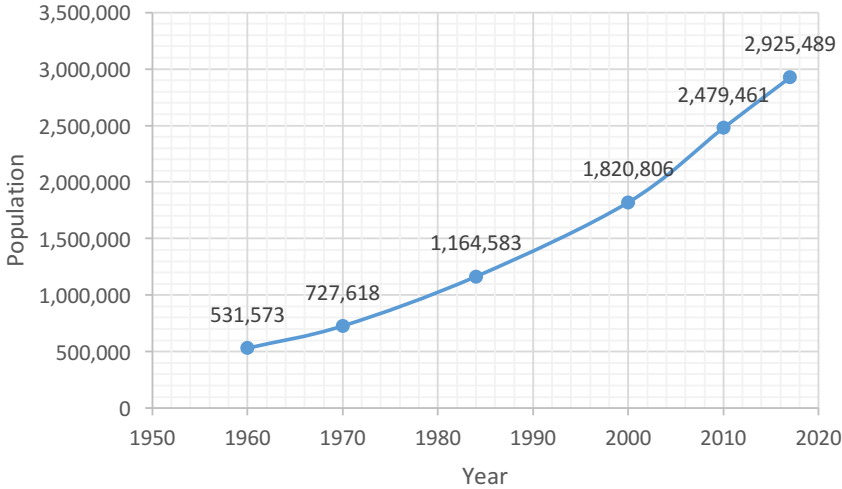
Figure 9.1 Map of the Northern Region



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

- 13. The Northern Region occupies an area of about 70,384 sq. km. of land which represents approximately 30 percent of the total land mass of the country and therefore makes it the largest region in Ghana. Figure 9.2 and Table 9.2 reveal that the population has grown rapidly in the last six decades. The region’s projected population in 2018 is about 3 million which is almost six times its population size in 1960. It is estimated that the Northern Region’s population will hit over 3.1 million in 2020 (Table 9.2).

Figure 9.2: Population of the Northern Region, 1960-2020



Source: GSS, 2013d

Table 9.2: Basic Demographic Characteristics of the Northern Region

	Population (National Census Figures)						
	1960	1970	1984	2000	2010	2018*	2020*
Population	531,573	727,618	1,164,583	1,820,806	2,479,461	2,993,554	3,132,417
As a percentage of National Population	7.9	8.5	9.5	9.6	10.1	10.1	10.1
Density per square kilometre	8	10	17	26	35	43	45
Growth rate	-	3.2	3.4	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9

*Projected population by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2015

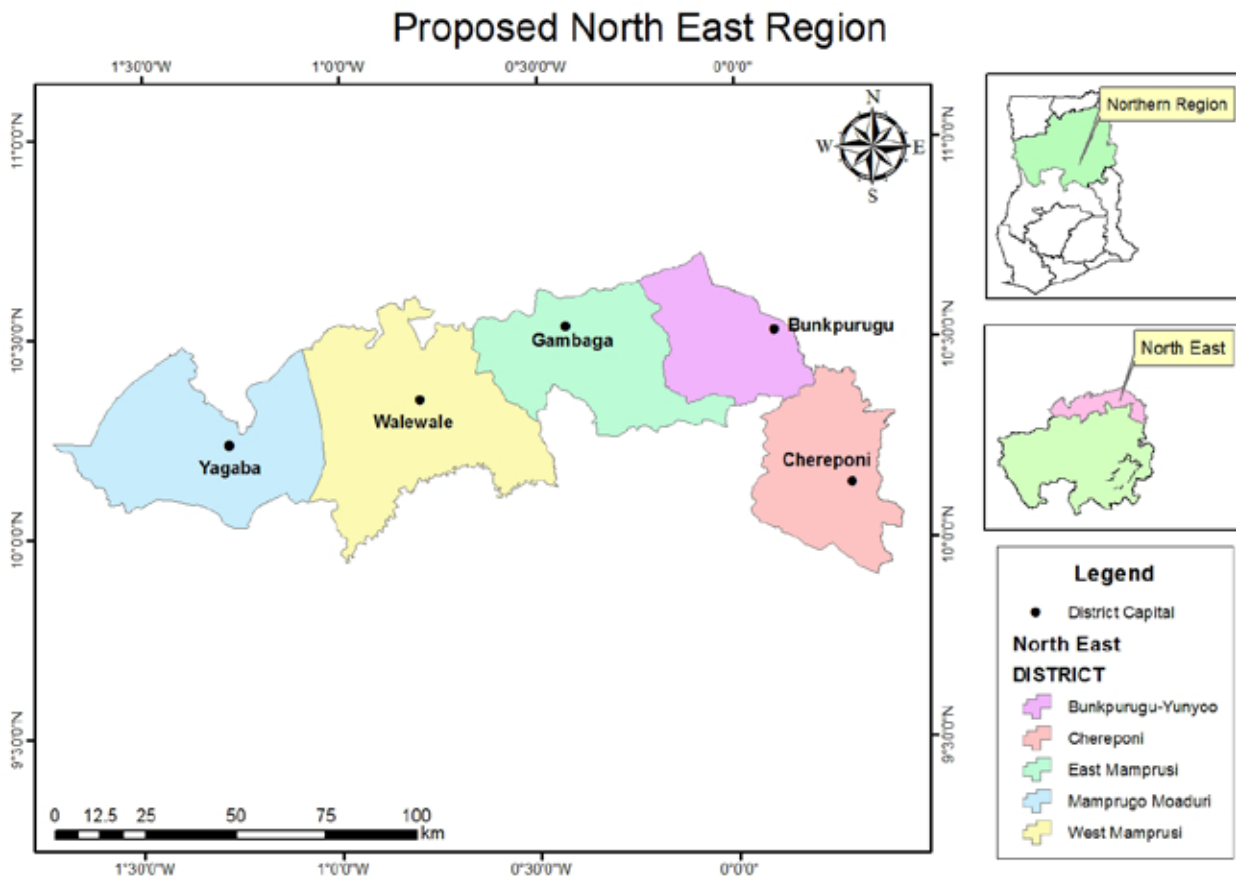
Source: Derived from GSS (2013d, 2015)

14. Table 9.2 provides other population characteristics of the Northern Region. The Table shows that as a percentage of the national population, the share of the region's population has increased from 7.9 percent in 1960 to 10.1 percent in 2010, and projected to remain same up to 2020. This is interesting given the fact that the Northern Region is generally noted as a region of out-migration (GSS, 2013d). This trend may be due to the high population growth rate of 2.9 percent compared to the national average of 2.5 percent. Also, the Northern Region's population density though has risen from 8 persons per square kilometre, in 1960 to 35 in 2010, and projected to reach 45 in 2020, it remains the lowest across all regions in Ghana, with the national average standing at 103 in 2010 (GSS, 2013d). The low level of population within the context of large land size provides opportunities for commercial agriculture as such initiatives are unlikely to dislocate large number of peasant farmers.
15. The main ethnic groups in the Northern Region include: Mamprusi, Dagomba, Gonja, Konkomba, Chokosi, Basaari, Bimoba and Chumburu. The major languages spoken are Dagbani, Gonja and Mampruli. Other spoken languages are Basaare, Chumburu, Moar, Likpakpa, Kantosi, Chamba and Chokosi. The major festivals celebrated in the Region are Damba and Bugum.
16. Chieftaincy is a revered institution in the Northern Region. There are four Overlords, each with its sub-chiefs. They are the Nayiri the Overload of Mamprugu in Nalerigu; Yagbonwura, the Overload of the Gonja Traditional area in Damongo; Ya-Na, who is the Overlord of Dagbon in Yendi and Bimbilla Naa, the Overload of Nanung in Bimbilla.
17. The most predominant economic activity in the Northern Region is agriculture. It is noted for the production of yams and cereals (millet, sorghum, rice and maize). However, the Region, with its large land size, and only about 10 percent of the country's population, is one of the poorest in Ghana (UNICEF, 2016).

9.3 Overview of the Proposed North East Region

18. The proposed North East Region, is made up of six districts as shown in Figure 9.3. It will be bordered to the north by the Upper East Region, to the south by Northern Region, and to the west by the Upper West Region and the east by the Republic of Togo.

Figure 9.3: Map of the Proposed North-East Region



Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2018

19. The Ghana Statistical Service estimates the total population of the Northern Region to be 2,993,554 in 2018. Out of this, the total population of the six districts constituting the proposed North East Region have an estimated population of 562,325 (Table 9.3). This represents 18.8 percent of the population of the Northern Region. Interestingly, three districts in the proposed region, namely East Mamprusi, West Mamprusi and Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo Districts have virtually the same population size (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: District Population in the Proposed North East Region by Sex, 2010 and 2018

District	2010			2018*		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mamprugu Moagduri	23,439	23,455	46,894	27,944	28,890	56,834
Chereponi	26,206	27,188	53,394	32,345	33,451	65,796
East Mamprusi	58,953	61,007	119,960	72,057	74,512	146,569
West Mamprusi	59,129	61,138	120,267	72,058	74,503	146,561
Bunkpurugu/Yunyoo**	60,240	62,351	122,591	72,056	74,509	146,565
Total	227,967	235,139	463,106	276,460	285,865	562,325

* Projected population

**Now split into two: Bunkprugu and Yunyoo Districts

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census

20. Table 9.3 provides further information on the population size, density and land size of the proposed North East Region. The Table indicates that the proposed region has a total land size of 9,070 square kilometres, which is almost 13 percent of the total land area of the current Northern Region. In terms of size, the West Mamprugu District constitutes almost a third of the proposed region. Table 9.4 also shows that the estimated average population density of the proposed North East Region is higher than that of the current Northern Region which as earlier noted stands at 43 persons per square kilometres.

Table 9.4: Population and land size of districts in the Proposed NorthEast Region, 2018

District	2018 Population	Percent of Total Population	Land Size (Sq. km.)	Percent of Total Land Size	Population Density
Mamprugu Moagduri	56,834	10.1	2,121	23.4	26.2
Chereponi	65,796	11.7	1,375	15.2	46.8
East Mamprusi	146,569	26.1	1,707	18.8	83.9
West Mamprusi	146,561	26.0	2,610	28.8	54.9
Bunkpurugu/Yunyoo	146,565	26.1	1,257	13.9	114.0
Total	562,325	100.0	9,070	100.0	60.6

Source: Compiled from Ghana Statistical Service (2013)

21. Similar to the rest of the Northern Region, the proposed North East Region is composed of a diversity of ethnic groups. These ethnic groups of the North East Region include: Mamprusis, Bimobas, Konkobas, Chakosis, and Tanpulinsis. Others are; Frafras, Talensis and Kusasis. According to the document, *An Overview of the Proposed North East Region*, these ethnic groups have co-existed peacefully through inter-marriages, shared customs, values and beliefs.
22. The proposed North East Region has the potential to contribute to the economic growth, prosperity and wellbeing of the region as well as the rest of Ghana, especially in the area of agriculture. Indeed, as noted earlier, agriculture is the mainstay of the people of

Northern Region and the North East Region in particular. The proposed region is the food basket of not only the Northern Region but also one of the biggest suppliers of food to major markets in the country. As earlier noted, potential exists for large-scale agricultural production in cereals, livestock and vegetables due to the abundance of arable land and low population density.

23. Other economic potentials which remained untapped include mineral extraction and tourism. The petitioners in both their written and oral submissions to the Commission highlighted mineral deposits in the proposed region which have been corroborated by the Commission. These include gold, limestone, dolomite and granite. Indeed, information obtained from the Minerals Commission of Ghana by the Commission indicate that currently in the West Mamprusi District, concessions have been given to two companies, Mawus and Supply Logistic companies to produce granite products from substantial granite deposits in the area. In addition, there is the evidence of a number of undeveloped tourist sites in the proposed North East Region (Table 9.5). In the view of the petitioners, these mineral deposits and tourist sites when developed will create employment for the youth and serve as a source of revenue and promote the development of the region in particular and Ghana in general. Some of the potential tourist sites in the proposed North East Region include the Gambaga escarpment, Hippopotamus Sanctuary, Ruins of German Bridge in Chereponi and the Nakpanduri Water falls
24. The economic importance of the proposed North East Region is underscored by its strong links with the Upper East, Upper West and the rest of the Northern Region and its potential to be the food basket of the nation and countries to the north of Ghana. Farming on a large commercial scale has the greatest potential, the “overseas area” (Yagaba) to Nasia Nabogo to Sisili Kulpan valley has been identified as such. Three main areas that could propel the proposed region forward and bring value to national development are: commercial farming, natural and mineral resources, and tourism.

9.4 Approach and Methodology

25. The Commission operated on the principle that the request for the creation is demand-driven. Therefore, the approach used was to ensure the participation of as many stakeholders as possible. As such, a comprehensive multi-stage consultation process of data collection and consultations was adopted which yielded a diverse body of submissions, both oral and written as well as individual and collective submissions to support the need and substantial demand for the creation of the proposed North East Region.
26. The Commission adopted a set of analytical tools to depict accurately the core demand concerns and the need for the creation of the North East Region. Mixed methods approach was adopted by the Commission to achieve required results. Therefore, both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed to understand the issues and justifications raised in the petition for creation of the North-East Region. However, the

qualitative technique was the key approach used by the Commission. This helped the Commission to understand and assess the petitioners' demand and related issues. The quantitative component was intended to augment and strengthen the largely qualitative aspect in a holistic manner.

27. The Commission began its work with a desk review to validate or substantiate the contents of the petition on the North East Region forwarded to the Commission by the President. Subsequently, the Commission met in-camera with the petitioners at the Osu-Castle, Accra, and followed up with a number of public hearings and regional consultations in the affected areas. The Regional Consultations were structured in a three-staged process:
 - a. Engagement with government functionaries (Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) and Ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), and Metropolitan/Municipal & District Assemblies (MMDAs));
 - b. In-camera engagement with the Regional House of Chiefs of the Northern Region; and
 - c. Public fora held in selected areas within the proposed region to obtain data to support the need and substantial demand requirement for the creation of the North-East Region.
28. Prior to the public hearings, information on the venues, dates and times were published in the print and electronic media to ensure that interested sections of the society were notified. In addition, the Ministry of Regional Reorganization and Development organized media engagements in collaboration with the National Commission for Civic Education and the Information Services Department to ensure mass sensitization of the population prior to the Commission's visit to the proposed region.
29. The Commission's regional consultations took place between 19th and 25th March 2018. Following the engagements in Tamale, five other public hearings were held in selected locations in the proposed North East Region, namely: Nalerigu, Gambaga, Bunkpurugu, Yagaba, and Walewale. These hearings were meant to elicit the views of the public on the proposed region. Participants who came from across a wide section of the proposed North East Region were very enthusiastic amidst drumming and dancing. The participants included religious leaders, chiefs, political leaders, school children, the youth, farmers, traders, representatives of associations, and people with disability.

9.5 Analysis of Participation and Thematic Issues Discussed at Public Hearings

30. The hearings attracted large crowds at every venue. All contributors at the public hearings were in favour of the creation of the proposed North East Region and gave reasons for their position. Many also recounted personal experiences to demonstrate the

predicament of residents in the proposed region. In all, 108 persons made contributions at the public hearings. The number of female contributors were generally low with a maximum of five contributing at the public hearing in Yagaba, out of a total of 27 contributions made at the hearing. The statistics provided in Table 9.5 indicate that six times as many males as females expressed their views on the creation of the new region at the various public hearings. The low female contributions at the public hearings is largely due to cultural practices which do not encourage women to speak in public places.

Table 9.5: Contributors at the Public Hearing by Gender

Location	“Yes”					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bunkprugu	27	29.0	3	20.0	31	10.7
Gambaga	5	5.4	1	6.7	6	20.0
Nalergu	14	15.0	2	13.3	15	15.4
Walewale	25	26.9	4	26.7	28	16.7
Yagaba	22	23.7	5	33.3	27	22.7
Total	93	100.0	15	100.0	108	16.3

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

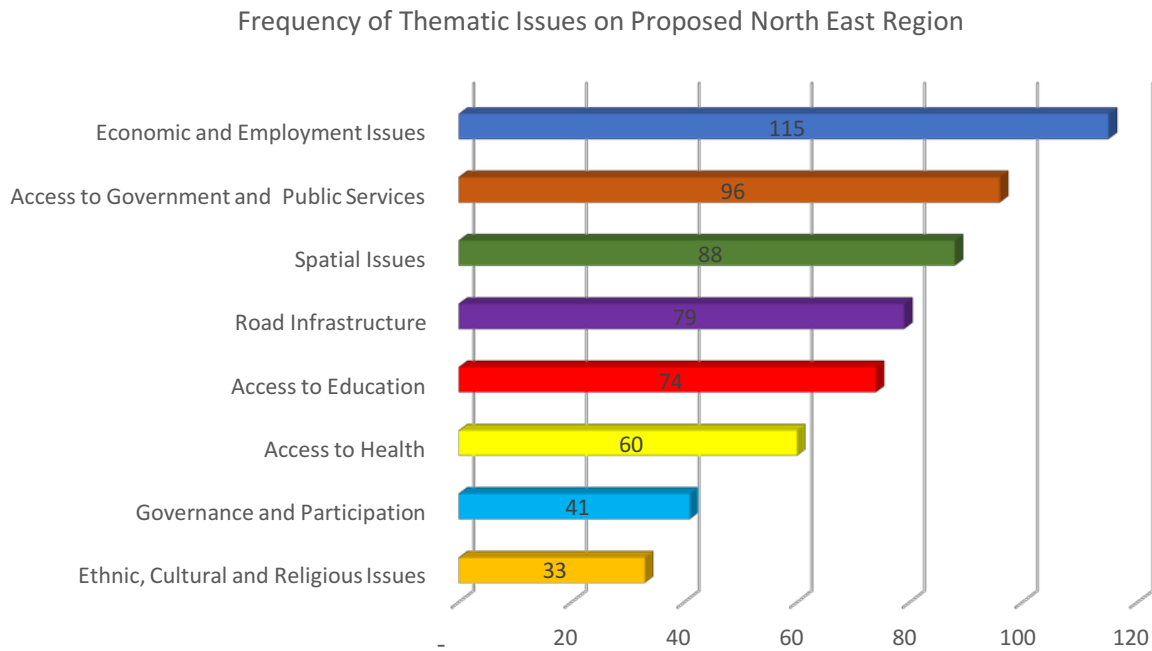
31. The contributions made at the public hearings addressed a whole range of issues, including access to government/public services; road infrastructural needs; access to social amenities; economic participation and employment; governance and participation and; cultural, ethnic, religious issues. In total, 720 contributions touching on these thematic issues were raised at the public hearings in the proposed North East Region, with no dissenting views.

9.6 Analysis of Thematic Issues

32. This section focuses on the analysis of the issues that arose from the Commission’s consultations with the petitioners, participants at public hearings and other stakeholders in Accra and communities within the proposed North East Region and the Northern Region. The issues have been categorized into eight (8) thematic areas as shown in Table 9.6. In other words, it analyzed the contributions made for the creation of the new region by the various stakeholders the Commission interacted with.
33. The contributions highlighted many areas that negatively affected the lives of the residents of the proposed region and which were used to support the claims for a new region. Table 9.6 reveals that of the 720 contributions made, the issue most spoken about was economic and employment which accounted for almost 20 percent of all contributions. The second issue of great concern to contributors at the regional public hearings was access to government and public services, followed immediately by spatial issues relating to distances and the widely spaced out locations across the region.

Spatial issues accounted for 14.5 percent of all the contributions made at the hearings; road infrastructure needs and access to education were at the same level (13.2%); health (11.%); while governance and participation and ethnic, cultural and religious issues had the least contributions (Table 9.6)

Figure 9.4: Thematic Issues Raised at the Public Hearings



Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

Table 9.6: Contributions on thematic issues by location of contributors in the proposed North East Region

Thematic Issue	Bunkprugu		Gambaga		Nalerigu		Walewale		Yagaba		Tamale		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spatial Issues	22	13.6	7	17.1	16	13.0	23	15.2	20	18.3	16	11.9	104	14.5
Access to Government and Public Services	24	14.8	8	19.5	18	14.6	29	19.2	17	15.6	16	11.9	112	15.6
Road Infrastructure	20	12.3	6	14.6	19	15.4	18	11.9	16	14.7	16	11.9	95	13.2
Access to Education	20	12.3	4	9.8	19	15.4	16	10.6	15	13.8	21	15.7	95	13.2
Access to Health	14	8.6	5	12.2	11	8.9	17	11.3	13	11.9	20	14.9	80	11.1
Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Issues	13	8.0	1	2.4	8	6.5	7	4.6	4	3.7	9	6.7	42	5.8
Governance and Participation	10	6.2	3	7.3	9	7.3	14	9.3	5	4.6	9	6.7	50	6.9
Economic and Employment Issues	39	24.1	7	17.0	23	18.7	27	17.9	19	17.4	27	20.1	142	19.7
Total	162	100.0	41	100.0	123	100.0	151	100.0	109	100.0	134	100.0	720	100.0

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

34. In spite of the general pattern observed above, there were some variations at the public hearings in terms of the frequency of the contribution of issues made. Contributions on economic and employment issues were highest at three of the public hearings: Tamale, Bunkprugu, and Nalerigu, and placed second in the other three hearings. At Yagaba, spatial issues attracted the highest contributions made at the public hearing (18.3%), while at both Walewale and Gambaga access to government and public services topped the list accounting for 19.2 percent and 19.5 percent of all contributions respectively. It is the view of the Commission that many of the development challenges raised at the public hearings were directly and indirectly linked to the vastness of the Northern Region, which makes traveling from many of the districts in the proposed North East Region to the present regional capital difficult.

9.6.1 Spatial Issues of the Northern Region

35. Ranked as the third thematic issue discussed at the public hearings in the proposed North East Region as shown in Table 9.6, the spatial issues relate to the challenges imposed by the present land size of the Northern Region and the long distances and travel times between districts in the proposed region and the present regional capital, Tamale. In both the petition documents and public hearings in the proposed region, the overwhelming view was that the existing size of the current Northern Region does not promote access of government to the people.
36. Table 9.7 provides information on the computed travel distances and travel times between district capitals in the Northern Region, and the regional capital, Tamale. The Table shows that although the distances and travel times between Tamale and many of the districts are long, they are much longer for all the districts in the proposed North East Region. This is due to the location of the regional capital and the proposed region. As the DCE of the Bunkpurugu-Nakpanduri District noted at the Bunkpurugu public hearing: *“Bunkpurugu-Nakpanduri District is far and remote from the current regional capital, Tamale. In my view the distance from the district to Tamale is the same as Kumasi to Accra and this phenomenon poses some challenges to the people and development.”*

Table 9.7: Road distances of districts to the Regional Capital (Tamale)

District	District capital	Distance to Tamale (km)	Travel time
Bole	Bole	223	3 hours 16min.
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	Sawla	240	3 hours 50 min.
West Gonja	Damongo	148	2 hours 29 min.
Gonja Central	Buipe	54.1	1 hour 16 min.
East Gonja	Salaga	116	2 hours 01 min.
Kpandai	Kpandai	186	3 hours 41 min.
Nanumba South	Wulensi	182	3 hours 29 min.
Nanumba North	Bimbilla	182	3 hours 29 min.
Zabzugu	Zabzugu	148	2 hours 39 min.
Yendi Municipal	Yendi	99.9	1 hour 36 min.
Tamale Metropolis	Tamale	0.0	0 hour 0 min.
Tolon	Tolon	25.3	0 hour 43 min.
Savelugu Nanton	Savelugu	26.3	0 hour 39 min.
Karaga	Karaga	82.2	1 hour 44 min.
Gushiegu	Gushiegu	109	2 hours 3 min.
Saboba	Saboba	168	3 hours 9 min.
North Gonja	Daboya	137	2 hours 12 min.
Kumbungu	Kumbungu	22.8	00 hour 40 min.
Sagnerigu Municipal	Sagnerigu	3.3	00 hour 03 min.
Mion	Sang	365	5 hours 34 min.
Tatale	Tatale	167	3 hours 05 min.
Chereponi	Chereponi	189	3 hours 24 min.
Bunkpurugu	Bunkpurugu	193	3 hours 29 min.
Yunyoo-Nasuan	Yunyoo	228	4 hours 3 min.
East Mamprusi	Gambaga	184	3 hours 21 min.
West Mamprusi	Walewale	132	2 hours 20 min.
Mamprugu- Moagduri	Yagaba	223	3 hours 21 min.

Source: www.distancecalculator.globefeed.com/Ghana_Distance_Calculator.asp

37. It needs to be stressed that the computation of distances and travel times as shown in Table 9.8 does not take into account the surface conditions of roads in the proposed North East Region, especially during the rainy season as well as waiting times. According to Bening (1999, p. 314), ‘the desirable distance between the people in the outlying areas of a region and the capital will depend upon the time people are prepared to spend in travelling mostly by road from their homes to the regional headquarters to transact business’.
38. Bening (1999: 314) notes that although no ideal distance or time has ever been specified, a conference organized by the government in 1956 dubbed ‘Achimota Conference of 1956’ appeared to favour a distance of 100 miles [160 km] or less as the desirable

distance between regional capitals and district capitals and remotest areas of districts. If we accept this benchmark then the only district capital within the desirable range in the proposed North-East Region will be Walewale but even here the same cannot be said of settlements in the northern part of the West Mamprusi District many of which may be beyond the 160 km range.

39. The long distances between the current regional capital and districts in the proposed North East Region are further compounded by the poor surface conditions of many of the roads in the proposed region as noted at all the public hearings. Consequently, the challenges of the size of the region and long distances and travel times have negative implications for access to services such as government and public services located at the regional capital, Tamale. This situation creates the perception among the regional population farther away from the regional capital about inaccessibility to government and the absence of the state in their socio-economic activities.
40. It was well-highlighted at the public hearings that emergency health cases such as women in labour requiring critical attention are hindered due to the long traveling times of three or more hours on poor roads to reach specialized tertiary health services located in the regional capital, Tamale. Even for non-emergency cases, civil servants as well as citizens of the proposed North East Region complained about the loss of man-hours in travelling and accessing public services in Tamale. As a teacher at the Nalerigu public hearing stated:

“Teachers in the area wanting to participate in distance education and sandwiched programmes need to travel every now and then to Tamale. Also, if they are seeking promotions, they have to travel to Tamale for interviews. In the course of travel to and from Tamale, teachers lose working hours thereby affecting teaching and learning in schools in the area. This is because teachers abandon their classrooms for lectures which are organized in Tamale and that explains why students in the area are not performing well in the BECE [Basic Education Certificate Examination].”

41. For regional administrators of ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) as well as Regional Ministers, the vastness of the Northern Region compounded by poor road infrastructure impede on smooth administration and monitoring of development projects in the region. This may partly account for various past Regional Ministers actively agitating for the splitting of the region to promote effective administration.
42. As Bening (1999:314) notes ‘proximity of the chief executive of a region [Regional Minister] to every part of his territorial domain aids understanding and appreciation of the difficulties confronting the populace and facilitates their [citizens’] access to the government representatives for the solution of their problems’. This task is, however, difficult to undertake given the size and vastness of the present Northern Region. As a senior public servant at the RCC noted at the public hearing in Tamale:

“...I have come to appreciate that no matter how efficient you are, you cannot do effective monitoring due to the vastness of the Region.... There is a clear need to divide the current Northern Region into three for effective administration and also to ensure better policing and security.”

43. The above quotation implies that the vastness of the current Northern Region impose challenges not only in terms of access to services and infrastructure but also security and policing. Currently, most of the security personnel and infrastructure based in the region are hampered by the long distance to Tamale and poor roads condition. As a teacher at the Walewale public hearing stated:

“Due to few security personnel in the Northern Region there is an upsurge in violent crimes. In the event of an outbreak of a violent conflict, the distance from Tamale does not encourage the swift deployment of security forces. The creation of the proposed North East Region will ensure the timeliness of security interventions in the region.”

Again still on security, an official of the Bunkpurugu District lamented that:

“It is a bitter fact that the area is a flashpoint for conflict, and due to the wide distance between them and the current regional capital, Tamale. The regional security commands are unable to swiftly and timely back up the few security men in the area to contain the situation. As such usually due to the long journeys coupled with the bad nature of the roads, the backups arrive quite late by which time some harm would have already been caused. The creation of the proposed new region with a much closer regional capital would not only ensure prompt responses to the area’s emergency situations but would facilitate the establishment of a permanent security barracks in the area.”

44. In summary, the response to the challenges imposed by the size and vastness of the existing Northern Region is to provide regional level services currently located in the regional capital closer to the population through the creation of the proposed North-East Region and the establishment of a regional administrative centre with these services and facilities. This provides an opportunity to bring government closer to the people through a decrease in the size of the regional administrative area and development of a new growth pole (regional capital) to provide services and functions currently seen as inaccessible to the population of the proposed North-East Region. Moreover, this will reduce considerable pressure on services and infrastructure located in Tamale, which currently serves the whole of the Northern Region including the proposed North-East Region.

9.6.2 Road Infrastructure

45. Although overall road infrastructure was ranked as the fourth thematic issue discussed at the public hearings in the proposed North-East Region, it is closely linked with the other frontline themes, namely: economic and employment, access to government and

public services, and spatial issues. The challenges with the road infrastructure relate to the poor road network and surface conditions with negative consequences for travel times and access to services, especially those located in the regional capital, Tamale.

46. A recent study by the World Bank (2015) concludes that in general the provision of transport infrastructure in Ghana has been undertaken as a result of development rather than in anticipation of it. Hence, provision and improvements of road infrastructure have been piecemeal and woefully inadequate to meet effective demand. The report adds that a key problem accounting for this situation is the insufficiency of investments, combined with the effects of rapid population growth and the lack of maintenance of existing infrastructure. For lagging and relatively underdeveloped, and historically disadvantaged regions like Northern Region, Ghana's national road condition is largely classified as fair and poor as shown in Table 9.8.
47. Table 9.8 shows that the Northern Region has a total 11,989.78 km of road of which 28.4 percent, 31.1 percent and 40.5 percent respectively is good, fair and poor. In relative terms, this road condition mix of the Northern Region compares well with the rest of the regions. However, compared with the sizes of the regions, the apparent disadvantaged position of the Northern Region becomes clear. With land size of 70,384 square kilometre (representing a third of Ghana's total land area), and total road length of 11,989.78 km, the Northern Region has road density of 0.170 kilometres per square kilometre, far below the national average of 0.372 kilometres per square kilometres and all other regions (Table 9.8).

Table 9.8: National Road Condition Mix by Region, 2015

Region	Good		Fair		Poor		Total		Road Density (km/km ²)
	(km)	(%)	(km)	(%)	(km)	(%)	(km)	(%)	
Gt. Accra	2,582.42	28.9	1,354.90	15.2	4,997.14	55.9	8,934.46	100	2.753
Upper West	2,033.97	15.0	1,573.94	11.5	10,019.57	73.5	13,627.48	100	0.737
Ashanti	3,342.70	30.9	2,804.57	25.9	4,677.12	43.2	10,824.39	100	0.444
Brong-Ahafo	2,959.37	24.7	2,889.94	23.9	6,197.86	51.4	12,047.17	100	0.304
Central	1,403.18	22.7	2,327.80	37.6	2,459.88	39.7	6,190.86	100	0.630
Northern	3,404.58	28.4	3,733.42	31.1	4,851.78	40.5	11,989.78	100	0.170
Upper East	1,803.61	46.3	739.98	18.9	1,355.70	34.8	3,899.29	100	0.441
Volta	2,215.57	33.6	1,843.51	28.0	2,526.62	38.4	6,585.7	100	0.320
Western	2,699.56	29.5	2,807.25	30.7	3,649.59	39.8	9,156.4	100	0.383
Eastern	1,689.34	30.4	2,211.41	39.8	1,655.52	29.8	5,556.27	100	0.287
Total	24,134.3	29.0*	22286.72	26.3*	42,390.78	44.7*	88,811.8	100	0.372

*Average

Source: Ministry of Roads and Highways, Annual Review Report, 2015.

48. Given the importance of roads in connecting rural and urban areas, Tables 9.9 and 9.10 provide information on the feeder road network and the surface type, and the feeder road densities in the Northern Region and the proposed regions, namely: North East and Savannah Regions. For the proposed North East Region Table 9.9 reveals that its total feeder road network of 880.51km represents about 13 percent of the total feeder road network in the Northern Region. Of the total feeder road network in the proposed region, only 7.5km has bitumen surface. Indeed, for the whole of the Northern Region, about 84 km of feeder roads have bitumen surface. These figures from Tables 9.9 and 9.10 illustrate the poor state of road infrastructure in the proposed North East Region and the rest of the Northern Region in general.

Table 9.9: Feeder Road Network and the Surface Type in the Northern Region by District

PROPOSED NORTH EAST REGION					
	District	Length (km)	Surface Types		
			Bitumen (km)	Gravel (km)	Earth (km)
27.	East Mamprusi	143.95	0	87.00	56.95
28.	Bunkprugu Yunyoo*	149.53	0	98.53	51.00
29.	Chereponi	218.52	3.0	115.00	100.52
30.	West Mamprusi	220.65	4.5	184.30	31.85
31.	Moagduri	147.86	0	82.90	64.96
SUB TOTAL		880.51	7.5	567.73	305.28
Percentage		100%	0.85%	64.48%	34.67%
PROPOSED SAVANNAH REGION					
32.	Bole Bamboi	243.81	0	187.81	56.00
33.	Sawla Tuna Kalba	338.30	0	183.00	155.00
34.	East Gonja	602.39	0	402.39	200.00
35.	West Gonja	317.48	0	217.4	100.08
36.	Central Gonja	394.16	25.5	255.66	113.00
37.	North Gonja	241.07	0	106.07	135.00
38.	Kpandai	246.18	0	156.18	90
SUB TOTAL		2,383.39	25.5	1,508.51	849.08
Percentage		100%	1.07%	63.29%	35.62%

REST OF THE NORTHERN REGION					
39.	Gushiegu	195.06	0	102.06	93.00
40.	Karaga	239.83	0	197.83	42.00
41.	Nanumba North	133.88	0	97.00	36.88
42.	Nanumba South	451.73	0	253.73	198.73
43.	Saboba	180.28	0	133.28	47.00
44.	Savelugu Nanton	333.83	33.26	212.81	87.49
45.	Tamale	148.42	15.5	89.61	43.31
46.	Sagnarigu	77.02	0	46.9	30.12
47.	Tolon	274.79	0.0	197.60	78.09
48.	Kumbungu	109.10	2.0	57.90	49.20
49.	Yendi	402.36	0	216.06	186.30
50.	Mion	323.99	0	170.29	153.70
51.	Zabzugu	231.56	0	131.00	100.56
52.	Tatale	249.59	0	156.8	92.79
SUB TOTAL		3,351.44	50.76	2,062.87	1,239.17
Percentage		100%	1.51%	61.55%	36.97%
Total		6,615.31	83.76	4,139.11	2,393.53
Percentage		100.00%	1.27%	62.57%	36.18%

* District now split into two, namely Bunkprugu District and Yunyoo-Nasuan District

Source: Data from the Department of Feeder Roads, Regional Directorate, Northern Region, 2018.

Table 9.10: Feeder Roads Density in the Northern Region

Region	Land Area (Km²) (a)	Road Length (km) (b)	Road Density (km/km²) (c)
Proposed Savannah Region	36,985.5	2,383.39	0.064
Proposed North East Region	9,071.3	880.51	0.097
Rest of the Northern Region	23,769.3	3,351.44	0.141
Northern Region	70,384	6,615.31	0.094

- Source:
- (a) Compiled from analytical reports from the 2010 Population and Housing Census.
 - (b) Data received from the Department of Feeder Roads, Regional Directorate, Northern Region, 2018.
 - (c) Calculated from (b) and (c)

49. While the above data on road infrastructure and surface conditions from the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA) and Department of Feeder Roads (DFR) indicate that the overall regional and national road infrastructure remain poor, there are intra-regional differences that need attention, a key basis for the demand for the creation of a new region out of the Northern Region by the petitioners. In both their petition documents and at the public hearings in the proposed North-East Region, a strong case was made for the creation of the region to give regional administrators what Bening (1999) described as a better appreciation of the development challenges and an opportunity for the citizens to better engage with the administrators to address development challenges, in this road infrastructure.
50. Several contributors at the public hearings noted the impact of the poor road infrastructure on the daily life of the population. As a contributor at the public hearings at Yagaba stated:

“Good transportation infrastructure [roads] is important to open up the proposed North East Region for rapid development of this area. During the rainy season especially, the roads are un-motorable and travellers will have to resort to canoes or go through neighbouring Upper East Region to get to the capital, Tamale. This has affected the posting of regional officers to the area. Such officers refuse posting to this area. This is common in the Mamprugu Moagduri area, where some refer to it as overseas.”

Another contributor added:

“Apart from the major trunk road linking the Northern Region to the Upper East Region and the Walewale-Nalerigu which was recently tarred, all the roads remain untarred and in almost all cases motorable with difficulty especially during the rainy season. People travelling from Mamprugu Moagduri to the regional capital [Tamale] are forced to make the journey through Bolga in the Upper East Region.”

51. The general consensus from the public hearings in the proposed North East Region is that the area’s general development challenges of the lack of basic services (such as health care, education, etc) and long distances to available facilities in Tamale are exacerbated by the poor nature of the road infrastructure. Besides the difficulties the poor road infrastructure imposed on mobility and connectivity, some of the contributors were of the view that it partly accounts for the refusal of civil and public servants to accept postings to the area.
52. It was argued at the public hearing that the neglect of the North East area in terms of road infrastructure and development in general is also partly due to the removal of the capital of the then Northern Territories from Gambaga to Tamale in the 1930s. Removal of the administrative capital to Tamale by the colonial authorities led to the neglect of the North East area. Although successive governments have made some

efforts to eliminate poverty they have been largely unsuccessful due to inadequate infrastructure such as roads and markets, the contributors contended.

53. Improving road infrastructure through the creation of the proposed North-East Region is expected to support agricultural production, improve connectivity and mobility, and overall development of the proposed region. In addition, it will address the challenges of the size of the present Northern Region and the inability of the population in the proposed region to access services in the present regional capital, Tamale, as well as address the issues related to access to government

9.6.3 Access to Basic, Secondary and Tertiary Educational Institutions

54. Education delivery in the Northern Region in comparison to the national average is not encouraging. According to the results of the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the Northern Region had the lowest literacy rate of 37.2 percent, compared to a national average of 74.1 percent and even higher in other regions: Greater Accra Region (89.3%), Ashanti Region (82.6%) and Eastern Region (81%) (GSS, 2013d). In addition, the 2010 Population and Housing Census, results revealed that the Northern Region had the highest number of people who have never attended school (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b, 117). Despite increased enrolment over the years for both the basic and secondary levels, quality issues still remain a challenge in the proposed North East Region as well as the entire Northern Region.
55. The Commission's attention was drawn to the inadequate educational infrastructure, teaching and learning materials and quality of teachers at the public hearings in the proposed region. Access to education was raised 95 times (13.2%) out of 720 contributions made at public hearings. Petitioners and contributors at the public hearings were of the view that well-equipped Senior High Schools (SHS) in the Northern Region are located in Tamale. In addition, the only public university in the Northern Region, University for Development Studies (UDS) has its headquarters in Tamale. It was the view of the petitioners that the creation of a new region will correct this anomaly.
56. Contributors at the public hearings and petitioners lamentations about the limiting capacity of education at the secondary and tertiary levels are confirmed in Table 9.11. Facilities for continuing education beyond the basic level is also limiting. Table 9.11 indicates that overall, there are 50 senior high schools (SHS) and 3,465 basic schools in the Northern Region. The Tamale Metropolitan Area has 326 basic schools; eight SHSs; three Colleges of Education and Nursing Training as well as universities. On the other hand, the proposed North East Region made up of six districts has 610 basic schools, nine SHS, one College of Education, a College of Nursing, and no university. This reflects the imbalance in the distribution of schools across the Northern Region, a situation the petitioners seek to address through the creation of the proposed North East Region.

Table 9.11: Distribution of Educational Institutions in the Northern Region

No.	Districts	Basic Schools	Senior High Schools (SHS)	Colleges of Education and Nursing	University
Proposed North East Region					
1.	Chereponi	83	1	0	0
2.	East Mamprusi	122	2	1	0
3.	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	186	2	0	0
4.	Mamprugu-Moagduri	56	1	0	0
5.	West Mamprusi	163	3	0	0
Sub-Total		610	9	1	0
Proposed Savannah Region					
1.	Bole	130	3	1	0
2.	Central Gonja	143	2	0	0
3.	East Gonja	151	2	1	0
4.	Kpandai	143	1	0	0
5.	North Gonja	57	1	0	0
6.	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	146	2	0	0
7.	West Gonja	70	2	0	0
Sub-Total		840	13	2	0
Rest of the Northern Region					
1.	Gushiegu	152	1	0	0
2.	Karaga	126	1	0	0
3.	Kumbungu	122	1	0	0
4.	Mion	81	0	0	0
5.	Nanumba North	161	1	1	0
6.	Nanumba South	128	1	0	0
7.	Saboba	120	3	0	0
8.	Sagnarigu	219	5	0	0
9.	Savelugu-Nanton	160	2	0	0
10.	Tamale	326	8	3	3*
11.	Tatale-Sangule	74	1	0	0
12.	Tolon	100	1	0	0
13.	Yendi	164	2	0	0
14.	Zabzugu	82	1	0	0
Sub-Total		2,015	28	4	
Grand Total		3,465	50	7	3

*The three (3) Universities in Tamale are: University for Development Studies, Tamale; Tamale Technical University; and Technical University College of Tamale (a private university affiliated to the University for Development Studies and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology)

Source: Data received from the Ghana Education Service, 2018; Ghana National Accreditation Board

57. Several contributors who spoke on education at the public hearings bemoaned the limited access to education in the proposed North East Region, especially SHS and the absence of tertiary institutions. They noted that the quality of education in the area is not only greatly affected by inadequate infrastructure but also the quality of the teachers. This is because many qualified teachers do not accept postings to the Northern Region in general and the proposed North East Region in particular due to distance, poor roads and the generally poor living conditions.
58. Table 9.12 provides information on the distribution of teachers at the primary and SHS levels in the Northern Region and the proposed North East and Savannah Regions. For the proposed North East Region, there are 2,908 teachers for 610 basic schools, and 474 teachers for nine SHSs. These figures correspond to about five teachers per basic school and about 53 teachers per each SHS. This can be contrasted with Tamale where 2,916 teachers are for 326 basic schools giving an average of 9 teachers per school; and 577 teachers for eight schools; thus, an average of 72 teachers per each SHS. These figures illustrate the skewed distribution of teachers, not only in terms of quantity but also quality as Tamale and its environs are likely to attract high quality teachers compared to the proposed North East Region. A contributor lamented that *“all the good schools are concentrated in the regional capital, Tamale, and schools in the district cannot be compared with those in Tamale”*.

Table 9.12: Distribution of Teaching Staff of Basic and Senior High School Levels

No.	Districts	Basic Level	Senior High School Level	Total
Proposed North East Region				
1.	Chereponi	426	52	478
2.	East Mamprusi	651	119	770
3.	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	678	92	770
4.	Mamprugu-Moagduri	231	26	257
5.	West Mamprusi	922	185	1107
Sub-Total		2,908	474	3,382
Proposed Savannah Region				
1.	Bole	708	92	800
2.	Central Gonja	580	68	648
3.	East Gonja	733	138	871
4.	Kpandai	550	47	597
5.	North Gonja	264	14	278
6.	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	479	76	555
7.	West Gonja	533	125	658
Sub-Total		3,847	560	4,407
Rest of the Northern Region				
1.	Gushiegu	532	82	614
2.	Karaga	559	57	616
3.	Kumbungu	988	93	1081
4.	Mion	483	0	483
5.	Nanumba North	1163	55	1218
6.	Nanumba South	829	54	883
7.	Saboba	596	96	692
8.	Sagnarigu	2597	333	2930
9.	Savelugu-Nanton	1332	171	1503
10.	Tamale	2916	577	3493
11.	Tatale-Sangule	354	29	383
12.	Tolon	903	70	973
13.	Yendi	1280	151	1431
14.	Zabzugu	430	75	505
Sub-Total		14,962	1,843	16,805
Total		21,717	2,877	24,594

Source: Data received from the Ghana Education Service, Tamale, 2018

59. One of the reasons given by the petitioners and contributors at the public hearing for the demand for the creation of the proposed North East Region was the need to improve access to quality education through the availability of tertiary institutions which are currently concentrated in Tamale. The absence of tertiary institutions within the area was a source of worry to them. In their view, the lack of tertiary institutions in the area often truncates the education of the youth. They noted that the Northern Region

has unfair distribution of tertiary institutions in the country, yet the few present in the region are all located in Tamale and inaccessible to SHS graduates in the proposed North East Region due to distance. Also due to the absence of tertiary institutions, teachers in the area often have to travel to Tamale to participate in distance learning and sandwiched programmes, thus abandoning the classroom which contributes to poor students' performance. The creation of the proposed North East Region is expected to lead to the establishment of tertiary institutions in the area which will facilitate access to higher education.

9.6.4 Access to Health Care

60. At the public hearings it was observed that most hospitals in the proposed region are without the required personnel and logistics. In addition, contributors noted that lives have been lost because patients had to travel long distances to access health care, due to poor roads or inadequate means of transport. Data obtained from the Northern Regional Directorate of the Ghana Health Service as presented in Table 9.13 indicate that there are 96 CHPS compounds across the five districts of the proposed North East Region, which is about one-fifth of the total of 460 for the 26 districts of the Northern Region. There is a district hospital in each of the districts in the area, except Mamprugu-Moagduri (Table 9.13). Also, 19 of the Northern Region's health centres are located in the proposed region. The proposed region has one polyclinic, which is located in West Mamprusi District.

Table 9.13: Health Facilities by Type in the Northern Region

No	Districts	CHPS	Health Centers	District Hospital	Other Private and Mission Hospitals	Poly-clinics	Regional Hospital	Total
Proposed North East Region								
1.	Chereponi	21	2	1	0	0	0	24
2.	East Mamprusi	30	4	1	0	0	0	35
3.	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	23	5	1	0	0	0	29
4.	Mamprugu-Moagduri	11	5	0	0	0	0	16
5.	West Mamprusi	11	3	1	0	1	0	16
Sub- Total		96	19	4	0	1	0	120
Proposed Savannah Region								
1.	Bole	16	6	1	0	0	0	23
2.	Central Gonja	16	5	0	0	0	0	21
3.	East Gonja	27	1	1	0	0	0	29
4.	Kpandai	12	7	1	1	0	0	21
5.	North Gonja	9	5	0	0	1	0	15
6.	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	21	3	0	0	1	0	25
7.	West Gonja	20	5	1	0	0	0	26
Sub-Total		121	32	4	1	2	0	160
Rest of the Northern Region								
1.	Gushiegu	20	2	1	0	0	0	23
2.	Karaga	19	2	1	0	0	0	22
3.	Kumbungu	22	3	1	0	0	0	26
4.	Mion	23	5	0	0	0	0	28
5.	Nanumba North	9	5	1	0	0	0	15
6.	Nanumba South	13	3	0	0	0	0	16
7.	Saboba	27	3	1	0	0	0	31
8.	Sagnarigu	17	5	0	0	1	0	23
9.	Savelugu-Nanton	14	8	1	0	0	0	23
10.	Tamale	13	4	1	2	0	1	22
11.	Tatale-Sangule	14	3	0	0	1	0	18
12.	Tolon	11	4	0	0	0	0	15
13.	Yendi	31	4	1	0	0	0	36
14.	Zabzugu	10	2	1	0	0	0	13
Sub-Total		243	53	9	2	2	1	311
Total		460	104	17	3	5	1	591

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Northern Regional Directorate, 2018.

61. The petitioners and contributors at the public hearings were of the view that the absence of high-end referral medical facilities in the proposed region implies that residents seeking referral services will have to travel to Tamale. This is largely due to ill-equipped medical facilities, and the refusal of medical personnel to accept postings to the districts in the proposed North East Region. The *Ghana Health Service Annual Report, 2015*, revealed that many deaths have been recorded at the Tamale Teaching Hospital due to referrals from clinics in the Northern Region (including the proposed North East Region) (GHS, 2015). This is because many of the rural communities in the proposed North-East Region do not have access to good health facilities.
62. The distribution of health personnel in the Northern Region and the proposed North East Region is unfairly distributed. Out of 7,398 health personnel in the Northern Region, 1,034 or 14 percent are stationed in the proposed North East Region (See Table 9.14). This comprises 1000 nurses, 20 medical assistants and 14 medical doctors. As such, the health personnel to population ratios are high for the proposed North East Region compared to the remaining Northern Region centred around Tamale: one medical doctor to 40,166; one medical assistant to 28,116 and; one nurse to 562. Similar high ratios prevailed for the proposed Savannah Region.

Table 9.14: Distribution of Health Personnel in the Northern Region

No	District	Population*	Personnel Type			Total	
			Nurses	Medical Assistants	Medical Doctors	No.	%
Proposed North East Region							
1	Chereponi	65,796	126	1	1	128	1.7
2	East Mamprusi	146,569	338	14	6	358	4.8
3	Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	146,565	129	1	2	132	1.9
4	Mamprugu-Moagduri	56,834	76	0	0	76	1.0
5	West Mamprusi	146,561	331	4	5	340	4.6
Sub-Total		562,325	1,000	20	14	1,034	14.0
As % of Regional total		-	14.2	16.0	6.0	14.0	-
Personnel/Population		-	562	28,116	40,166	544	-
Proposed Savannah Region							
1.	Bole	74,786	256	9	4	269	3.6
2	Central Gonja	104,692	166	0	1	167	2.3
3	East Gonja	164,513	211	3	3	217	2.9
4	Kpandai	131,602	190	3	2	195	2.6
5	North Gonja	53,844	83	0	0	83	1.1
6	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	119,639	129	3	1	133	1.8
7	West Gonja	50,504	239	3	5	247	3.3
Sub-Total		699,580	1,274	21	16	1,311	17.7
As % of regional total		-	18.1	16.8	6.9	17.7	-
Personnel/Population		-	549	33,313	43,724	534	-
Rest of Northern Region							
1	Gushiegu	134,599	195	7	3	205	2.8
2	Karaga	92,719	147	0	1	148	2.0
3	Kumbungu	47,856	134	2	0	136	1.83
4	Mion	99,143	109	0	0	109	1.5
5	Nanumba North	170,488	212	5	2	219	2.96
6	Nanumba South	114,166	81	0	0	81	1.09
7	Saboba	80,761	210	4	2	216	2.9
8	Sagnarigu	175,321	289	0	0	289	3.9
9	Savelugu-Nanton	167,491	333	9	4	346	4.7
10	Tamale	269,227	2,282	42	184	2,508	33.9
11	Tatale-Sangule	71,791	90	1	2	93	1.3
12	Tolon	86,736	253	7	0	260	3.5
13	Yendi	143,576	275	6	3	284	3.8
14	Zabzugu	77,775	156	1	2	159	2.1
Sub-total		1,731,649	4,766	84	203	5,053	68.3
As % of Grand total		-	67.7	67.2	87.1	68.3	-
Personnel/Population		-	363	20,615	8,530	343	-
Grand Total		2,993,554	7,040	125	233	7,398	100

*2018 estimated population by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS)

Source: Data received from the Ghana Health Service, Regional Directorate, Tamale, 2018

63. Table 9.13 reveals the wide disparities in access to health care within the Northern Region. Also, Table 9.14 indicates that not only are medical facilities concentrated in and around Tamale, the regional capital, but also the personnel for manning and providing quality health care for the population of the region. For instance, while the doctor to population ratio in the proposed North East Region and elsewhere in the region is over 1:40,000, it is relatively better in the remaining Northern Region which has a ratio of about 1:8,530.
64. Commenting on the wide disparities in the distribution of medical personnel across the Northern Region, a Senior Health Officer at the Bunkrupugu public hearing noted that due to inadequate resources and well equipped medical facilities, medical personnel often refuse posting to the district. The medical officer added the following: *“a medical facility in Tamale that has six midwives delivered 10 babies in 2017. In Bunkpurugu District, one midwife delivered 309 babies in 2017 and this shows the disparity in the distribution of medical personnel between this area and Tamale.”*
65. Many contributors were of the view that the creation of the proposed North East Region will lead to the construction of a new regional hospital with adequate facilities and personnel that will cater for the health needs of the new region. This will reduce referral cases to Tamale, and bring health care closer to the population in the proposed North East Region. In addition, preventable diseases which caused many to lose their lives because of the unavailability of good health facilities will be reduced as well as better responses to emergency cases. Furthermore, congestion at the Tamale Regional Hospital will be reduced as referral cases to Tamale and its associated challenges would be reduced.

9.6.5 Access to Other Government and Public Services

66. Article 35(3) of the 1992 Constitution mandates government to provide a just and reasonable access to public facilities to all citizens. In the proposed North East Region interaction with the contributors during the public hearings revealed that the area did not have just and reasonable access to many of these basic services available in other parts of the region. Apart from health care and education, which are available in most districts, other essential public services provided by the following institutions such as Immigration and Passport Service; Registrar General’s Department; Driver and Vehicle Licensing Authority; Forestry Commission and High Courts are only available at the regional level.
67. During, the interactions of the Commission with the chiefs and people of the proposed North East Region, the difficulties in accessing government and public services was discussed extensively. The difficulties or challenges are centred on the vastness of the region and the fact that communities in the proposed region are far away from the regional capital, Tamale, where many of these services can be accessed. A teacher at the Nalerigu public hearing noted that it takes him more time to travel to the regional office in Tamale to access administrative services. This leads to loss of productivity as

working hours are used to do the travelling to and from Tamale. It is also the case when registering motor cycles and vehicles since they have to travel to Tamale.

68. The only office of the DVLA in the Northern Region is located in Tamale, with a staff strength of 20. During interactions with the chiefs and people of the proposed region, it was made clear to the Commission that the distances from many parts of the region requires at least a day in order for one to access the services of the DVLA in Tamale.
69. Table 9.14 shows the distribution of courts in the proposed North East and Savannah Regions and the existing Northern Region. The Table shows that there are 13 Courts in the Northern Region. In the proposed North East Region, there are two districts courts, located at Walewale and Nalerigu. Two district courts can be found at Bole and Salaga in the proposed Savannah Region. All other courts are located in Northern Region at: Tamale (four High courts; one Circuit Court and; two District Courts); one Circuit Court in Yendi and; a District Court in Bimbilla.

Table 9.15: Distribution of Courts in the Northern Region

Location	Type of Court			Total	
	High Court	Circuit	District	No.	%
Proposed North East Region	-	-	2	2	15.4
Proposed Savannah Region	-	-	2	2	15.4
Rest of the Northern Region	4	2	3	9	69.2
Total	4	2	7	13	100.0

Source: Judicial Service of Ghana, Accra, 2018

70. For a region, a third of the size of Ghana, and with a population of almost 3 million and 28 districts, the number of courts in Northern Region is inadequate to allow access to justice. As Table 9.15 indicates, all the major courts are located in Tamale, and this suggests that for many cases, the people of the proposed North East Region would need to make the journey to Tamale in order to seek justice. However, similar to other services, access to the judiciary services in Tamale is impeded by travel distance to the regional capital as well as the poor roads. It is therefore of little wonder that the contributors who spoke about the justice system lamented that such a situation makes the enforcement of justice a real challenge in the proposed North East Region in particular and the Northern Region in general.
71. The Northern Region is a conflict prone area, a fact highlighted by the petitioners, regional political heads and contributors at the public hearings in the proposed North East Region. Consequently, the presence of adequate numbers of security personnel and logistics in the region is critical to peace and development. Table 9.16 shows the distribution of police personnel in the proposed North East Region and the rest of the Northern Region. The Table reveals that the proposed North East Region has police-population ratio of 1:3,308 population compared to the overall Northern Region of one officer to 1,757.

Table 9.16: Distribution of Police personnel in the Northern Region

District	No. of personnel (a)	Population of Area* (b)	Ratio of Personnel To Population (c)
Proposed North East Region			
Chereponi	13		
East Mamprusi	41		
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	48		
Mamprugu-Moagduri (Yagaba Station)	5		
West Mamprusi	63		
Total	170	562,325	1:3,308
Proposed Savannah Region			
Bole	65		
Central Gonja	83		
East Gonja	52		
Kpandai	18		
North Gonja (Daboya Station)	9		
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	45		
West Gonja	30		
Total	302	699,580	1: 2,316
Rest of the Northern Region			
Gushegu	25		
Karaga	12		
Kumbungu	7		
Mion	-		
Nanumba North	48		
Nanumba South	19		
Saboba	27		
Sagnarigu (Post)	5		
Savelugu-Nanton	40		
Tamale	259		
Tatale-Sangule	18		
Tolon	11		
Yendi	113		
Zabzugu	21		
Regional Headquarters (Tamale)	627		
Sub-Total	1,332	1,731,649	1:1,300
Grand Total	1,704	2,993,554	1:1,757

- Sources:
- (d) Data received from the Ghana Police Service, Northern Regional Command, 2018;
 - (e) Ghana Statistical Service, 2018 estimated population of districts in Northern Region
 - (f) Computed from (a) and (b)

72. Table 9.16 shows that overall the Northern Region and the proposed North East Region fall short of the UN recommended police-population ratio of one police officer to 500 population. However, the deficit is much higher in the North East Region compared to the rest of the Northern Region. At the public hearing in Walewale, an MP in the proposed North East Region bemoaned the limited number of police personnel in the area which is below acceptable standard. Adding on, a DCE in one of districts in the proposed region stated that besides the limited number of the police in the Municipality, they are ill equipped.
73. A female contributor at the Walewale public hearing complained about violence against the girl-child and women in the area partly because of the absence of the police in most parts of the proposed North East Region. According to her, several girls and women are raped and abused by their male counterparts. However, their voices are not heard due to the remoteness of the area but she was confident the creation of the North East Region will give women a voice which will reduce the violence against females in the area. This is because there is likely to be an improvement in the numbers of police personnel and stations when the proposed region is created.
74. As a result of chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region over the years, the military has a strong presence in the region. Currently, the headquarters of Northern Command which is responsible for the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions is based at Tamale. In addition, there is the Air Force Base with an airborne unit and the 6th Infantry Battalion – all based in Tamale. Furthermore, the Ghana Army has eight Forward Operating Bases in the Northern Region located at Bole, Buiepe, Bunkpurugu, Bimbilla, Gushiegu, Nakpanduri and Yendi. There are plans to establish further units: a motorized battalion at Bole; Engineer Regiment at Daboya; Artillery Regiment at Walewale and; an Armoured Reconnaissance Regiment, Signal Squadron, Field Ordnance Company, Transport Company and Provost Company – all at Tamale. Similar to the police and other services, the regional capital, Tamale, remains the hub of the military.
75. Other government and public services such as Immigration and Passport Service; Births and Deaths Registry; Registrar General's Department; Lands Commission Office/Stool Lands Administrator; Prisons Service; Forestry Commission and Fire Service have weak presence in the proposed North East Region and therefore must be accessed at the regional capital, Tamale, with their attendant accessibility challenges as already noted. The expectations of the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings was that creation of the proposed North East Region will reduce the difficulties associated with the long distances they have to travel to Tamale to access these services. They are also expecting that the establishment of these institutions in the proposed North East Region will lead to job creation not only in these institutions but also the private sector and NGOs which will be attracted to the region.

9.6.6 Economic and Employment Issues

76. As earlier noted, analysis of the various themes raised at the public hearings indicated that economic and employment issues were ranked as the first or number one theme. The economic and employment issues centred on the natural resources (mainly minerals, abundant fertile lands for commercial farming land, water bodies for both tourism and large-scale irrigation) and the limited employment opportunities for the people, especially the youth in the proposed North East Region.
77. A document titled *An Overview of the Proposed North East Region*, submitted by the petitioners highlighted the proposed region's potentials in farming and livestock for the purposes of employment creation, food security, industrialization and overall socio-economic development of northern Ghana and the country in general. It notes on p. 13 as follows:

“There abound significant potentials in the agricultural sector which when effectively harnessed could propel the growth and development of the area. Potentials exist for large-scale production of major cereals and legumes such as maize, millet, sorghum, rice, soybean, cowpea, groundnut, ‘bambara’ beans as well as yam and cassava. There are vast expanse of valleys in all the districts in the proposed region for the production of rice and sugarcane in commercial quantities.”

78. Several contributors at the public hearings while highlighting the rich natural resources of the proposed region, also raised concerns about the lack of investments in agriculture, infrastructure and services. This in their view limits economic opportunities and employment creation, and hence, the mass migration of the youth to southern Ghana in search of jobs. Of particular concern about the migration to southern Ghana was the phenomenon of ‘kayayei’ (female head porters in cities such as Accra and Kumasi). As a contributor at the Nalerigu public hearing noted:

“I totally support the creation of the proposed North East Region as there are serious issues with development in this area. The creation of the new region will promote economic activities in the area to open up job opportunities for the youth. This is because we need to reduce the rate of migration to the south by mostly young girls who engage in menial jobs. Because research has shown that, Mamprusi girls constitute the majority of “Kayaye” in the south [Ghana]. There is an urgent need to create the new region to curb this phenomenon.”

79. Several contributors at the public hearings highlighted the limited availability of jobs and employment opportunities for the youth due to the general underdevelopment of the proposed North East Region. In all, they blamed this situation on inadequate investments in agricultural, infrastructure and education. Nevertheless, there was a strong opinion that the creation of the proposed region will provide opportunities for the tapping of the natural resources of the region to create job opportunities for the teeming youth as well as the overall development of the area. In the view of a contributor and traditional leader at Bunkprugu:

“There are also limestone deposits in Bunkpurugu which can be processed into cement by factories to create employment for the youth in the area.”

80. Indeed, employment creation and unemployment, especially among the youth continue to attract the attention of government. Consequently, a number of interventions have been instituted in recent years by the state with the aim of reducing the number of unemployed youth. However, with the high population growth and teeming numbers leaving school without jobs, unemployment remains a critical national challenge (ISSER, 2012; GSS, 2015). A key challenge in addressing youth unemployment in Ghana is the inadequacy of data (GTUC, 2005; ISSER, 2012; GSS, 2015). Even where data provided on employment and unemployment, GSS (2015, 5) extreme caution is to be exercised in interpreting them noting that:

“...the interpretation of employment and unemployment data requires caution based on the wide difference in the nature of employment in the formal and informal sectors.... Such statistics must be interpreted with the cautiousness it deserves not only because majority of informal activities go unrecorded but also due to the fact that the unemployment figure will be very huge if the portion of the labour force absorbed by the informal sector were to be added to the unemployed. This, really, has implications for the economic growth and development of Ghana in terms of household wealth and employment.”

81. To gauge the proportion of the population 15 years and older by economic activity status (employed, unemployed and not active) in all the districts and localities (rural and urban) in the proposed North East Region and the rest of the present Northern Region, the Commission examined data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census. These are the best data on economic activity status of the entire active population of the region that one can come across as there are hardly any surveys on employment and even if they exist they tend to be limited in scope.
82. Table 9.16 shows the population 15 years and above by economic activity status, district and locality in Northern Region and the proposed North East Region as per the 2010 Population and Housing Census. The Table indicates that with the exception of the Mamprusi West District (which in 2010 included the Mamprugu-Moagduri District with Yagaba as the district capital), the proportions of the population 15 years and older employed and unemployed were comparable to the rest of the Northern Region in general. The same conclusions can be made in respect of the employed, unemployed and not economically-active population in the urban and rural localities.

Table 9.17: Population 15 years and older by economic activity status, district and locality

	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not economically active	Employed	Unemployed	Not economically active	Employed	Unemployed	Not economically active
All Districts	72.0	2.8	25.2	57.9	4.8	37.3	79.1	1.7	19.1
Bole	72.6	2.3	25.0	52.6	4.3	43.1	78.3	1.8	19.9
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	78.5	1.1	20.4	54.1	3.1	42.9	83.2	0.7	16.1
West Gonja	68.1	2.4	29.5	53.3	4.0	42.7	76.2	1.6	22.2
Central Gonja	77.0	2.1	20.9	58.3	4.6	37.0	82.1	1.4	16.5
East Gonja	70.1	2.7	27.1	49.1	4.9	46.0	75.6	2.2	22.2
Kpandai	84.4	1.3	14.3	73.0	4.2	22.9	85.8	1.0	13.2
Nanumba South	78.2	1.4	20.3	66.2	2.1	31.7	81.2	1.3	17.5
Nanumba North	68.0	3.7	28.3	55.5	5.5	38.9	73.8	2.8	23.3
Zabzugu Tatale	80.4	2.0	17.6	68.8	3.1	28.1	84.8	1.6	13.6
Yendi Municipal	73.7	2.8	23.6	56.4	5.4	38.2	82.0	1.5	16.5
Tamale Metropolitan	56.9	5.6	37.5	55.1	6.1	38.8	62.3	4.0	33.7
Tolon Kumbungu	79.1	2.2	18.8	45.3	6.6	48.1	82.2	1.8	16.0
Savelugu Nanton	76.0	2.1	21.9	67.5	3.1	29.4	81.8	1.3	16.8
Karaga	78.1	1.4	20.5	62.9	2.8	34.2	82.2	1.0	16.8
Gushiegu	80.5	1.7	17.8	68.6	3.2	28.2	84.8	1.2	14.0
Saboba	79.2	1.2	19.6	51.7	3.1	45.2	82.6	1.0	16.4
Proposed North East Region									
Chereponi	73.0	4.0	23.0	60.4	2.7	36.8	75.6	4.3	20.1
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo*	76.0	1.1	22.9	59.9	1.6	38.5	79.1	1.0	19.9
Mamprusi East	74.5	2.8	22.6	59.0	4.9	36.0	83.0	1.7	15.3
Mamprusi West**	68.3	2.2	29.4	58.7	3.7	37.6	72.1	1.6	26.3

*Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District has now been divided into two, Bunkpurugu and Yunyoo-Nasuan Districts, similarly Mamprusi West District is also split into West Mamprusi and Mamprugu-Moagduri Districts

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013d)

83. The 2010 Population and Housing census provides further information on the proportion of the employed population 15 years and older by district and occupation for the Northern Region. According to Table 9.20, the dominant occupation in the Northern Region and the proposed North East Region is the skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery sector. For the proposed region, all the districts in 2010 had over 84 percent of the employed as skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, nearly 90 percent in the case of Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District (88.3%) and Chereponi (87.4%). These figures are way higher for the average for the whole of the Northern Region which stands at 73.8 percent.
84. Table 9.17 confirms views expressed by petitioners and many contributors during the public hearings that the North East Region is a predominately agriculture region. Indeed, the petition document titled *An Overview of the Proposed Region* notes on p. 12 as follows:
- “The mainstay of the people of the North East Region is farming. It is the food basket of not only the Northern Region but also one of the biggest suppliers of food to major markets in the country.... Rice is also grown in commercial quantities in areas along the Black Volta, especially in the town of Nasia. The area has a huge propensity to help make Ghana self-sufficient in rice production and reduce the huge importation of rice. At the moment in Yagaba [district capital of Mamprugu-Moagduri District] for instance a huge irrigation project has been launched.”*
85. Tables 9.17 and 9.18 suggest that on account of the dominance of agriculture, unemployment tends to be low in the proposed North East Region and the Northern Region in general. Indeed, across Ghana, rural regions such as the proposed North East Region, compared to urbanized regions tend to have relatively lower levels of the unemployed largely on the account of agriculture (GSS, 2013d; World Bank, 2015). However, the World Bank (2015) notes in a recent study that this situation does not imply that the rural sector performed better than the urban areas. This is because, the lower unemployment rate of rural areas disguised massive underemployment. Indeed, overall assessment of the poverty mapping of the Northern Region revealed a high incidence of poverty across all the districts, with the exception of the Tamale Metropolis, the biggest urban centre in northern Ghana (GSS, 2015d).
86. The high levels of poverty associated with rural food crop producing areas such as the North East Region as reflected in various poverty analysis reports of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2014, 2015) deserve the critical attention of regional policymakers and decision-makers. In particular, the importance of regional growth poles and infrastructure development as catalysts for agricultural development and employment generation need not be underestimated in the case of predominately rural regions such as the proposed North East Region. New growth poles with the right infrastructure and services are needed to support agricultural development, the main economic base of the proposed region. Both the petitioners and contributors at the

public hearings in support of the creation of the proposed North East Region stress that agriculture is the key sector for the development of the region. A contributor at the Yagaba public hearing echoed this view as follows: *“the proposed new region has large tracts of agricultural land for cereals, vegetables, fruits, and, livestock and that the creation of the new region will lead to the extensive use of the land to create jobs.”*

Table 9.18: Population 15 years and older by economic activity status, district and locality in Northern Region

	Total	Managers	Professionals	Techn. & associated professionals	Clerical support workers	Services & sales workers	Skilled agric, forestry & fishery workers	Craft & related trades workers	Plant & machine op. & assemblers	Elementary occupation	Other
All Districts	986,177	0.8	2.6	0.6	0.4	9.3	73.7	8.1	1.4	3.0	0.1
Bole	25,514	0.9	2.8	1.1	0.4	13.1	59.6	8.2	11.2	2.8	0.0
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	41,064	0.4	1.5	0.4	0.2	5.5	82.3	7.9	0.6	1.2	0.0
West Gonja	31,430	1.0	3.2	0.5	0.4	9.3	72.7	10.4	0.7	1.8	0.0
Central Gonja	36,298	0.6	1.2	0.5	0.1	7.6	77.7	9.5	0.7	2.0	0.0
East Gonja	53,198	0.7	1.8	0.6	0.2	6.0	77.3	11.1	0.7	1.6	0.0
Kpandai	48,247	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.2	4.5	85.7	6.5	0.4	1.1	0.0
Nanumba South	38,445	0.2	1.2	0.1	0.1	6.5	85.4	5.4	0.4	0.8	0.0
Nanumba North	50,444	0.4	2.8	0.4	0.2	8.0	79.4	6.2	0.6	1.8	0.0
Zabzugu Tatale	53,524	0.3	0.9	0.2	0.2	4.4	88.5	3.5	0.3	1.7	0.0
Yendi Municipal	81,669	0.6	1.9	0.4	0.2	9.7	77.3	6.9	0.8	2.2	0.0
Tamale Metropolis	133,570	2.6	9.3	2.0	1.6	30.7	19.1	21.7	4.8	7.7	0.6
Tolon Kumbungu	49,661	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.1	3.2	88.6	5.2	0.6	0.8	0.0
Savelugu Nanton	59,791	0.5	1.3	0.6	0.3	5.7	74.1	6.4	1.0	10.1	0.0
Karaga	32,244	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	2.0	93.7	1.8	0.3	1.3	0.0
Gushiegu	47,493	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.1	4.4	88.3	2.7	0.4	2.6	0.0
Saboba	26,072	0.4	1.9	0.4	0.3	1.9	87.2	4.5	0.3	3.2	0.0
Proposed North East Region											
Chereponi	19,365	0.4	1.8	0.3	0.2	4.8	87.4	3.8	0.5	1.0	0.0
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo	49,015	0.4	1.8	0.3	0.2	3.3	88.3	4.4	0.3	1.0	0.1
Mamprusi East	47,245	0.5	1.5	0.4	0.3	7.1	84.4	3.9	0.6	1.5	0.0
Mamprusi West	61,888	0.7	1.7	0.3	0.3	5.2	84.8	4.9	0.6	1.4	0.0

*Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District has now been divided into two, Bunkpurugu and Yunyoo-Nasuan Districts, similarly Mamprusi West District is also split into West Mamprusi and Mamprugu-Moagduri Districts

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013d)

9.6.7 Empowerment and Participation

87. This relates to participation in governance at the local level, equity in the distribution of government appointments and decision-making at the regional level. Bening (1999) argues that complaints about discrimination in the allocation of public offices and government appointments, and distribution of development projects constitute one major reason for the demand for new regions in Ghana. On the basis of this, supporters of the creation of new regions feel neglected and sometimes viewed the situation as discrimination against their areas in terms of development.
88. For the present petition for the creation of the North East Region, the petitioners are of the general view that the large size of the current Northern Region does not allow that part of the country to have its fair share of the national cake. As the petition document, *An Overview of the North East Region* states on p. 24: “*the vastness of the Northern Region does not allow for equal and adequate distribution of resources to all its parts. This explains why the Northern Region continues to be classified among the poorest in the country.*”
89. Again, the petition document notes further on p. 24 that “*there is lack of access to basic infrastructure needed to contribute to the economic growth and development of the districts within the proposed North East Region*”. In essence, the petitioners are of the view that the absence of critical basic infrastructure and services such as all-weather roads, education and health tend to disempower them and weakened their participation in the economic as well as political development of the country. As a contributor at a public hearing stated *communities in the area are not connected to the national electricity grid and therefore pose a big challenge. This area is one of the locations in the country where we suffer most from unstable power supply*”.
90. Equally important for the discussions on empowerment and participation, is the sense of marginalization expressed by some ethnic minority groups. A participant from Chereponi indicated that those from Chereponi and Daboya are insecure because of inadequate representation and participation in the decision making process as a minority group. In other words, the contributor expects that the creation of the region will lead to the recognition of minority groups in a relatively smaller region, such as the proposed North East Region.
91. Overall, the petitioners and contributors at the public hearings believe that the creation of the proposed North East Region, will facilitate the inclusion of the citizens in regional and national governance through governmental appointments, improve allocation of resources and equitable distribution of development projects. This in their view will address the sense or the perception of neglect, marginalization and discrimination, and create a feeling of access to government.

9.6.8 Ethnic, Cultural and Religious issues

92. The least discussed issue at the public hearings conducted in the North East Region was ethnic, cultural and religion. As noted earlier in Table 9.6, ethnic, cultural and religious issues were raised 42 times representing about 5.8 percent of the all the issues discussed at the Public Hearings. It needs to be stressed that notwithstanding ethnic, cultural and religious issues being the least discussed issues at the public hearings, they still are very important issues requiring attention as they are linked to other socio-economic issues. In particular, ethnic, cultural and religious issues provide opportunities to gauge the extent of the diversity of the population for a peaceful co-existence.
93. Migration, intermarriages, education and urbanization have ensured that there is intense mixing of the population of the country, particularly in towns and cities, as recent census results have shown (Agyei-Mensah & Owusu, 2010; Owusu & Agyei-Mensah, 2011). Documents received from the petitioners by the Commission indicated the ethnic diversity of the proposed North East Region. Key groups present in the proposed region include Mamprusi, Konkomba, Dagomba, Bimobas, Tampulensi and Chakosis. According to the Ghana Statistical Service broad classification of ethnic groups in Ghana, these groups fall mainly under the Gurma and Mole-Dagbani ethnic groups. Other broadly classified ethnic groups are Akans, Ga-Dangme, Ewe, Guan, Grussi and Mande ethnic groups (GSS, 2013d).
94. Several contributors at the public hearings in the proposed North East Region also stressed the ethnic diversity of the region and the fact that all groups have lived side by side with each other for centuries. As a contributor at the Nalerigu public hearing put it *'the people in the proposed North East Region are of diverse ethnic backgrounds but have coexisted peacefully in the area. The heterogeneity of the tribal groupings is a reflection of their strength and unity of purpose'*.
95. The ethnic diversity of the population is strongly corroborated by the results of the 2010 Population and Housing census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) (see Tables 9.19). Table 9.19 shows that all the ethnic groups of Ghana are present in the proposed North East Region and Northern Region. This attests to the ethnic diversity as highlighted in both the petitioners' documents and also at the public hearings in the proposed region.

Table 9.19: Ethnicity by district in the Northern Region

District	Akan	Ga-Dangme	Ewe	Guan	Gurma	Mole-Dagbani	Grusi	Mande	Others
All Districts	3.1	0.3	1.7	8.6	27.3	52.7	3.7	0.5	2.1
Bole	2.9	0.1	1.9	29.1	3.0	37.8	23.0	0.3	1.8
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	0.7	0.0	0.1	6.8	1.4	54.3	35.5	0.1	1.0
West Gonja	1.0	0.1	0.6	41.8	0.8	23.1	27.0	0.1	5.6
Central Gonja	5.9	0.4	8.5	64.1	0.3	16.8	0.5	0.3	3.2
East Gonja	7.1	2.6	9.3	47.8	14.1	14.6	0.8	1.0	2.8
Kpandai	2.8	1.6	6.4	17.0	69.4	0.8	0.1	0.3	1.6
Nanumba South	0.6	0.0	2.4	0.3	67.6	27.9	0.0	0.3	0.8
Nanumba North	1.3	0.1	0.5	0.2	63.3	33.1	0.1	0.3	0.9
Zabzugu Tatale	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1	71.6	25.7	0.1	0.2	1.7
Yendi Municipal	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.2	34.9	61.0	0.1	0.2	2.6
Tamale Metropolitan	2.8	0.4	1.4	2.9	1.3	88.1	1.6	0.3	1.1
Tolon Kumbungu	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	98.2	0.1	0.0	0.4
Savelugu Nanton	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.2	0.2	95.8	0.4	0.2	2.1
Karaga	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	16.2	80.7	0.1	0.1	2.2
Gushiegu	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	34.7	62.2	0.0	0.2	2.3
Saboba	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.1	91.2	3.0	1.3	0.2	2.4
Proposed North East Region									
Chereponi	67.8	0.2	1.5	0.1	25.6	1.4	0.2	0.2	3.2
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo*	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	87.1	9.5	0.1	0.6	1.7
Mamprusi East	0.6	0.1	0.2	1.1	21.6	63.3	3.1	5.1	4.9
Mamprusi West*	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.5	90.3	4.1	0.5	3.3

*Bunkpurugu- Yunyoo District has now been divided into two, Bunkpurugu and Yunyoo-Nasuan Districts, Similarly Mamprusi West District is also split into West Mamprusi and Mamprugu-Moagduri Districts

Source: Derived from 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013d)

96. Analysing Table 9.19 further reveals that taking the proposed North East Region as a whole, Mole-Dagbani accounts for almost 42 percent of the total population followed by Gurma (almost 34%) and Akans (about 17%). However, across the districts in the proposed region, Mole-Dagbani dominates in the Mamprusi West District (90.3%) and Mamprusi East (63.3%); Gurma in the Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District (87.3%) and Akans in Chereponi District (67.8%). The large presence of Akans in the Chereponi District is very interesting given the fact that although they are the largest ethnic group in Ghana, they have a weak presence in the Northern Region in general and account for 3.1 percent of the total population of the region in 2010.
97. Similar to the rest of Ghana, the Northern Region in general and the proposed North East Region are religiously diverse; that is, Christians (including Catholics, Protestants and Pentecostal), Muslims and traditionalists (see Table 9.20). This is because all the religious groupings are in the proposed North East Region, although Muslims dominate. Table 9.20 shows that across all districts in the Northern Region, 60 percent of the population are Muslims.

Table 9.20: Distribution of religious affiliation by district in Northern Region

	No religion	Catholic	Protestant	Pentecostal	Other Christian	Muslim	Traditionalist	Other
All Districts	2.7	7.6	5	6.3	2.1	60.0	16.0	0.4
Bole	5.4	26.3	4.9	8	1.5	41.7	11.7	0.4
Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	5.7	26.3	4.4	9.8	1.9	20.2	31	0.6
West Gonja	1.2	12.5	3.8	3.4	2.4	74.3	2.4	0.1
Central Gonja	1.6	3.3	2.9	4.7	1.2	84.3	1.8	0.2
East Gonja	2.3	6.3	8.4	9	2.6	65.5	5.5	0.5
Kpandai	11.2	13.5	10.2	22.6	5.5	7.9	28.3	0.8
Nanumba South	4.7	6.7	3.2	7.4	2.7	27.2	47.8	0.4
Nanumba North	5.3	7.5	3.7	3.9	1.9	35.1	42.1	0.6
Zabzugu Tatale	4.9	8.7	2.9	7.4	2.8	29.1	43.9	0.3
Yendi Municipal	2.2	7.4	5.1	2.3	2.7	65	14.9	0.5
Tamale Metropolis	0.2	4.7	2.7	2.9	1.3	87.6	0.4	0.2
Tolon Kumbungu	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.6	94.6	1.4	0.1
Savelugu Nanton	0.3	0.8	1.1	0.8	0.7	95.4	0.8	0.1
Karaga	0.5	1.5	0.9	0.8	0.6	82.9	12.8	0.1
Gushiegu	1.6	3.4	2.3	0.9	1.2	68.1	22.2	0.3
Saboba	5.8	19.3	15.8	14.4	6.1	9.5	28.6	0.6
Proposed North East Region								
Chereponi	2.4	8.2	5.2	7.2	0.8	58.8	17.3	0.1
Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo*	3.2	12.2	19.1	21.4	2	14.8	26.9	0.4
Mamprusi East	1.8	2.5	7.2	7.9	4.6	59.2	15.7	1.1
Mamprusi West*	1.0	4.0	3.3	5.1	1.6	79.6	5.3	0.2

*Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District has now been divided into two, Bunkpurugu and Yunyoo-Nasuan Districts. Similarly Mamprusi West District is also split into West Mamprusi and Mamprugu-Moagduri Districts

Source: 2010 Population and Housing Census (GSS, 2013d, 36).

98. For the proposed North East Region, Table 9.20 reveals that Muslims are in the majority in all the districts except the Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District, where the single largest religious affiliation are the traditionalists. Indeed, Table 9.20 shows that compared to the other districts in the proposed region, the Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo District has very diversified religious affiliation with the strong presence of traditionalists, Christians and Muslims. The district in the proposed North East Region with the largest proportion of the dominant religion, Muslims, is Mamprusi West District (79.6%).
99. At all the public hearings, there was the presence of religious leaders from the Christian, Islam, and traditional faith groups. Also, at all public hearings across the proposed North East Region, the Commission observed that a Christian or Muslim prayer was said either at the start or end of the hearing. Clearly, the observation by the Commission at the public hearings provided no evidence of conflicts among the religious groupings but the peaceful co-existence and support for the creation of the proposed region.

9.7 The Need and Substantial Demand for the Creation of North East Region

100. This section of the Chapter provides a synthesis of the analysis of the need for the creation of the proposed North East Region out of the current Northern Region. It also examines the substantial demand for the creation of the proposed region. The Commission's conclusions drawn in this section are based on its approach and methodology in section 9.4 of this Chapter and also extensively discussed in Chapter Three.

9.7.1 The Need for a New Region

101. Evidence presented in this Chapter indicates that the chiefs and people of the Northern Region have long seen the need to divide the region into relatively smaller sizes for effective and efficient administration as well as supervision and monitoring of projects in the proposed region. The Commission assesses the need for the creation of the proposed North East Region based on the overall conclusions drawn on the thematic issues discussed at the public hearings and presented in the petition documents, namely: spatial extent of existing Northern Region; access to education, health and other government and public services; road infrastructure; economic and employment; participation and empowerment and; ethnic, cultural and religious issues.
102. *Spatial extent and land size of the Northern Region:* At the core of the petitioners' proposal for the creation of the North East Region is the spatial extent and the land size of the current Northern Region. With a third of the land area of Ghana, the Commission accepts the view that the region requires reorganization to achieve relatively smaller land sizes for the purposes of effective regional administration and supervision, to facilitate access to government by citizens, to address challenges of long distances between the regional capital and the rest of the districts within the region and to promote optimal utilization of available resources for balanced development of all parts of the region.

103. Again, the Commission concludes that the spatial extent of the existing Northern Region is partly the basis of the development disparities within the region. The Commission is of the view that as a result of the large land area of the region not only are allocation of resources and development projects not reaching all parts of the region, especially outlying areas such as the proposed North East Region, but also regional heads are unable to monitor development and the development needs of the population adequately. Therefore, carving out the proposed North East Region to form a new region is a viable option to speed up development and address many of the challenges imposed by the present land size of the Northern Region, including regional disparities.
104. *Road infrastructure:* Compounding the challenges imposed by the spatial extent and land size of the existing Northern Region is the generally poor road infrastructure in the region. The Commission assessed the complaints of petitioners and contributors on poor road infrastructure as well as review of official data on regional road condition mix. It concludes that partly as a result of its land size, the Northern Region has the lowest road density in Ghana. For peripheral areas of the Northern Region, such as the proposed North East Region, road density tends to be extremely low as several communities are not adequately connected and this restricts mobility and connectivity to markets and service centres.
105. The Commission's view is that the poor road conditions have rendered many parts of the proposed region inaccessible to the regional administration and, therefore monitoring and coordination of regional programmes and projects have been ineffective. In addition, travel times tend to be long and at great cost to individuals, households and businesses. Of great concern is the loss of man-hours by teachers and other civil and public servants who spend days out of their stations travelling to and from the regional capital. The poor road conditions have also denied the citizenry of peripheral districts such as those in the proposed North East Region critical quality, standard and emergency health care, as many are reported to have lost their lives due to their inability to reach referral health services in Tamale in time.
106. The poor road network and conditions continue to keep this part of the Northern Region inaccessible. Although the Region's poverty status has attracted many NGOs interventions, their operations are mostly driven from Tamale, and confined to a limited radius from Tamale. Therefore, the areas that need assistance most are denied these interventions on account of inaccessibility. In the broader context, the lack of access to basic infrastructure denies the area's population the opportunities to benefit from and contribute to the economic growth of the region.
107. *Access to government and public services:* Because of the sheer size of the region, the regional capital, Tamale, though almost centrally located, is quite distant from many of the districts. At the same time, it is in the regional capital that many regional level or higher-order governmental and public services including, health, education, driver and vehicle license registration, issuance of birth certificates and judicial service are located. The distance and the extended time required for travel due to poor road conditions,

and to complete the purpose of the trip, severely limits many people's access to these government and public services, especially those in the proposed North East Region.

108. The extra effort required of the residents of the districts of the proposed North East Region to have access to these basic services that others have the benefit of, has left some with the feeling of neglect and marginalization. The term 'overseas' by which some districts in the proposed region are referred to and coupled with the inadequacy of basic services and distance to the regional capital have made it difficult for these districts to attract personnel. This situation further weakens the process of socio-economic development in the proposed North East Region.
109. *Economic and employment issues:* The Commission acknowledges the economic potential of the proposed North East Region as presented in the petition documents and public hearings as well as other consultation platforms. In particular, huge potential exists in the agricultural sector which when adequately developed could contribute to the socio-economic development of the proposed region and northern Ghana, as well as Ghana in general. Yet the agriculture sector and the proposed region in general remain underdeveloped on account of the challenges resulting from the vastness of the land size of the present Northern Region. Consequently, employment and economic opportunities in the proposed North East Region are limited.
110. It is the view of the Commission that dividing the present Northern Region into manageable parts through the creation of the proposed North East Region will be a means to improve infrastructure, especially roads. This will provide the basis for investments in agriculture, tourism and key sectors of the proposed region's economy with the potential to generate employment. This will generate income and reduce poverty in the proposed region.
111. *Participation and empowerment:* The Commission observed that there is a sense of marginalization and feeling of neglect by the chiefs and people of the proposed North East Region in terms of the allocation of regional and national resources as well as the distribution of development projects. Consequently, basic infrastructure and services are limited contributing to high incidence of poverty and limiting the economic potential of the region as well as participation in the regional and national economies.
112. *Cultural, ethnic and religious issues:* Although the proposed North East Region is a Mamprugu Traditional Area with the Overlord of the Mamprusis as the traditional head, evidence gathered so far by the Commission indicate a heterogeneous region with the presence of all the ethnic groups in Ghana. This situation prevails largely due to inter-marriages among the groups, and migration – leading to the mixing of the population. In addition, unlike other parts of the Northern Region, the districts in the traditional area, have also been largely free of conflicts which has allowed different ethnic groups, cultures and religion to peacefully co-exist.

113. The Commission's overall assessment is that a case for the need for the creation of the proposed North East Region out of the present Northern Region has been established. It is the Commission's position that by creating a smaller region by land size relative to the current Northern Region, effective supervision, monitoring and evaluation of development projects will enhance responsiveness to needs of the people.

9.7.2 Substantial Demand for proposed North East Region

114. The Commission in its approach and methodology adopted a number of strategies which sought to assess the nature and the extent of demand for the creation of the proposed North East Region out of the current Northern Region. To assess the substantial demand for the creation of the proposed region, the Commission was guided by considerations including the following: persistence of the demand for the creation of new regions out of the existing Northern Region; mobilization of support and level of commitment; extent of participation at public hearings and; absence of conflicts/disputes regarding the petition for the creation of the proposed region.

115. On persistence of the demand for the creation of new regions out of the existing Northern Region, the evidence available to the Commission indicates that this goes far into time but has intensified since the year 2000. The call for the present Northern Region to be split into manageable sizes come from regional political leadership of the main political parties in Ghana; that is, NDC and NPP. In addition, Northern Regional House of Chiefs, as well as individual prominent chiefs and opinion leaders of the region have also added their voice to the call for the region to be split.

116. Given the wide popular appeal for the Northern Region to be divided, it was therefore not surprising to the Commission that it observed a high level of mobilization of support and a great sense of commitment by the chiefs and people of the proposed North East Region, led by the Overlord of the Mamprugu traditional area. Already a Committee has been set up to mobilize, sensitize and educate the people of the proposed North East Region. At all the Commission's consultations with the petitioners, as well as the public hearings, including the Accra hearing, the Commission observed the presence of prominent chiefs, religious leaders, intellectuals, political party leaders of the major parties (including MPs) and opinion leaders, as well as citizens of the proposed North East Region.

117. Related consideration of the above point regarding the Commission's assessment of the substantial demand for the creation of the proposed North East Region was the high number of participants at all the public hearings. The venues for the various public hearings were appreciably large, in most cases, auditoriums of senior high schools in the respective districts of the proposed North East Region. Yet in all cases the venues were filled to capacity with substantial overflow outside the building observing proceedings of the hearings.

118. Also, there was broad stakeholder representation covering all the major ethnic groups at all the consultation meetings: the chiefs and overlord; representatives of the political divide; the clergy and Imams; professionals from both public and private; traders, farmers, representatives of trade organizations and associations; as well as the youth and students. Furthermore, large numbers of the youth, as well as students and pupils lined up along the roads to wave in acknowledgement of the arrival and presence of the Commission, displaying placards with messages calling for a ‘yes’ recommendation for the creation of the proposed North East Region.
119. On the basis of the above, the Commission takes the position that a case for substantial demand for the creation of the proposed North East Region has been demonstrated by the petitioners and the people of the proposed region. The petition has broad popular support among all sections of the population and there is an unwavering support for the creation of the proposed region.

9.8 Conclusion and Recommendation

120. The Overlord and chiefs of the Mamprugu area and Chereponi District have for decades desired to have a region carved out of the Northern Region, the largest by land size of the 10 regions of Ghana. Successive governments have raised the issue and entertained views of the merits of such an intervention. However, it is only this current government that has taken the discussions further, drawing on the provisions of the 1992 Constitution.
121. The basis for the demand for the new region is to realize the fundamental principle of balanced development and equity in the distribution of the country’s resources as enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. As forcefully argued by the petitioners, and corroborated by the various interventions at the public hearings, the current state of development of the proposed region puts its residents at great disadvantage. Overall, limited access to services and poor infrastructure limit the extent to which the population of the proposed North region are empowered to participate in the socio-economic and political development of the Northern Region in particular and Ghana in general.
122. The chiefs and people of the proposed North East area, are not only hopeful of the new region rectifying their long standing development challenges, but also convinced of the fact that the creation of the new region is a sure way to achieve equitable development, as their counterparts in the districts around the capital, Tamale. This position is supported by all segments of the society – politicians of the different political parties, the various ethnic and religious constituencies, the educated and uneducated, skilled and unskilled workers, and private and public sector workers.
123. The Commission is of the view that a case for the need and substantial demand for the creation of the proposed North East Region has been made. It is the position of the Commission that the creation of the proposed region will address many of the development challenges put forward by the petitioners, namely manageable land size

and equitable distribution of resources; effective supervision and monitoring of region; bringing governance closer to the people with an increased number of services brought within their reach and; enhancing opportunities to exploit untapped resources.

124. The Commission's recommendations are based on the petition documents reviewed by the Commission and consultations with the petitioners and other stakeholders in Accra, Tamale and areas within the proposed North East Region, as well as observations made while traveling through the Northern Region. On the basis of these, the Commission takes the position that the request for the creation of the North East Region out of the present Northern Region is acceptable.
125. The Commission recommends that the proposed North East Region should be made up of the following: East Mamprusi Municipality, West Mamprusi Municipality, Chereponi District, Bunkpurugu District, Mamprugu-Moagduri District and Yunyoo-Nasuan District. Per Ghana Statistical Service projections, these six districts have a total land area of 9,070 square kilometres and an estimated population of 562,325 in 2018. It is the view of the Commission that both the land size and population of the proposed Region are substantially large enough to constitute a region, and manageable in size to allow for efficient and effective regional administration.
126. The core argument made by the petitioners for the creation of the proposed North East Region is the large land size of the present Northern Region, and the challenges that this vastness imposes on development in the proposed region, especially, access to higher-order services in the regional capital, Tamale. It is the recommendation of the Commission that the geographical land size of the proposed region will address the challenges imposed by the vastness of the existing Northern Region, and the long distances between the districts in the proposed North East Region and access to referral services located in the regional capital, Tamale.

CHAPTER TEN

PLACES TO VOTE AND ISSUES TO BE DETERMINED BY THE REFERENDUM

10.1 Introduction

1. In this chapter of the report, the Commission considers two issues namely: “*the issues to be determined by the referendum and the places where the referendum should be held*” as provided in Article 5(4) of the 1992 Constitution. The Commission is required to advise the President on these issues. Consequently, the Commission has detailed its assessment of the issues raised and the places for the referendum during its consultations.

10.2 Places to Vote in the Referendum

2. Article 5(4) of the 1992 Constitution as well as paragraph 4 of CI.105 as amended, mandate the Commission, in making its recommendations to H. E. the President, to state the places for the referendum. In the course of the Commission’s consultations, several views were expressed with the view to guide the Commission in determining the places to vote in the referendum. These views expressed by petitioners and contributors fall into two schools of thought. The first school of thought, mainly advanced by the proponents of the creation of new regions postulates that voting should be restricted to the areas from which the demand emanated. The second school of thought is in favour of extending the right to vote to the whole of the region out of which the new region may be created.

10.2.1 Restricting Voting to Petition Areas

3. The arguments for restricting voting to the petition areas are based on a number of reasons which were articulated during the consultations with the petitioners and other stakeholders. These reasons are examined in the following sections of the report.

Issues Underlining the Demand are Relevant Only to the Petition Areas

4. A number of reasons have been put forward regarding the demand that voting should be restricted in only the petition areas. For instance, a traditional leader from the proposed Oti Region had this comment to make on the issue:

“These areas have been there for a long time since 1970 and this group or entity, which is the northern part of the Volta Region have a common problem and therefore a common submission of complaints. I would therefore like to commend the government for its positive reaction towards the petition by requesting an inquiry into the demand for the new region. Regarding the voting for the referendum, I

think it should be restricted to the affected areas and not the whole of the Volta Region.”

5. The main justification assigned for this position was succinctly stated by a contributor at the public hearing in Walewale: *“Who feels it, knows it”*. The petitioners for the creation of new regions claim that the issues raised in their petitions relate solely to the people of the petition areas. Therefore, they should, to the exclusion of all others be allowed to vote in the referendum. To them, these are issues of little or no concern to the people of the rest of the region and indeed the country. At the public hearing in Accra on the creation of the proposed Western North Region, one contributor responding to a point made by another speaker retorted that:

“The statement made by the gentleman who said he resides in the USA does not make sense to me. It is not only him who has studied economics. You do not need someone who has studied economics or science to show you that the conditions in your area are bad. So if he is comfortable in Washington DC, we are living in Adaborkrom and we know what we go through. So we support what Nananom have done to petition the President for the creation of region. We will therefore not allow anyone to undermine what Nananom have done; we support Nananom fully. Wherever they go, if they call upon us we will come.”

6. As detailed in Chapter Three of this Report, to aid analysis, the Commission has placed the issues raised by the petitioners and contributors into the following eight thematic areas: spatial issues; access to government and public services; access to basic, secondary and tertiary education; access to health care facilities; road infrastructure; economic and employment issues; governance and participation; and ethnic, cultural and religious issues. The petitioners argued that their petitions raised issues specific to their local conditions and demonstrated how the creation of new regions will facilitate accelerated development in their areas.
7. In very simple terms, the petitioners questioned how a person who has not experienced directly or has no connection to the deprivation in the petition areas can decide on what they consider will facilitate the solution of their problem. In the northern enclave of the Volta Region, a further dimension of this argument is provided since they argue that their predicament is a direct result of the deliberate discrimination by the people of southern Volta. To them, allowing the people of southern Volta to participate in the referendum will amount to perpetuation of the discrimination and marginalization they have endured for over 60 years.
8. It is fair to assume that people who do not have any interest in the issues that gave rise to the petition will be unlikely to vote in the referendum. The consultations in the regions revealed that there was more interest in the petition areas. For instance, the Commission observed that, participation was higher in these petition areas than in the regional capitals which are more populous and diverse (see Table 10.1). Further analysis by the Commission revealed that most of the participants at the public hearings either travelled from or had some other association with the petition areas.

Table 10.1: Locations and Venues for Public Hearings and Number of Participants

No.	Location	Date	Venue for Public Hearing	Number of Registered Participants	Number of Participants by Head Count	Number of People Who Made Contributions
1.	Western Region					
	Takoradi	11-12-2017	House of Chiefs	*	65	20
	Takoradi	12-12-2017	Akroma Plaza	152	**	26
	Enchi	13-12-2017	Enchi Methodist Church	295	590	22
	Wassa Akropong	14-12-2017	Wassa Akropong Methodist Church	164	170	27
	Adaborkrom	15-12-2017	Adaborkrom Roman Catholic Church	592	950	33
	Sefwi Wiawso	16-12-2017	Sefwi Wiawso Catholic Training Centre	266	345	25
	Bibiani	16-12-2017	Bibiani Christ Apostolic Church	286	400	26
2.	Volta Region					
	Ho	15-01-2018	House of Chiefs	180	189	15
	Ho	16-01-2018	Ho Technical University	345	402	18
	Kete-Krachi	17-01-2018	Kete-Krachi Senior High School Assembly Hall	685	1,798	39
	Nkwanta	18-01-2018	Nkwanta South Municipal Assembly Hall	1,065	5,775	35
	Kpassa	19-01-2018	Kpassa Senior High Secondary/Technical	1,112	2,972	30
	Jasikan/Nsuta Buem	20-01-2018	Jasikan Catholic Formation Centre, Nsuta Buem	1,552	7,782	36
3.	Brong-Ahafo Region					
	Sunyani	05-02-2018	House of Chiefs	176	193	14
	Bono East Public Hearings					
	Sunyani	06-02-2018	Eusbett Conference Centre	155	163	18
	Kajaji	07-02-2018	Kajaji Community Centre	386	564	25
	Yeji	08-02-2018	Yeji Methodist Church	645	1,044	19
	Atebubu	09-02-2018	Atebubu Anglican Church	892	1,243	32
	Nkoranza	10-02-2018	Municipal Assembly Hall	1,022	1,890	38
	Techiman	12-02-2018	Centre for National Culture	803	4,669	34
	Kintampo	13-02-2018	Municipal Assembly Hall	378	536	20
	Ahafo Public Hearings					
	Sunyani	13-02-2018	Eusbett Conference Centre (Ahafo)	487	529	20
	Goaso	14-02-2018	Goaso Church of Pentecost	1,125	2,222	37
	Sankore	15-02-2018	Sankore St. Peter's Catholic Church	727	882	31
	Hwidiem	16-02-2018	Hwidiem SHS Assembly Hall	1,224	3,862	28
	Bechem	17-02-2018	Bechem St. Joseph Catholic Church	1,036	1,340	28

No.	Location	Date	Venue for Public Hearing	Number of Registered Participants	Number of Participants by Head Count	Number of People Who Made Contributions
4.	Northern Region					
	Tamale	12-03-2018	House of Chiefs	112	203	17
	Savannah Public Hearings					
	Tamale	13-03-2018	Radach Lodge & Events Centre, Tamale	1,354	1,471	18
	Damango	14-03-2018	Damango Senior High School	8,222	**	28
	Buipe	15-03-2018	Central Gonja District Assembly Hall	18,964	**	24
	Bole	17-03-2018	Bole SHS Dining Hall, Bole	19,313	**	24
	Sawla	18-03-2018	Sawla Community Centre	16,351	**	27
	Salaga	19-03-2018	Salaga SHS Assembly Hall	74,433	**	26
	North East Public Hearings					
	Tamale	20-03-2018	Radach Lodge & Events Centre	5,503	**	30
	Nalerigu	21-03-2018	Nalerigu SHS Assembly Hall	19,084	**	16
	Gambaga*	21-03-2018	East Mamprusi Assembly Hall	0	722	6
	Bunkprugu	22-03-2018	Bunkprugu Calvary Assemblies of God Church	14,529	**	30
	Yagaba	24-03-2018	Yagaba SHS Assembly Hall	14,624	**	27
	Walewale	25-03-2018	Walewale Senior Sec. Technical High School, Dining Hall	33,635	**	29
	GRAND TOTAL			241,874	42,971	998

*No registration done.

**No head count

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018.

9. The Commission finds merit in this position advanced by those who are in favour of the referendum being restricted to the petition areas. It is therefore clear that a resident of Takoradi cannot decide for a resident of Adaborkrom whether the creation of a new region will bring governance closer to him or her. In a similar manner, a resident of Ho or Keta cannot decide for a resident of Kpassa or Kete-Krachi whether the creation of a new region will bring higher order services closer to him or her.
10. It should be understood, that the purpose of creating new regions as envisaged by this Commission is for administrative convenience and facilitation of accelerated development. From this stand point, issues of traditional allegiance or other forms of kinship are not considered to be persuasive in the demarcation of regions. It therefore stands to reason that those who are directly impacted by the creation of new regions are those to vote notwithstanding their kinship ties with other areas.

11. Another justification cited for restricting the referendum to the petition areas relates to the population of the regions concerned. In some cases, the petitioners considered themselves to be a minority within a larger group in the region. They also claim that the population characteristics of the regions are such that were the whole region to vote, it would be impossible to comply with the stringent requirements of the 1992 Constitution regarding turnout (50% of registered voters) and votes in favour (80% of votes cast). A traditional ruler from the proposed Oti Region articulated this position as follows:

“The demographic nature of the region presupposes a minority in the north in terms of tribe and therefore it will be a joke if you extend it to the whole of the region and expect a different answer... So, when we say we want this region, we say that, we are by the fire and have suffered for the past 55 years or so. We will not allow the voting to be toyed with.”

12. Based on the perspectives above, to have the whole region vote in the referendum would be disadvantageous to the petition areas. The Commission supports the opinion of the petitioners that such a decision would mean the perpetuation of the current state of affairs as the rest of the region seemed to be less concerned about the need for the creation of the new region considering the attendance at the public hearings as shown in Table 10.1.

The right of self-determination

13. Another justification assigned for restricting the referendum to the areas from which the petition came is self-determination. Self-determination refers to the right of all people to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The right to self-determination as a concept emerged in the 1860s and rapidly gained acceptance in international law over the course of the twentieth century (Fisch, 2015). Article 1 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations mandates respect for the principle of self-determination of peoples among nations. As a concept, self-determination is closely associated with human rights and has found expression in international legal instruments such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1976 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the same year.
14. According to Hannum (1996), self-determination has internal and external aspects. On one hand, internal self-determination refers to the right of the people of a state to govern themselves without outside interference. On the other hand, external self-determination refers to the right of peoples to determine their own political status and to be free of foreign domination. As a principle known under international law, the right to self-determination may not be applicable in the context of the creation of administrative regions under domestic law.
15. The Commission is not persuaded that this is a case where the right to self-determination may be invoked as a rationale for determining who may vote in the referendum. This

notwithstanding, the underlying point being made by the proponents of this position is that they are the people who are directly affected by the issues raised in the petition and should therefore have the sole right to determine them. The Commission notes that this is a legitimate concern which must be taken into account in determining the places for the referendum. A youth organizer of a leading political party expressed those sentiments at the public hearing in Sefwi Wiawso:

“I also want to inform Mr. Chairman that when the Commission agrees for the region to be created, the voting should be self-determination. So, when we are going to vote, we should not allow the whole of the Western Region to vote. The only people that should be allowed to vote in the referendum should be the people asking for the creation of the Western North Region.”

Precedents of referendums and plebiscites from Ghana and other jurisdictions

16. The proponents of restricting the places for the referendum to the petition areas have relied on precedents from the Gold Coast and other jurisdictions to support their position. A political leader from the National Democratic Congress had this to say at the Tamale public hearing on the proposed Savannah Region:

“My eminent Commissioners, your mandate is also to recommend to the President the areas for the referendum. It is solely within your powers and no other institution under the 1992 Constitution. Unfortunately, there is no precedence to this in Ghana and this is a novelty as far as the referendum is concerned. There is some precedence in the past when Trans-Volta Togoland under the UN territory was going to make a decision whether to join the then incoming Ghana or otherwise. The voting in the plebiscite was held only in the Trans-Volta Togoland area. Again, if you look at any other UN mandated territory where some people intend to create a new state and there is the need for a referendum, it is the people to be affected who participate in the referendum. It is on this basis that I humbly suggest that your recommendations to the President should border on the entirety of the geographical area demarcated as the Savannah area and not any other place in precedence of what has been done in the past.”

17. It is important at this stage to examine some of the precedents referred to by the proponents of their position, that is, restricting voting to only the areas where the petitions emanate.

- a. ***Plebiscite on the transfer of Krachi District from the Northern to the Southern Section of Togoland of 1949***

18. According to Bening (1999:53), the Krachi District was originally part of the northern section of Togoland. From about 1936, there were demands for the district to be moved to the southern section of Togoland. Economic reasons assigned for their demand were mainly to the effect that the people of the Krachi District were in close commercial relations with the people of the south. Ethnic and cultural affinity to the people of the

south was also cited as a reason for the demand. As these demands grew stronger, a plebiscite was held in the Krachi District on 9th May 1949. Voting took place only in the seven sub divisions of the Krachi District namely: Adele, Adjuati, Ntrubu, Tepa, Pai Akrosu, Nchumuru and Krachi. The votes were overwhelmingly in favour of the transfer of the District from Northern to the Southern section of Togoland (See Table 10.2).

Table 10.2: Results of the Plebiscite on the Transfer of the Krachi District from the Northern to the Southern Section of Togoland, May 1949

Sub-division	Voting Centres	Villages Represented	Villages not Represented	Voting for	
				South	North
<i>Adele</i>	3	11	1	32	
<i>Adjuati</i>	4	12	4	29	
<i>Ntrubu</i>	2	10	1	53	
<i>Tepa</i>	2	6	3	26	
<i>Pai Akrosu</i>	2	4	5	22	
<i>Nchumuru</i>	4	10	8	76	4
<i>Krachi</i>	6	40	4	106	32
<i>TOTAL</i>	23	93	26	342	36

Source: DC Krachi to CCNT, 11 June 1949, ADM 39/1/155 (Bening 1999, 54).

b. *The Trans Volta Togoland Plebiscite of 1956*

19. In 1954, a delegation from the United Nations visited the then British Togoland to assess the political future of the Trust Territory as neighbouring Gold Coast was moving towards independence. Having observed that opinion was split between those who favoured integration into the Gold Coast and those who preferred to be part of French Togoland, the delegation recommended that a plebiscite should be held to determine the future political status of British Togoland.
20. The British Government, having granted the Gold Coast autonomy was no longer willing to administer British Togoland separately after Gold Coast had achieved full independence. The plebiscite was held on 9th May 1956 in the following districts: Ho; Kpando; Buem Krachi; Gonja; Dagomba; and Mamprusi. The options open to voters were:
 - (a) The union of their territory with an independent Gold Coast; or
 - (b) The separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political future.
21. The results of the plebiscite are summarised in Table 10.3. The final results were 58 percent voting to join the Gold Coast and 42 percent voting to remain under trusteeship pending the ultimate determination of its political feature.

Table 10.3: Results of the British Togoland Plebiscite of 1956

District	Votes for:		
	Union	Separation	Total
Mamprusi	17,870	3,429	21,299
Dagomba	28,083	6,549	34,632
Gonja	3,166	2,729	5,895
Buem-Krachi	28,176	18,775	46,951
Kpando	8,581	17,029	25,618
Ho	7,217	18,981	26,198
Total	93,093	67,492	160,585

Source: Bening (1999; 265)

c. East Timor Referendum of 1999

22. East Timor was a Portuguese colony from the 16th Century until 28 November 1975 when it declared its independence. A few days after the declaration, East Timor was invaded by Indonesia and annexed as its 27th Province. East Timor remained deprived of infrastructure, education and health care lagging behind most of Indonesia. By an Agreement dated 25 May 1999 between the governments of Portugal, Indonesia and the Secretary General of the United Nations, 8th August 1999 was fixed for a referendum on the independence of East Timor. The referendum took place on 30 August 1999 on the question:

“Do you accept the proposed special autonomy for East Timor within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia?” ACCEPT

Or

“Do you reject the proposed special autonomy for East Timor, leading to East Timor’s separation from Indonesia?” REJECT

The Agreement provided the following eligibility criteria for participation in the referendum:

“The following persons, aged 17 years or above, shall be eligible to vote in the popular consultation: a. persons born in East Timor, b. persons born outside East Timor but with at least one parent having been born in East Timor, and c. persons whose spouses fall under either of the two categories above.”

23. There were 451,792 registered voters living in East Timor, Australia, Indonesia, Portugal and United States. Of this number 438, 513 lived in East Timor and 13,279 lived outside in the four countries where voting was conducted. The voters were overwhelmingly in favour of independence.

d. ***South Sudan Independence Referendum of 2011***

24. South Sudan had for several years been complaining of discrimination and deprivation citing the development imbalance between the north and the south culminating in an armed struggle led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. On 9th January 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA or Naivasha Agreement) was concluded between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement for a referendum which was held from 9th to 15th January 2011. The question was "whether South Sudan should remain a part of Sudan or become independent". The criteria for voting in the referendum was as follows:
- i. A person whose parent was from one of the indigenous communities residing in South Sudan before 1st January 1956;
 - ii. A person whose ancestry is traceable to one of the ethnic communities in South Sudan;
 - iii. A permanent resident without interruption since 1st January 1956; and
 - iv. A person whose parents or grandparents have resided permanently in South Sudan since 1st January 1956.

The final results released on 7th February 2011, indicated that 98.83 percent of the votes were in favour of independence for South Sudan. Once again, voting was restricted to those who were affected directly by the issues to be determined in the elections.

e. ***The Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014***

25. Scotland has been part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland since 1801. Following agitations, Scotland was given a level of autonomy and its own Parliament in 1999 and subsequently the Scottish Independence Referendum Act of 2013 was passed. Accompanying that Act was the Scottish Independence Referendum (Franchise) Act of the same year. These two Acts together, provided the legal basis for the referendum in Scotland to determine whether it would become independent from Great Britain. The question for the referendum was "*do you agree that Scotland should be an independent country*". Eligibility to vote in the referendum which took place on 18th September 2014 was restricted to persons aged 16 and above who were resident in Scotland. There were three categories of eligible Scottish residents namely: British and Irish citizens living in Scotland; European Union (EU) citizens living in Scotland; and a qualifying Commonwealth citizen living in Scotland.
26. A total of 4,283,392 registered voters participated in the elections while 2,001,926 (55.3%) voted against independence and 1,617,989 (44.7%) voted in favour. There was a total registered voter turnout of 84.54 percent. In the case of the Scottish referendum, eligibility was based primarily on residence in Scotland because the issues raised related almost exclusively to them.

10.2.2 Extending the Referendum to the Whole Region

27. The proponents of the second school of thought argue that the creation of a new region has implications for the existing and the new region. For that reason, both groups must be given the opportunity to express themselves in the referendum. They argued that holding the referendum in just those areas from which the petitions emanated will amount to pre-judging the matter because the outcome is obvious. In addition they argued that determining substantial demand must be broadened to other parts of the region. In the following section we examine some of the arguments advanced by the proponent of this second school of thought.

The Argument That Two Regions Are Being Created

28. A traditional leader has argued that the outcome of the creation of a new region may in fact be the emergence of two new regions; the area that has been designated as a new region and the existing region which in his view is also a new region. He argued that the boundaries of the existing region would have been altered leading to two new regions. The traditional leader in the Volta Region intimated that:

“Are we going to create, one new region or two new regions? I ask that precisely because reference is made to the Constitution regarding the creation of new regions. Reference was also made to the boundaries. So, my concern is this, if we are creating two new regions everybody in the Volta Region is interested.”

29. The Commission is not persuaded by this argument because two new regions cannot be said to have been created. There is an existing region which has all its institutions, regional capital and structures in place which will not be affected if a new region is created. It is merely its geographical dimensions that will change because part of it has been hived off to create a new region. As an example, when Sudan was split into two as a result of the independence referendum, a new Republic of Southern Sudan was created and had its independence on 9th July 2011. The Republic of Sudan which was mostly the northern part of Sudan before the split did not characterize itself as a new nation and the comity of nations did not regard it as such. Its independence day remained 1st January 1956.
30. Similarly, when the Brong-Ahafo Region was carved out of the Ashanti Region in 1959, the Ashanti Region with its regional capital and regional institutions remained unchanged. Brong-Ahafo Region was seen as a new region and new regional structures were established. The same arguments can be made for the Central Region when it was carved out of the Western Region and the Upper Region which was carved out of the Northern Region. Therefore the argument that two new regions will be created lacks legal and factual basis and cannot be sustained.

Alteration Requires Consent of the Whole Region

31. Closely related to the previous argument is the statement that the whole region must be allowed the right to vote because the boundaries of the existing region are being altered. The traditional leader referred to above puts the point this way: *“On the other*

hand, if we are not creating two regions and we are altering the boundaries of another region, everybody is affected.”

32. A contributor at the Ho public hearing expressed a similar view:

“The first speaker said that the districts which petitioned in the northern Volta will be the places where the referendum will be held. Here we are doing two things that the Constitution allows. We are creating new regions and altering the demarcations of an existing region. The two are Constitutional provisions and if you are altering my region, which is the Volta Region, you are asking me not to participate in the decision-making process? I think it is faulty logic and law. So, the interpretation being made by Dr. Mensah when he postulated that the affected districts which are the districts that have petitioned is absurd and in law we do not allow constructions that are absurd. Interpretations must not lead to absurdity. So, it is only through dialogue between the various diversities that can end up giving us peaceful coexistence for a second region for Volta. Allow every Tom, Dick and Harry to participate in this process because 72.3 percent of people in the region are Ewes and so we cannot allow 27.7 percent of the population to make a decision that will affect all of us.”

33. The argument is that when a region in which residents live is to be altered, it gives them the right to vote in the referendum because that affects them directly. Some have argued that though not living in the petition areas, the fact that they live in the region means they will also be affected by the creation of a new region. However, this group has not been able to cite any reason why they will be affected and how they will be disadvantaged by the creation of a new region. In the view of the Commission, this argument is far-fetched and loses sight of the significant human and economic development issues that have precipitated the demand for the creation of the new regions. It has also been argued that if only the people of the petition areas are permitted to vote, then the conclusion would be obvious and for the sake of fairness the whole region must be permitted to vote.
34. To stretch the above argument to its logical conclusion will be to say that perhaps the whole country should have voted in all earlier plebiscites of 1949 and 1956. Similarly, going by that argument, then the whole country should vote in respect of all the six petitions before this Commission. This is because every Ghanaian is going to be affected one way or the other. The Commission was also not persuaded by the analysis that says that the creation of a region implies the alteration of the existing region. The Commission, in arriving at this conclusion is guided by previous plebiscites conducted in Ghana (see Bening, 1999). Particularly, the Commission notes that some parts of the current Volta Region namely; Peki, Keta, Denu and Adidome did not participate in the 1956 plebiscite of the British Togoland although these areas were re-organised for administrative purposes.

35. The current exercise in the creation of new regions is based on petitions received by the President from identifiable individuals on behalf of identifiable groups. They made specific demands and provided facts which in their view lent credence to their demands. The Commission listened to them and the general public and the response was overwhelmingly in favour of the petition. The Commission also made observations during their interactions in the regions from which the petition came. The Commission is satisfied that substantial demand and need for the creation of new regions have been made. It is this that has to be put before the people in a referendum.
36. It is important to establish those interested in the underlying issues to be determined by the referendum. On the one hand, it may be those who have set out reasons to show that their current levels of human and economic development would be transformed if a new region was to be created. On the other hand, there are those who argue that their region is being altered without providing any proof of how they will be disadvantaged by such alteration. In the view of the Commission, the former should be those to decide for themselves whether there is the need and substantial demand for the creation of the new region. Throughout the Commission's consultations, not a single justification was provided to demonstrate that the creation of new regions will disadvantage those who live in existing regions from which petitions were received.

Restricting Voting to the Petition Areas Will Be Discriminatory

37. Reference has also been made to Articles 17 (2) and (3) to the effect that by not holding public hearings in the non petition areas, the rights of people from those parts have been infringed. Article 17 (2) states that:

“A person shall not be discriminated against on grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.

(3) For the purposes of this article, “discriminate” means to give different treatment to different persons attributable only or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, gender, occupation, religion or creed, whereby persons of one description are subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of another description are not made subjects or are granted privilege or advantages which are not granted to persons of another description.”

38. In the considered opinion of the Commission, no discrimination has been occasioned by the choice of places for public consultations and the manner in which this was done. The Commission did not discriminate against anyone on grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic, religion, creed, social and economic status. The Commission made it possible for all those who were so minded to contribute at its consultations to do so. The ethnic diversity of the regions and the areas from which petitions had emanated were on clear display at all the public hearings. For the same reason, the Commission recommends that the referendum should be held within the boundaries of the proposed region because this will not infringe the rights of any individual. The Commission has

been unable to get any example of a referendum relating to aspirations of a people or a region to be granted an administrative autonomy which has been subjected to voting by those from whom they wish to separate.

The Precedents from Other Referendums Are Not Applicable

39. A Traditional leader argued in one of the consultations that the examples of other referendums are not appropriate because there are differences with the current exercise.

“I have heard a comparison with Sudan but those may be very different because maybe Southern Sudan has existed as a separate entity historically. I have heard about the referendum of 1956 which was for people who had been part of a different colonial administration. Those could be very different circumstances. But critical from what I have heard here so far is the fact, that however we look at it, certain boundaries may be altered and that may mean therefore that all parties become very interested parties and may be seeking to be heard through the referendum.”

40. The Commission is not persuaded by this assertion because it is merely to make the distinction between precedents but fails to cite one which supports this position. It would have been helpful if there were examples of referendums which had been extended beyond the area for which the issues at stake are relevant.
41. It is worth noting that the sole ground cited for the distinction between the South Sudan independence referendum as well as the Trans-Volta Togoland referendum on the one hand and the current exercise is that boundaries of the former were known historically. It was alleged that in the case of the current exercise, the boundaries are not known. This position is not borne out by the facts. The boundaries of the petition areas are well known and indeed have historical antecedents. This Commission has been able to establish these boundaries from available records. The inference from the traditional leader’s analysis is that since the boundaries of South Sudan were known historically, the boundaries of the Republic of Sudan were not altered as a result of the independence referendum. Such analysis is clearly faulty. As a result of the independence referendum, the boundaries of the Republic of Sudan changed. That notwithstanding, it was only the people of South Sudan alone that voted because the underlying issues giving rise to the referendum affected them and no one else. This is the case with all the referendums and plebiscites already referred to.
42. The observations of the Commission in all the six proposed regions have been described elsewhere in this report. For instance, in the case of the creation of the proposed Western North Region, issues were raised about the distances from the petition area to the regional capital, Sekondi where most of the higher order government services could be found. Similar arguments were made in other areas. Given the nature of these issues, it only stands to reason that those who are directly affected will be the ones who can assess its extent and therefore make informed decisions on the matter. This is typically

the approach in elections, referendums, and plebiscites. Those who are affected will be the best placed to judge the matter.

10.3 Issues to be determined by the Referendum

43. Article 5 (4) of the 1992 Constitution provides that where a Commission of Inquiry establishes the need and a substantial demand for the creation, alteration or merger of a region, it shall recommend to the President that a referendum should be held. In its recommendation, the Commission of Inquiry must specify the issues to be determined by the referendum and the places where it should be held.
44. The petitions submitted to the President describe a set of facts and request the creation of new regions to address the lack of development in the areas from which the petition emanated. As indicated elsewhere in this report, this Commission has established the need and substantial demand for the creation of six new regions: Ahafo Region; Bono East Region; North East Region; Oti Region; Savannah Region; and Western North Region. Consequently, the Commission is enjoined by Article 5(4) of the 1992 Constitution to specify the issues to be determined by the referendum and the places where it should be held (See Table 10.4).

Table 10.4: Proposed Regions and Places for Referendums

Proposed Region	Places for Referendum
Western North	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aowin Municipality 2. Bia East District 3. Bia West District 4. Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai Municipality 5. Bodi District 6. Juaboso District 7. Sefwi Akontonbra District 8. Sefwi-Wiawso Municipality 9. Suaman District
Oti	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Biakoye District 2. Jasikan District 3. Kadjebi District 4. Krachi East Municipality 5. Krachi Nchumuru District 6. Krachi West District 7. Nkwanta North District 8. Nkwanta South Municipality 9. Santrokofi, Akpafu, Lolobi and Likpe Traditional Areas

Proposed Region	Places for Referendum
Ahafo	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tano South Municipality 2. Tano North Municipality 3. Asunafo North Municipality 4. Asunafo South District 5. Asutifi North District 6. Asutifi South District
Bono East	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Atebubu-Amantin Municipality 2. Nkoranza South Municipality 3. Nkoranza North District 4. Kintampo South District 5. Kintampo North Municipality 6. Pru West District 7. Pru District 8. Sene East District 9. Sene West District 10. Techiman North District 11. Techiman Municipality
Savannah	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bole District 2. Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District 3. West Gonja District 4. North Gonja District 5. Central Gonja District 6. East Gonja Municipality
North East	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. East Mamprusi Municipality 2. West Mamprusi Municipality 3. Bunkpurugu-Nakpanduri District 4. Yunyoo-Nasuan District 5. Mamprugu-Moagduri District 6. Chereponi District

45. The proposed referendums in the six proposed regions would be for the purpose of deciding one issue: Whether or not a new region should be created. The specific question to be posed at the referendum is the following:

“Are you in favour of the creation of the new region? YES or NO”

10.4 Conclusion

46. The Commission is of the considered view that voting in the referendum should be restricted to only those areas within the boundaries of a proposed region. As has been demonstrated, this view is consistent with Ghana’s past history on plebiscites and referendums. It is also consistent with international best practices from across the world such as Scotland, South Sudan and East Timor.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EMERGING ISSUES

11.1 Introduction

1. This chapter of the report discusses a variety of issues that have emerged from the Commission's consultations. These centre on the merits of reorganizing the administrative regions of the country. The Commission is of the view that these issues merit examination, in view of the fact that this exercise is the first attempt at creating new regions in Ghana since 1983. In addition, this is also the first time that the provisions of Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution have been invoked.
2. First, the chapter considers the cost implications of creating new regions, then it looks at the limited empirical evidence to support the creation of new regions. It goes on to discuss reasons why smaller size regions will not necessarily result in accelerated development. Next, the issue of globalization and regional integration is considered. This is followed by an examination of the question of the creation of more districts as against more regions. Finally, the possible conflicts that may arise in the aftermath of the creation of new regions is discussed taking into consideration the Constitutional rights of citizens.

11.2 Cost implications of creating new regions

3. The demands for the creation of new regions have been founded for the most part on the need for accelerated development in those enclaves from which the petitions emanated. It has been argued that the benefits of the new region in economic and human development terms will accrue to the people of the enclave and to the country as a whole. A contributor at the Atebubu hearing indicated that:

“The area lags behind the rest of the Brong-Ahafo Region in terms of development. These gaps will be addressed if the region is created”.

Another contributor at the same hearing stated that:

“Getting our own region will help accelerate development in the form of good roads, hospitals and other health facilities, good schools for the education of the youth and setting up agro-industries in the area.”

4. Similar sentiments were expressed at other hearings organised by the Commission. At the Ho public hearing, a representative of the petitioners for the proposed Oti Region stated that:

“The objective of the petition is to promote the development of the people of the northern part of the Volta Region”.

A contributor at the Buipe public hearing stressed that:

“The subject of creating regions “is not a political football game”. It is rather about national development so that they can uplift the socio-economic development of the people”.

In Salaga, a contributor noted that:

“The new region will also help address some of the challenges facing the country such as the lack of a national development agenda that will incorporate the views of all groups of people in Ghana”.

5. This positive view of the socio-economic impact of creating new regions has been challenged on two main grounds. The first ground centres around the perceived cost implications of creating new regions. It is argued that the cost of creating new regions will be prohibitive and therefore negate the benefits anticipated by the petitioners and like-minded people. In their view, financial prudence would demand that other less costly approaches be explored to achieve the objective of accelerated development. The second ground suggests that the expectations lack factual basis because the analysis is bereft of supporting empirical evidence from previous examples in Ghana and elsewhere. Each of these grounds is examined in further detail below.
6. The essence of ‘the cost exceeding the benefits of creating new regions’ argument was articulated by a contributor at the Accra public hearing on the proposed Western North Region as follows:

“The work of the Commission should be guided by two strong points; cost considerations and the structural impact of the creation of the regions on Ghana’s economy. About 70 percent of Ghana’s budget is spent on salaries while 20 percent is on interest payments, virtually leaving little or nothing at all for developmental initiatives. Therefore, care should be taken with the creation of the new regions.”

7. Subsequently, the same contributor submitted a memorandum to the Commission in which he provided further details to support his position:

“The creation of regions will not increase public revenue by a pesewa. This is because public revenues are fixed. On the other hand, public expenditures would be increased significantly. Both fixed and varying cost expenditures of each newly created region will lead to public budget loss. Ghana currently faces major budgetary deficits. This is because over 70 percent of its public revenues is used in paying salaries and wages. Over 25 percent of government revenue is used in paying cost of debts owed. There is virtually nothing left for the development of the country. This explains why the government has abdicated its responsibilities in maintaining roads and services. This explains why we are not building enough schools and colleges for our children, no maintenance of schools and colleges,

not building hospitals and maintain the old ones, not building new bridges and maintaining the old and leaving all the Ghanaian roads in a state of disrepair.

If there was more money it could have been better used in providing schools, instead of these overcrowded secondary schools that we have, well equipped hospitals instead of these nonfunctioning hospitals. To introduce more regions would be to sap the energy out of the limited revenue and exacerbate the dangerous budgetary condition of the country. This revenue and cost argument alone is enough to stop the move to create new regions. The creation will do more harm to Ghana than good.”

8. In one of the Commission’s consultations, a traditional leader questioned whether the creation of new regions was a priority, considering other needs of the country:

“My first question is a very simple one, has the Commission worked out the administrative costs of this programme? Taking into cognizance the dire needs of the nation, is this a priority? Sometimes, some of you are aware, that even traveling from Accra to Kumasi yesterday, it took me five hours. Accra and Kumasi since colonial times have not been connected with a dual carriage way so when we talk about real needs of the nation, is this an important issue?”

9. This Commission cannot lose sight of the cost implications of creating new regions. The pressures on public revenue, and the need to control expenditure are well known. However, to argue that Government has been unable to spend on development projects in the country is not borne out by the facts. In recent times, Government has undertaken major developmental interventions such as, the *Free Senior High School* programme and the rehabilitation of portions of the national railway system. These have been done notwithstanding the costs because ultimately, they will be of immense benefit to the people of Ghana.
10. This Commission is of the view that there are sufficient grounds to support the position that the creation of new regions will result in the expansion of public revenues. This view becomes plausible when the focus is shifted from a short term analysis to a medium to long term one. A new region will require that critical infrastructure needs, including new roads, public institutions, health institutions, and security services be provided. While these have major cost implications, on the positive side, they will lead to increased employment and other socio-economic benefits.
11. Furthermore, the increased presence of the public sector is likely to trigger private investments in the new regions. These would include financial services institutions, new markets, real estate investments and other new companies. These new private sector investments will generate direct and indirect employment opportunities in both the private and public sectors. These will ultimately result in increased revenues from direct and indirect taxes.

12. The creation of the new regions will lead to the establishment of full complement of the security services, including the Customs Excise and Preventive Service, Ghana Immigration Service and Ghana Police Service to coordinate effectively, services to ensure adequate supervision and revenue collection. Specifically, the Commission observed during its visit to the Bunkpurugu Border Post that opportunities exist for improved revenue generation and collection. The presence of a nearby regional capital with its accompanying infrastructure development and services will increase economic activities, including cross-border trade.
13. The petitioners and contributors at all the public hearings and in their submissions highlighted the economic potential of their enclaves. They argued that the creation of a new region will provide an opportunity to leverage on the available resources for accelerated development. The following contribution was made at the public hearing in Accra on the proposed Western North Region:

“I believe that the fallacy or error that my colleague ... is making is that he is holding the GDP of Ghana constant. The effect or the possible effect of the creation of the regions is completely lost to my colleague. What I have observed over the years as Regional Minister is that Ghana practices a public sector-led development and so wherever the public sector is deployed, development follows. If we are going to go by some of the arguments that are being bandied about that the cost of the division of this region is an expensive enterprise then it means the people of Amenfi, Aowin, Sefwi and Suaman will be condemned to perpetual servitude.”

14. Another contributor at the same hearing supported this position with the following remarks:

“We strongly believe that when the new region is created, because the Ghanaian economy is public sector-driven, it is going to increase productivity and so increase the GDP of the whole country. I want to conclude by saying that President Kufuor once said that Ghanaians risk knowing the cost of everything but the value of nothing. We are actually rather concentrating on the cost and not the value that the creation will bring. I will urge the Commission to recommend to the President that if this region is created it will be a feather in the cap of Ghana as the bread basket of the nation. Western North will be developed, and productivity will increase to take care of the marginal cost. We will end up getting more revenue and then more development.”

15. All six petitions received by H.E. the President sought to draw a direct link between the creation of the new region and the harnessing of the resources of their respective enclaves. They stressed that the regional administration will be more focused in planning, monitoring and evaluation roles to achieve efficient and effective use of resources. In the petition demanding the creation of the Western North Region the following statement was made:

“The proposed region is noted for the bulk of the cocoa produced in Ghana. Additionally, the proposed region supplies a greater share of the natural resources (e.g. gold, bauxite, manganese, timber), that contribute to the socio-economic development of the country. This notwithstanding, the region remains largely undeveloped in terms of infrastructural facilities. In our view, the creation of a new region will enhance our potential for development.”

16. All petitions for the proposed regions alluded to the rich endowment of natural resources and related economic activities. All petitions cited the abundance of rich natural resources, tourism potentials, water bodies, mineral resources and large arable lands as can be seen from Table 11.1. In addition, all the petitioners asserted they have rich human resources. In the case of the proposed North East region, the petitioners made an assertion that:

“The creation of the North East Region will allow the new region to focus on and develop the economic potentials of the area. At present, because of the vastness of the Northern Region, the economic potential of the area has not been adequately tapped. The creation of the North East Region will hasten development of these economic potentials of the area for accelerated development since tapping of some of the resources are regional based rather than district based.”

Table 11.1: Resource Endowment of Proposed Regions

No.	Proposed Region	Endowment
1	Western North	<p>Minerals: Gold, Bauxite, Diamond, Manganese, Granite</p> <p>Agro-resources: food crops (cassava, plantain, maize, yam, rice, vegetables); cash crops (coffee, cocoa, timber, oil palm, rubber and citrus fruits); virgin forest reserves</p> <p>Tourism: the hanging rock at Aduyaakrom (near Dadieso), sacred groves, Sefwi-Boako Waterfalls.</p> <p>Water bodies: River Sayere (Juaboso District), River Bia, River Fanoma, River Sui, Dissue River Reserve</p>
2	Oti	<p>Minerals: Granite</p> <p>Agro-resources: food crops (yam, cassava, plantain, cocoyam, maize, groundnut, cowpea, tomatoes, sorghum and rice); cash crops (cocoa, oil palm, and cashew).</p> <p>Tourism: the Oti River, the Volta Lake, the Kyabobo and the Kelembo Mountains (Nkwanta South District), Shari Hilltop Village, Bowiri Lacham Village.</p> <p>Water bodies: River Oti, Kpassa and Dakar, the Volta Lake</p>
3	Bono East	<p>Minerals: Gold, Oil</p> <p>Agro-resources: Forest reserves; food crops (maize, cassava, plantain, yam, cocoyam, rice and yam); cash crops (cashew, coffee, rubber, tobacco and cocoa).</p> <p>Tourism: the Pumpum River, Kintampo Waterfalls, The Fuller Falls, Chiridi Waterfalls, the Boabeng-Fiema Monkey Sanctuary, Caves, sanctuaries and groves, the Buoyem caves, the Pinihini Amovi caves, Tanoboase Sacred Grove, the Bui National Park, Traditional Cloth Making at Boama, Underground caves near Fiema,</p> <p>Water bodies: the Pumpum River, the River Tano, Atweredaa River, River Oyoko, the Black Volta</p>
4	Ahafo	<p>Minerals: Gold</p> <p>Agro-resources: food crops (plantain, cassava, cocoyam, maize; vegetables (tomatoes, okra, eggplant); cash crops/products (cocoa, cashew and timber) especially at Mim, Goaso and Acherensua.</p> <p>Tourism: Mim/Asumana rare birds, Ayum and Aboniyere Forest Reserves</p> <p>Water bodies: Ntotro River, the River Abufra</p>

No.	Proposed Region	Endowment
5	Savannah	<p>Minerals: Limestone deposits, Granite, Hydrocarbon deposits, Gold, Stone quarries</p> <p>Agro resources: Vast arable lands, forest reserves e.g. at Buipe, virgin lands, rich agro lands, food crops (groundnuts, yam, sorghum, beans, soya bean, maize, rice, millet and yam); cash crops (shea butter, cashew, coffee and cotton).</p> <p>Tourism: The Mole National Park, Larabanga Mosque -Sawla/Damongo Road, the Salaga Slave Route/Market</p> <p>Water bodies: the Volta River, the Black Volta, the White Volta, the Oti River, Irrigation facilities at Yapei, Buipe and Wumbong</p>
6	North East	<p>Minerals: Gold, Dolomite, Granite, Limestone</p> <p>Agro resources: the Fumbisi Valley for large-scale farming; food crops (groundnuts, soya beans, maize, rice, sorghum, millet and yam); cash crops (cotton, cashew, shea butter and coffee).</p> <p>Tourism: the Gambaga Escarpment, Kwame Nkrumah Rest House, Kpariya and Nankpanduri Waterfalls, Milk and Honey Defense Wall at Nalerigu, the Crocodile Pond, the Zanwara Hippopotamus Sanctuary, the African Map Stone, the German Bridge linking Ghana and Togo built during World War 2, Nalerigu Defense Wall, the Mankarigu War Cave and the Kadichari Dove Cave.</p> <p>Cultural Tourism: Leather processing (bags, local drums), agricultural tools (hoes, cutlasses)</p> <p>Water bodies: Oti River, the White Volta, the Nawonga and Moba Rivers</p>

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

17. A spokesperson for the proposed Savannah Region summed up the link between the creation of a new region and harnessing of resources as follows:

“There is the need to seek equity in allocation of resources and effective delivery of services which could only be realized by leveraging the unique assets of human and natural resources within this proposed region. This will increase the contributions of the proposed region to its own socio-economic development and that of Ghana. To attain this potential, the creation of the new region will bring about greater focus to harnessing this immense potential of the proposed region being a gateway, to not only the northern parts of Ghana but to the landlocked countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger.

18. This Commission has not conducted a detailed study of the resource potential of the proposed regions. The Commission is also unable at this stage to assess how effectively and efficiently these resources will be utilized in the event that the proposed regions are created. This notwithstanding, the Commission is of the view that the potential exists for leveraging the resources of each new region to ensure accelerated development. The demand for the creation of new regions emanated from the people of the respective enclaves. Throughout the Commission's consultations, one thing stood out – the desire of the chiefs to make a change in the lives of their people. There was unanimity on this across all the divides such as political, gender, age and occupation. There is therefore enormous goodwill which can be tapped to ensure the change that the people desire.

11.3 Costs of the status quo

19. An issue often missed by critics against the creation of new regions is the costs of maintaining the status quo. These costs relate to the existing size and spatial dimension of the regions which are compounded by poor roads and other infrastructure as discussed extensively in this report. Throughout the Commission's engagements with the petitioners and contributors at public hearings, the loss of productivity due to long distance and travel times; economic losses as results of high costs of transport, accessing services and markets; and social costs due to absence of relevant institutions and personnel (e.g., teachers and nurses, and other civil and public servants) were highlighted.

The arguments by critics of the creation of new regions on costs relate to the short-term costs of providing one-time logistics and completely neglect these costs borne daily, weekly, monthly, yearly and even decades by the citizens and the State in the regions where the petitions emanate. Failure of the State to respond to the demands of the Petitioners for new regions simply for cost considerations will in the long term compound the costs incurred by the state and citizens.

Contributions made at the various public hearings organized by the Commission provide several examples of these costs. An employee of the Ghana Health Services (GHS) at the Adaborkrom public hearing observed the following:

“Today all decisions are taken at the regional capital, Sekondi. So when nurses who are stationed at Adaborkrom and need to travel to Takoradi for administrative reasons, by the time they get to the Regional Health Directorate, the office would have closed. Also, after managing to perform the needed duties on the next day, it is always difficult to travel back on the same day. Therefore, such a person needs three or four days to travel to and from Takoradi. There is therefore the need for us to be closer to the regional capital so that there will be easier access to the administrative services.”

An opinion leader at the Nalerigu public hearing stated emphatically that *“during emergencies health cases, many people die because of the absence of well-equipped*

medical facility in the area, and the long travel distance to Tamale.” The issue these quotations raised is how much does it cost the individual, households, region and the state in terms of the loss of productivity and man-hours due to long distance and travel time, and possible needless deaths due to the non-proximity of referral health services to citizens. Raising this question supports the argument of Bening (1999) that the whole machinery of government need to be improved and made more intelligible by examining the extent to which it impacts on the ordinary citizens, whose labour provide the revenues which finance the whole government enterprise.

20. It is the view of the Commission that these costs impose limitations on socio-economic opportunities not only on individuals and households, but also on businesses. Yet these costs remained hidden, unquantified and not taken into account in the cost-benefit analysis of creating new regions. These costs partly underline the arguments of the petitioners and their supporters for the creation of new regions. In other words, maintaining the status quo implies that citizens in these parts of the country would continue to bear these costs with serious implications for the development of these areas and the rest of the country.

11.4 Limited empirical evidence to support the creation of new regions

21. Some contributors at the public hearings and commentators in the traditional and social media have alleged that there is no empirical evidence in support of the claim that the creation of new regions will result in accelerated development. At one of the consultations organised by the Commission, a Member of Parliament expressed his views on the matter:

“What I find missing is empirical research that shows that the creation of regions or territories will lead to accelerated development. Many of the reasons usually will point to cultural, traditional and sentimental reasons. I have not seen any research that has actually proven that the creation of regions will improve socio-economic conditions in the affected areas.”

22. In response to the above comment, a contributor at the same public hearing countered this argument with the following response:

“A region can be adopted as a basis for development... When Ghana started as Gold Coast we had three regions which evolved into four, five, eight, nine and 10. The Upper East Region today is not the same as when it was part of the Northern Region. When the Upper Region was divided into two, Upper East and Upper West, it influenced the socio-economic development of Wa. I have not written a book on this but internationally there are so many books about it and in Ghana we have seen it in practical terms”.

So we are demanding new regions because we know the difficulties we encounter when travelling across the Northern Region. We need to demarcate the region

appropriately to allow for effective planning, supervision and monitoring of development interventions. Members of the Commission, I want to emphasize and take away any doubt from your minds that regions impede development but rather promote development.”

23. It is the expectation of the petitioners and the people of the proposed regions that when created, they will serve as a catalyst for development. A contributor at the Bole public hearing indicated that *“the creation of the region is not about tribal sentiments but is meant to accelerate development as well as create the ingredients for growth poles in the Savannah enclave.”* Growth poles with the appropriate policy interventions can lead to rapid development. This is because development around a specific pole or centre will then spread across the rest of the region. Traditionally, growth poles are characterized by core industries around which related industries develop through direct and indirect effects. With respect to the creation of regions, it is anticipated that the regional capitals will develop into growth poles which will drive the rest of the region. This is particularly the case because the enclaves that have been proposed to become new regions have specific resources which could be utilized.
24. A study on the relevance and effectiveness of growth poles as a strategy for development concluded that *“tailor made growth poles strategies are required for sub Saharan Africa. Growth poles increase market size making it profitable for investments which results in higher wages and economies of scale.”* (World Bank, 2013). It is anticipated that there will be significant injection of investments in infrastructural projects as well as in the resources of the proposed region (agricultural, mining, services) and social infrastructure. The benefits from these developments will trickle down to the periphery of the proposed regions. However, this will require deliberate policy formulation coupled with effective implementation.
25. Another way in which the creation of new regions may impact the economic development of a proposed region is its effect on urbanisation. According to the World Bank (2015), *“between 1984 and 2014, the country’s urban population increased by three and half times; and contributed to the generation of rapid economic growth averaging 5.7 percent per annum for the period”*. In essence, new regions will lead to new cities and towns where economic activity will thrive and lead to employment and accelerated development.
26. The 1992 Constitution requires that there should be regional balance in development and for that reason, when a new region is created, there would be tertiary institutions, higher order health services and improved infrastructure. There is merit in the argument that the same result may be achieved without necessarily creating a new region. However, the fact that the 1992 Constitution makes it mandatory that these developments should take place elevates it above the discretion of policy makers.
27. In the run up to the 2016 elections, the leading political parties in the country, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) made specific

commitments to create new regions if voted into power. These commitments found expression in their respective party manifestoes. In the course of the Commission's consultations, political leaders were clear that they stood by their campaign and manifesto promises. The Commission observed that the creation of new regions is an area where there is agreement among all the political actors.

28. It is the belief of the Commission that the full ramifications of creating new regions have been thoroughly examined by all political leaders. The Commission has no reason to conclude otherwise. It suffices to say that the project of creating new regions demands the commitment of political leaders on both sides of the divide. To do otherwise would be calamitous. To this end, the Commission notes with satisfaction that a ministry has been created specifically to facilitate the creation of new regions. As its name, Ministry of Regional Reorganisation and Development, implies it has a mandate to supervise the re-organisation and consequent development of new regions.

11.5 Smaller sized regions will not necessarily result in accelerated development

29. The opponents of the creation of new regions have argued that there are other alternatives to achieve accelerated development. In an online article, a writer argues that there are significant flaws in the analysis for the creation of new regions. He states that, "*splitting a region is a waste of resources and is not necessary for the development of the region. Is there evidence that the smaller the size of a region, the higher the level of prosperity or the lower its incidence of poverty? The answer is no. There is no such evidence in Ghana or in any {other} country*". (https://www.myjoyonline.com/opinion/2018/April-10th).
30. The writer then cites examples from Canada's Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick which have the least land mass but rank among the lowest in per capita income. In addition, he refers to the examples of Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti and Western Regions which, though large in land size, are among the highest in terms of per capita income in Ghana. For him, this is a clear manifestation that the solution to underdevelopment and poverty does not lie in creating new regions. He concludes that what is required is the allocation of more resources to regions to facilitate development rather than splitting them. He also argues that more sub agencies of institutions delivering higher order services must be created.
31. Available evidence to the Commission from the Ghana Statistical Service as well as poverty reports on Canada and other sources do not support the writer's arguments and the examples given. For instance, the 2017 Poverty Trends Reports on Canada indicate that while the average poverty rate was 13.9 percent in Canada, Newfoundland had a poverty rate of 11.7 percent and that of Prince Edward Island was 12.9 percent. The writer's assertion that Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti and Western Regions have the highest per capita income in Ghana is not supported by available empirical evidence. According to the Ghana Statistical Service Report, the poverty levels for Brong-Ahafo, Western

and Ashanti Regions are 27.7 percent, 20.9 percent and 14.8 percent respectively. The national average for the same year was estimated to be 24.2 percent. (Greater Accra Region, the smallest region in terms of land size had a poverty index of 5.6 percent). Consequently, the argument that the three mentioned regions with large land sizes are not as described in the said article.

32. Others have argued that perhaps what should engage the attention of government is the creation of more districts rather than regions because under Ghana's current decentralized governance framework, it is at the district level that major issues are dealt with. While the Commission to some extent agrees with this position, evidence available to the Commission suggests that large regions impose difficulties in access to services, supervision and monitoring of development projects. In addition, regions also make critical investment decisions, especially in the area of road infrastructure and provision of higher order services. In other words, creating more districts will not necessarily address developmental needs of the proposed regions. These arguments have been examined in this report. Under the thematic area, spatial issues, the reasons why the land mass of a region may be an obstacle to development, and access to government and other services have been examined. The petitioners and contributors at the public hearings have highlighted the fact that access to government and higher order public services has been impaired as a result of remoteness from the regional capital.
33. Several years of neglect of road and other infrastructure have compounded the problems of the people from the petition areas in accessing government and other public services. For instance, the distance from Adaborkrom to Sekondi-Takoradi, and the poor nature of road infrastructure make it impossible for services to be accessed. It is similarly the case in the Volta Region where the poor nature of the roads on the northern part as compared to the southern part make it impossible to access services in Ho. This situation is the same in all areas the petitions emanate from.

11.6 Ghana needs more districts and not regions

34. It has been argued that for Ghana's decentralization to achieve its stated objective there is the need to focus on the District Assemblies than the regions. Some have argued that perhaps what has to be done is to create more districts. Others have opined that the creation of new district assemblies is not necessary. This Commission's mandate is limited to the creation of new regions and for that reason the merits and demerits of creating new districts will not be considered.
35. Section 188 of the Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) as amended, provides that the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) shall be responsible for: monitoring, coordinating and evaluating the performance of the District Assemblies in the region; monitoring the use of internally generated funds, as well as allocations from central Government, and reviewing and coordinating public services in the region. The RCC is also responsible for: approval of the by-laws of the District Assemblies; provision

of back-stopping support for District Assemblies which are deficient in skills and workforce; resolution of conflicts between a District Assembly and any agency of the central Government, public corporation, statutory body, non-governmental organisation or individual; oversight responsibility for second-cycle educational institutions and regional hospitals in the region on behalf of the Ministries of Education and Health; and performance of any other functions assigned to it by or under an enactment.

36. The Local Governance Act also assigns some level of responsibility to the RCC for development planning. A RCC has responsibility for: providing a District Planning Authority (DPA) with the information and data necessary to assist the Authority in the formulation of a District development plan; coordinating the plans and programmes of DPAs; harmonizing the plans and programmes of the DPA with national development policies and priorities for consideration and approval by the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC); monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the programmes and projects of the DPAs; acting on behalf of the NDPC with respect to national programmes and projects as the NDPC may direct; and performing any other planning functions that may be assigned by the NDPC.
37. Section 190 of the Local Governance Act requires RCCs to establish Regional Planning Coordinating Units which shall be responsible for advising the RCCs on: the co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation of district development plans; and matters related to development planning in the region, including spatial and sectoral policies. It also serves as the secretariat for the RCC to perform its planning functions.
38. The role of the regions and the RCCs in achieving the goals of Ghana's decentralization programme cannot be overemphasized. According to a contributor at one of the Accra public hearings, "*the prudent administrative structure required to spur development in the districts are the regions because it is through the regions that real decisions of resource allocations originate*". Another contributor at one of the public hearings in Accra added:

"One of the things which we must not forget are those who are saying that there is no purpose in creating another region because the regional tier of government is no longer relevant. I want to speak to this specific issue. The regional tier of government is still relevant because it is not just fiscal resources that bring about development. You need the critical mass of highly skilled people such as managers and engineers, who make sure that development happens at a higher level in terms of scale. That is a very important reason for the creation of a region. People may say that there is limited human resources at the current Northern Regional level and, we will say, yes that is the case because their impact is negligible because of the size of the region. By creating another region, you create a focal point where development can occur. These highly skilled people can have a location where they will live with their families and be able to take care of their surrounding areas for development."

39. A RCC's ability to perform the functions assigned under the Local Governance Act may be impaired when the landmass of the region is vast, particularly when the road infrastructure is deficient. The Council's monitoring, evaluating and supervision the the District Assemblies will be greatly affected. The Commission was informed that in a number of instances, staff of the RCCs are unable to travel to the distant places to observe conditions at first hand for which reason they sometimes have to rely on secondary data which can prove unreliable.
40. Another factor which can impair the ability of the RCCs to carry out their functions with respect to Districts Assemblies is the number of districts in the region. There must be an optimum number of districts which a RCC can effectively monitor, evaluate and supervise. Table 11.2 shows that 144 new districts have been created since the inception of the current decentralisation programme in Ghana in 1988:

Table 11.2: Number of Districts in Ghana, 1988-2018

Period	Districts	New Districts Added
1988	110	-
2004	138	28
2007	170	32
2012	216	46
2018	254	38
Total		144

Source: Compiled by the Commission of Inquiry, 2018

41. The number of districts have more than doubled since 1988. From 110 in 1988 the number now stands at 254 and yet the number of regions has remained the same. In addition, the Local Governance Act, 2016 (Act 936) has expanded the role of the RCC. There is the need to examine the performance of the RCCs as a result of the persistent increase in the number of District Assemblies over the years and their impact on the decentralisation programme.

11.7 The World is moving towards more integration

42. An issue was raised whether there was any need to create new regions since this will result in smaller enclaves. It was argued that other countries with large land masses and populations still have fewer regions compared to Ghana. It was further argued that the world is moving towards globalization and regionalism which imply integration of smaller units. At the Accra public hearing on proposed Oti Region, this view was expressed in the following terms:

“The petitioners argue that it is the responsibility of government to ensure that development is not skewed. The government of Ghana is also complaining that a chunk of the nation's revenue is dedicated towards paying public sector workers' salaries. Considering this state of affairs; “how can the government

support additional regions with the meagre funds currently at its disposal? Also, globalization encourages the merging and amalgamation of people, businesses, and not separation”.

43. According to Giddens (1990), the process of globalization has intensified the level of social relations across the globe to the extent that the happenings in one location are influenced by events occurring elsewhere. Other scholars such as Rigg (2007) and Greig et al. (2007) also assert that globalization has contributed to the growing interconnectedness of people, goods and services. Particularly for Greig et al. (2007) *“most commentators acknowledge that globalization has introduced new questions into the field of development studies”* (Greig et al., 2007:162).
44. Globalisation is a process of inter connectedness or integration of people, goods and services. Consequently, it is about the increased integration of social, political, and economic relations on a global scale. It creates opportunities for local entities to take advantage of opportunities in other parts of the globe which would otherwise have been out of reach. It requires that a country and its people position themselves in such a manner that they can take advantage of such opportunities. This is captured most appropriately in the phrase, *“think global and act local”* (Stephen, 2004). Globalisation and the division of administrative units, however, are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, the latter may be an essential requirement to take advantage of the former.
45. When regions are created, invariably there will be the proliferation of government services and private sector activities in these areas. Private sector initiatives might be investments from multinational organisations and the increased role of International NGOs who are development partners of governments. There are certain peculiarities within every social setting, state or nation that requires a more localised approach to its handling and addressing of challenges that may emerge. Some of these challenges that are peculiar to specific jurisdictions or places in the globe such as the developing countries is the issue of inequality, poverty and deprivation. These issues usually solicit a localised or a more focused approach to addressing them.
46. A mechanism for addressing local challenges is the re-organisation and creation of new regions. In creating new regions within a sovereign state in a globalised world order, the onus does not lie with governments to make decisions based on the happenings on the global level but rather on the specific needs of the people in such areas. The 1992 Constitution sets out requirements on regional balance which are aimed at ensuring even development in the country. This must be a guiding principle in the creating of new regions.
47. The same argument made about the implication of globalization for the creation of administrative units can be made within the context of regional integration at the international level. One of the key features of international economic relations is the integration of countries within regions. In Africa, there are examples of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development

Community (SADC). There is also the example of the European Union (EU) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The creation of new regions in a sovereign country and regionalism at the international level are not mutually exclusive.

48. It is evident that the nature of the creation of regions is indeed contextual and thus varies from country to country and does not in any way negatively affect the globalization process. What it rather does is to open up previously remote and inaccessible areas in a country to the rest of the world to enable them have a stake in their own development and contribute towards the globalization process.
49. It is important that a country positions itself appropriately to take advantage of the opportunities that the regional integration presents. The 1992 Constitution sets out requirements on regional balance which are aimed at ensuring balanced development across the country. One of the tools for ensuring even development is the reorganization of the administrative regions of the country. Indeed, Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution empowers the citizenry to initiate the process for the creation of new regions.

11.8 The constitutional rights of citizens

50. In the view of the Commission, a fundamental point underlining the demand for the creation of new regions may be premised on rights granted to citizens under the 1992 Constitution. Most of the reasons ascribed by the petitioners for demanding the creation of new regions are literally founded on the provisions on the Directive Principles of State Policy, as enshrined in Chapter 6 of the 1992 Constitution. This is the case even though they are not expressly stated in the petitions. A close analysis of the petitions reveals that they are founded more or less on the absence of compliance with the provision of the Directive Principle of State Policy. It is arguable that all the petitioners seek is compliance with these provisions.
51. An examination of the points raised by the petitioners in the light of the provisions of Chapter 6 of the 1992 Constitution would be appropriate. The petitioners have complained about lack of inclusion in political and other appointments. They have cited examples of ministerial appointments over the years going to certain parts of a region to the disadvantage of the rest of them. Article 35 (6) (b) provides as follows:

“(6) Towards the achievement and objectives stated in Clause 5 of this article, the state shall take appropriate measures to ... (b) achieve reasonable regional and gender balance in recruitment and appointment to public offices.”
52. The argument of the petitioners is that these provisions in the Constitution appear not to have been complied with, and therefore, they have been excluded unfairly. They argue further that the intent of the provision is to ensure equity in the recruitment and appointment to public offices. In their view, the creation of a new region, would ensure that they have an equitable share of recruitment and appointment, as envisaged by Article 35(6) (b) of the 1992 Constitution.

53. The essence of the petitioners' argument may be extended to the issues they raised about the inadequate educational facilities in their respective enclaves. This argument may be considered in terms of Article 38 (1) of the 1992 Constitution which provides as follows:

“(1) the state shall provide educational facilities at all levels and in all the regions of Ghana, and shall, to the extent feasible, make those facilities available to all citizens.”

54. The petitioners have complained about the uneven balance in the provision of educational facilities within their regions. As far as they are concerned, this imbalance has remained so throughout 60 years of Ghana's existence as a nation. They argue therefore, that government has not ensured that the provisions of Article 38 (1) have been implemented as contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. Their desire is that this gap should be addressed through the creation of a new region.

55. Another provision which seems to capture the essence of the demands for the creation of new regions is Article 36 (2) of the 1992 Constitution which provides;

“(2) the state shall, in particular, take all necessary steps to establish a sound and healthy economy whose underlining principles shall include:

(d) undertaking even and balanced development of all regions and every part of each region of Ghana, and, in particular improving the conditions of life in the rural areas and generally, redressing any imbalance in development between the rural and urban centres.”

56. A contributor at the public hearing in Accra on the proposed North East Region expressed the human rights dimension as follows:

“I want to make a submission on access to justice. When you look at Chapter 5 of the 1992 Constitution, Article 12 (1) says that the fundamental human rights and freedom enshrined in this chapter shall be respected and upheld by the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary and all other organs of Government and its agencies and where applicable to them by all natural and legal persons in Ghana and shall be enforceable by the Courts as provided by the Constitution.

When you look at the number of Courts we have in the Northern Region. We have only one High Court in Tamale and of course the Court of Appeal as well. But when you look at the district Courts we have nine Courts in total and out of the nine only two are within the proposed North East Region which are the Nalerigu and Walewale District Courts. So, when you look at the enforcement of fundamental human rights of people within this proposed region, there are some big issues. So, I therefore wish to submit as a human rights practitioner that the Commission should look at this submission of ours and make sure that we have a North East

Region that will provide in the chosen capital all the Courts that should be there to look at the fundamental human rights of the people.”

57. Article 35 (3) of the 1992 Constitution enjoins the government to provide citizens equal access to public facilities and services. In view of the State’s failure to provide equal access to public facilities and services across the country, it can be argued that the Directive Principles of State Policy have been breached. Citizens have the right, under such circumstances to demand the creation of new regions if they believe that their predicament may be alleviated that way.

11.9 Creating new regions may give rise to conflicts

58. The creation of new regions in Ghana has been criticized by sections of Ghanaian society alleging that it may give rise to both inter and intra-regional conflicts. Those who hold this view alleged that the creation of new regions may affect traditional allegiances. Some traditional leaders, particularly, from the Northern Region have indicated their wish that no part of their traditional area should be ceded to another region.
59. A traditional leader at one of the Commission’s consultations stressed that there should be no attempt to re-demarcate existing boundaries and traditional lands of the Kingdom of Dagbon and add it to any of the two proposed regions in the Northern Region. He noted that the Overlord of Dagbon could no longer exercise his authority over parts of the Kingdom of Dagbon now in the Republic of Togo. The traditional leader also cited the example of some traditional areas in the Brong-Ahafo Region, such as Chiraa, which owe allegiance to the Asantehene that allegedly are facing challenges. He concluded that the people of Dagbon do not want to revisit the problems of the past.
60. In an article dated 19th March, 2018 and published on the Modern Ghana website (<https://www.modernghana.com/news/842453/creation-of-new-regionsdistricts-in-ghana-lets-build-unit.html>), the author intimated that:

“If the issue is not managed well, the next move after the politicians have divided these traditional zones under the guise of creation of new regions and districts is secession. Our traditional heads will start conniving with mischievous politicians to secede from their mother traditional areas... On the issue about agitations emanating from some Voltarians in connection with the new region, let’s not rubbish their concerns. The truth is that the Akan-Voltarians speak impeccable Twi, some still see themselves as allies of the Asantehene and do their things same way as the Ashantis do. Twenty to forty years to come after the division, the likelihood of the politician applying all the theories to pull them totally away from their mother region in terms of culture and political persuasion is high.”

61. The Commission’s consultations involved extensive travels in the areas from which the petitions emanated. It was observed that there was unity of purpose among the people of those areas. The minority ethnic groups consistently demonstrated support for the

proposed regions. While admitting that the issue of traditional allegiance is an emotive one, the Commission is of the view that access to government and public services and accelerated development must be the driving force in the creation of new regions.

62. It is expected that government and other political actors, who are all agreed that there is need for creating new regions will take steps to deal with any fallout from the creation of new regions. As a contributor at the Buipe public hearing stressed, *“the subject matter of creation of regions is not a political football game. It is rather about national development so that they can uplift the socio-economic development of the people.”*
63. At a lecture delivered as part of the Golden Jubilee of Ghana’s independence, Kumado (2007) stated:

“In making this proposal, I am aware of the requirement of Chapter 2 of our Constitution on the creation of new regions. I know this includes the holding of a referendum. I know the referendum considerations are stringent, but I do not think we have much choice. The future of Freedom and Justice in our nation is at stake. Only the creation of more regions will help us overcome the problems of colonialism.... No doubt, as with new districts, there would be problems of infrastructure and where to locate new regional capitals. There are no real issues here for even now, those involved in the inner working of our government know how difficult it is to appoint Regional Ministers. There will also be the cost of providing one-time logistics. Administrative costs should not be a problem because they are already covered in existing budgets. The panacea for tribalism, for those for whom, it is a problem, lies in these new regions. There is room, in my considered opinion, for as many as ten new regions. These new regions would also help in our desire to develop the whole country more equitably. On reflection, the ruddy sizes of the existing regions may be part of the bane for our development efforts.”

64. This Commission agrees with Kumado that the creation of new regions is imperative for the equitable distribution of national resources for the balanced development of Ghana as a whole. The creation of new regions will not be without challenges some of which may be colossal. However, that notwithstanding, the potential benefits from the creation of new regions will in the medium to long term outweigh the challenges.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Commission's terms of reference mandated it to inquire into the need and substantial demand for the creation of new regions. It is also required to make recommendations to the President based on its findings on the creation and alteration of regions and to specify the issues and places where the referendum should be held if recommendations are made for the creation and alteration of regions.
2. In furtherance of its mandate, the Commission after embarking on a series of consultations with all six petitioners in Accra, held public hearings in the areas from which the petitions emanated in order to observe at first hand the conditions in the areas and verify assertions made by the petitioners independently. These public hearings in the areas from which the petitions emanated were participatory in nature as it afforded participants and petitioners the opportunity to freely express their views on the need and substantial demand for the creation of new regions. In addition, the Commission invited written submissions from organisations, groups and interested members of the general public. The data gathered, and independently analysed, included written and oral submissions, as well as field data compiled by the Commission.
3. Based on data gathered and analysed, the Commission concluded that it had established substantial demand and need in all six areas from which the petitions emanated. On the basis of the foregoing, the Commission recommends the creation of six new regions out of the following regions: Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Volta and Western Regions. The areas proposed for the referendum are as follows:
 - a. *Proposed Western North Region:* The Commission has established that there is substantial demand and need for the creation of a region out of the northern part of the Western Region and recommends that a referendum be held in the following municipalities and districts: Aowin Municipality, Bia East District, Bia West District, Bodi District, Juabeso District, Sefwi Akontombra District, Suaman District, Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai Municipality, and Sefwi Wiawso Municipality. The Commission could not establish substantial demand in the case of the Wassa Amenfi traditional area and for that reason recommends the exclusion of Wassa Amenfi East, Wassa Amenfi Central and Wassa Amenfi West Districts from the proposed Western North Region.
 - b. *Proposed Oti Region:* In respect of the Volta Region, the Commission also established that there was substantial demand for the creation of a region out of the northern part of the Volta Region, and recommends that a referendum be held in the following municipalities and districts: Biakoye District, Jasikan District, Kadjebi District, Krachi East Municipality, Krachi West District, Krachi Nchumuru District, Nkwanta South Municipality and Nkwanta North District. The Commission also recommends the inclusion of the Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe and Lolobi traditional

areas in the proposed Oti Region. The Commission could not establish substantial demand in the case of the Kpandai District because of a split between those who preferred to join the proposed Oti Region and others who wanted to go along with the proposed Savannah Region. In addition, a third group expressed a preference for remaining in the Northern Region. Consequently, the Commission recommends the exclusion of Kpandai District from the areas for referendum in the proposed Oti Region.

- c. *Proposed Ahafo Region:* The Commission also established that there was substantial demand and need for the creation of a new region out of the existing Brong-Ahafo Region and therefore recommends that a referendum be held in the proposed Ahafo Region. The areas for the referendum in the proposed Ahafo Region comprise the following municipalities and districts located in the Brong-Ahafo Region: Asunafo South District, Asunafo North Municipality, Asutifi North District, Asutifi South District, Tano South Municipality, and Tano North Municipality. The Commission could not establish substantial demand for the Ahafo Ano South District and Ahafo Ano North Municipality of the Ashanti Region to be included in the proposed Ahafo Region. Consequently, the Commission recommends the exclusion of these two areas from participating in the referendum.
- d. *Proposed Bono East Region:* Substantial demand and need for the creation of a new region out of the Brong-Ahafo Region was established by the Commission. The Commission recommends that a referendum be held in the following municipalities and districts in the proposed Bono East Region: Atebubu-Amantin Municipality, Nkoranza South Municipality, Nkoranza North District, Kintampo South District, Kintampo North Municipality, Pru District, Pru West District, Sene East District, Sene West District, Techiman Municipality and Techiman North District.
- e. *Proposed Savannah Region:* The Commission established substantial demand and need in the proposed Savannah Region and recommends that a referendum be held in the following: Bole District, Central Gonja District, East Gonja Municipality, North Gonja District, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District and West Gonja District. The Commission recommends the exclusion of the Kpandai District because substantial demand could not be established. These reasons are as contained in paragraph 3 (3b).
- f. *Proposed North East Region:* The Commission on concluding its assessment established that there was substantial demand and need for the creation of the proposed North East Region out of the Northern Region. Therefore, it recommends that a referendum be held in the following municipalities and districts: Chereponi District, East Mamprusi Municipality, Bunkpurugu-Nakpanduri District, Yunyoo-Nasuan District, West Mamprusi Municipality, and Mamprugu-Moagduri District.

4. On the places to vote, the Commission recommends that the referendum be held only in the areas within the boundaries of the proposed regions. This recommendation is consistent with Ghana's past history on plebiscites and referendums (1949 and 1956), as well as international best practices from Scotland, Southern Sudan, East Timor and other areas.
5. The Commission recommends that only registered voters within the proposed regions should be eligible to participate in the referendum. It also recommends that the only question to be posed at the referendum is whether the voter supports the creation of the proposed new region or not. The specific question to be posed at the referendum is as follows:

“Are you in favour of the creation of the new region? YES or NO”

6. In the event that the referendums on the creation of the proposed regions are all successful, Appendix 4 shows the proposed administrative map of Ghana comprising 16 Regions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: List of persons and institutions that assisted the Commission

Name	Designation
Office of the President	
Nana Asante Bediatuo	Secretary to the President
Francis Asenso-Boakye	Deputy Chief of Staff & Political Assistant to the President
Edmund Boateng	Special Aide to the Chief of Staff
Lt. Col. George Oduro	Military Attaché to the Chief of Staff
Kizito Ballans	Chief Director, Chief of Staff Office
Henry Michael Wood	Director, Finance and Administration
Frank Asiedu Bekoe	Director, Political Affairs, Chief of Staff Office
Harriet Kyeremanteng	Deputy Director, Political Affairs, Chief of Staff Office
Marvin Agyeman	Director, IT
Emmanuel Asare	Deputy Director, IT
Archibald Frimpong	Technical Assistant, Political Affairs Directorate
Odeneho Nana Oppong	Director of Transport
Akwasi Oteng	Technical Assistant, Transport and Logistics
Barbara Mills Tettey	Head of Estates
Sadia Musa Saaka	Estate Officer
Dominic Oppong -Adjei	IT Officer
Ministry of Regional Reorganisation and Development	
Hon. Martin Adjei-Mensah Korsah	Deputy Minister
Samuel Akoto-Danso	Technical Advisor
Dawarnoba Baeka	Chief Director
Samuel Seth Passah	Head of Technical Team
Miriam Nana Ama Amoah	Senior Programme Officer
Lawrencia Womwumagi	Personal Assistant to the Deputy Minister
David Twum-Ampofo	Senior Executive Officer (Pol.)
All Staff of the Ministry	
Ministry of Justice and Attorney General's Department	
Hon. Gloria Afua Akuffo	Minister of Justice and Attorney General
Hon. Godfred Dame	Deputy Minister
Helen Ziwu	Solicitor General
Mavis Amoah	Head, Legislative Drafting Division
Henry Tackey	Chief State Attorney
Ministry of Interior	
Hon. Ambrose Dery (MP)	Minister
David Asante Apeatu	IGP
DCOP Simon Yao Afeku	Director General, Operations
DCOP Dr. George A. Dampare	Former Director General, Operations



Name	Designation
Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development	
Hon. Hajia Alima Mahama (MP)	Minister, MLGRD
Ministry of Information	
Hon. Dr. Mustapha Abdul-Hamid	Minister for Information
Frank Asiedu	Senior Information Officer
Edith Glover-Akpey	Senior Information Officer
Luis Cudjoe Tepretu	Cinematographer
Emmanuel Q. Ashong	Senior Technical Officer
Commission of Inquiry Secretariat	
Robert Atta Obeng	Senior Assistant Researcher
Sarfo Baffour Gyimah Kantanka	Assistant Researcher
Lawrence Arthur	Assistant Researcher
Edna Asante	Recorder
Adwoa Ohenewa Dade	Secretary
Vanessa Ofosu	Office Assistant
Appah Mensah	Driver
Kenneth Agyei	Driver
Sgt. Christian Owusu	Security Attaché
Regional Ministers and their Deputies	
Hon. Dr. Kwaku Afriyie (MP)	Western Regional Minister
Hon. Gifty Eugenia Kusi	Western Deputy Regional Minister
Hon. Dr. Archibald Yao Letsa	Volta Regional Minister
Hon. Maxwell Blagogee	Volta Deputy Regional Minister
Hon. Kwaku Asomah-Cheremeh	Brong-Ahafo Regional Minister
Hon. Evans Opoku Bobbie (MP)	Brong-Ahafo Deputy Regional Minister
Hon. Salifu Sa-eed	Northern Regional Minister
Hon. Solomon Boar (MP)	Northern Deputy Regional Minister
Hon. Rockson Ayine Bukari	Upper East Regional Minister
Regional Coordinating Councils	
All Chief Directors	Western, Volta, Brong-Ahafo and Northern Regions
District Assemblies	
Municipal and District Chief Executives	Western, Volta, Brong-Ahafo and Northern Regions

APPENDIX 2: Schedule of in-camera meetings

Date	Area
21 st November, 2017	Western North
22 nd November, 2017	Oti
23 rd November, 2017	Ahafo
28 th November, 2017	Bono East
29 th November, 2017	Savannah
5 th December, 2017	North East
11th December, 2017	Western Regional Coordinating Council
11th December, 2017	Western Regional House Of Chiefs
15 th January, 2018	Volta Regional Coordinating Council
15th January, 2018	Volta Regional House Of Chiefs
5 th February, 2018	Brong Ahafo Regional Coordinating Council
5th February, 2018	Brong Ahafo Regional House Of Chiefs
12 th March, 2018	Northern Regional Coordinating Council
12 th March, 2018	Northern Regional House Of Chiefs
18 th April, 2018	Meeting With The National House Of Chiefs
22 nd May, 2018	Meeting With Members Of Parliament

APPENDIX 3: Advertisements of meetings with petitioners

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 **REPUBLIC OF GHANA** 
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE CREATION OF NEW REGIONS

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

The public is hereby informed that the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions established by the President under CI 105 will hold public hearings in the Western Region from **12th to 16th December 2017** at the following venues:

Venue	Date	Time
Akroma Plaza, Takoradi.	12 th Dec 2017	10 am
Methodist Church Auditorium, Enchi, Aowin-Suaman District	13 th Dec 2017	10 am
Methodist Church, Wassa Akropong, Wassa Amenfi District.	14 th Dec 2017	10 am
Catholic Church, Adaborkrom, Bia East District.	15 th Dec 2017	10 am
Catholic Pastoral Centre, Wiawso, Sefwi Wiawso Municipal District.	16 th Dec 2017	9.30 am
Christ Apostolic Church, Bibiani, Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai District.	16 th Dec 2017	2.30 pm

Persons who wish to appear before the Commission may do so at the venues and times indicated above.

Signed
Jacob Saah
Secretary to the Commission



REPUBLIC OF GHANA
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
 INTO THE CREATION OF NEW REGIONS



NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

The public is hereby informed that the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions established by the President under CI 105 will hold public hearings in the Volta Region from **16th to 20th January 2018** at the following venues:

Venue	Date	Time
Dr. Afeti Auditorium, Ho Technical University, Ho.	16 th January 2018	10 am
Kete-Krachi Senior High School, Kete-Krachi.	17 th January 2018	10 am
Nkwanta South Municipal Assembly Hall, Nkwanta.	18 th January, 2018	10 am
Kpassa Senior High Secondary Technical School Hall, Kpassa.	19 th January, 2018	10 am
Nsuta Catholic Formation Center, Jasikan.	20 th January, 2018	10 am

Persons who wish to appear before the Commission may do so at the venues and times indicated above.

Signed
Jacob Saah
 Secretary to the Commission



REPUBLIC OF GHANA
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE CREATION OF NEW REGIONS



PUBLIC NOTICE

The public is hereby informed that the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions established by the President under CI 105 will hold public hearings in the Brong Ahafo Region from **6th to 17th February 2018** at the following venues:

Venue	Date	Time
A. Bono East public hearings		
Eusbett Hotel Conference Hall, Sunyani	6 th February, 2018	10 am
Community Centre in Kajaji, Sene East District	7 th February, 2018	10 am
Methodist Church in Yeji, Pru District	8 th February, 2018	10 am
Anglican Church in Atebubu, Atebubu- Amantin District	9 th February, 2018	10am
Municipal Assembly Hall in Nkoranza, Nkoranza District	10 th February, 2018	10 am
Community Centre in Techiman, Techiman Municipality	12 th February, 2018	10 am
B. Ahafo public hearings		
Eusbett Hotel Conference Hall, Sunyani	13 th February, 2018	10 am
St Anthony of Padual Cathedral in Goaso , Asunafo North Municipality	14 th February, 2018	10 am
St Peters Catholic Church in Sankore, Asunafo South District	15 th February, 2018	10 am
Hwidiem SHS Assembly Hall in Hwidiem , Asutifi North District	16 th February, 2018	10 am
Bechem Community Centre in Bechem, Tano South District	17 th February, 2018	10 am

The public is further informed that the public hearings from 6th to 12th February 2018 will be restricted to discussions on the petition for the creation of a new region in the Bono East area. The petition for the creation of a new region in the Ahafo area will be discussed at the public hearings from 13th to 17th February 2018.

Persons who wish to appear before the Commission may do so at the venues and times indicated above.

Signed
Jacob Saah
Secretary to the Commission



REPUBLIC OF GHANA
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE CREATION OF NEW REGIONS



PUBLIC NOTICE

The public is hereby informed that the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions established by the President under CI 105 will hold public hearings in the Northern Region from 13th to 25th March 2018 at the following venues:

Venue	Date	Time
Radach Lodge Events Centre, Tamale	13 March, 2018	10:00 am
Damongo Senior High School Assembly Hall, Damongo, West Gonja District	14 March, 2018	10:00 am
Central Gonja District Assembly Hall, Buipe, Central Gonja District	15 March, 2018	10.00am
Bole Senior High School Dinning Hall, Bole, Bole District	17 March, 2018	10:00 am
Community Centre, Sawla, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba District	18 March 2018	10:00 am
Salaga Senior High School Assembly Hall, Salaga, East Gonja District	19 March, 2018	10:00 am
Radach Lodge Events Centre, Tamale	20 March, 2018	10:00 am
Nalerigu Senior High School Assembly Hall, Nalerigu, East Mamprusi District	21 March, 2018	10:00 am
Calvary Assemblies of God Church, Bunkpurugu, Bunkpurugu Yunyoo District	22 March, 2018	10:00 am
Yagaba Senior High School Assembly Hall, Yagaba, Mamprugu-Moagduri District	24 March, 2018	10:00 am
Walewale Senior Secondary Technical High School Dining Hall, Walewale, West Mamprusi District	25 March, 2018	10:00 am

The public is further informed that the public hearing on Tuesday, 13th March, 2018 in Tamale will be restricted to discussions on the petition from the Gonja Traditional Area.

The petition from the Mamprugu Traditional Area will be discussed at the public hearing in Tamale on Tuesday 20th March 2018

Persons who wish to appear before the Commission may do so at the venues and times indicated above.

Signed
Jacob Saah
Secretary to the Commission



REPUBLIC OF GHANA
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
 INTO THE CREATION OF NEW REGIONS



PUBLIC NOTICE

The public is hereby informed that the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions established by the President under CI 105 will hold public hearings at the Accra International Conference Centre (AICC), Accra on the following dates and times.

DATE	PUBLIC HEARING	TIME
Thursday, 5 th April, 2018	Petition from the Chiefs and people of the Northern part of the Western Region	10:00 am
	Petition from the Chiefs and people of the Northern part of the Volta Region	2:00 pm
Friday, 6 th April, 2018	Petition from the Chiefs and people of Ahafo in the Brong-Ahafo Region	10:00 am
	Petition from the Chiefs and people of Bono East in the Brong-Ahafo Region	2:00 pm
Tuesday, 10 th April, 2018	Petition from the Overlord and people of the Gonja Traditional Area in the Northern Region	10:00 am
	Petition from the Overlord and people of Mamprugu Traditional Area in the Northern Region	2:00 pm

Persons who wish to appear before the Commission to make submissions on the petitions may do so on the dates and times indicated above.

The public is also invited to submit memoranda on the demands for the creation of new regions to the Commission of Inquiry into the Creation of New Regions. All memoranda may be submitted in hard or soft copies to the **Secretary, Commission Of Inquiry Into The Creation Of New Regions, Castle-Osu, Accra** or via *Email: commission@oop.gov.gh on or before close of work, **Friday, 13th April, 2018.**

For further enquiries, please do not hesitate to contact the under-signed on Telephone Number **0302906404.**

Signed
Jacob Saah
 Secretary to the Commission

**This advert supersedes the Tuesday, 27th March, 2018 publication.
 Any inconvenience caused is deeply regretted.**

APPENDIX 4: Proposed administrative map of Ghana comprising 16 Regions

GHANA IN PERSPECTIVE

