



INCEPTION CONFERENCE

19th and 20th December 2022



INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE INCEPTION WORKSHOP

On the 19th and 20th December 2022 a group of researchers on the project *Where have the workers gone? Labour and work in Ghana, 1951-2010* gathered in Elmina near Cape Coast to participate in the inception conference. The event was the first in-person meeting of team members was held to discuss and refine the research questions and methodological approaches for undertaking the project. They were joined by Ghanaian academics working in the area of labour and work and graduate students of the University of Cape Coast (see the photograph below). The workshop was organized and hosted by Professor Akua O. Britwum, University of Cape Coast, one of the consultants in the project team.



The project is a collaborative research venture between scholars based at the University of Cambridge in the UK, Humboldt University Berlin, Germany and in Ghana, the Universities of Ghana and Cape Coast. Also central to the project are two PhD candidates and a postdoctoral fellow. The project deliverables include two PhD dissertations, one collective volume or a special journal issue from the research projects, and journal articles. It is funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council and the German Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

About the project

The project is based on the notion that labour has always been essential to economic and social life in Africa. Even though interest in the subject wavered since the 1980s a few exceptions have emerged in a process called the rebirth of interest in African labour history. The shift, both historical and historiographical, responds to contestations around the traditional assumptions about the labour situation in Africa. It includes an accumulation of evidence pointing to the simplicity of observations that the direction of change in labour relations in Africa from the late colonial and early postcolonial periods was towards full “proletarianisation”. The interest in labour history in African studies is also characterised by a trend to analyse work “beyond wage labour” and to focus increasingly on “informal” and “precarious” labour. While examining the rapid urbanisation and the “land rush” accompanying the unprecedented

continent-wide economic boom from 1995 until recently, some have questioned the viability of old assumptions that the African workforce is destined to be waged.

Project Goals

The project seeks to draw on Ghana's substantial labour historiography from the colonial period and potentially excellent primary sources for the postcolonial. The project aims to examine the period from 1951, when Kwame Nkrumah entered government under 'joint rule' with the outgoing British colonial administration, to 2010, the eve of Ghana becoming an oil exporter. The starting date is chosen to allow the examination of the labour implications of Ghanaian government policies since the effective beginning of decolonisation.

The following questions guide the project:

- Has the growth of wage labour resumed? And where did the workers go?
- How can research blend social and economic history approaches, combining the systematic use of qualitative and quantitative sources, to develop a national overview to represent significant aspects of the experience of labour?
- What developments have occurred in the labour market since independence? How have other tendencies subverted existing processes?
- How do the working lives of different categories of workers change over time? How do the various forms of work overlap within households and in the lives of individuals?

Project team in Elmina



Six members of the team were present in person. The seventh, Andreas Eckert (below), was unable to be present so participated online. The team comprises the two Principal Investigators, on the UK AHRC and German DFT sides respectively: Gareth Austin (University of Cambridge) and Andreas Eckert (Humboldt University, Berlin); two senior Ghanaian 'Consultants' (co-investigators), Akua O. Britwum (University of Cape Coast) and Nana Yaw Spong (University of Ghana); a Post-doctoral Research Affiliate, Igor Martins (University of Cambridge), and two PhD candidates, Felix Yao Amenorhu and Hedvig Lagercrantz (both Humboldt University).



DAY 1: MONDAY 19TH DECEMBER





Participants at the opening

Project background – Gareth Austin
Programme overview, workshop objectives – Akua O Britwum



Gareth Austin giving an overview of the research project and its contents



Akua O Britwum presenting workshop purpose and expected outcomes

Guest Presentation: Historiography: Trends and theoretical debates for labour researchers - Akosua Darkwa





Prof Akosua K Darkwa delivering her guest presentation

PRESENTATIONS ON RESEARCH CLUSTER THEMATIC AREAS

History of Labour and Work in Post-Colonial Ghana 1951-2010: The Changing Economic Context – *Gareth Austin*

Extended Abstract:

The purpose of the paper is to sketch the changing economic contexts in which the history of labour and work unfolded in Ghana over the sixty years examined by this project. This extended abstract will sketch the sketch, thus omitting much important refinement. The period is bookended by two events which signalled fundamental shifts in the country's political economy. The year 1951 saw the first national elections in Ghana and the entry of African politicians into government in the British colony of the Gold Coast, under a system of 'joint rule', preceding internal self-government in 1954. The year 2010 marked the beginning of petroleum exports. This paper is organised around three themes: population growth, urbanisation, and – in a little more detail – economic growth.

First, the multiplication of population, and therefore of the potential labour force. The census returns of 1948 and 2010 show a rise by almost six times from 4,118,450 to 24,558,825. We know from later censuses that the 1948 one was an undercount; in a separate conference paper I suggest that real number was at least 4,876,000, which would still mean that population quintupled over the study period. This increase is on such a scale as to be potentially transformative: for example, it raises the issue of whether Ghana has ceased to be land-abundant and labour-scarce, as W. A. Lewis noted in his 1953 report on 'Industrialisation and the Gold Coast', where he pointed to the 'acute shortage of labour' (p. 3) as a basic constraint on prospects for industrial development. Of course, the rising number of prospective workers needs to be tracked in relation to the area of land under or suitable for cultivation, push and pull factors in migration, and advances in education. It should also be noted that the birth rate has been on a downward trend with rising levels of female education and higher income per head: the population will stabilise, though not yet.

Second, the share of the population living in towns tripled between the 1948 and 2010 censuses, from 17.1% to 50.9%. A much larger urban population suggests opportunities for specialisation and diversification in occupations, and highlights the importance of inquiring into the respective trajectories of 'formal' and 'informal' employment (Hart 1973, and much subsequent work). Did urbanisation represent economic development, or a relocation of the poor, or perhaps both? Again, given that the bulk of the food that enabled the increased urban population to live and work came from the Ghanaian countryside (after allowing for imports, and urban farming), we can ask whether the evolving pattern of (often self-)employment in agriculture suggests increased specialisation within the agricultural sector. Evidently, this was not a case of export agriculture being swallowed

up by the need for foodcrops, because cocoa output – after a slow and then rapid decline 1965-83 – recovered and expanded to record levels.

Third, the economic growth record can itself be summarised in three sub-periods.¹ The first was one of very slow average annual growth in real income per head: 1.57% from 1951 to the peak in 1971, 1.23% over 1951-74 as a whole. The best that can be said is that, on average, the economy grew faster than the population. Growth was not only slow but precarious: half the individual years saw an actual fall in real GDP per head compared to the year before. The second sub-period was the catastrophe of 1975-83, with a fall in 7 of the 9 years ending in 1983, when real GDP per head was recorded at only 64% of the 1974 level. The third sub-period was the recovery and sustained growth over 1983-2010, when real GDP per head doubled, with annual average growth of 7.62%, and every year after 1983 seeing a rise compared to the year before. What does this GDP record suggest for the study of labour history?

Arguably, the stuttering growth of the economy in the first sub-period (to 1974), would make it unsurprising that growth in private sector employment would be much greater in informal than in formal enterprises. Conversely, the rapid recovery and continued expansion of output in the third sub-period (after 1983) might lead one to expect a sustained expansion in the workforces of formal-sector enterprises; but then again, this was the period of market liberalism in policy, the era in which, in much of the world, regular contracts tended to give way to precarious ones. Was the expansion of the economy based on precarious labour or did it generate a major growth of relatively secure jobs, now – in an era of privatization – in the private rather than the public sector?

In between these two longer sub-periods, the 1984 census offers insights into the broad welfare and developmental impacts of the economic calamity of 1975-83. The census showed a remarkably low number of ‘economically inactive’ people: just 9.8% of the labour force, compared to 14.2 and 14.9% respectively in the immediately preceding (1970) and immediately following (2000) censuses. Again, while recorded economic output had plummeted, unemployment – according to the census returns – had drastically receded, for both men and women: as a share of the economically active population, the censuses give it as 6.0% in 1970, 2.8% in 1984 and 10.4% in 2000. The data on inactivity and unemployment in 1984 surely reflect people’s desperation to find additional sources of income in order to survive amid general economic shrinkage. There is much evidence, not necessarily

¹ The figures in this paragraph are based on the Maddison Project database (2013 edition), which has the virtue of covering the whole period (unlike the World Bank’s series, for example). It calculates real income per head in 2011 G-K ‘international’ dollars. So far I have two published papers analysing this economic growth record: Austin, ‘National Poverty and the “Vampire State” in Ghana: A Review Article’, *Journal of International Development*, 8: 4 (1996), pp. 553-73; Austin, ‘Ghana and Kenya Facing the 1970s Commodity Price Shocks: the National and the Global’, in Shigeru Akita (ed.), *Oil Crises of the 1970s and the Transformation of International Order: Economy, Development and Aid in Asia and Africa* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming November 2023).

systematically quantified, of the search for additional income streams, whether in cash or in kind, as in the temporary proliferation of foodcrop planting in areas not designated for that purpose. The 1984 census also shows that urbanisation slowed or perhaps stopped during the collapse: the urban share of the population was up only 3.1 percentage points in the 14 years since the 1970 census, whereas the latter showed a rise of 5.8 points in the 10 years since the 1960 census. Again, urbanisation took off again during the economic recovery, with a rise in the urban share of population by 11.8 percentage points from 1984 to 2000. To be sure, not everyone stayed in the villages during the economic collapse; many teachers, health workers and people in general left for Nigeria in particular; but then, a million Ghanaians were expelled from Nigeria in early 1983, and most of them would have been counted in the 1984 census. Overall, the census provides strong indications of the 1975-83 subperiod as one not only of falling real incomes and therefore increasing poverty, but also of stagnation or regression in terms of the structural development of the economy. These were years in which the primary sector *actually increased* as a share of employment: it stood at 61.1% in 1984, up from 57.0% in 1970, before falling during the post-1983 economic expansion, to 53.1% in 2000 and 41.5% in 2010.

Ghana has often been seen as a test case of Africa's economic development. Whatever the merits of that label, the economic history of the decolonisation and independence era, to 2010, shows certain features that are broadly shared with almost all of the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa: the very rapid growth of population, latterly combined with declining birth rates; urbanisation; and the absence of sustained economic growth across the era as a whole. One might add the only modest growth of manufacturing as a share of output and employment. What is strikingly distinctive in the Ghanaian case is the timing of the sub-periods of boom and bust: the unusually severe, indeed catastrophic, decline of 1975-83, and the rapidity of the economic recovery under 'Structural Adjustment', when most of Africa experienced a 'lost decade' of economic growth. In my view, this combination of similarity with and difference from the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa makes Ghana a very appropriate case study for people concerned with the region as a whole: there is enough similarity to make the differences interesting.



Prof Gareth Austin delivering his presentation

Organised Labour in Ghana's Postcolonial History – Nana Yaw Boampong Sapong

Abstract:

The historiography on organised labour in Ghana often point to some of the foundational reasons for workers' discontent. These include unattractive conditions of service and the provocative attitude of management, a strong worker bargaining position through unions, and a shared history of struggles. These proletarianised reasons become problematic when they hinder attempts to analyse the changing work-scape and lives of the different categories of workers.

My interest in social movements as well as the labour market and working lives has led me to ponder how and why contestations in the labour market, often between employer and employee, or the state and labour unions inform the trajectory of developments in the labour market in Ghana/Africa.

This presentation interrogates change in the working lives of different categories of workers, the shifting role and importance of labour organization, and the state's attempt to regulate workers, using historical vignettes from different periods. These vignettes, constructed from newspaper accounts (Daily Graphic) and an obituary, also capture the complexity of working lives, whether formal or informal, and the place and role of organised labour in improving working lives.

From the January 1956 Boat boys' strike, the June 1957 strike by junior employees of the Daily Graphic, and the March 1978 strike by the Ghana Registered Nurses Association, concerns of workers and the repertoire of protest tools are revealed. Additionally, the state's attempt to disempower labour organisations are shown through policies such as the Industrial Regulations (Amendment) Bill of 1971. Also, from the March 1958 salary increment for Justices of Ghana's higher courts, scholars are reminded of the different categories of work, the notions of "good and respectable work," and differences in wages informed by hierarchies. Finally, from the obituary of Mr. Tamakloe, a retired psychiatry nurse, researchers are reminded of the difficulty in securing employment, even for African war veterans in the late colonial to early self-rule period.





Dr. Nana Yaw Boampong Sapong presenting his paper

Gendered labour: the production and reproduction nexus – Akua O Britwum

Abstract

The paper contributes to the debate on the conceptual framing for exploring the totality of Ghanaian women's provisioning activities within the project period. The usual accounts are based on frames that separate women's reproductive labour from their productive work. This situation is supported by mainstream economic accounting, which assumes that only transactions that pass through the market contribute to the economy. Feminists of various persuasions generally, and Marxist feminists in particular, have contested the limited conceptualisation of national economies stating that women's unpaid work is as critical to as traded goods and services.

Various approaches have been instituted to connect paid and unpaid production of goods and services in national economies. Such attempts are not limited to discussions on women's work alone

but other forms of production engaged by rural and low-income communities to survive. Thus the informal economy and its linkages with the formal is one such exercise, and so is peasant and subsistence production. The notion of duality or even multiplicities of economic sectors is deeply contested now with the emergence of social reproduction theory. The conceptual tools for unravelling the connections between these so called economic spheres or sectors have sharpened.

There is a general understanding that all economies rely on varying levels of production and reproduction. Care work and its critical role became even more evident during the COVID era forcing a renewed interest in the domestic space and its connection to the national economy. However, the literature points out that women's non-market labour, that is, social reproduction activities in low-income societies, are socially embedded in family, kinship and community, a fact often ignored by conventional literature. Social reproduction describes the totality of activities for the upkeep of all persons, irrespective of age. Such activities ensure the daily and intergenerational survival of persons in the household and community.

One feature of work flexibilisation is the levels of social protection they are losing as more jobs become informalising. With defined provisioning roles for their households, Ghanaian women must work to meet their culturally assigned responsibility. Thus whether in subsistence, peasant or informal economy, they have created opportunities to earn income relying on their skills for performing their gendered domestic roles. Such women simultaneously straddle different economic systems to generate the needed resources for sustaining the daily and intergenerational conditions for human existence.

The paper's position is that women's productive and reproductive activities are interrelated and should be explored as such. What needs further interrogation is the myriad of activities women have relied on to carry out their gendered roles. The specific questions the paper seeks to unravel are the nature of kinship and community redistribution networks women have relied on over the years to perform their provisioning roles. What networks have emerged over the years to shape their income redistribution and livelihoods for social reproduction? Another curiosity is whether new forms of gender orders are emerging and what implications they have for women's status and the altering of how society is reproduced. The study will focus on agrarian women caught in the peri-urban context of northern Ghana, where rural land is being overtaken by rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation. The expectation is that findings will help give richer insights into how social reproduction becomes a site for further exploitation of women's labour.





Prof Akua O Britwum presenting her paper

What constitutes work? Who is a worker? Labour and work in African social history. A historiographical reappraisal - Andreas Eckert, Humboldt University Berlin

Abstract:

The presentation started from the observation that the “labor question”, which practically disappeared from African studies from the 1980s onward, is staging a comeback. The current re-emergence of this topic is linked to a profound interest in informal and precarious work and goes hand in hand with the scrutiny of a wide variety of forms of labor: from women doing household labor and care work to the activities of smugglers. The talk reflected on the state of research on labor and workers in Africa against the backdrop of some insights about major trends in labor relations and work practices since decolonization.

I argued that the rebirth of labor history is closely related to the financial crisis, growing social inequalities, the rise of informal and precarious work (that has become increasingly visible in many parts of the world, including the North Atlantic realm) and the transformations of the working world through automation and out-sourcing. Within the field of historical studies, Global Labor History has given fresh impetus, notably by the insight that the male proletarian does not represent the quintessential worker but is rather one among a number of categories of workers whose histories are connected. Analyzing work beyond wage labor became increasingly important as it allowed marginalized groups and their activities to form part of labor history. In African studies, this translated into a wide variety of forms of labor that are currently considered.

The presentation further discussed the rise and fall of an African proletariat and the increasing importance of “informality”. In the case of Africa, this term refers to complex developments closely linked to the effects of the structural adjustment programs of the 1970s and 80s. For most African countries, these programs stood for budget cuts, major staff reduction in the public sector, and the liberalization of markets which in turn affected formal employment. The devaluation of currencies – most notably the devaluation of the CFA franc by 50 percent in foreign currency terms in January 1994 -the decline of public spending and dwindling social protection measures had major repercussions on the lives of poor citizens and peasants who mainly produced for local consumption. The economic necessity that has pushed workers into the informal sector refers to the limits and highly precarious character of most “informal activities” and belies international organizations and NGOs that celebrated the informal sector as a bedrock for entrepreneurial success. There is, it was argued, the bitter irony that empowerment through informal enterprise so cherished by neoliberal commentators was undermined by neoliberal politics that drastically weakened the very institutions such as family, education and basic safety nets upon which informal entrepreneurship is based.

The informal economy emerged parallel to the destruction of stable and protected jobs, which in twentieth- and early twentieth-first century Africa represented the exception more than the rule anyway. However, this does not mean that informal labor and wage labor were diametrically opposed. Even in the nineteenth and twentieth century-Europe, in the professional trajectories of workers, free wage labor and informal activities complemented or followed each other. Uncertainty and instability have always been constitutive features of wage relations, not the least in the industrialized world of the North Atlantic realm, and they are currently staging a forceful comeback. Some authors go so far as to argue that “the real norm or standard in global capitalism is insecurity, informality or precariousness” (Bremen/van der Linden) and that it is relative job security and relatively good social benefits that are unusual in capitalist economies.

The presentation concluded by raising two questions. First, do we have to conceptualize “proletarianization” and “informalization” as an alternative phenomenon or rather as linked and sometimes overlapping processes? And second, to what extent have the activities of workers, even

though their possibilities in postcolonial Africa have been often very limited, nevertheless shaped the development of labor regimes? Future debates about labor in Africa should take these questions into consideration. It would be misleading, I emphasized, to see informal and precarious work only as a new phase in capitalism. Workers in many parts of the world and, most notably, Africa seem to have become unnecessary, disposable. However, multinational capital might still need many workers from Africa, as long as they are cheap, particularly to reach customers of modest means. The commercial strategy here consists of transforming the largest possible number of Africans into entrepreneurs (or rather disguised workers) and consumers. It is highly doubtful if this strategy will efficiently trigger structural change or poverty reduction. Still, precarious workers, with all their diversity and complexity, and despite their fragility, carry on organizing themselves and articulating their demands. Although they are rarely in “classic” salaried labor relations, they continue to shape African societies in the twenty-first century.



DAY 2: TUESDAY 20TH DECEMBER

**Labour and work in Ghana: emerging issues from literature
PhD and Post Doctoral Researchers' presentations**



Changing forms and Structures of Employment in the Cocoa Sector since 1951– Hedvig Lagercrantz
(Discussant: Dr. Akwasi Amoako-Gyampah)

Abstract:

Ghana has been competing with Côte d'Ivoire about being the leading producer of cocoa since the 1920s. The economic growth of Ghana has largely been based on its success in the cocoa industry which is an industry characterized by high labor intensity. However, there is a lack of post-independence in-depth studies of how forms and structures of employment have changed over time in the cocoa sector and its relation to the intensification of cocoa production. This study focuses on the labor changes in the cocoa sector in the Juaboso district in the Western region during Ghana's third cocoa boom that was initiated in the 1990s.

The objectives of the study are to (1) examine whether the cocoa boom was based on family labor, including unpaid female labor, rather than wage or sharecrop labor, (2) explore the generational aspect of labor, including the topic of child labor, (3) examine to what extent working for wages is related to poverty and precariousness rather than income security, and (4) examine how the local context, including the intensification of Galamsey, has affected labor in the cocoa industry. The study will be based on both qualitative and quantitative data including in-depth interviews, sources from the national archives, and GLSS, covering the time period 1951 to present.





Dr. Akwasi Amoako-Gyampah giving his comments



Hedvig Lagercrantz taking notes from the discussion

Labour Transformations and the Dynamics of Domestic Remittances in Africa: A Post-Colonial Study of Northern Ghana, 1951 to 2010 - Felix Yao Amenorhu
(Discussant: Dr. Owusu Boampong)

Extant literature revealed that the exportation of labour from Northern to Southern Ghana has been prevalent throughout the post-colonial labour history of Ghana. Despite the pervasive nature of North-South labour migration, some studies revealed that Northern Ghana has been responsible for the production of major food crops in postcolonial Ghana. Whereas farmers in Southern Ghana focused mainly on producing cash crops like cocoa and rubber, farmers in Northern Ghana were known to focus primarily on the production of food crops like rice and groundnut, which were transported for sale in urban markets of the South. However, there is a paucity of research that

examines changes that occurred in the composition of the workforce in Northern Ghana amidst the phenomenon of North-South migration over time. This study, therefore, seeks to examine the changes that have occurred in the size and composition of the agrarian workforce in Northern Ghana with a focus on gender, generation and possibly coercion from 1951 to 2010 amidst the phenomenon of North-South labour migration. The study will also explore how remittances from family members in Southern Ghana influence the working lives of farming households in Northern Ghana overtime. The study involves in-depth interviews with users and suppliers of labour at Northern Ghana to understand how changes occurred at various stages of their career. Also, household heads and their members will be interviewed to understand the labour transformations that have taken place from one generation to another within the same household and the link among these generations overtime. In addition, historical data will be solicited from the relevant branches of the Ghana Public Records and Archives Administration Department (GPRAAD) to appropriately address the objectives of the study.



Felix Yao Amenorhu delivering his initial thoughts on his PhD research



The discussant, Dr. Owusu Boampong, reacting to the presentation

Labour Market and Living Standards Integration in Post Colonial Ghana.

By Igor Martins

(Discussant Prof Angela D. Akorsu)

Abstract

The development of Capitalism in Sub-Saharan Africa after decolonization has been a topic of significant interest among economic historians. Among the many ways in which the development of an economic system can be observed, labor market integration emerges as a significant tool that conveys notions of earnings, mobility, and inequality. This paper contributes to such an endeavor by analyzing data on prices and earnings in post-colonial Ghana to cast light on the development of Capitalism in one of the most successful economies of the continent.





Igor Martins presenting his formulation of his post-doctoral research



Discussion time







Participants reacting to the various presentations

Programme

Time	Monday 19 th December 2022
08:30 – 09:00	Opening Introductions Project background – <i>Gareth Austin</i> Programme overview, workshop objectives – <i>Akua O Britwum</i> Moderator: Dr. Amanda Odoi
09:00 – 10:30	Guest Presentation: Historiography: Trends and theoretical debates for labour researchers - <i>Akosua Darkwa</i> Moderator: Dr. Owusu Boampong
10:00 – 10:30	Snack break
10:30 – 12:30	Research Cluster thematic areas The History of Labour and Work in Post-Colonial Ghana: The Changing Economic Context – <i>Gareth Austin</i> Organised Labour in Ghana’s Postcolonial History – <i>Nana Yaw Boampong Sapon</i> Moderator: Prof Angela Akorsu
	Lunch
14:00 – 16:00	Research Cluster thematic area: Gendered labour: the production and reproduction nexus – <i>Akua O Britwum</i> What constitutes work? Who is a worker? Labour and work in African social history. A historiographical reappraisal - <i>Andreas Eckert</i> Moderator: Dr. Akwasi Amoako-Gyampah
	Snack break
16:30 – 17:30	Overview of Issues arising from the day

Time	Tuesday 20 th December 2022
08:30 – 09:30	Labour and work in Ghana: emerging issues from literature Changing forms and Structures of Employment in the Cocoa Sector – <i>Hedvig Lagercrantz</i> (Discussant: Dr. Akwasi Amoako-Gyampah)
10:00 – 11:00	Labour Transformations and the Dynamics of Domestic Remittances in Africa: A Post-Colonial Study of Northern Ghana, 1951 to 2010 – <i>Felix Yao Amenorhu</i> (Discussant: Dr. Owusu Boampong)
11:00 – 11:15	Snack break
11:15 – 13:00	Labor Market and Living Standards Integration in Post Colonial Ghana. – <i>Igor Martins</i> (Discussant Prof Angela D. Akorsu)
13:00 – 14:00	Beach Lunch
14:00 – 16:00	Next Activities Schedule and Tasks (Project team) Closing - Moderator: Gareth Austin

List of Participants

Senior researchers

1. Akua Opokua Britwum
2. Andreas Eckert
3. Gareth Austin
4. Nana Yaw Boampong Sapon

PhDs/Postdoc

1. Felix Yao Amenorhu
2. Hedvig Lagercrantz
3. Igor Martins

Discussants and guest presenters

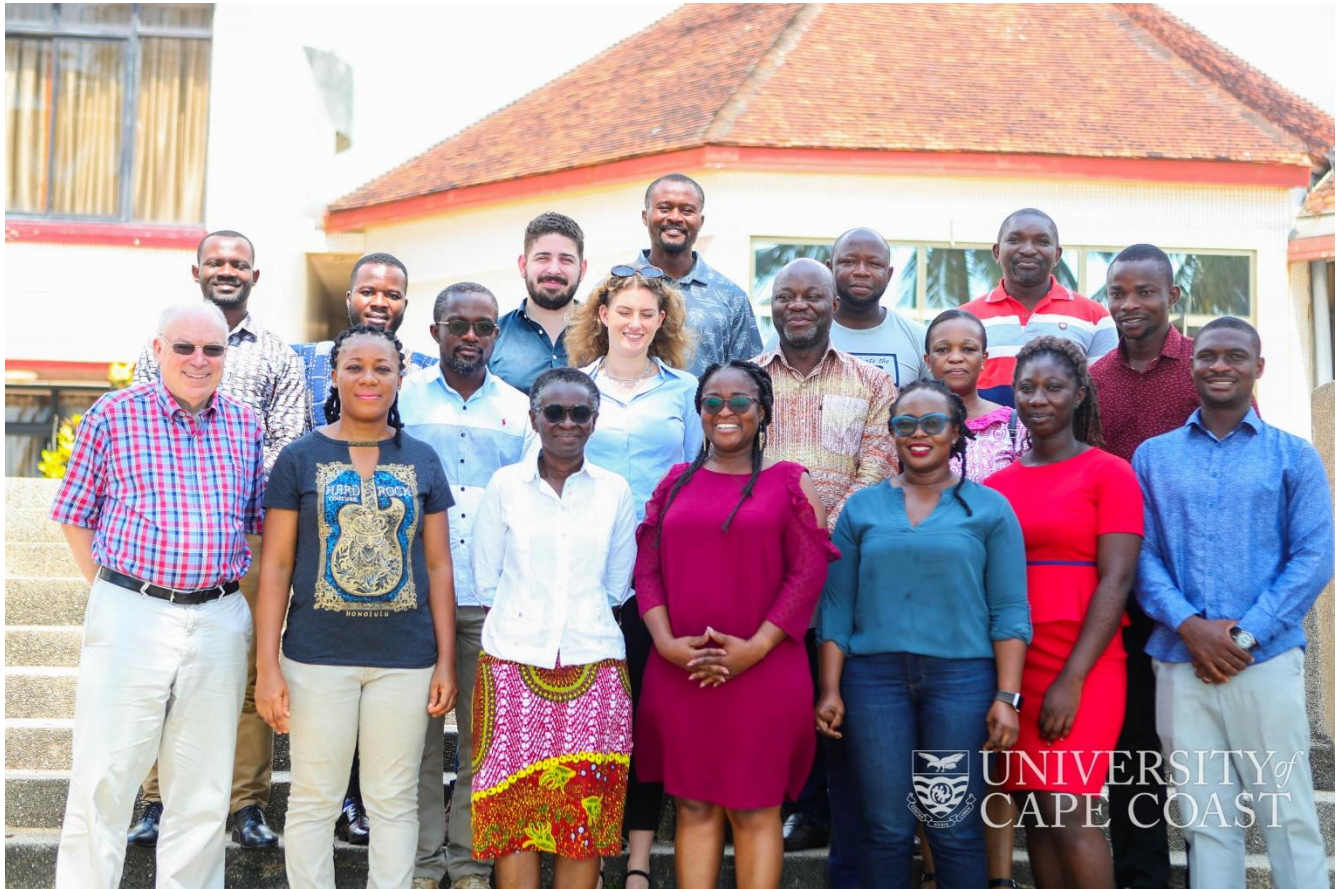
1. Akosua K Darkwah (University of Ghana)
2. Akwasi. K. Amoako-Gyampah (University of Education, Winneba)
3. Angela Dziedzom Akorsu (UCC)
4. Owusu Boampong (UCC)
5. Amanda Odoi (UCC)

Graduate students

- University of Cape Coast
1. Abigail Appiah
 2. Ugochi Osuoha-Ekloh
 3. Irene Ampaabeng
 4. Karim Saagbul
 5. Licarion Milne
 6. Daniel Kwame Aidoo
 7. Rexford Akrong
 8. Ama Bentil
- Cambridge University
9. Sakae Gustafson

Administrative, technical and logistical support

1. Otilia Ankude
2. Emmanuel Cobbinah
3. Fred A Baidoo
4. Rexford Akrong
5. Felix Amenorhu
6. Richard K Nkrumah



Participants at the end of inception conference