

# The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What happens after an acquisition in Ghana?



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Adwoa Serwaa Ofori

## **SUMMARY OF METHODS AND FINDINGS**

In order to examine what happens after an acquisition in the “land of the chiefs” (customary land) and the “land of the state” (government land) in Ghana, a qualitative strategy was employed. Through a case study approach, interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation were undertaken to draw out the required information in addition to the employment of triangulation to achieve accuracy and credibility of the data and research findings.

Twenty semi-structured key informant interviews were conducted with officials at the district, regional and national levels. At the district level, the key informants included senior officials from the District Assembly, the District Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and one company involved in large-scale land acquisitions. At the regional level the key informants were senior officials from the Forestry Commission, the Lands Commission, the Environment Protection Agency, the Crops Research Institute, the Forestry Research Institute of Ghana and the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. At the national level, senior officials within the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and a Non-Governmental Organisation were contacted. The themes discussed with the key informants differed based on how the activities of their institutions/agencies related to land disposition and acquisitions. Generally the issues discussed included their involvement in land acquisitions, the community considerations and consultations, the livelihood impacts to the communities and to the neighbouring villages, any community compensations, collaborations with other government agencies and traditional authorities and the government policies in place concerning the large-scale land acquisitions. A total of sixty-five unstructured/semi-structured interviews were conducted at the community level in Ananekrom, Dukusen and Afrisere (with the nearby communities of Samsu and Mosi Panin visited as well). The discussions included the awareness of large-scale land acquisitions in the district, community consultations, the responses to the acquisitions, the sources of employment/income/livelihoods in the community and individually, the effects of the acquisitions to livelihoods and compensations. Seven semi-structured interviews were carried out within the traditional hierarchy level at community, paramountcy, regional and national levels to examine the land acquisitions, community consultations, consideration of livelihood implications, benefits or otherwise to the various villages from acquisitions and their roles as traditional rulers in the protection of community

livelihoods. Eight focus groups discussions (two in Ananekrom, one in Dukusen and five in Afrisere) were also organised to discuss the significance of the land, the community livelihoods, effects of loss of access to land, the ethnic dynamics, issues of migration and community interaction. Analysis of the data obtained was carried out through coding and categorising and the extraction of themes in conjunction with the eliciting topics from the interview areas. The interpretation of the data was then undertaken by examining the themes/topics through the lens of what was being inferred, the discourse in existing literature, the theories of ethnicity, moral economy and reciprocity as well as the researcher's enquiry of these.

The study revealed that following a large-scale land acquisition and ensuing implications, more significantly than simply the emergence of effects, there was differentiation in livelihood impacts. The effects of land acquisitions may not be uniform within communities or across rural areas or land types and therefore they cannot be generalised. The study demonstrated that within communities internal to the acquisition areas, there was the uneven distribution of impacts on the basis of ethnicity and the associated rights, or lack thereof, to land. This arose based on whether the impacted community members were indigenous to the community or non-indigenous. Thus the study highlighted that positionality, social structures and the system of rights to land featured prominently where acquisitions were concerned and additionally illuminated aspects of the culture/tradition which relate to resource use. The study further established that across communities internal to the acquisition areas there was the differentiation of impacts on the basis of land tenure types. The study disclosed that land acquisitions do not only concern communities within the vicinity of the appropriation; the livelihoods of adjacent communities were affected. The impacts were not uniform across the localities internal and external to acquisitions. The transference of impacts beyond the vicinity of the acquisition to the adjacent locality predominantly stemmed from human sensitivities. These included compassion, sympathy, perceived appropriate behaviour and the "right" response, giving rise to a sense of moral obligation, the emergence of a moral economy, and ethnic dynamics leading to solidarity networks. There was also the matter of reciprocity. Reciprocity went beyond a return of value for a benefit received. It concerned giving in expectation of future receipt, paying it forward or giving at one's own expense. These factors served as channels through which the adjacent community could experience the effects of a large-scale land acquisition which had taken place elsewhere. Thus the study established that the emergence of impacts did not only arise due to physical or social factors

such as decrease in landholding, reduced harvests or food insecurity. Livelihood impacts could also manifest through human characteristics, the creation of support networks to sustain the livelihoods of others and social arrangements, which converge in the extension of assistance. This study thus argues that in the land of the chiefs and the land of the state, where acquisitions are concerned, livelihood outcomes differ. Effects of resource capture may not be homogenised within or across communities and can manifest within the wider vicinity.

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## **ABSTRACT**

In Africa the importance of land cannot be overstated given that many rural livelihoods depend on farming for subsistence. Yet, where international land acquisitions are concerned, the majority take place on the African continent. Academic scholarship emphasizes the impacts that result from these transactions: for example, decreased land holdings, compromised food security, population displacement and loss of livelihoods. The literature thus sheds light on the type of impacts that arise but appears not to elicit whether these impacts are differentiated and if so why and across which contexts. Such contexts however are significant within the African setting where there exist a heterogeneity of ethnic groups, traditions/cultures and in some countries differing land ownership and tenure types. The specifics in terms of how effects could manifest across different ethnicities in a locality (when some are of a non-originary status) also does not emerge in the literature. Additionally, there may be the emergence of impacts in the wider vicinity but how and why such effects would be produced in the adjacent communities do not appear to be drawn out in the literature.

Using Ghana as a case study, this study seeks to examine comparatively the livelihood implications of land acquisitions within and across communities internal to the acquisition areas in the land of the chiefs and the land of the state. The interrogation is then extended to the adjacent community to ascertain how and why impacts are produced in the wider vicinity and comparatively, the differentiation in effects between villages located internal and external to acquisition areas. In examining these issues, the study utilised a qualitative strategy with the employment of interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation. The study found that following a large-scale land acquisition there was differentiation in effects.

Livelihood impacts get refracted through the particular land tenure type as well as the social structures and the differentials in positionality as determined by ethnicity and originary status. Within communities internal to the acquisition areas, there was the uneven distribution of impacts on the basis of ethnicity and the associated rights, or lack thereof, to land. Across communities internal to the acquisition areas, there was the differentiation of impacts on the basis of land tenure types. Thus livelihood implications cannot be generalised in areas internal to acquisitions. The study also revealed that the livelihood impacts could

be transferred beyond the vicinity of the acquisition to the adjacent locality. This predominantly stemmed from human sensitivities such as compassion, sympathy, and conceptions of appropriate behaviour and the “right” response, giving rise to a sense of moral obligation and the emergence of a moral economy. It was also as a result of the ethnic dynamics which engendered solidarity networks. Where impacts are homogenous, then similar strategies for addressing these can be employed across communities. However where differentiated impacts exist under varying contexts or there is the emergence of effects in the wider vicinity, then this enlightens on the need to separately consider the potential implications within communities and to the adjacent community. This is in order to tailor interventions such as mitigation strategies or pre-/post- acquisitions assessments to the communities in question (on the basis of the contexts in which they are affected).

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## **ACRONYMS**

AAND	Asante Akim North District
AANDA	Asante Akim North District Assembly
CIs	Constitutional Instruments
CO <sub>2</sub>	Carbon Dioxide
DMTDP	District Medium Term Development Plan
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPA	Environment Protection Agency
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FPIC	Free Prior Informed Consent
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAP	Ghana Land Administration Project
LSLA	Large-Scale Land Acquisition
LSLT	Large-Scale Land Transaction
MLNR	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NLP	National Land Policy
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PPP	Public Private Partnership
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
UK	United Kingdom
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
USD	United States Dollar
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



## CHAPTER ONE

### 1 WHAT HAPPENS AFTER A LAND ACQUISITION?

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

*And God said, 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so'* *Genesis 1.9*

Land, as a physical and natural resource, is important to humankind. This is because it is an essential factor in the production of food, the support of plant and animal life and the provision of shelter to name a few. It has multiple meanings for different groups of people (Borras and Franco, 2013:1726). For some it is a scarce factor of economic production valued in monetary terms, whilst others value land principally because of its being a habitat for other species, a necessary host for biodiversity, a landscape or for its aesthetic beauty (Borras and Franco, 2013:1726). For most rural communities in Africa, land is pivotal to life and their livelihoods. It is unquestionably recognized as a crucial asset for the rural poor (German, Schoneveld and Mwangi, 2013:2) because it is directly depended upon by many communities. It enables them to produce some or all of the food they need (Borras and Franco, 2013:1726). It is not only the primary means for generating a livelihood but often the main vehicle for investing, accumulating wealth, and transferring it between generations (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999:247). Apart from land being an important natural resource, in some indigenous communities, the locality is where their ancestors lived as a group, and where they continue to live and reproduce as a people, engaging with their immediate natural environment (Borras and Franco, 2013:1726). The limiting or loss of access to the resource thus has major repercussions given its significance. However loss of access to land does occur oftentimes through resource capture.

Resource capture broadly refers to 'the appropriation of natural resources, including land and water, and the control of their associated uses and benefits, with or without the transfer of ownership, usually from poor and marginalised to powerful actors' (Fairhead et al., 2012 cited in Mehta et al., 2012:195). Resource capture occurs mainly within and as a result of state logics and the 'dynamics of capital accumulation strategies that are largely in response to multiple crises for example food, energy/fuel, climate change, financial crisis' (McMichael, 2012 cited in Mehta et al., 2012:195; Mehta et al., 2012:195) and land acquisition has

become a real strategic asset in investing (Bues and Theesfeld, 2012:266). Land acquisition is not new. Right from Biblical times, examples abound of ancient conquests resulting in extended empires such as the Roman, Persian and Ottoman Empires and the dispossession of people through the forceful capture of land. During the colonial era too, there was the widespread forceful acquisition of land with effects on local populations. In the present day, the scale and speed at which large-scale acquisitions take place together with the often occurring negative impact on the local population have attracted massive media and public attention (Zoomers, 2010 cited in Bues and Theesfeld, 2012:266).

Land acquisition has 'become one of the most hotly debated current development issues' (Schoneveld, 2014 cited in Kleeman and Thiele, 2015:269) where resource capture is concerned. The term 'land grab' has emerged to refer to and describe the explosion of (trans) national land transactions, acquisitions and speculation in recent years mainly, but not solely, around the large-scale production and export of food and biofuels (Borras and Franco, 2012:34; Borras et al., 2011:210). It is also defined as the dispossession of the use rights of existing land users by both foreign and local actors and is marked by a number of features. It is ultimately 'control grabbing', or capturing the power to control land and other associated resources (such as water) and their uses in order to corner the benefits (Mehta et al., 2012:195).

The African continent has become one of the major focal points for these land deals which are also referred to by a variety of other terms such as acquisitions, transactions, appropriation and grabs (White et al., 2012:620; Rulli et al., 2013:892; De Schutter, 2011 cited in Golay and Biglino, 2013:1630; Borras and Franco, 2012:34; Borras et al., 2011:210). This is for a number of reasons. For example, concern by governments about accumulating revenue to pay off debts has spurred interest in land deals with both domestic and international investors. Investors are interested in land for purposes such as agriculture and speculative investment (De Schutter, 2011; Cotula, 2012 cited in Gasteyer et al., 2012:450). African governments too 'actively seek to attract both foreign and domestic investors into large-scale land deals' (Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010:900). The continent is deemed as being in possession of 'unexploited and underutilised' land and water resources, and these 'need' large-scale investment to 'unlock' their potential, drive the engine of development and awaken Africa's 'sleeping giant' (World Bank, 2010 and Chu, 2013 cited in Franco et al., 2013:1652; World Bank, 2008 and 2010b cited in Bossio et al., 2012:224; World Bank,

2009a cited in Woodhouse, 2012:210). These proposals are justified on the grounds that investors will bring with them the capacity to transform 'marginal' into 'productive' land (Deininger et al., 2011 cited in Gasteyer et al., 2012:450).

Investors are met by increasingly favourable investment conditions in the target countries such as commodification of land and water resources (Mann and Smaller, 2010 cited in Bossio et al., 2012:224). The lands often appropriated are the source of sustenance for many rural populations who live on and off the resource. Thus where acquisitions occur, there are effects to livelihoods and they ultimately 'entail substantial welfare implications for the affected rural populations' (Kleeman and Thiele, 2015:269). The livelihood implications for rural communities internal to the areas of the acquisitions has been well documented by academic scholarship (White et al., 2012:620; Action Aid 2013 cited in Yengoh et al., 2016:336; Deininger and Xia, 2016:227; Jiao et al., 2015:323; Oakland Institute 2011, Shepard and Mittal 2009, Bailey 2011, Aarts 2009, GRAIN 2010 cited in Sebastian and Warner, 2014:16). The impacts include large-scale loss of local livelihoods (Deininger et al., 2014:76); reductions in land holdings, limited access to forest products and restrictive access to livestock grazing areas (Jiao et al., 2015:323) and decrease in local food security (Vermeulen & Cotula, 2010:903; Borras Jr and Franco, 2012:37).

Research has unquestionably established that there are livelihood implications to communities within the acquisition areas, where 'livelihoods comprise people, their capabilities and activities required for their means of living including food, income and assets; tangible assets are resources and stores and intangible assets are claims and access' (Chambers and Conway, 1991:1; IDS, cited in Scoones, 1998:5). However there is the possibility of differentiation in livelihood impacts. For example, within the African context, there exist differing land tenure systems. Academic scholarship generally describes land tenure to include the ownership, management, control or use of the resource. It refers to the system of institutions or rules of land ownership, management, obligations, responsibilities and constraints on how land is owned and used (Obeng-Odoom, 2012:162). Land tenure in much of Africa is either customary/traditional or state/statutory (Cotula et al., 2004:2). Customary land tenure is characterised by its largely unwritten nature and is based on local practices and norms (Cotula et al., 2004:2). State systems of land tenure are usually based on written laws and regulations, on acts of centralised or decentralised government agencies and on judicial decisions (Cotula et al., 2004:2). Therefore as a result of the diverse tenure

systems, there is the potential for livelihood impacts to be differentiated across the communities due to the differing land tenure types. Furthermore there is also the related issue of rights<sup>1</sup>. Notably, within the African context there exist varying rights to land. Rights to land stem from many different sources, such as first settlement, conquest, allocation by government, long occupation or market transaction (Toulmin, 2008:11). Thus where livelihoods are concerned, the varying rights to the land could give rise to differing scales of impact dependent upon the nature of the claim to the resource. Where both indigenes<sup>2</sup> and non-indigenes<sup>3</sup> access the resource in the same locality, the impacts to the indigenes with rights to the land could differ from the non-indigenes. This is because the indigenes can lay claim to the resource by virtue of their ancestors first accessing it and therefore they can fight for the land. The non-indigenes would not have any grounds for such claims. For the indigenes too, there may be ease of access to other parcels of land belonging to the extended family (parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins) by virtue of the grand/ great grand/ great great grandparents cultivating and having rights to different portions of land<sup>4</sup>. Similar would not exist for the non-indigenes who would have to search for land to hire with contractual arrangements that suit the one leasing out the land. Hence access to land and therefore maintaining livelihoods would be more challenging for the non-indigenes as opposed to the indigenes.

Furthermore, where land acquisitions are concerned, villages external to these could potentially receive effects (albeit the extent could be dependent upon factors like physical

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<sup>1</sup> The land tenure systems are either state or customary with the ownership, management and control being under the state or within the traditional set-up. The rights to the land concern who has the access and upon what basis, for example usufructory rights whereby one can claim access to the land *ad infinitum* because one's ancestors were the first to cultivate it.

<sup>2</sup> A person has to be a member of a group to qualify for an allocation of land (where the group has settled) for residence and cropping, and rights of access to common pool resources (Ubink, 2007:230). 'Every indigene, by virtue of his or her membership of the group, has access to land. This principle, which Bieseke *et al.* (1991 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:21) refer to as the right of avail, is a key feature of the various kinds of customary tenure systems. Right of avail, which is also referred to as 'general rights based on citizenship', is uniformly applied to all and automatically shared by all people belonging to a particular community, tribe or clan' (Arko-Adjei, 2011:21). *A subject of a particular village (indigenous member) should be able to farm on that village land forever and have a perpetual interest in the land* (Interview with Senior Official, Lands Commission Ashanti Region, July 2017).

<sup>3</sup> People from outside the community do not have rights to communal land, even though they may acquire land for farming by entering into a contractual agreement with the chief or the traditional head for a period of time (Kasanga *et al.*, 1996 cited in Antwi-Agyei *et al.*, 2015:204).

<sup>4</sup> In the rural areas, it is common for indigenes to have parcels of land in different places, for example, one parcel of land three miles from the village in a northerly direction, another parcel of land two miles from the village in a south-westerly direction, another parcel of land four miles from the village in an easterly direction etc. The land they 'own' may not all be in one location. This could be because the grand/great grand/great great grandparents farmed different portions in a number of areas and so the land in various locations is passed down the generations.

distance) if interconnectedness exists between communities. Rural-rural linkages 'consist of flows (of goods, people, information, finance, waste, information, social relations) across space' (Tacoli, 2015:1) linking rural localities with others. Thus where there exists interaction or linkage in terms of movement of people, goods and information amongst villages, then it stands to reason that effects on one community as a result of some phenomenon could emerge in the neighbouring localities with which it relates as a result of the interconnections. In many rural areas, interconnectedness exists amongst communities. This is seen through 'communitywide festivals, sporting events, and other traditional methods of fostering social connections' (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000:240) such as market days and funerals. Hence where large-scale land acquisitions are concerned, there is the potential for implications to the adjacent communities.

From the foregoing, the question is whether livelihood implications emerge in the adjacent communities and how and why this occurs. Furthermore, for comparative purposes, is there differentiation between such implications and the effects on directly affected communities?

## **1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES**

From the preceding, where land acquisitions, livelihood implications and communities are concerned, a number of issues emerge with respect to the impacts. There is the possibility that impacts may not be uniform within and across communities. This suggests that in addressing livelihood implications resulting from land acquisitions, there is the need to assess the issues separately/distinctively. It is important to understand the impacts themselves, the varied contexts within which they have emerged, the variances between them and why such differences occur in order to deal with the issues. This is because different impacts within and across communities may require differing policy interventions. Notably oftentimes, it is through state policies that interventions emerge which contribute to communities' ejection off the land. This is the reason why the examination into livelihood implications within and across communities can provoke an interrogation into the review of policies which ultimately contribute where ejection off the land is concerned. Furthermore, an investigation into the different impacts within and across communities can inform on interventions that will not adversely affect communities and that would simultaneously be tailored to adequately assist the localities which are diversely affected.

In addressing issues of land acquisition and livelihood implications, it is not only the communities that are directly affected that need to be considered. There is the potential for

the emergence of livelihood implications in the adjacent community. Hence this also necessitates an examination of such impacts, how these are produced and how differentiated they are from those faced by communities within the area of appropriation. Furthermore, adjacent communities need to be examined separately/distinctively because the effects on livelihoods may differ from those within the areas of acquisition. Hence there could be the requirement for distinct means of addressing them as opposed to extrapolating the interventions for communities internal to acquisitions to these external communities. It is therefore necessary to appreciate the adjacent community context in terms of livelihood implications produced as well as impact differentiation in order to propose adequate policy interventions that will not ultimately contribute to effects to these communities.

An investigation into the impacts within and between communities would therefore shed light on the differentiation in effects. It would also highlight the adjacent community in terms of indirect impacts, their emergence and their distinctiveness from the effects in the areas of acquisition. Thus there would be the broadening of the comprehension on land acquisitions with respect to the scope of the impacts, in addition to the recasting of the literature on land acquisitions with respect to livelihood impacts. This is in the sense of the extension of the literature beyond simply the impacts of large-scale land acquisitions to include and take into consideration the potential differences in impacts when various scenarios such as land type and geographic proximity to land acquisitions are taken into account.

In the light of the foregoing, the study asks the question 'with reference to livelihood impacts, what happens after a land acquisition?' It seeks to examine comparatively the livelihood implications within and across the communities internal to the acquisition areas. It then seeks to extend this interrogation to the adjacent community. This is in order to ascertain how and why impacts are produced external to the acquisition areas as well as comparatively, the differentiation with effects internal to the acquisition areas. Such comparison is important to understand and establish whether or not livelihood impacts are homogenous across communities internal and external to acquisition areas. This is because if impacts are homogenous, then similar strategies for addressing these can be employed across communities. However, if impacts are differentiated, then this enlightens on the need to separately consider the potential implications within communities and to the adjacent community. Furthermore pre- and post-acquisition assessments which are distinct and tailored to the community in question can be undertaken.

The research will seek to answer the enquiry through addressing the following research questions:

<b>Research Question 1.</b>	With respect to the livelihood implications of large-scale land acquisitions: a. Is there differentiation in impacts within and across communities within the areas of the appropriation and for what reasons? b. Is there differentiation in impacts between communities internal and external to the areas of appropriation and for what reasons?
<b>Research Question 2.</b>	How and why do livelihood impacts emerge in communities external to the areas of appropriation where large-scale land acquisitions are concerned?

Table 1.1 Research Questions

### 1.3 JUSTIFICATION FOR GHANA AS THE STUDY AREA

Ghana is located in West Africa.

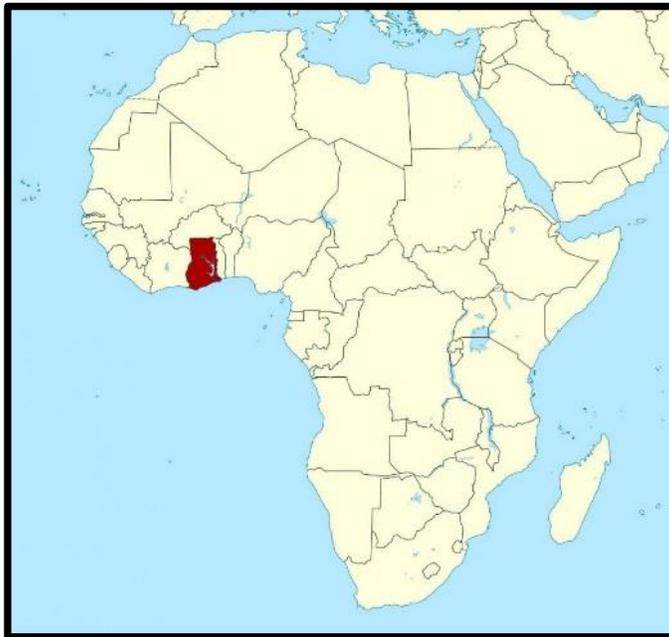


Figure 1.1 Map of Africa showing Ghana

Source: <https://maps-ghana.com/ghana-africa-map>

To the north it is bordered by Burkina Faso, to the south by the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean, to the east by Togo and to the west by Côte d'Ivoire (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Until the end of 2018, Ghana consisted of ten administrative regions but this has increased to sixteen<sup>5</sup>. It has a decentralised administration under the local government system as enshrined in the 1992 Constitution (Local Government Act 1993) which makes the district assemblies the highest decision making body at the metropolitan, municipal and district levels (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015b:4).

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<sup>5</sup>From Tuesday February 12, 2019, President Nana Akuffo-Addo gave legal backing to the creation of six new regions. The President presented the Constitutional Instruments (CIs) for the creation of the regions on Tuesday 12, Wednesday 13 and Friday 15 February 2019. The creation of the six new regions followed a referendum in the affected areas in December 2018 (Ghana.gov.gh, 2019).

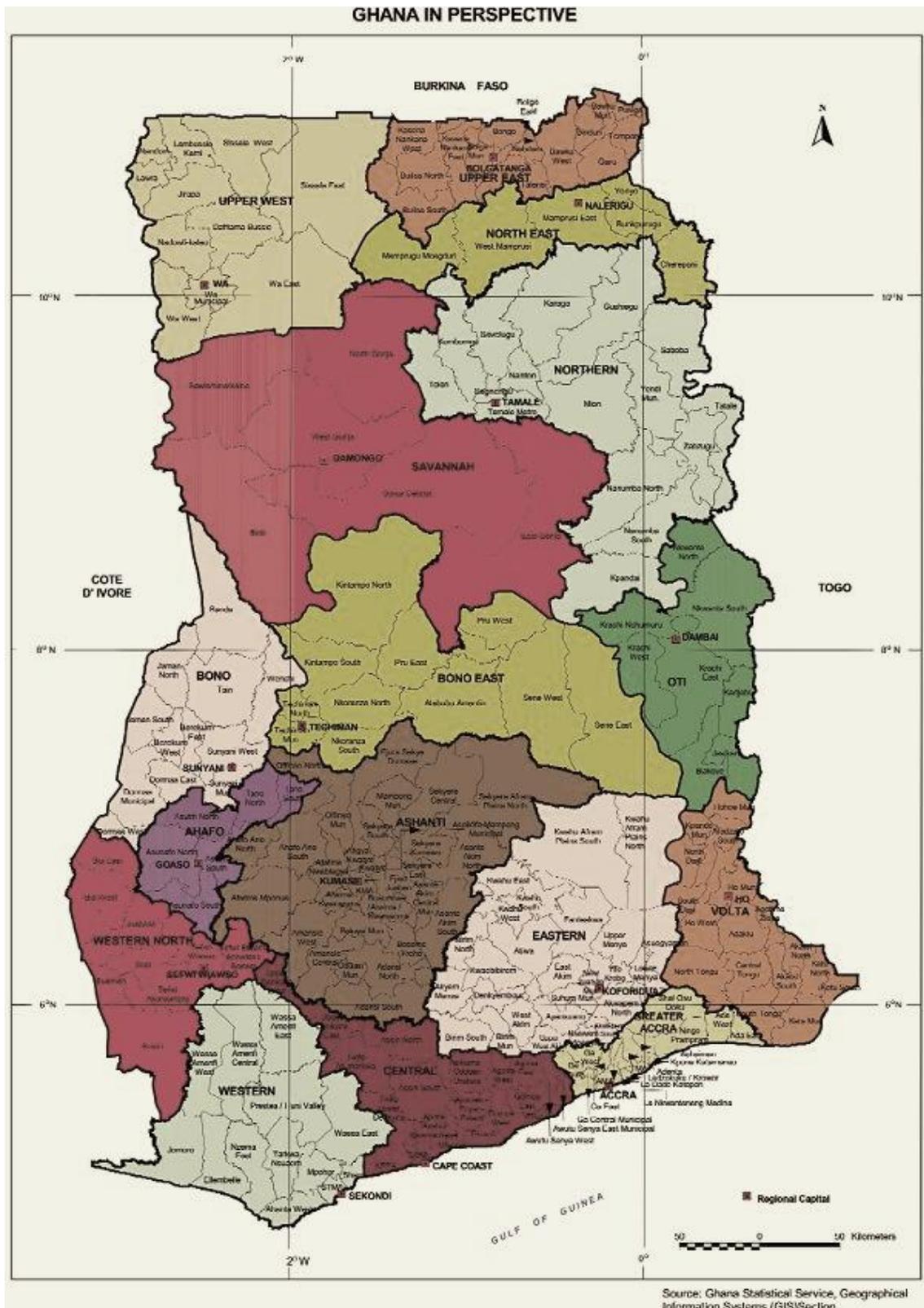


Figure 1.2 Political Map of Ghana  
 Source: <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/new-ghana-map-with-16-regional-capitals.html>

### *1.3.1 Background on Ghana*

The justification for Ghana as a case study is outlined in the next section. It is however expedient to give a background for the purposes of providing the country context for the study. Ghana is rich in natural resources such as gold, diamonds, timber and cocoa (Countrywatch.com, 2016:92). The annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates recorded for the period 2005 to 2013 ranged from 4.0 percent to 15.0 percent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b:1). The three<sup>6</sup> northern regions remain the poorest in the country (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015b:7). Poverty is characterised by low income, malnutrition, ill-health and illiteracy among other features (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b:x). Agriculture has traditionally been, and continues to be a mainstay of the economy (Countrywatch.com, 2016:2). Crop production constitutes the largest activity in the economy with a share of 15.9 percent of GDP (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015a:3). About seventy-five percent (75%) of the population fifteen (15) years and older are employed, with the majority of them engaged in agriculture (GLSS 6, 2014c:xviii). Farming is mostly rural and as a primary activity engages about eighty-three percent (83%) of rural households (GLSS 6, 2014c:xx). Agriculture, which is primarily rain-fed using traditional subsistence methods, is dominated by small-scale farms (Mendes et al., 2014:3). About three million smallholder farmers, with an average farm size of between 0.5 hectares and 2 hectares, currently produce ninety-five percent (95%) of the country's food crops (Mendes et al., 2014:3). Cassava, yams, cocoa, and plantain are the dominant crops by volume and value followed by taro (cocoyam), maize, and groundnuts (Mendes et al., 2014:2). Food crop production is important in all the agro-ecological zones with maize an important cereal in the south and middle belts, but progressively giving way northwards to sorghum and millet (FAO, 2005:3). Yam and grain legumes are important crops in the middle belt and towards the north (FAO, 2005:3).

### *1.3.2 Justification*

One of the reasons for the choice of Ghana as the case study for the research was the researcher's familiarity with the country. Due to originating from Ghana, there was the general knowledge of the context where the country, land issues and communities were concerned. Furthermore, through the study on land and rural livelihoods, the research on

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<sup>6</sup>The northern regions have increased from three to five in number following the creation of new regions in the country.

Ghana affords the opportunity to contribute to the development issues in the country through the exploration undertaken.

Ghana provides a useful case for the study because the actual extent of acquisitions is uncertain (this is as detailed below). Therefore potentially the extent to which there are implications for communities and the specifics of such impacts in terms of what they are precisely, how they manifest and how they affect may also not be concrete. Notably, the scale of land acquisitions within Ghana varies dependent upon the source of the information. There is a wide range of different figures regarding the scale of the deals, and the evidence base remains patchy (Cotula et al., 2014:906). For example, Schoneveld and German (2014:188) maintain that within sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana has become one of the primary recipients of large-scale farmland investment. It is estimated that since 2005 investors have gained access to more than 2 million hectares across the country, equivalent to between 91 and 99 per cent of the total area that is both agroecologically suitable and potentially available for agriculture (Schoneveld, 2013 cited in Schoneveld and German, 2014:188). However Cotula et al. (2014:909) note that their figure for Ghana is considerably lower than the estimate of over 1 million hectares for selected biofuel projects alone suggested by Schoneveld et al. (2011), though that particular inventory also includes deals that had not been recorded at the Lands Commission (notably, reasons for the inclusion of deals that had not been recorded at the Lands Commission were not given).

Cotula et al. (2014:909) give the example that in Ghana, the December 2012 Land Matrix<sup>7</sup> figure (258,950 hectares) was 2.2 times higher than that from their dataset (113,337 hectares). The 2019 figures from the dataset of the Land Matrix (accessed 13 January 2019) reports 9 acquisitions in Ghana with intended sizes of acquisitions ranging from 5,000 hectares to 120,000 hectares (aggregate land size of 398,766 hectares), but actual contract sizes ranging 1,750 hectares to 100,000 hectares (aggregate land size of 192,271 hectares). Two of the projects were in production, five had been abandoned, one was in start-up phase and one had not started (Landmatrix.org, 2019). The June 2016 GRAIN.org report details 12 land acquisitions in Ghana ranging from 1,000 hectares to 23,500 hectares in size with

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<sup>7</sup> The Land Matrix is an independent global land monitoring initiative that promotes transparency and accountability in decisions over large-scale land acquisitions in low- and middle-income countries across the world (landmatrix.org, 2019).

an aggregate land size of 108,215 hectares (Against the Grain, 2016:46)<sup>8</sup>. There were four discarded deals (two failed and two with details unknown) ranging from 3,000 hectares to 100,000 hectares with an aggregate land size of 165,000 hectares (GRAIN.org, 2016). For the Land Matrix, with the exception of two projects for which the contracts were signed in 2003 and 2005 (and both projects were abandoned) the rest had contracts signed after 2006, similar to the GRAIN.org dataset. However there are variations in the figures reported from both organisations. As Cotula et al. (2014:906) suggests, the quality of estimates from country-level inventories ultimately depends on how well national systems record land allocations and on how easy it is to access those data. The variations in the figures reported of land deals point to the fact that the trend of acquisitions does exist and large tracts of land are considered. Secondly, the fact that the scale of acquisitions is not definitive perhaps goes to prove that accurate information is not accessible or available at the governmental/national level. Both situations possibly encourage the environment for transactions to be undertaken which in turn would affect rural livelihoods. This is because potentially with a lack of checking/accuracy regarding the scale of acquisitions, there could also exist the absence of monitoring of impacts. Through the study therefore, light can be shed on the extent to which communities are affected.

Additionally, there is the issue of the Ghanaian land deals within the context of the transactions on the African continent. For the African continent as a whole, according to the Landmatrix.org (2019)<sup>9</sup> 15,809,031 hectares of land had been acquired and this comprised concluded deals [568 in number]; a further 10,088,092 hectares of land consisted of intended deals [102 in number] and for another 8,013,143 hectares, the deals had failed [105 in number]. Thus the total number of deals was 775 as of July 2019. Where Ghana was concerned, according to the Landmatrix.org (2019) 116, 995 hectares of land had been acquired where the contract had been signed and project was either in operation, not started or at start-up phase [4 in number]. For a further 75, 276 hectares of land, the project had been abandoned [5 in number] (Landmatrix.org, 2019). Thus the total number of deals was 9 as of July 2019. Ghana therefore accounted for 1.2% of all deals (successful and failed) on the continent. Where successful transactions were concerned, Ghana accounted for

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<sup>8</sup> GRAIN.org notes that their figures draw mainly from the farmlandgrab.org website and accounts for only those deals that were initiated after 2006, have not been cancelled, are led by foreign investors, are for the production of food crops and involve large (> 500 hectares) areas of land (GRAIN.org, 2016). The reasons for deals from 2006 and beyond were not stated.

<sup>9</sup> Figures were obtained from the Landmatrix.org website on land deals in Africa and Ghana as of July 2019. They were accessed because of being more current than the GRAIN.org 2016 figures.

0.7% (as per the Landmatrix.org website whose figures on land deals were accessed due to being very current – July 2019 figures). Notably, relative to the continent as a whole the proportion of deals in Ghana is smaller. This however does not detract from the fact that there are effects to rural communities whose lives and livelihoods are dependent on the land. Secondly, the information shows that acquisitions do exist. With the existence of acquisitions, impacts can potentially be disaggregated across communities which therefore requires interrogation.

Ghana furthermore serves as an interesting case study because of its land tenure systems. It is a state characterized by strong legal and institutional pluralism (Ubink, 2008:20). Land ownership, rights and tenures in Ghana are administered in a plural legal environment with customary laws and norms operating alongside statutes (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:4). With regards to land on the African continent, 'in most countries, the central government retains considerable control, exercised through a variety of tools such as the retention of key responsibilities, the exertion of considerable influence through its power to appoint and dismiss members of local land bodies or the empowerment to direct local bodies' (Cotula et al., 2004:13). Furthermore, decentralised land bodies are largely dependent upon support from the central government in terms of finance as well as technical expertise, which further limits in practice the autonomy of local bodies (Cotula et al., 2004:13). Governments have been reluctant to transfer full property rights to their citizens (Toulmin, 2008:13). For instance, in Tanzania, the president holds all rights to land "in the name of the citizens", to be held in trust for them; in Senegal, Mali and Burkina Faso, the government claims ownership of most land, as state domain, and attributes use rights to customary occupants, as long as the land is not needed for some other purpose (Toulmin, 2008:13). Similarly, the government of Ethiopia claims ultimate ownership of all land, with long-term use rights held by citizens (Toulmin, 2008:13).

However for Ghana a different situation exists. Customary lands form about seventy-eight percent (78%) of the total land area in Ghana (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:4, 12) and the traditional authorities are the custodians. Notably, as suggested by Ubink, (2008:20), the position of traditional authorities in Ghana is unique and exceptionally strong in comparison to other African countries. In the colonial period the British ruled the Gold Coast (Ghana) through traditional leaders (Ubink, 2008:20). Following the colonial period, the powers of the traditional authorities have remained strong, being enshrined within the

Constitution which 'guarantees the institution of chieftaincy [Article 270] and recognizes the role of chiefs in customary land management [Article 267]' (Ubink, 2007a:125). These traditional leaders are recognized by the state, but are not transformed into mere state agents; they possess political power in many localities, without being politically co-opted by the regime in office (Van Binsbergen, 1999; Van Rouveroy and van Nieuwaal, 1996:43; Von Trotha, 1996:87 cited in Ubink, 2008:21). Where customary land deals are concerned, it is the chiefs who as the custodians approve of them. As suggested by Lavers and Boamah (2016:100), large-scale land allocations have proceeded apace during the decade, partly because consent between chiefs or customary land owners (or any other 'legitimate' land grantor) and prospective investors constitute the prerequisite for land transfers per Ghana's Lands Commission Act 767(21). Tsikata and Yaro (2014:203) also note that for Ghana, much of its agricultural lands are under customary land tenure systems therefore, recent land transactions have been primarily between traditional leaders and investors, with the state playing a secondary role.

The prominent role of the chiefs in customary land transactions could influence who gets impacted the most through acquisitions. This is because traditional authorities could approve of deals which for instance are favourable to indigenes in their communities for the sake of gaining popularity or cementing loyalty from their subjects<sup>10</sup>. For example where the indigenes have the opportunity to hire out parts of their individual/family lands to companies acquiring lands, they may do so and collect remuneration. The non-indigenes would not have the family lands to do the same and furthermore, they could also have the lands they hired from the indigenes taken from them and given to the companies. In such manner, the non-indigenes get impacted to a greater extent. In such cases there can be differentiation in impacts between the indigenes and the non-indigenes. Furthermore, where the traditional authorities have little regard for the non-indigenes, there could be less consideration with regards to deals which may affect them to a greater extent. Thus where customary lands are concerned, the role of the traditional authorities could significantly influence how impacts emerge across the various sections of the community. Notably too, where land is concerned, each government 'recognises the strength of the customary chiefs and are more inclined to accommodate their interests (in land), since their support at election time is critical' (Toulmin, 2008:13). The support of the traditional authorities is critical for garnering votes at election time since there is the general respect and allegiance to them. Hence

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<sup>10</sup> Traditionally/culturally in Ghana, the people over whom the chief rules are referred to as his/her subjects.

having the approval of the chiefs facilitates the approval with the people. In this respect too, the state may be cautious or disinclined to step in to veto customary land deals where the chiefs have already consented.

Apart from the seventy-eight percent (78%) customary land, there also exists state land under the jurisdiction of the government. Where the remaining twenty-two percent (22%) of land is concerned, the state outright owns about twenty percent (20%) where only statute law is applied to the management of the resource and the remaining two percent (2%) is held in a dual relationship (state and customary) whereby the state takes over the management responsibility while the customary owners retain the ownership of the land (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:4, 12). The context is peculiar because the greater proportion of the land is under the custodianship of the traditional authorities who wield considerable power over the resource. The position of traditional authorities in Ghana is exceptionally strong in comparison to other African countries (Ubink, 2008:20). The customary authorities have retained considerable influence, not least through their constitutionally enshrined powers regarding land tenure (Lavers and Boamah, 2016:96). Studies of nineteen African countries undertaken by Logan (2013) suggest that where land allocations were concerned, Ghana was one of only three countries where traditional leaders dominated this (Logan, 2013:360-361). Thus the distinctive systems allow for an in-depth analysis into the livelihood implications of large-scale land acquisitions on the basis of the tenure type. Furthermore, they allow for comparison of the impacts where the state has oversight and where the customary authority has the control, the interrogation of which can give insight into the extent of protection where livelihoods and land types are concerned.

Ghana also serves as an interesting case study because of the matter of ethnicity. Several ethnic groups exist in Ghana, each with their indigenous community lands. There are approximately one hundred (100) ethno-linguistic groups, all further subdivided into numerous cultural and linguistic units (Countrywatch.com, 2016:168). The major ethnic groups include Akan, Moshi-Dagomba/Dagbani, Ewe and Ga (Countrywatch.com, 2016:168). Members of a particular clan or community can acquire land following the presentation of customary gifts to the traditional or spiritual leader (Kasanga, 2001 cited in Antwi-Agyei et al., 2015:204). However, people from outside the community do not have rights to communal land, even though they may acquire land for farming by entering into a contractual agreement [either through payment with money or a portion of their crops] with

the chief or the traditional head for a period of time (Kasanga et al., 1996 cited in Antwi-Agyei et al., 2015:204). Where the ethnic types/groups are concerned, there is the issue of migration. Migratory movement between regions in Ghana has usually been from the north to the south (GLSS 6, 2014c:66). The northern regions, essentially the rural savannah has the least proportion of migrant population [37.5%] from other parts of Ghana (GLSS 6, 2014c:xviii). Hence where rural areas are concerned, there is significant migratory movement from the savannah and predominantly northern areas to forested areas in the south. This is partly due to the more suitable climate in the forested rural areas for farming. Thus by reason of migratory movement and with the rights to the land being based on indigenous status, non-indigenes could be more vulnerable to any effects arising from land issues since they would have no claims to land in territory they do not originate from and cannot contest as theirs<sup>11</sup>. The convergence of ethnicity, migration and the dependence on land for livelihood within the context of a land acquisition creates the potential for the impacts to be differentiated along the lines of the indigene versus the non-indigene. Ghana therefore provides a suitable case for the examination and in-depth analysis into the livelihood implications on the basis of such dynamics. Furthermore, there is the possibility of the extension of effects to the adjacent community where rural localities are concerned. This is not to say that in other areas, for instance peri-urban areas, there is no extension of effects to adjacent localities. There may be extension of effects in other places as well however the focus of the study is rural areas hence the reference to extension of effects where these adjacent localities are concerned. As Tsikata and Yaro (2014:203) suggest, with respect to country specificities, Ghana is interesting for the cumulative effects of the acquisitions on rural communities already struggling with livelihood stress due to land hunger.

According to Tsikata and Yaro (2014:203), there is growing recognition of the wide variety of country experiences of land deals. Notably, the variety of experiences highlights the heterogeneity of outcomes where acquisitions are concerned and this necessitates this study. The study serves to address an aspect of the variety of experiences, that is, the

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<sup>11</sup> A non-indigene would not have usufructory rights to land in a community he/she does not originate from. The village/community one originates from refers to one's hometown. For the Ashantis for example, the question generally asked during introductions or meeting someone for the first time is '*wofiri hen/wofiri henfa*'? translated as '*where do you come from*'? The question refers to where one hails from, that is, one's hometown to which if the person is from a matrilineal ethnicity the person would state their mother's hometown because that is where the one would hail from. If the one is from a patrilineal ethnicity the one would state the father's hometown because that is where one would hail from. There is generally no question of not knowing where one comes from in Ghana unless for particular groups such as those who grew up in an orphanage and do not know their background.

different outcomes where rural livelihoods are concerned. Thus as confirmed by Tsikata and Yaro (2014:203), less discussed, but equally deserving of attention, is the fact that livelihood effects of commercial land deals and agriculture projects are not uniform between and within communities. Therefore, country, community, class, and gender differences in experiences need to become an integral aspect of knowledge production on commercial agriculture projects and their land transactions (Tsikata and Yaro, 2014:203). Consequently the Ghanaian context presents an opportunity to explore the uneven distribution of livelihood impacts within and across communities on differing tenure types and of diverse ethnicities. Furthermore it provides the occasion to explore the adjacent community situation and the associated extension of livelihood impacts to these localities. It is essential to understand the effects of land acquisitions on communities internal to and external to the vicinity of the transaction because livelihood impacts may not be uniform within and across communities. This is expedient in order to generate new insights into these processes and policy relevant conclusions. This suggests that in addressing livelihood implications resulting from land acquisitions, it is important to understand the impacts themselves, the varied contexts within which they have emerged, the variances between them and why such differences occur in order to address the effects to sustenance them adequately. In addition, impacts could manifest in the wider vicinity hence the need to take cognisance of the effects to the adjacent community and the potential for indirect impacts to them.

Within Ghana, the Ashanti region and particularly the Asante Akim North District<sup>12</sup> were selected for study. This is because apart from the large-scale land acquisitions on both government/state and customary land, there was a significant non-indigene presence, elaborated on in the ensuing. Three communities within the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti region are examined. These are the communities of Ananekrom, Dukusen and

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<sup>12</sup> Per the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, for the purposes of decentralized local government, Ghana is divided into districts and the District Assembly is the highest political authority in the district having deliberative, legislative and executive powers [Article 241(3)].



and Afrisere (Figures 1.3 and 1.4). The community of Ananekrom is located adjacent to a forestry reserve (which is state land). Dukusen is located on customary land. Afrisere is an adjacent community external to the localities of appropriation<sup>15</sup>. The three communities serve the purpose of the study: the first two respectively fall within areas of state and customary land acquisitions and the third community did not experience land acquisitions. This allows for comparison of effects across the differing land tenure types as well as impacts emerging in the acquisition area versus the non-acquisition area. In addition, the presence of the adjacent community with the absence of land transactions<sup>16</sup> allows for an inquiry into why and how these external localities can be impacted by land transactions in other vicinities. Another point is that the three communities are within the same district and traditional area<sup>17</sup>. This provides an opportunity for the comparison of effects with fewer intervening variables since politically and traditionally, the communities fall within the same jurisdictions. In addition, apart from the indigenes, the Ashanti region also houses significant numbers of non-indigenes from the northern part of the country given its suitability for farming. Hence this gives the opportunity for the examination of impacts along ethnic lines.

#### **1.4 DELIMITING THE SIZE OF LAND APPROPRIATIONS WITHIN THE RESEARCH**

In defining the size of a large-scale acquisition, academic scholarship presents a range of options. For example, some give a range from 200 hectares or larger (Rulli et al., 2013:892; Antonelli et al., 2015:99; Giovannetti and Ticci, 2016:682) to 1,000 hectares or larger (Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010:901; Cotula et al., 2009; Cotula et al., 2014:904) to a threshold of 2,000 hectares or more (Schoneveld, 2011 cited in Holmen, 2015:461). Where Ghana is concerned, the draft New Guidelines on Large-Scale Land Transactions and the draft new Land Bill stipulate the definition of 'large-scale' where land acquisitions are concerned. The draft New Guidelines on Large-Scale Land Transactions was developed by the Lands Commission<sup>18</sup>. The draft new land bill was developed under the Ghana Land Administration

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<sup>15</sup> Dukusen was closer to Afrisere than Ananekrom (which was larger and the location of the market day for all three communities). Dukusen's closeness in terms of distance did not affect outcome. This is because for both communities (Ananekrom and Dukusen) the closest adjacent community outside of the appropriations was Afrisere and people went in search of where they could get land to farm on irrespective of distance.

<sup>16</sup> According to the traditional authority at Afrisere, land transactions had not taken place there because they went and informed the paramount chief that any acquisitions would affect them so none occurred (Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, October 2017).

<sup>17</sup> A traditional area, also called a paramountcy, is an area under the jurisdiction of a paramount chief.

<sup>18</sup> Speech by National Lands Commission, CARITAS Stakeholder Consultation on Large-Scale Land Acquisitions, Accra, December 2017). The Lands Commission administers state lands on behalf of the President and administers vested lands, as a government agency, on behalf of the customary owner (Ministry of Lands

Project (LAP)<sup>19</sup> and had passed cabinet consideration and was ready for parliament<sup>20</sup>. The land bill was going to address the laws governing how land is managed (in Ghana), not only for large-scale plots but all of the land administration areas<sup>21</sup>. Within the draft New Guidelines on Large-Scale Land Transactions, under definition, it is stated that:

*'Large-scale land transaction (LSLT): LSLT involves a transaction over land that on one hand covers a land area of 20.23 hectares or 50 acres or more and on the other hand, a land transaction that covers an area less than 20.23 hectares or 50 acres but triggers social, economic and/or environmental concerns that needs to be safeguarded'* (Draft Guidelines for Large-Scale Land Transactions In Ghana – Draft, Lands Commission, February 2017, pg iv).

Within the new land bill (in draft stage and ready for parliamentary consideration<sup>22</sup>) large-scale land disposition/transactions and their definition are stated under Clause 99 section (4) as follows:

*(4) For the purposes of subsection (3) large-scale land disposition means disposition of land or interest in land which exceeds ten acres.*

(Draft Four A Bill Entitled The Lands Act 2016, pg 54 – 55).

Hence based on the draft document under consideration, a large-scale land acquisition is one which either exceeds 10 acres, is 50 acres or more, or is less than 50 acres but prompts social, economic and/or environmental concerns. It can thus be inferred that where land acquisitions are concerned, there is no uniform land size deemed as 'large-scale' as far as the Ghanaian government is concerned.

Within this study, the size of land acquired by a company (ScanFarm) on the customary land was 1,800 hectares (approximately 4,448 acres) of which 650 hectares (approximately 1,606 acres) had been developed for food production<sup>23</sup>. The size of land acquired by a

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and Forestry, 2003:11, 12). The functions of the Lands Commission are stipulated in Act 258(1) of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.

<sup>19</sup> The Land Administration Project (LAP) was initiated as part of the implementation of the key policy actions recommended in the NLP (National Land Policy 1999) to address critical issues militating against effective land administration in this country. LAP is a long-term (15-25 years) land administration reform programme with the goal of stimulating economic development, reducing poverty and promote social stability by improving security of land tenure, simplifying the process for accessing land and making it fair, transparent and efficient (Memorandum Land Bill 2016, Pg 1).

<sup>20</sup> Speech by National Lands Commission, CARITAS Stakeholder Consultation on Large-Scale Land Acquisitions, Accra, December 2017).

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Accra, January 2018.

<sup>22</sup> Speech by National Lands Commission, CARITAS Stakeholder Consultation on Large-Scale Land Acquisitions, Accra, December 2017).

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Company S, October 2017.

company (Miro Forestry) on the forestry/state land was 10,000 hectares (approximately 24,710 acres)<sup>24</sup>. Both of these land acquisitions far exceed the sizes of a large-scale land acquisition of 10, 50 or more, or less than 50 acres stipulated in the draft New Guidelines on Large-Scale Land Transactions, or the draft Land Bill. Therefore even though within the Ghanaian context it appears there is no fixed land size to delimit 'large-scale', the acquisitions within this study fall within large-scale transactions since they far exceed all the sizes proposed by these state documents.

## **1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

The thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter one gives an introduction to the study. It commences by highlighting the importance of land especially for the rural poor within the African continent, then moving on to the phenomenon of resource capture and more specifically land acquisitions. The reasons for the proliferation of land deals on the African continent and the resulting impacts are elaborated upon. In addition, the potential for livelihood impacts to be differentiated across various scales and identities within the African context as well as the emergence of effects to the adjacent communities are discussed. The research question and objectives of the study are presented as well as the detailing of how the study seeks to examine comparatively the livelihood implications within and across the communities internal to the acquisition area. It then seeks to extend this interrogation to the adjacent community. This is in order to ascertain how and why impacts are produced in localities external to the acquisition area. Furthermore it is to examine comparatively, the differentiation with effects internal to the acquisition areas. The chapter argues for Ghana as a case study. This includes the fact that there are a number of land tenure systems, varying land rights and ethnic dynamics fuelled by migration which could influence the nature and distribution of livelihood implications. The study focuses on three communities and the justification for these is presented.

The second chapter considers the political economy of large-scale land acquisitions where the African continent is concerned. The chapter outlines the scope and dimensions of the phenomenon by asking the following questions about large-scale land acquisitions: what is happening and why is it occurring? Historical perspectives on land acquisitions are first considered, with the argument that it is not a new phenomenon but has occurred down the

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<sup>24</sup> <https://www.miroforestry.com/plantations/boumfoum-ghana>

centuries for example during the Persian and Roman Empires. The argument is then made that although the dispossession of land did exist before the advent of capitalism, 'there is the need to examine the new wave of land deals within the wider political and economic processes' (Cotula et al., 2014:905). Hence there is the interrogation of capitalist logics and the geographical expansion of transnational capital. As noted by academic scholarship, other factors have also influenced the drive for land apart from capitalist logics. Thus the chapter elaborates upon the other drivers of land acquisitions such as climate change, food and energy security, globalization, speculation and the financialisation of agriculture. The focus then shifts to the African continent and the dynamics that exist there regarding land deals. This is because the majority of the land acquisitions take place on the African continent (Warner et al., 2013:223). The factors which have contributed to and influence the spate of deals on the continent are then interrogated, inclusive of state logics and territorialisation. The chapter then focuses on the impacts of transactions given that many rural livelihoods depend on farming and therefore land for subsistence. It is contended that the literature does shed light on the types of effects that arise. However there is the need to disaggregate whether the impacts are differentiated and if so across which lines. Thus this study goes further to interrogate the differentiation in impacts and the scales along which these occur within and across communities. This is because livelihood impacts may not be uniform within and across communities. For example in the examination of effects, differences in impacts may arise due to land types or ethnicity. As such differing policy interventions may be required. In addition, impacts could manifest in the wider vicinity hence the need to take cognisance of the effects to the adjacent community and the potential for indirect impacts to them. The chapter therefore argues for the need for research to explore these wider issues.

Chapter three details the particular processes that were employed in the collection and organisation of data as well as the interpretation and analysis. The chapter highlights the particular methodological approaches, the triangulation to achieve accuracy and credibility and the tools employed for the data collection. The chapter achieves this through firstly discussing the qualitative versus quantitative debate, the philosophical assumptions brought to the research and the research strategy. It then considers triangulation as well as the case study approach. Following this, the tools employed for the data collection are elaborated upon. These include interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation. The reflexivity, positionality, validity and reliability in relation to the research are

deliberated on and details presented on how these are negotiated. The data collection methods that are employed in answering the research questions involve human beings. Therefore ethical scrutiny is necessary and the chapter then elaborates on the requirements put in place to adhere to ethical standards. There is finally a discussion on how the data is analysed and interpreted.

The fourth chapter analyses whether livelihood implications of land acquisitions are differentiated by people groups and land tenure types. It achieves this through a consideration of the two communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen which are within the vicinity of land acquisitions albeit on different land tenure types. The chapter commences with an exploration into the concept and importance of land in Ghana. This serves as a basis for understanding the relationship social groups have with land. It also considers the definitions and dimensions of large-scale land acquisitions within the Ghanaian context. The focus then narrows to the two communities within the vicinity of land acquisitions and an elaboration of the state/forestry land and customary land trajectories in relation to the land transactions. There is an interrogation of whether the livelihood effects of land acquisitions are differentiated along ethnic lines and across tenure types. This is undertaken through first examining what the livelihood impacts are and who is impacted and why from an ethnic perspective, that is, the indigene and the non-indigene. The presence and position of the non-indigene in terms of their large number/their high proportion and their ownership status where community lands are concerned is further analysed. These form the context for evaluating whether or not the non-indigene is affected to a greater extent by land appropriations given the status with respect to land ownership and thereby establishing whether livelihood impacts are differentiated along ethnic lines. Subsequently there is an examination of whether the impacts are differentiated by tenure type. The argument is made that effects are distinguished across tenure types. The chapter then considers the alternative options open to community members in the light of their loss of access to land to ascertain whether this provides illumination on how impacts get transmitted to the adjacent community. Three courses of action emerge. The first is to source for an alternative livelihood within the community through the selling of one's labour on a daily basis, going to work for one of the companies that had acquired the lands, petty trading, and additionally in the community of Dukusen the logging of trees or the burning of wood into charcoal. The second alternative option is to search for a new parcel of land within the community to cultivate on. This option came with a number of attendant challenges, such as tenure

insecurity and the quality, size and location of the land. The third alternative option is to migrate out of the community. These alternative options are examined and analysed regarding whether they are differentiated on the basis of tenure, the role of ethnicity and the reasons for which the particular options are chosen. The most common of the options is to migrate out of the community with the majority of the out-migrants being Northerners. The chapter concludes with an interrogation of where the migrants move to.

Following on from the livelihood impacts to communities within the vicinity of land acquisitions the question then asked is whether adjacent communities also experience effects and if so how and why this occurs. There is also the interrogation into the lines along which there is differentiation in impacts experienced by the Afrisere community as opposed to the localities within the area of appropriation. Chapter five thus commences with a discussion of the political economy of Afrisere, giving contextual information on its demographic, livelihood and economic characteristics. The livelihood impacts experienced by this community are then examined and these include the reduction in land holding which gave rise to knock-on effects such as decreased harvests, reduced income and difficulty in catering for the household. Other impacts include the mental/emotional effects of worry, fear and suffering. Subsequently the chapter analyses the differentiation in effects across the communities, that is, those internal to and those external to the vicinity of the land transactions noting that the impacts are not exactly the same, yet there are similarities. The differences in the impacts are highlighted through further in-depth analysis. The discussion then interrogates the reasons for the emergence of impacts in the Afrisere community through an examination of ethnic dynamics, moral obligations and moral economy and the matter of peace of mind and reciprocity. Where ethnic dynamics are concerned, there is a discussion of the question of ethnicity, an interrogation of the approaches to ethnicity and then the highlighting of how ethnic dynamics and regional identity emerged in the Afrisere community. The contribution of ethnic dynamics to the emergence of impacts in the adjacent community is elaborated upon. The regional and ethnic identity with the Ananekrom and Dukusen community members is perceived to foster oneness and solidarity which gives rise to the impetus to provide support in the face of their loss of access to land.

Chapter five then discusses the moral obligation and the moral economy, both of which are analysed as influencing factors regarding the emergence of livelihood impacts in the adjacent community. Morality within the context of the discussion is taken to mean 'simply

the matter of what kinds of behaviour are good, how we should treat others and be treated by them; moral feelings, ideas and norms about such things also imply and merge into what philosophers term 'conceptions of the good' - ideas or senses of how one should live' (Sayer, 2003:4) and has to do with mores (or customs): that is, with generally accepted norms of individual conduct (Donagan, 1977:1). The moral obligation to extend assistance within the Afrisere community is analysed through the lens of five factors - a natural empathy/feeling for others, the innate/inherent emergence of solidarity mechanisms, the matter of social beings and relationships, moral emotions/sentiments/reasoning and cultural values. The discussion then interrogates whether a moral economy was at play within the community. It does so by considering the concept of the moral economy in the works of James C. Scott and E.P Thompson. The discussion analyses that a moral economy materialised in the Afrisere community because social arrangements emerged to assist the in-migrants. This was further augmented by the belief in the right to subsistence and the emergence of solidarity, all of which culminated in the community members giving of their own resources to assist in-migrants. There is also an interrogation of the issue of peace of mind. The situation of the in-migrants disturbed the community members thus in order to have their peace of mind, there was the compulsion to extend assistance to those who were in need. The matter of reciprocity as a reason for the emergence of impacts in the Afrisere community is then examined, with the analysis finding that it was a factor influencing the provision of support because of the togetherness/oneness, the securing of goodwill against the future/ social insurance and the act of 'paying it forward'. The chapter concludes by noting that the examination of the effects to the adjacent community bring out a 'humane' aspect to the large-scale land acquisitions. This is in the sense that the effects to the adjacent community are produced as a result of helping the in-migrants who are facing difficulties.

The thesis concludes with a sixth chapter which summarises the main findings of the study. The overall argument of the study is that following a large-scale land acquisition, the livelihood impacts that emerge are not homogeneous. Impacts can be differentiated across various dimensions. The study showed that the land tenure types (state/government land and customary/stool land) resulted in differentiated impacts. It also highlighted the relatively greater level of insurance/protection on customary land when juxtaposed against the impacts where the state land is concerned given that within the former, ejection was more gradual, implying some latitude and maintenance of a livelihood in the interim. The state land acquisitions highlighted the contestations with respect to the preservation of natural

resources versus the restriction on lives and livelihoods as a consequence. The study drew out the fact that transactions can give rise to effects further away in locations which are outside the boundary of the appropriation. The livelihoods of the adjacent communities can be affected and comparatively, when refracted through the lens of the causal factors, there is differentiation in impacts across the communities internal and external to acquisitions. Therefore in the examination of likely outcomes of land acquisitions, apart from the locality of the appropriation, the wider vicinity needs examination. The findings of the study also highlighted the fact that the outcomes to the adjacent community emerged as a result of the extension of assistance by the community members. Thus through human characteristics of compassion, pity, sympathy and views of the right/good and appropriate behaviour, there was the moral obligation to provide support as well as the emergence of a moral economy. There was also the matter of reciprocity which went beyond a return of value for a benefit received to 'paying it forward' and providing assistance so that at a future date in one's time of need assistance would arise but from where was unknown. Through such channels, adjacent communities could be in receipt of effects of land acquisitions elsewhere.

Overall, the study argues and demonstrates that there is differentiation in livelihood impacts following a large-scale land acquisition and such differences are across varying scales. Within communities effects may not be uniform as a result of different ethnic groups with varying rights or lack thereof to the land. Differentiation of impacts may also differ based on the land tenure types. Such differentiation in impacts is significant on the African continent because there is a heterogeneity of ethnicities, land rights and tenure systems. The study also contends and establishes that impacts can be transferred to the adjacent community through human sensitivities such as compassion, sympathy, the appropriate behaviour and the right response, giving rise to a sense of moral obligation, the emergence of a moral economy, and ethnic dynamics leading to solidarity networks.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LAND ACQUISITIONS IN AFRICA**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The proliferation of land acquisitions as well as its history has been well documented in the literature (see Alden Wily, 2012; Carmody, 2011; Cotula, 2012). Various terms have been used to describe the phenomenon such as large-scale land acquisitions, transactions, deals, appropriation and land grabbing (White et al., 2012:620; Rulli et al., 2013:892; De Schutter, 2011 cited in Golay and Biglino, 2013:1630; International Land Coalition, 2011 cited in Rulli and D'Odorico, 2013:6130). A number of definitions have also been given (see Rulli et al., 2013:892; Alden Wiley, 2012:751; Leon, 2015:262) for the phenomenon. It is summed up by Borrás and Franco (2012) as the current explosion of large-scale (trans) national commercial land transactions and speculation in recent years mainly, but not solely, around the large-scale production and export of food and biofuels (Borrás and Franco, 2012:34; Borrás et al., 2011:210). Land transactions, deals and acquisitions involve the appropriation of land by both foreigners and nationals from those using and depending on the resource for their livelihoods. There are a number of common features: dispossession for a variety of reasons, the role of powerful actors - both foreign and local elites, little consultation with local people and impact on livelihoods and economies. Equally evident is the fact that 'the pace and extent of these land deals has been rapid and widespread' (GRAIN, 2008 cited in Borrás et al., 2011:209). Notable too is the dominant reference to farmland even though land appropriated for extractive industries such as mining and conservation measures also constitutes a form of acquisition as noted by academic scholarship. Peluso and Lund (2011:669 cited in Cotula [2012:673]) therefore argue that there is no one grand land grab, but a series of changing contexts, emergent processes and forces, and contestations that are producing new conditions and facilitating shifts in both de jure and de facto land control. Essentially there is no 'one-size-fits-all' but each situation of land acquisition needs to be assessed within its own context and parameters.

Land acquisitions today are deeply shaped by past practices and historical legacies and exhibit continuities from the past (Margulis et al., 2013:2). The emphasis where acquisitions are concerned 'builds on familiar, iconic images from the past of (Northern) companies and

governments enclosing commons (mainly land and water), dispossessing peasants and indigenous peoples, and ruining the environment in the South' (Borras and Franco, 2012:34; Borras et al., 2011:210). It has been occurring world-wide, 'not just in Africa but also in other regions, such as post-Soviet Eurasia, Southeast Asia and Latin America, and in some big powerful countries, notably China, Russia and India' (Edelman et al., 2013:1519). Notably though, across the literature there has been a focus on the African continent. Studies have focused on the continent not only because 'most of the acquisitions take place here' (Warner et al., 2013:223) but also due to the effects that they bring to the numerous rural populations who depend on the resource for sustenance. Notably land acquisitions on other continents do have associated implications however as posited by academic scholarship, the African continent is the location of the majority of these deals hence the possible greater focus on it. Furthermore, these are populations already struggling with livelihood maintenance, food security and poverty. The political economy of land acquisition in Africa thus addresses the dimensions of the phenomenon in terms of what has happened and why.

This chapter outlines the scope of the phenomenon. It addresses the questions of why the phenomenon is occurring and its dimensions. It further interrogates the issue of impacts with regards to the African continent. In mapping out the scope and dimensions, the rest of the chapter is divided into seven sections. The second section considers the historical perspective where land acquisitions are concerned, with the main thrust being the fact that it is not a new phenomenon but has a history of occurrence down the centuries albeit with a non-capitalist focus such as the conquering of foreign lands by ancient kingdoms – for example the Babylonian, Persian and Roman empires to name a few. Section three of the chapter examines the enclosure of the commons and the commodification of land. In the fourth section the discussion moves from enclosure to consider the wider political and economic processes that influence land acquisitions; in essence, the capitalist logics. Section five interrogates other drivers that have influenced the current spate of land acquisitions namely climate change, food and energy security, speculation, conservation and globalization. Having examined the historical antecedents, the background to present day land acquisitions, the capitalist processes and other drivers, section six narrows the discussion down to explore the African continent. This is done through examining the effect of colonialism on the land tenure systems. There is then an investigation into the state logics to establish the means by which land transactions have been facilitated. Following on from this, and in the light of the numerous rural populations dependent on the land, there is then

scrutiny of the livelihood impacts of land acquisitions in section seven. The chapter concludes by summing up the discussion on the political economy of land acquisition in Africa. The conclusion also emphasizes the failure of the literature to address the differentiation and uneven distribution of livelihood impacts within and between communities as well as internal and external to the acquisition areas. This is in addition to the emphasis on the failure of the literature to interrogate the impacts to the adjacent community and the reason for their emergence.

## **2.2 LAND ACQUISITIONS - A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The issue with current land deals is the scale of the transactions and the speed with which they are taking place. Several characteristics set today's investments apart from their predecessors; the sheer scale – both in terms of the size of the acquisitions and in terms of amount of capital involved (Antonelli et al., 2015:99; Kugelman, 2013:27; Mehta et al., 2012:195; Zoomers, 2010 cited in Bues and Theesfeld, 2012:266). Global estimates vary but they are in the millions of hectares. Estimates by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) suggest that roughly 20 million hectares exchanged hands in the form of land acquisitions between 2005 and 2009 (von Braun and Meinzen-Dick, 2009 cited in Borras et al., 2011:209). The World Bank report released in September 2010 estimated this global phenomenon at 45 million hectares (World Bank, 2010 cited in Borras et al., 2011:209). There are other approximations – with some differences in definition and the time-span covered, recent estimates of the total area of large land deals world-wide range from 43 million hectares (World Bank, 2010 cited in White et al., 2012:620) to 80 million hectares (ILC, 2011 cited in White et al., 2012:620) and 227 million hectares (Oxfam, 2011 cited in White et al., 2012:620). The recent boom in writings on 'land grabbing' gives the impression that it is a new phenomenon, triggered by the food, fuel and financial crises in 2007–8 (Holmen, 2015:465). Yet history details how land was acquired through for example military conquest as far back as the ancient Roman, Babylonian and Assyrian times. Historically therefore, land acquisitions are not a new phenomenon. The capture of land and water resources by powerful actors has its own history and has been happening for centuries (Deininger and Byerlee, 2011 cited in Bues and Theesfeld, 2012:266; Franco et al., 2013:1654). Likewise, Jiao et al. (2015:317) submit that the acquisition of land and resources by central authorities, such as governments, has a long history throughout the world.

White et al. (2012:623) note that most regions of the global South, as well as the global North, have a long history of land 'grabbing' on a large scale; in the North, the best-known episodes have been the European and particularly the British enclosures. But there has also been 'the dispossession of the native peoples of North America and Australasia, and, arguably, some historical episodes of forced socialist collectivization (White et al., 2012:623). Other cases of land acquisition in point include royal appropriation of timber and game on private and communal lands in 11th century England (Aberth, 2013 cited in Jiao et al., 2015:317), the allocation of lands to commodity producers in the colonial era such as Dutch coffee growers on Sumatra (Potter, 2008 cited in Jiao et al., 2015:317) and post-colonial government facilitated land reforms such as corporate pulpwood plantations on former communal land in the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Barney, 2008 cited in Jiao et al., 2015:317). The spaces in which land grabbing occurs have almost always emerged as a result of earlier processes of political contention, longstanding patterns of land tenure and use, and pre-existing social formations (Edelman et al., 2013:1521). In light of this, Alden Wily (2012:751) stresses that there is an overdue need to locate the current land rush in its historical context: less as a new phenomenon than as a surge in the continuing capture of ordinary people's rights and assets by capital led and class-creating social transformation.

Edelman et al. (2013:1521) suggests that impacts can only really be assessed when the pre-land grab situation is thoroughly understood and documented. It appears that this may not always be the case given that the assessment of effects could be interrogated irrespective of the pre-acquisition situation. For example, livelihood impacts could be examined following drawing out of information from the dispossessed peasantry. Notwithstanding this, the perspective from earlier periods is useful not only in order to give some background but also because the present-day land acquisitions are often embedded in these historical antecedents. As such, the discussion turns to the historical antecedents, commencing with the enclosure of the commons.

## **2.3 THE ENCLOSURE OF THE COMMONS**

### *2.3.1 The Historical Antecedents*

The commons was communal open land within communities for grazing, farming, hunting and associated activities for the sustenance of livelihoods in high medieval to early modern England and parts of Europe. Feudal land law in England (and the rest of Europe) dictated

for some centuries (since 1285) that only those grantees of the king, i.e. the land lords, own the land; local populations had use rights (Alden Wily, 2012:755). The use rights allowed for grazing, farming, hewing of wood and other associated activities. This common land was gradually overtaken through enclosure which ‘occurred from the end of the middle-ages to the close of the nineteenth century, varying in intensity both chronologically and regionally’ (Tate, 1967 cited in O’Donnell, 2014:109). In the process, smaller parcels/strips of land were consolidated and enclosed to form larger land holdings under the ownership of wealthy landlords. This resulted in a dispossessed peasantry. Enclosures and concentration of ownership in the hands of the minority was steady, with a peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Alden Wily, 2012:755). Consequently village populations declined drastically as some displaced farmers moved to urban settlements to become workers in factories and settlements (Rubenstein, 2014:472). There was also the emergence of ‘dispossessed populations, totally dependent on the sale of their labour power’ (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012:213). Thus in dispossessing the peasants of land used for sustenance the land owners not only acquired consolidated land for greater yields; they also acquired labour necessary for production.

### *2.3.2 The Enclosure of the Commons as a Function of Present Day Land Acquisitions*

Greer (2012:365) observes that anyone interested in the basic question about dispossession may be tempted to think in terms of a great “enclosure movement” that took shape first in England and Western Europe and then extended overseas to the New World, Africa and Oceania, bringing survey lines, fences and legal rules fostering exclusive access and transferability. More than one historian has observed such an extended conception of enclosure (Greer, 2012:365). The enclosure of the commons had to do with the dispossession of the communal rights of a peasant class by an elite class and the appropriation of the communally-used land for other purposes, the aim of which was economic. Sevilla-Buitrago (2012:211) explains that enclosure had two objectives, both related to the agrarian revolution: firstly, the consolidation of land holdings and secondly, the releasing of land subject to collective crop regulation and the elimination of common rights, thereby allowing individual projects for improvement (Harvey, 2011 cited in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012:211). These objectives are mirrored in current day land acquisitions, albeit extending further than simply being agrarian-related. In the present day, through factors such as the need for climate change mitigation, energy security and conservation, there is the acquisition

of land (discussed further on in the Chapter). However, the enclosure of the commons served as a phase in the evolution of present day land acquisitions through its contribution to the commodification of land.

### *2.3.3 From Enclosure to Commodification*

Commodification implies treating as a commodity or an object of trade. Through enclosure, land was exchanged for money. It could therefore be concluded that land was traded and hence it became a commodity. Secondly, commodification implies 'turning into a commodity', thus a modification of use or purpose. Where the enclosure period was concerned, the land was originally for collective use. Subsequently, there was a change in its state from communal land to privately owned land. There was a change in its purpose from communal use to reserved/private use. Enclosure thus facilitated commodification. Lacher (1999:316) argues that for Polanyi, the trigger for the transformation of the system was that it required a political act, which withdrew state and communal protection from men and women (and forced them to sell their labour) and deregulated the sale of land and the use of money. Through enclosure, 'the countryside became simultaneously the space of accumulation for old rentier landowners, a space for the settlement and recreation of new merchant capital, and also a space of exploitation free from urban regulations in which emerged a new army of dispossessed populations, totally dependent on the sale of their labour power' (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012:213).

## **2.4 CAPITALIST LOGICS AND THE EXPANSION OF TRANSNATIONAL CAPITAL**

The political and economic processes within late medieval to early modern England resulted in the enclosure of the commons, culminating in land acquisitions during the colonial period (although it must be noted that there were other causes such as the European rivalries and the desire for future security). The enclosure of the commons and the rise of the industrial era, first in Britain, and then across continental Europe, generated the demand for more land. Therefore there was the need to look beyond these borders to secure this resource. New features of dispossession emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that had been previously deployed only in a rudimentary form: amongst others, a more methodical reliance on legal frameworks that legitimized dispossession and a systematic deployment of new techniques of survey, representation and land apportionment (Alden Wily 2012; Marx 1976:885 cited in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015:1006). Cotula et al.

(2014:905) suggest that the new wave of land deals need to be examined within the wider political and economic processes. These wider processes also rest within the dynamics of capitalist and state logics albeit extending further than those within the late medieval to early modern England era. It is to these that the discussion now turns.

The record of the development of global capitalism is a history of varying combinations of state and capital alliances, where accumulation and dispossession have advanced and occurred hand in hand (Arrighi, 1994; Harvey, 2003 cited in Borrás and Franco, 2013:1728). Prior to the rise of the "market economy", societies had one fundamental thing in common: subsistence rather than gain-dominated economic activity; these "economies" were thus embedded in society and its socially defined aims and values (Lacher, 1999:316). As long as material activities were governed by the motive of subsistence, no distinctive economic sphere existed in society (Polanyi, 1957 cited in Lacher, 1999:316). The change in motivation from subsistence to profit introduced a market-oriented system. This shift contributed to intensify land commodification and to dilute its traditional cultural significance (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015:1006).

Lacher (1999:317) argues that the capitalist transformation of the economy entailed the commodification of land. Along with labour, it became commodified and the consequence was 'the eclipse of the motive of subsistence by that of profit—as people now had to rely on the market for their livelihood—and thus the emergence of a distinctively "economic" interest' (Polanyi, 1968 cited in Lacher, 1999:316): hence the onset of a capitalist system which 'for three centuries, has shaped Western society' (Harvey, 2011). Its evolution over this period has not gone without consequences to the developing world. Indeed, as Blaikie (1985:119) contends, the social landscape as well as the physical in many instances in which the peasantries and pastoralists find themselves in lesser developed countries at the present time has long been affected by European economic, social and political influences, first in the form of European traders, and later of imperialism as part of a longer-term development of world capitalism.

In capitalism, the institutionalized economic process becomes constituted as separate from other social relations through the commodification of land, labour and money and it is on this basis that "the market" arises as the institution governing the material production and reproduction of society, mediated through the pursuit of profit (Lacher, 1999:316). The most

common (if often implicit) approach to capitalism in the literature, which might be called the “classical” one, takes it to exist when direct producers are separated from the means of production and proletarianized, while the means of production are held by capitalists as private property (Hall, 2012:1191). Thus capitalists in competitive relations with one another hire workers, while workers must sell their labour to capitalists to survive (Hall, 2012:1191). An essential feature is the investment of capital in order to make a profit (Beed and Beed, 2014:2). The outcome of capitalism is that resources are put to use to generate profit on a repetitive basis. Thus, as Harvey (2011:40) argues, capital is not a thing but a process; money is perpetually employed to produce more money and capitalists set this process in motion.

Capitalists possess certain features. They covet monopoly powers because such powers confer security, calculability and a generally more peaceful existence, and they can and do use spatial strategies to create and protect monopoly powers wherever and whenever they can (Harvey, 2003:96). Given that ‘spatial location confers a certain monopolistic advantage, control over key strategic locations or resource complexes is an important weapon’ (Harvey, 2003:96). Since the objective is the pursuit of more money, effects upon the people or the location itself is not critical to the capitalist. Therefore little attention is paid to these, whilst their possessions in terms of natural resources, such as land or labour, is demanded of them in order that capital may satisfy its aim. Blaikie (1985:119) argues that in general terms, it is widely agreed that during its historical development, capitalism has had different requirements from the peasantries of the world at different times – raw materials, land, labour power. Harvey (2011:185) however perceives that the geographic landscape of capital accumulation is perpetually evolving largely under the impulsion of the speculative needs of further accumulation (including land speculation). In addition, given that ‘capitalists are always producing surpluses in the form of profit, they are then forced by competition to recapitalise and reinvest a part of that surplus in expansion which requires that new profitable outlets be found’ (Harvey, 2011:26). If there is no room for expansion on home soil then new profitable outlets have to be sourced for further afield. But the question is why the requirement to reinvest? Reinvestment in expansion is necessary in order to stay in business and to protect and expand market share due to a competitive environment (Harvey, 2011:43). Secondly and perhaps more importantly, ‘the motivation to reinvest is because money is a form of social power that can be appropriated by private persons; money and the inevitable desire to command the social power it confers provides an abundant range of

social and political incentives to want more of it' (Harvey, 2011:43). Thus as Harvey (2011:43) contends, one of the key ways to get more of it is to reinvest a part of the surplus funds gained yesterday to generate more surplus tomorrow.

In order for the cycle of reinvestment to continue, 'there is a perpetual need to find new fields of activity to absorb the reinvested capital, given that if there is an insurmountable barrier to the circulation of capital, it can produce a crises defined as a condition in which surplus production and reinvestment are blocked' (Harvey, 2011:45). Once there is a crisis, 'growth then stops and there appears to be an excess or overaccumulation of capital relative to the opportunities to use that capital profitably. If growth does not resume then the overaccumulated capital is devalued or destroyed' (Harvey, 2011:45). Capitalism thus hinges upon the seizure of collective wealth to overcome intensified crises of accumulation (Hardt and Negri, 2009 cited in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015:1002). But what is overaccumulation? Overaccumulation within a given territorial system means a condition of surpluses of labour and surpluses of capital (Harvey, 2003:109). It is a condition where surpluses of capital lie idle with no profitable outlets in sight; overaccumulated capital can seize hold of assets and turn them to profitable use (Harvey, 2003:149). Therefore, surplus capital has to find new horizons in order to maintain its circulation. In addition, the prevention of overaccumulation is necessary because of the need to stay in business and more importantly, to protect social power. Harvey (2003:143) argues that capitalism always requires a fund of assets outside of itself if it is to confront and circumvent pressures of overaccumulation and if those assets such as empty land or new raw material sources do not lie to hand then capitalism must find the means to produce them. In order for there to be an absorption, the surplus capital has to find outlets where it can be absorbed.

From the foregoing, one solution to the capitalist crises of overaccumulation is the sourcing of land abroad if it can be put to profitable use and where assets such as empty land are no longer available locally. If the surpluses of capital and of labour power exist within a given territory (such as a nation-state or a region) and cannot be absorbed internally (either by geographical expansion or social expenditures) then they must be sent elsewhere to find a fresh terrain for their profitable realization if they are not to be devalued (Harvey, 2003:116-117). This is because for capitalists, apart from realising profit, the 'primary objective is to overcome any potential blockage to the free circulation of capital across the world market and this opens up the possibility of cascading 'spatial fixes' to the capital surplus absorption

problem' (Harvey, 2011:50). In addition, given the fixed nature of land, the surplus has to move to it and not vice versa. Profitable ways must be found to absorb the capital surpluses; geographical expansion and spatial reorganization provide one such option (Harvey, 2003:88). Thus as Harvey (2011:158) contends, this geographical expansion is undertaken through the entry into other regions, 'by colonial or neo-colonial domination if necessary' and as Sevilla-Buitrago (2015:1003) points out, the consolidation of capitalism has historically hinged upon the dispossession of the commons.

Harvey (2003:139) sums the situation up by noting that the implication is 'to permit capital to invest in profitable ventures using low cost land and the like'. The general thrust of any capitalist logic of power is not that territories should be held back from capitalist development but that they should be continuously opened up (Harvey, 2003:139). The opening up of new regions as dynamic spaces of capital accumulation and the penetration of pre-existing social relations by capitalist ones and institutional arrangements provide important ways to absorb capital and labour surpluses (Harvey, 2003:116). But the issue is that these regions, targeted by surplus capital, have populations and structures (such as traditional/cultural structures) in place. Therefore for capital to penetrate, there is the need to displace or supersede these or to cooperate with the state in order to take control. Thus such geographical expansions, reorganizations and reconstructions often threaten the economic values already fixed in place (Harvey, 2003:116). The process, as Blaikie (1985:146) stresses, involves an increasing removal of control – cultural, economic, and political – from the local to the national and international. These natural resources support local people when utilized in agriculture and pastoralism in the creation of use values (Blaikie, 1985:146). Through geographic expansion and the sourcing of assets (such as land) elsewhere, these resources 'are now being controlled by new classes (capitalists) both directly and indirectly in many different ways' (Blaikie, 1985:146).

The control and appropriation by new classes has been aptly described by Marx as 'primitive accumulation which reveals a wide range of processes including commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations, the suppression of rights to the commons, the conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state etc.) into exclusive private property rights' (Harvey, 2003:145). Primitive accumulation in short entails appropriation and co-optation of pre-existing cultural and social achievements as well as confrontation and supersession (Harvey, 2003:146). In the

definition of Marx it is 'the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production' (Marx, 1976:875 cited in Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012:336). Unsurprisingly, researchers on acquisitions have noted the similarities between many current transactions and the enclosures of land and dispossession of peasants in England that Marx placed at the heart of his analysis of primitive accumulation and thus, at the very origin of capitalism (White et al., 2012 cited in Hall, 2013:1583). In essence, the local populations who have been on the land and source their livelihoods from it, either directly or indirectly are dispossessed in order for elites to access the resource to create more capital. From the point of view of Benjaminsen and Bryceson (2012:336), in a rural development context, this implies expropriating land and resources used by smallholders. Essentially, up until the present day, capitalist processes have implied the requirement for and appropriation of land ultimately giving rise to dispossession.

## **2.5 OTHER DRIVERS OF ACQUISITION**

In addition to the capitalist logics, 'a confluence of factors on the global stage has over the last decade led to a rapid expansion in the scope and scale of transnational investments in farmland' (German et al., 2013:1). Ross (2014:10) argues that there are five main reasons for the global land grab: climate change, speculation, the great recession, resource scarcity and the ideology of 'extractivism' and the history of colonialism. Other academic literature also contribute to the debate, noting that increased demand for resources by emerging economies, policy commitments to biofuels and renewable energy, rising and unstable commodity prices, and improved investment prospects given anticipated future demand for water, food, and energy have conspired to make land-based investments increasingly attractive (Anseeuw, Alden Wily, Cotula, & Taylor, 2012; Anseeuw, Boche, et al., 2012; Cotula, 2011; de Schutter, 2011a, 2011b; World Bank, 2011 cited in German et al., 2013:1). These factors are interrogated below.

### *2.5.1 Climate Change*

White et al. (2012:627) argue that global climate change has increased insecurity and vulnerability across the globe. It is a factor which 'distinguishes the current spate of large-scale land acquisitions from previous developments of plantations and concessions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' (Brown and Crawford, 2009 cited in Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010:904). But how has this been achieved through climate change? Firstly, a

change in climate resulting in weather-related events for example drought or torrential rains or flooding can affect the size of harvest of staple crops which can then give rise to a food shortage. Ross (2014:11) gives the example of 2012 where drought reduced crops in Russia by twenty-five percent (25%) while obliterating a third of the harvest in Ukraine, leading to another export ban. That same year the United States (US) experienced the worst dry spell in fifty years (Ross, 2014:11). In 2013, China imported more than sixty percent (60%) more wheat from Australia than it had done the year before, necessitated by heavy rainfalls (Ross, 2014:11). Thus as Ross (2014:11) contends, climate change can create 'a hole in the breadbaskets of each continent' resulting in mitigation measures such as bans on exports. This in turn gives rise to global shortages which drives some countries to look for land in other territories in order to grow crops to feed their populations. This aspect of climate change touches on issues of food security, which will be discussed further on.

The need for climate change mitigation has generated an interest in and policy directives concerning the employment of alternative sources of energy to contribute to the achievement of this (mitigation). Climate change mitigation is often presented as a key policy goal underpinning biofuels promotion policies, since shifting energy sources in high-consumption countries is seen as politically more palatable than reducing consumption levels (Cotula 2012:669). Furthermore, as pointed out by Woodhouse (2012:214), the political climate favouring production of biofuels has been promoted by environmental arguments that they constitute a renewable energy source that can substitute fossil fuel (petroleum), and thus reduce net carbon emissions as part of a strategy to mitigate or reduce climate change. Thus the use of biofuels is an option. In order to secure biofuels specifically from fuel crops, land is required for the cultivation of these. Examples of biofuel crops that have rapidly expanded in recent years are *jatropha*, soya, sugar cane and the oil palm (Zoomers, 2010:435). Borrás et al. (2011: 209) observes that the land— and water and labour—of the Global South are increasingly perceived as sources of alternative energy production, primarily biofuels. Notably the production of biofuels is very much affected by changes in oil price (Timilsina et al., 2011:8098). A rise in oil price causes the expansion in the production of biofuels (Timilsina et al., 2011:8098) due to the substitution effect between fuel and biofuel (Paris, 2018:49). Hence there is the potential that a decline in oil prices will give rise to a corresponding decrease in biofuel production. However the issue of climate change mitigation does generate an interest in and promotion of alternative sources of energy from fossil fuels. Thus there still remains the promotion of biofuels which prompts

the acquisition of land for crop production. For example according to Zoomers (2010:435), private investors interested in benefiting from the biofuel boom were actively looking for land in Argentina, Brazil, Laos, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar, Mali and Tanzania (Sulle and Nelson, 2009 cited in Zoomers, 2010:435) and in various other African countries.

Climate change mitigation facilitated the rush for land in two ways. On the one hand, land is required for cultivation of fuel crops and as such this pushes the drive to source for land for this purpose. On the other hand, land which was originally used to grow food crops may be converted for the cultivation of fuel crops, giving rise to less land available for food production and the need to source for more land. Examples of this is seen across the literature (Sorda et al., 2010 cited in Kesicki and Tomei, 2013:277; Smith, 2010 cited in Carmody, 2013:121; Headey and Fan, 2008 cited in Cotula, 2012:662). Consequently, biofuels 'constitute the nexus through which a number of strands of energy policy have become linked with agricultural production, with major implications for land and water use' (Woodhouse, 2012:214). They are also the link through which growing concerns with climate change reinforce and accentuate the rise in agricultural commodity prices (Woodhouse, 2012:214).

### *2.5.2 Energy Security*

Energy security served as another driver of land acquisitions. Cotula (2012:669) argues that compelling reasons for governments to pursue a switch from oil to biofuels include energy security. Notably, there was the shale oil revolution in the United States which has often been attributed with influencing the sharp decline in the price of oil after June 2014 (Kilian, 2016:198). However, to prevent any risk of exposure to volatility, countries could find it more convenient and expedient to have their own sources of energy rather than depend on 'foreign oil' which, like any other commodity, can fluctuate in price. High oil prices are considered favourable for investments in biofuels as are other political drivers such as renewed concerns about energy security in industrialised countries (Kesicki and Tomei, 2013:273). Having a domestic supply would serve as a safer option and circumvent shocks in times when instability does arise<sup>25</sup>. Furthermore, being self-sufficient where energy is concerned could decrease dependency on energy-abundant nations. It could also prevent vulnerability to the geopolitical ambitions of energy abundant nations. Fears of rising and

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<sup>25</sup> Notably, for many countries, substantial costs could be involved in achieving self-sufficiency where energy requirements are concerned. This does not however preclude the fact that the achievement of a domestic supply could serve as a safer option and countries could choose to aim to attain this through internal and external funding. It also highlights one of the reasons for the focus on biofuels as an option for energy security.

volatile fuel prices and peak oil or loss of national sovereignty through ‘foreignization’ of energy resources have promoted increasing reliance on, and demand for, new forms of resource extraction for fuel security and national development (Zoomers, 2010; White and Dasgupta, 2010 cited in White et al., 2012:628). The quest for energy security thus renews a focus on biofuels which then implies the need for land for fuel crop production. White et al. (2012:628) refer to studies by Borrás, McMichael and Scoones who identified a ‘biofuel complex’ and argued that the biofuels revolution is a response to an assumed “energy crisis”, as the cost of capital inputs (production, processing, transport) rises in an age of peaking oil supplies<sup>26</sup>. In addition, a desire to reduce dependence on Middle-Eastern oil drives governments to develop an industrial biofuels complex that delivers “energy security” (White et al., 2012:628). There is therefore the drive for the acquisition of land where there is shortage of land internally or where it is perceived that there is the opportunity to acquire more land externally for fuel crop production.

### *2.5.3 Food Security*

In conjunction with the nexus of climate change with biofuels and energy security is food security. Kugelman and Levenstein (2009 cited in Embree [2015:403]) argue that it is one of the main crises driving the global land-grab phenomenon, which is unsurprising. This is because it is a ‘most basic human need’ (Carmody, 2011:6) without which survival is not possible. Zoomers (2010:434) argues that food supply problems and uncertainties are created by constraints on agricultural production related to the limited availability of water and arable land, by bottlenecks in storage and distribution, and by the expansion of biofuel production, which is an important competing land and crop use. Competing land uses, such as for food versus fuel crops, could imply the need for more land which in itself casts the spotlight on the reasons for land acquisitions. This is because where land is used for fuel crop production there may exist the need for more of the resource to make up the shortfall where food crop production is concerned. Furthermore, the global anticipation of food insecurity has prompted widespread corporate investment in food crops (albeit corporate

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<sup>26</sup> There are debates concerning peak oil – the point at which the global output of conventional oil reaches its maximum level and subsequently flow rates decrease (Bowden, 1985 cited in Chapman, 2014:93). Oil derived from fossil sources are nonrenewable hence production cannot be sustained indefinitely – this simple fact has many people claiming that world oil production has reached or is about to reach its maximum or peak and will begin to decline (Hughes and Rudolph, 2011:228). There are a range of predictions as to when oil will peak and the groups can be largely split into those who believe in a late (or no) peak and those who suggest oil soon will peak (Chapman, 2014:93-94). Notwithstanding, as observed by Hughes and Rudolph (2011:225), whether peak oil has already occurred or will not occur for many years, societies should be prepared for a world with less oil from fossil sources.

investment could also be as a result of new markets); some destined for use as human foods, and some as feed for the growing livestock industry (Foresight, 2010; Godfray et al., 2010 cited in White et al., 2012:627).

Food security revolves around the ability to maintain adequate or sufficient levels of food supplies for the individual and the country. This would be either through production or imports. Where the demand exceeds supply, there is scarcity and food prices increase. This can potentially result in political instability. Therefore in order to be able to maintain adequate provision in their countries, governments would either have to produce more or source more externally. Cotula (2012:668) gives the example of the Gulf countries where whilst cereal agriculture is in decline, the population of the region is increasing; therefore dependence on food imports, now at sixty percent (60%) of total demand, will grow as a result (Woertz, 2009 cited in Cotula, 2012:668). In like manner, De Schutter (2011:252) notes that some countries concluded that they should urgently reinvest in agriculture—develop transport routes and storage facilities, irrigation, and large-scale, mechanized plantations, in order to improve their food security by becoming more self-sufficient in food. Embree (2015:403) also adds to this, maintaining that in responding to their own food security issues, food-importing nations began to seek land in developing countries so that they could avoid food supply shortages by producing their own food overseas, harvesting it, and shipping it back home for consumption. Effectively, where the natural resource necessary for production is constrained within the country there would be the need to look further afield for land for agricultural production. Furthermore, if the available land is partly being used for other ends for example, in order to adhere to energy policy requirements such as the production of fuel crops or tree planting to meet carbon sequestration obligations, then there would be less land for agricultural production for food.

There may be a desire to reduce dependency on the international markets due to volatility and the lessons learned from, for example, the 2007-2008 food crisis whereby export bans were placed by some food exporting countries. Hence food-insecure countries are appropriating land overseas in order to secure their own food supply (Edelman et al., 2013:1518) as suggested by academic scholarship. De Schutter (2011:252) contends that the global food price crisis of 2007–2008 revealed to net-food importing countries how that position (of food importing) was unsustainable, since it subjected them to price shocks that, in the future—particularly as a result of weather-related events linked to climate change—

would become at once more frequent, less predictable, and worse in their price impacts on agricultural markets. Edelman et al. (2013:1518) also argue that the initial perspective on land grabbing was directly linked to surging commodity prices, particularly those of internationally traded staple foods, such as maize, wheat, rice and soy; and the 2007–08 crisis has remained a key analytical point of departure for most observers and the sole one for some. Where food prices surge due to shortages, there will be the impetus to acquire more through for example agricultural production and therefore the need for land to increase production. There may also be the impetus to secure land speculatively against possible food shortages and price shocks.

Food security 'can contribute to national stability' (Ross, 2014:11). Academic scholarship posits that 'dramatically increased prices in food and fuel in 2007-08 led to a wave of protests, anti-government riots and political unrest in more than sixty (60) countries' (Holt-Gimenez et al., 2009; Bello, 2009 cited in White et al., 2012:627; Carmody, 2013:121; Ross, 2014:11). Notably, some commentators such as Johnstone and Mazo (2011) have argued that increases in food prices played an important role in the 'Arab Spring' that swept some Middle Eastern and Northern African countries in 2010–2011 (Cotula, 2012:668). Thus the race for land can also be tied to keeping rebellion at home at bay and a concern to avoid social unrest and ensure political stability (Ross, 2014:11; Cotula, 2012:668).

A fourth aspect where food security and the drive for land is concerned relates to population growth and changing consumption patterns. Carmody (2011:6) submits that as the global population grows and consumption patterns change there will also be growing competition around access to food. Zoomers (2010:434) in addition argues that increasing urbanisation rates and changing diets are pushing up global food demands. An increase in population would naturally imply an increase in demand for food and an increase in demand for food indicates the need for greater production. By 2050, the world is expected to host about nine billion people and overall, the evidence points to a prospect of higher food prices in the medium to longer term (Cotula, 2012:662). Expert estimates suggest that for a forty percent (40%) increase in world population, food production would need to increase by seventy percent (70%) (Deininger et al., 2011 cited in Cotula, 2012:663) in order to cater for the increased population. Accordingly, in countries where land or water are insufficient in relation to the amount of agricultural yield required to feed the country, there would be the need to source for these resources elsewhere in order to obtain adequate output.

Furthermore, with increased migration to cities and subsequent urbanization, arguably a change in diets and consumption patterns could arise as people get exposed and adapted to urban lifestyles and diets. Where these diets become more meat-concentrated due to the adaptation to urban diets, there is then the demand for more meat products. The diversion of crops into feedstock for increased livestock production could give rise to grain shortages. Additionally, an increased amount of livestock to feed the demand for more meat-concentrated diets also puts pressure on land available for other agricultural produce. Hence the need arises for more land which drives countries to search for land in other countries.

#### *2.5.4 Speculation and the 'Financialisation' of Agriculture*

Apart from climate change and the nexus with energy and food security, an aspect of the current phenomenon (of land acquisition) is its speculative dimension – the fact that it is driven by investors attracted by what now appears to be a new and rapidly expanding market of land and water rights (De Schutter, 2011:252). The drive for land results from speculation and what 'some have referred to as the "financialisation" of agriculture' (Anseeuw et al., 2011 cited in Cotula, 2012:665). In essence, land and agricultural production have increasingly been perceived to be safe investments therefore land is being acquired given that land values generally increase over time. Moreover, since agricultural production for food is an ongoing necessity, investments would result in returns especially when there are food shortages. Fundamentally, investment funds buy up land in the expectation that prices will increase in the future and among such investors one finds pension funds and well-endowed trust funds [funds held by trustees for beneficiaries] (Toft, 2013:1194).

Speculation has to do with conjecture, assumption or guesswork. Given that land is fixed and it can appreciate in value, it is assumed that investments will yield returns whether in the form of acquisition for future sale or for agricultural production. De Schutter (2011:253) sums up the speculative element by explaining that the current race towards farmland is driven, in part at least, by a perception among investors that this is a promising way to secure assets, and that acquisition of farmland is a trend they should espouse in order not to arrive too late on the market. Some land deals (for example those made by hedge funds and pension funds) may be purely speculative, betting on rising global land values; and investors put their money in land, as they might put it in gold, works of art, BP shares or pork-belly futures (White et al., 2012:621). Evidence of investors acquiring larger land areas than they can cultivate has been explained as an attempt to 'lock in very favourable terms of land

access and eliminate future competition' (Deininger et al., 2011, 63 cited in Cotula 2012:665).

Land and agricultural production have been ongoing forms of investments. However, academic scholarship suggests that the speculation partly stems from the 2007/2008 crises. The attractiveness of land as an investment option has been affected given that the food and financial crises have turned agricultural land into a strategic asset that is seen as a source of profit (Zoomers, 2010:435; Cotula, 2012:663). Land is seen as providing stable returns; some return forecasts are as high as twenty-five percent (25%) (Hawkins, 2010; Wilkes and Bailey, 2011 cited in Cotula, 2012:666). Furthermore, as noted by Hawkins (2010 cited in Cotula [2012:666]), historically, farmland values have tended to increase, and farmland prices in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK) have considerably outperformed stock markets on a 10-year timescale. Wilkes and Bailey (2011) present similar findings for the past 15-year period in both the US and the UK (Cotula, 2012:666). The fact that the research findings show such performance for the US and UK farmland does not automatically imply that similar performance levels exist for other areas such as the African continent given that the variables such as the weather systems, soil types and crop types may differ based on location. In spite of this, literature posits that the returns on land in general do seem to be stable (Hawkins, 2010; Wilkes and Bailey, 2011 cited in Cotula, 2012:666). The collapse in equity and bond markets in 2008 reduced the appeal of these asset classes and precipitated a resurgence of interest in land and commodities (UNCTAD, 2009 cited in Cotula, 2012:666). Furthermore, increasing land values in the longer term has increased the attractiveness of land as an investment option for financial operators interested in increasing returns and lowering risks for their portfolios (Cotula, 2012:665). This could be one of the reasons accounting for the drive in areas such as the African continent. As suggested by Cotula (2012:666), returns on land have been noted to have low correlation with (volatile) equity markets and where African farmland in particular is concerned, the potential for capital appreciation is significant.

### *2.5.5 Conservation, Biodiversity and Tourism*

Tourism and nature conservation contribute to large-scale land acquisitions (Toft, 2013:1194). Zoomers (2010:436) argues that private individuals and international organisations have become actively engaged in the purchase of large areas of land in 'empty' regions for nature conservation or ecotourism purposes (or a combination of the two)

as well as 'empty' forest areas for projects being carried out in the name of 'biodiversity protection and reforestation', such as REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation<sup>27</sup>). White et al. (2012:629) also contends that a trend promoting accumulation through land acquisitions is new environmental imperatives and tools, both of which have helped generate the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends. Motivated by these opportunities to match conservation with income generation opportunities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the World Land Trust, Cool Earth and the Wild Lands have purchased hundreds of thousands of hectares of so-called 'empty' land globally (White et al., 2012:629).

In itself, the conservation of the environment and the maintenance of biodiversity are laudable. However, in the quest to achieve this, there arise situations where sometimes indigenous peoples are being driven off their ancestral lands under the pretext that they are overgrazing the lands and decimating species. Zoomers (2010:436) confirms that keeping private nature reserves is increasingly seen as a lucrative business in Africa. Ironically most indigenous peoples have lived in symbiosis with nature for centuries. As argued by Pearce (2012:269), they have lived in harmony with wildlife for thousands of years and are the landscape's experts and likely source of solutions to its environmental problems. Oftentimes too, perhaps due to commercial interests, conservation goes hand in hand with tourism and so in an ironic twist, the indigenes are pushed off the land whilst paying tourists are allowed on the land. Pearce (2012:266) gives the example of the Batwa pygmies of central Africa who lost most of their hunting lands to national parks and were replaced by tourists paying to see mountain gorillas. Such processes, as Fairhead, Leach and Scoones (2012) explain, build on long histories of colonial and neo-colonial resource alienation in the name of the environment, which have resulted in the creation of forest reserves, national parks and often draconian interventions to reduce assumed degradation by local people (Fairhead, Leach and Scoones, 2012 cited in White et al., 2012:629).

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<sup>27</sup> REDD refers to 'reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation'. Put very simply, REDD involves some kind of incentive for changing the way forest resources are used. As such, it offers a new way of reducing or offsetting carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions through paying for actions that prevent forest loss or degradation. These transfer mechanisms can include carbon trading, or paying for forest management (iied.org, 2019).

## 2.6 THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Following on from the discussion concerning the capitalist processes and other drivers of land acquisition, the focus now shifts to the African continent and the question of the dynamics that exist there regarding transactions. Why the African continent? Because from academic research and study, the majority of the land acquisitions take place on the African continent (Warner et al., 2013:223). Where the global scale is concerned, there are varying figures on the amount/size of land acquisition. For example, Grain.org reports approximately 30 million hectares (GRAIN, 2016). The Landmatrix.org (accessed 3 July 2019) also notes that globally the size of land acquired for concluded deals is approximately 47 million hectares [with another 18 million hectares consisting intended deals and 10 million hectares failed deals] (Landmatrix.org, 2019). Notably, the estimates differ and as Pearce (2012:ix) suggests, the truth is nobody knows. Other academic scholarship agree with this, pointing out that no one really knows how much land has been acquired (White et al., 2012:620) and 'just how much land has actually changed hands in the recent global land rush remains unknown' (Borras and Franco, 2011:15). However there is convergence on one key point – the majority of the transactions are on the African continent. As indicated by Warner et al. (2013:223), while land deals are on the rise on all continents, the majority in both its number and hectarage take place in Africa. The African continent receives the lion's share of the international spotlight; much of the literature on the 'global' land-grab is solely about Africa (Borras and Franco, 2011:14). Alden Wily (2012:768) suggests that most of the large deals (in fact two thirds of them) are for lands in poverty-stricken and investment-hungry sub-Saharan Africa. Anseeuw et al. (2012a cited in Holmen [2015:46]) on the other hand estimates that on a global scale, Africa receives more than half of all foreign investments in land. In spite of the variance in estimates, the fact still stands that the African continent is the target for most transactions. The question then is why? As noted previously, the enclosure of the commons and the rise of the industrial era generated the demand for more land hence the need to look beyond borders to secure this resource. The African continent was perceived as resource-rich as a result of which it was targeted since it could provide the required raw materials and had abundant land. Ross (2014) also raises the issue of colonialism noting that the territorial expansion of capital into the South particularly Africa has historical roots in colonialism (Ross, 2014:19). Similarly, Greer (2012:366) argues that it is true that commodified, individualized forms of property usually followed in the wake of colonization. The question then is how did colonialism affect the African land tenure system

such that it encouraged the territorial expansion of capital and the acquisition of land? The discussion turns to examine this before interrogating state logics.

### *2.6.1 Colonialism and the African Land Tenure System*

Land is 'considered to be one of the most important assets' (Hoeks et al., 2014:647) where humanity is concerned. This is especially so in Africa given the 'critical importance of agriculture in the economies of most sub-Saharan African countries and the livelihoods of its' rural people' (Lambrecht and Asare, 2016: 251). Land tenure refers to the management and disposition of land as well as issues of access and therefore matters of who holds the land. It thus 'defines access to land resources and the ways in which land is held, accessed or transacted' (Kasanga, 1988; Bugri, 2008 cited in Antwi-Agyei et al., 2015:204). Land tenure in much of Africa is either customary/traditional, or state/statutory (Cotula et al., 2004:2). Customary land tenure is characterised by its largely unwritten nature, is based on local practices and norms, and is flexible, negotiable and location specific (Cotula et al., 2004:2). State systems of land tenure are usually based on written laws and regulations, on acts of centralised or decentralised government agencies and on judicial decisions (Cotula et al, 2004:2).

Within the customary set up of the African land tenure system, multiple tenures may exist in relation to a piece of land. Thus, as Lund (2000:16) notes, several users may have access to different resources on the land: one may farm, another gather fuel wood, a herder may be entitled to dry season grazing, and so on. Cotula (2007:11) expands further: for a given piece of land, customary systems may cater for multiple resource uses (e.g. pastoralism, farming, fishing) and users (farmers, residents and non-resident herders, agro-pastoralists, women and men, migrants) which may succeed one another over different seasons. Tenure systems regulate the 'bundle of rights' existing over each piece of land including 'operational' rights (right to access land, to cultivate it, to withdraw produce etc.) and management rights (e.g. the right to allocate and transfer land) (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992 cited in Cotula, 2007:11). In Africa, 'in practice the neat distinction between the two models of land tenure is considerably blurred; 'customary' systems have been much changed by a century or more of contact and infringement by governments, both colonial and since Independence' (Cotula et al., 2004:2). Unsurprisingly the African land tenure system has not been left untouched by the effects of colonialism.

Prior to colonialism, the disposition of the land within the African continent was governed by the laws and customs of various polities and 'land use was based on the laws and cultures of different people groups' (Hoeks et al., 2014:650). Academic scholarship suggests that the nature of African societies before colonialism precluded any conception of the private or individual ownership of land; absolute ownership vested in the collective not the individual and land was customarily owned (Akuffo, 2009:69; Obeng-Odoom, 2012:166). People's access to land and other natural resources depended on their membership to and status within a particular group wielding political control over the land; kinship and ethnic adherence along with status, gender and seniority determined access and use rights (Berry, 1989; Migot-Adholla and Bruce, 1994:5 cited in Lund, 2000:5). A structure based on the customs, that is, a customary land tenure system was in place and for the societies which were communal, the resource was seen as belonging to the community. Elias (1971 cited in Akuffo [2009:66]) observed that land was held under community ownership, and not, as a rule, by the individual for societies which were communal. This was also noted by Rayner (1921) who wrote that 'the notion of individual ownership (of land) is quite foreign to native ideas; land belongs to the community, the village or the family, never to the individual' (Rayner, 1921 cited in Akuffo, 2009:66). Notably, these notions of land ownership did not shed light on the systems in place in the nomadic or hunter/gatherer communities of the era. Therefore it cannot be concluded that across the whole of the continent land was communally owned or that there was the concept of ownership where the resource was concerned. However the general norm, as posited by academic scholarship, appears to be that land was not owned by individuals but by the group as a whole (Akuffo, 2009:69; Obeng-Odoom, 2012:166).

The creation of colonial states, governments and populations in Africa lasted for circa seventy years from the 1870s to the 1950s/1960s (see Osterhammel, 2005:33-34) during which the pre-colonial African laws, traditions and tenure systems were reshaped and transformed to advance colonial objectives. Interest in land tenure flowed from the colonial desire to establish and enforce authority over people and influence over land was a key to governance (Bjerk, 2013: 255; Boone, 2015:173). In addition, interest in land tenure served as a means to accessing the resource. There was the 'colonial construction' of the African land tenure system. Essentially, the absolute rule over the people necessitated the rule over the land and the method used was dependent upon the colonial master. Thus with the British, an indirect system of rule was adopted whereby governance was through the African

authorities and the customary land tenure system was not abolished. With the French, direct rule was employed where governance was not through the African authorities and the customary land tenure system was abolished and all land nationalised.

In the postcolonial era, the land tenure systems adopted were basically an inheritance of the structures used by the colonial masters albeit some were 'actively refined or modified by postcolonial governments in response to their own political needs and logics' (Boone, 2015:172). So with the former French colonies, land was generally under a single administrative system. With the former British colonies, a dual system was in operation whereby the customary land tenure system ran alongside the statutory system inherited from the colonial masters. In the contemporary era, access to land in most of sub-Saharan Africa continues to be determined by indigenous systems of land tenure that have evolved over time under local and colonial influences (Cheater, 1990; Bruce, 1993; Palmer, 2003; Benjaminsen and Lund, 2002 cited in Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006:346). Recent estimates suggest that between two (2) and ten (10) per cent of land in sub-Saharan Africa is held under freehold title (Deininger, 2003:62 cited in Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006:346) and of the remaining ninety (90) per cent, the largest proportion is held under 'customary' tenure (Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006:346). Academic scholarship posits that there have been problems such as insecurity of tenure and plural legalism<sup>28</sup> with the African land tenure systems; with the main finger of blame being pointed at colonialism and its negative effects on land tenure<sup>29</sup> and the African continent as a whole. It is well established that some of the land problems of countries throughout Africa are structurally embedded in the historical processes of colonial rule (Thomas, 2003 cited in Njoh, 2013:750).

Colonialism contributed to the commodification of African land. Pre-colonialization, land in Africa was not for sale as it was deemed to 'belong to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living and countless numbers are still unborn' (Chanock, 1991:64 cited in Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006:349<sup>30</sup>; Home, 2013:405<sup>31</sup>). Furthermore, African tradition/culture

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<sup>28</sup> Plural legalism – this is whereby the statutory and customary frameworks and institutions operate simultaneously with regards to the disposition and management of land.

<sup>29</sup> The management and disposition of land and how it is accessed.

<sup>30</sup> An often-quoted phrase attributed variously to a Nigerian or Ghanaian chief (Chanock, 1991:64 cited in Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006: 349).

<sup>31</sup> This quotation prefaced C.K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies* (1949), the classic study of British colonial land law. The chief in question who was claimed to have quoted it was the Elesi of Odogbolu in testimony before the West African Land Committee in 1917 (Home 2013:405).

viewed land as a sacred entity that cannot be bought, sold or owned by anyone; land to the African was the very source and basis of the life and existence of the family or tribe, and was something more personal and fundamental and of almost literally mystical significance (Njoh and Akiwumi, 2012:217; Home, 2013:405). However with the advent of colonialism, land became a commodity capable of alienation by way of sale and this became possible through a process of the individualisation of titles (Akuffo, 2009:73). This is because, as Akuffo (2009:73) further explains, indigenous functionaries, whether family or communal elders or chiefs, were often invested with legal authority to cede or alienate land to foreigners by the colonial legislatures or judicial authorities; powers which did not previously exist under indigenous law, custom or practice. Hence colonialism contributed to the commodification of land and therefore the opening up of land transactions by those who had the financial resources.

The history of external colonial rule created a dualism between the 'statutory' and 'customary' systems of land tenure (Home, 2013:404; Chimhowu and Woodhouse, 2006:346). This, as academic scholarship suggests, resulted in a plural-legal environment where statutory and customary frameworks and institutions operate simultaneously with regards to the disposition and management of land. In such an environment, 'land is essentially governed by a pluralistic legal system in which both customary, statutory and hybrid institutions and regulations having *de jure* or *de facto* authority over land rights are recognized and overlap' (Lambrecht and Asare, 2016:252; Cotula et al., 2004:2). It creates an environment in which different institutional frameworks and customary laws may give differing interpretations to issues of land disposition, such as ownership and landholding. Such a setting constitutes a fragmented and therefore weak land governance system and the ensuing tenure insecurity facilitates land acquisitions. Additionally, the permeation by overlapping rights and a plurality of systems and institutions leaves room for contested claims and corrupt practice (Toulmin, 2006 cited in Holmen, 2015:467). Furthermore, Gerlach and Liu (2010, cited in Holmen [2015:467]) submit that due, inter alia, to this plurality, the legal framework governing land issues is generally unclear and lacks transparency. This then compromises the security of the land tenure. In addition, given that 'customary land tenure systems are subservient to state land title' (Hall, 2011 cited in Thondlana, 2015:17), when negotiations come to a choice between investor interests and local community needs, the government can side with the private investors due to tenure insecurity of the rural poor (Thondlana, 2015:17).

Vermeulen and Cotula (2010:913) argue that financial capital, in the hands of the investor, is the scarce resource and not land. This is potentially because the governments require the resource for development hence the emphasis/priority is on the acquisition of the financial capital and not the maintenance of the land for rural communities. Thus the governments could possibly be swayed by the foreign financial resources which could serve many ends. The governments could intervene to appropriate land especially within a fragmented system in which land tenure security is lacking as a result of a plural-legal environment. Under such circumstances, it is relatively simpler for land acquisitions and transactions to be undertaken with minimal impediments. These effects arise as a result of colonialism where both customary and statutory systems co-exist and not necessarily where one institution, for example, statutory instruments alone is recognised (albeit where one system alone is recognised there is still the possibility of the impact of colonialism. This is through for example the erosion of the customary concept of land (whereby it is perceived as belonging to a vast family, not for sale and the source of life [Njoh and Akiwumi, 2012:217; Home, 2013:405]), the traditional structures or the tenure security.

From the foregoing, ease of acquisition was advanced through the plural legal systems which came into being as a result of the creation of dualism in land tenure due to external colonial rule. Thus having considered the capitalist processes, other drivers of land deals and the territorial expansion of capital into the African continent along with the contribution of colonialism, how did the state logics play a role in the furthering of land acquisitions? State logics contribute to the spate of land acquisitions. This is because oftentimes the state is either an actor, involved to some extent or at least aware when it comes to the acquisition of land. Thus in leading today's land-grabbing charge, many domestic governments are encouraging both domestic and transnational companies to enter into land deals (Embree, 2015:403).

### *2.6.2 State Logics and Territorialisation*

African states and national governments in developing countries generally welcome and actively and aggressively seek to attract both foreign and domestic investors into large-scale land deals (Sebastian and Warner, 2014:8; Zoomers, 2010:434; Borrás and Franco, 2012:37; Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010:900). The literature on 'land grabbing' invariably gives the impression that Africa is overwhelmed by external investors which governments find hard to resist' (Holmen, 2015:467). But as Holmen (2015:467) further argues, if this were

correct, it would be a seller's market with rapidly rising real-estate prices. Instead, the market seems to be to a large degree supply-driven, that is, a buyer's market<sup>32</sup> with governments eager to attract investors and many potential investors declining to complete deals, which may explain why lease contracts are so cheap and why tax holidays sometimes accompany them (Holmen, 2015:467). Given the active and aggressive search on the part of African governments and the creation of a suitable environment for investors, then it is probable that as opposed to being swamped with offers, it is rather the opposite. There is a possible desperation to find a solution to the countries' economic woes. In spite of revenue through channels like taxation and exports, potentially this does not adequately address the economic woes. Due to the desperation, many host-country governments welcome [what they perceive as] an opportunity to overcome decades of under-investment and create employment (Arezki et al., 2013:207; GoSL, 2014; UNCTAD, 2009 cited in Yengoh et al., 2016:338). This is because of the perceived 'opportunities attract much-needed capital' (Deininger and Xia, 2016:228).

Where state logics and land acquisitions are concerned, Sebastian and Warner (2014:16) maintain that amongst the factors that draw actors are the favourable terms being offered by the 'host' country. Likewise, Cotula (2012:669) agrees, noting that host-country policies matter – particularly measures to increase the attractiveness of the policy environment for agricultural investment. These policy efforts include revising investment legislation to increase incentives for foreign investment (with measures including tax breaks through to streamlining investment promotion agencies) as well as reforming land legislation to facilitate foreign investors' access to land (Cotula, 2012:669). De Schutter (2011:264) contends that poor agriculture-based countries who seek to attract foreign capital in order to develop their infrastructures are competing for the arrival of direct investment which results in a tendency to lower the level of requirements imposed on investors, (as opposed to observing the stipulated statutory requirements) whether these relate to the compensations owed, to the creation of employment, or to the payment of taxes. Thus suitable environments in the form of large, cheap tracts of land, tax breaks, facilitation of land acquisition, flexible regulations and the 'structuring of legislation accordingly' (Alden Wily, 2012:769) are introduced to lure investors.

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<sup>32</sup> As noted previously, speculation and the increase in land values over time have contributed to the spate of acquisitions. The land values may appreciate which is one of the reasons why the land is acquired in the first place as noted previously. There is also the governments' eagerness to attract investors which also serves as a reason for the cheap lease contracts. Hence the market being supply driven and a buyer's market.

Weak governments and poor land governance play a role where state logics and land acquisitions are concerned. Weak governments may not have the will to withstand external enticements of purported investments. In addition, the necessary expertise, institutional frameworks and policies that would guide such transactions may be absent or unenforceable. Bujko et al. (2016:207) note that a recent Oxfam report on land deals (Oxfam 2013:4) comes to the conclusion that 'investors actively target countries with weak governance in order to maximise profits and minimise red tape. Weak governance might enable this because it helps investors to sidestep costly and time-consuming rules and regulations'. Bujko et al. (2016:207) further argue that the evidence generally suggests that institutional weaknesses invite large-scale land acquisitions. In addition governments may not have the requisite knowledge to analytically assess incoming investments to ascertain whether they would be beneficial or adverse for the communities concerned and their countries at large. As highlighted by Cotula et al. (2014:917), concerns have been raised in the literature about the capacity of government agencies to scrutinise investment proposals, including business plans and impact assessments, and to monitor implementation and outcomes after the contract is concluded. Such situations of weak governance permeate the various levels of government. This, according to Zoomers (2010:443) is one of the main problems: local governments tend to be either not accountable to the local population, or insufficiently strong to be able to counterbalance the power of external actors and/or the central state (which often have a major interest in stimulating economic growth, sometimes to the detriment of local populations).

Zoomers (2010:443) contends that some local governments are faced with a fundamental dilemma of whether they should create an enabling and friendly environment for foreign investors and protect those investors or secure the rights of their local populations. Thus the choices may skew towards the creation of the enabling environment to attract investors and this in turn facilitates the acquisition of land. This is because potentially in their perceptions investors would bring in much needed investment and revenue. There is in addition the matter of land governance where acquisitions are concerned and this is highlighted across the literature. As Deininger and Byerlee (2012:705 cited in Holmen [2015:468]) suggest, it is claimed that a country's probability to be targeted by large-scale farmland investment is positively associated with weak land governance and failure to protect traditional land rights. Consequently it appears that weak land governance seems associated with higher attractiveness to investors at the country level and foreign investors prefer countries with

weaker protection of land rights, namely institutional settings which might facilitate acquisition of resources at favorable conditions such as tax breaks and more lenient regulatory mechanisms (Arezki et al., 2013:226, 229; Giovannetti and Ticci, 2016:685).

There is also the matter of state territorialisation. For the purposes of ‘territorial consolidation and tighter integration into the national economy and as an instrument to maintain control’ (Holmen, 2015:465) states target land acquisitions in mainly peripheral regions. Land acquisitions therefore grant governments firmer control of the peoples in these peripheral parts of their countries. By converting communal lands to state lands through titling and registration, the land becomes the property of the state. It can then secure the allegiance of the peoples in the periphery since they would need the now state-owned land for sustenance. National and local elites and fraudulent officials, in the pursuit of personal interests, facilitate such land deals. These tactics have been used by ruling elites in, for example, Kenya, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Namibia (Klopp, 2000; GRAIN, 2012a; Hall, 2011; Cousins, 2010; Odendaal, 2011 cited in Holmen, 2015:465). Furthermore, ‘state categorizations of land use and land property, which signal what Scott (1998) calls ‘state simplification’, have become key operational mechanisms through which land-use changes are facilitated (Borras and Franco, 2012:45). In some parts of Africa, a customary land tenure system exists (whether informally or officially recognised) with land holding groups. In other parts of Africa, the land belongs to the state whereas in some regions too, the statutory and customary systems co-exist simultaneously. Whichever the situation, the government can, by the use of legal instruments, acquire land for use ‘by wide state powers of eminent domain whereby investment projects are considered to be for a ‘public purpose (for example a hospital or a tertiary institution)’ that enables the compulsory taking of local rights’ (Cotula, 2012:670).

Another aspect of state logics concerns large-scale production. Officials in some African ministries of agriculture and some African politicians with them are frighteningly enchanted by the same myth – that Africa’s food crisis can only be solved by large-scale production (Djurfeldt, 2011: 21 cited in Holmen, 2015:466). Other academic scholarship, for example Pearce (2012:11) agree, noting that for the moment, Africa’s leaders seem convinced that foreign investment in mechanized big farming is the way forward. Holmen (2015:467) submits that this belief has been given academic support – for example by Paul Collier (2007) who contends that dispersed and technologically undeveloped smallholders are not

much on which to build a future. 'Future' in this context was not defined even though arguably the line of reasoning may concern the extent of agricultural production for export, revenue and ultimately development. Paul Collier (2007) suggests a concentration of investments in large-scale commercial farming (Holmen, 2015:467). This is because of the purported 'comparative advantages in a globalised economy which is often at the centre of justifications for large-scale corporate land deals' (Collier, 2008 cited in White et al., 2012:625). White et al. (2012:626) explain that in the increasingly integrated value chains of global agricultural production, it is argued only large farms can compete, and meet the kinds of standards required for successful export. Essentially, the peasant and subsistence farmers would not have the capacity (financial, technological or otherwise) to be able to produce enough to meet agricultural production levels for export given their small land holdings hence the need for larger land holdings for more production. Cotula (2012:675) however disagrees with this position, noting that when put in a condition to work, family farmers can be highly dynamic and competitive on global markets, and that small farm development is feasible and desirable for its impacts on poverty reduction. In agreement with Cotula (2012:675) are Scoones et al. (2010) who cite the example of Zimbabwe where recent experiences have shown how following land reform, many smallholders have been successful at 'accumulating from below' and engaging in markets, including for export, despite numerous constraints (Scoones et al., 2010 cited in White et al., 2012:626). Hence the argument for larger landholdings in order to be able to be integrated into global agricultural production is disputable. Even though larger tracts of land could allow for greater opportunity to invest for higher production, the small-scale, family and subsistence farming have 'long constituted the backbone of agricultural systems in much of Africa' (Cotula, 2012:673). Moreover, it is contended that there are generally higher yields per hectare on small farms. Although the conventional wisdom is that small family farms are backward and unproductive, research shows that small farms are much more productive than large farms if total output is considered rather than yield from a single crop (Altieri 2008:6; Altieri, 2009:3). Furthermore, it is an amalgamation of small-scale farms which creates a large one; therefore correspondingly, a combination of the yields of small-scale farms may be similar to that of a large one and therefore competitive. Despite this, there is the possible notion on the part of some African governments that decades of subsistence and small scale farming have not yielded much in terms of the facilitation of economic growth, hence the aspiration for larger scale farming and therefore land acquisitions to promote this objective.

Regime maintenance possibly contributes to land acquisitions. Where there is the desire to prevent regime change, there is the possibility of encouraging investment in order to acquire the necessary capital to maintain power. This is because the revenue generated can be used for development purposes to gain the approval and therefore the votes of the people. In the process, tax revenues, exports and foreign currency, ancillary benefits and disciplinary power can be obtained, all of which serve to strengthen regime survival (Carmody, 2013:129). Carmody (2013:129) further argues that part of these revenues may be invested in developmental expenditures to generate consent. Therefore opening the borders for foreign capital may appear to promise a 'quick fix' that safeguards the survival of governments (Holmen, 2015:467). In doing so land, through deals or transactions, may be used to secure this.

Apart from the contributions to the phenomenon through the state logics, another aspect of the current spate of land acquisitions, as highlighted across the literature, stems from the matter of the enabling environment. This is essentially the environment created not by the state but by external international institutions. This enabling environment is to engender the acquisition of land – perhaps as a part of the territorial expansion of capital following the need to source for land. Land grabbing for food was justified by the world food crisis and undertaken by combinations of investment banks [Goldman Sachs], funds [Carlyle Group], and philanthropists [Soros, Gates Foundation]), and was sanctioned by the World Food Summit of 2008 (McMichael, 2011 cited in Sebastian and Warner, 2014:10). However the quest to create an environment suitable for the acquisition of land seems to go back further in time. It is argued that there were strategies put in place to open up Africa through apparently misinformed advice. Holmen (2015:469) contends that misdirected external advice is part of an enabling environment that seems to have been constructed in order to enable large-scale land transactions in which foreign investors play a prominent role. Holmen (2015:470) further argues that it is hard to escape the impression that it is the result of a long-term strategy to open up Africa that has been pursued primarily by the big international organizations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. Under structural adjustment, African countries were forced to open up borders – not only for trade but also for foreign direct investment – as a condition for receiving 'development aid' (Holmen, 2015:470). Leon (2015:263) submits that scholars also argue that institutional arrangements allowing greater foreign direct investment and loosening rules on foreign ownership opened the door to these transactions. Even though

these were before the current land rush, the point is that they contributed to opening up the African continent for the acquisitions. Therefore from such an angle, prior to the food crisis of 2008, a suitable environment was crafted for opening up Africa, inclusive of its major resource of land.

Yengoh et al. (2016:338) posits that in some so called 'land-rich' countries, the World Bank group saw this (the global food crisis) as an opportunity to create an enabling environment for such countries to attract large-scale investments in land resources. White et al. (2012:630) also note that international agencies such as the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have worked to create a hospitable environment for large-scale investment, funnelling money into Africa and Latin America for the purposes of 'rural development' and 'improving rural markets'. Perceptibly, this gives the impression of the desire to facilitate development in these nations. But, as academic scholarship observes, a desire for the progress of the African continent does not seem to be the driving force behind the creation of a suitable environment for investment. Holmen (2015:469) argues that since the 1980s, sub-Saharan Africa has been advised by donors, the World Bank and the IMF to pursue 'structural adjustment policies', that is, to reduce the role of the state in the economy, to rely on the private sector and to open their borders for free trade. The result was disastrous: food insecurity tripled in sub-Saharan Africa between 1980 and the early 2000s (ERD, 2009 cited in Holmen, 2015:469); and since 1990 the number of Africans living below the global poverty line increased by more than 50% (Ejeta, 2010 cited in Holmen, 2015:469).

Once some African governments requested for aid, it would be incumbent upon them to adhere to the associated conditions which facilitated opening up the continent to foreign investments, inclusive of land. Hence through this means, the setting was put in place for land acquisition to be undertaken. Yengoh et al. (2016:338) contends that the World Bank has been one of the most aggressive organizations in promoting corporate interests relating to large-scale land acquisitions. This neo-liberal, pro-corporate vision of agricultural development of the World Bank, in which large-scale industrial farming and global market integration is aggressively pursued (Oakland Institute, 2014 cited in Yengoh et al., 2016:338), serves as a vehicle through which large-scale land acquisitions succeed in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa. White et al. (2012:630) support this, confirming that multilateral organizations from the United Nations to the international development banks

are generating both supply and demand in the global rush for resources. For example, speculation is fuelled by panicked estimates of increasing demand for food as presented at high-level agro-investment conferences (White et al., 2012; 630). White et al. (2012:630) also add that another development promoting land deals is the emerging set of rules, regulations and incentives provided by the international community, enshrined in international legal frameworks and facilitated by aid and lending programmes. Therefore from the view point of Holmen (2010 cited in Holmen [2015:469]) it can be argued that donors and international development organizations are governed by self-interest in the first place. It can therefore be surmised that an enabling environment was created due to the need to access African resources hence the need to open up Africa from the viewpoint of particular interests on a global level. The dissemination of misinformed advice and various policies from international agencies have thus helped in paving the way and creating a suitable environment in which land acquisition can take place. As Holmen (2015) sums it up: the 'misdirected' advice and the rolling back of the African state were not so misdirected after all; that leaves us with the (mostly Western-based) transnational corporations. It is for them that an 'enabling environment' has been prepared (Holmen, 2015:470).

## **2.7 IMPACTS**

The foregoing discussion has traced the occurrence of acquisitions from the enclosure of the commons, through the commodification of land, the capitalist logics and the territorial expansion of transnational capital to the present day drivers of deals on the global stage. The discourse then narrowed the interrogation to the African continent, the effect of colonialism where land is concerned as well as the state logics engendering the phenomenon. Capitalist dynamics appears to play a huge role and its contribution can be seen through the means by which commodification of land came into being. Furthermore, there was the territorial expansion of capital into the African continent aided by colonialism. The narrative also highlighted the fact that land acquisitions are an ongoing phenomenon, especially on the African continent. The reliance of numerous rural and peasant folk on the land across the continent cannot be understated given that many rural livelihoods depend on farming for subsistence. As stressed by Yengoh et al. (2016:329), agriculture in this part of the world is predominately small-scale, characterized by low inputs and employing a majority of the population (especially in rural areas). Production in many rural communities is supported by a farming system that depends substantially on fallowing to replenish soil fertility; food and livelihood security for a vast majority of the population therefore depends

on the abundance of land to support the fallow systems (Yengoh et al., 2016:329). Hence where acquisitions are concerned vis-a-vis the dependence on the land for livelihoods and sustenance, it follows that appropriation will give rise to effects.

The questions then are what are these effects, who is getting affected, are the impacts differentiated and if so along what lines. Firstly, the literature consistently emphasizes the fact that there are impacts resulting from the transactions. As highlighted by Zoomers (2010:441), the acquisition of land by foreigners and nationals is often accompanied by negative effects. These impacts concern the loss of land (Zoomers, 2010:441) and loss of livelihood (Deininger et al., 2014:76; Zoomers, 2010:441; Krieger and Leroch, 2016:198). Moreover, it is often too expensive to buy land elsewhere, there are few other alternative livelihoods and the overwhelming majority of the poor do not possess the skills needed to become eligible for newly created employment in companies acquiring land (Zoomers, 2010:441; Yengoh et al., 2016:329). Where particular skills are required and community members do not possess these through lack of formal education, they would not be able to gain employment in the company acquiring the lands in situations where there is the opportunity for skilled employment.

The loss of access to land furthermore implies compromised food security. As argued by Vermeulen & Cotula (2010:903), the direct risks of loss of land, water, and natural resources for local people in turn can have major repercussions for local food security, particularly given the high level of dependence on natural resources for sustenance in much of rural Africa. Furthermore there is the issue of landholding. Jiao et al. (2015:323) contend that the most direct and immediate impacts on households are reductions in their land holdings and limited access to forest products. In line with this, Thondlana (2015:16) suggests that the ramifications of reduced access to land and natural resources include a substantial increase in the amount of time required to gather important natural resources, and changes in resource-use patterns. Communities are also affected by way of displacement. Local people are often forced to either endure enclosure or move elsewhere to more isolated, marginal locations (Zoomers, 2010:430, 441). In effect, as summed up by Zoomers (2010:443) the large-scale acquisition of land often poses considerable risks, which include the displacement of local populations, the undermining or negating of existing rights, corruption, food insecurity, local environmental damage, the loss of livelihoods, nutritional deprivation, social polarization and political instability. Media reports and empirical research show that

large-scale processes of land acquisition are often at the expense of local populations (Zoomers, 2010:443).

The literature thus sheds light on the type of impacts that arise. Despite this, the literature appears not to elicit whether these impacts are differentiated and if so across which scales. Where the African continent is concerned, this would be important given that, for example, as an outcome of colonialism, in some countries there exist different land types – state land and customary land. In Ghana for example, there are customary and state lands. Thus in the examination of effects, there may be differences in impact type due to the land system but this level of detail does not appear to be drawn out by the literature.

Where impacts from land acquisitions are concerned, there is also the matter of the people affected. The literature brings out the effects being experienced by rural communities or the local people. The use of the terms 'rural communities' and 'local people' does not however throw light on the specifics in terms of the potential differentiated ethnicities within the localities and how the effects manifest across these groups. In like manner, Sebastian and Warner (2014:16) draw attention to the various groups of people who are potentially affected by the acquisitions noting that deals often do not result in benefits for the small farmers, traditional land holders or women. Even though various groups who are affected are identified, there is no indication of the ethnic consideration. However, where the African continent is concerned, the ethnic dynamics are of significance given that there are differing ethnicities. Furthermore, as a result of migration, particular ethnicities may move from their communities of origin to reside and farm elsewhere. Hence there could potentially be impacts that they could experience by virtue of them being non-indigenous to a locality. There is the need therefore for examination of the effects along these scales. As argued by Cotula et al. (2014:920), livelihood outcomes are likely to be differentiated by groups of people, so research needs to disaggregate analysis of socio-economic outcomes to a greater extent than has so far been the case. Thirdly, there is the issue of the communities. The literature draws out the fact that rural populations and local people are affected. Nevertheless as argued by Vermeulen & Cotula (2010:904), impacts might be local, or manifest downstream and in the wider vicinity. However the effects to the adjacent communities does not appear to be drawn out. Thus Cotula et al. (2014:919) contend that it is necessary to distinguish between different types of impacts and 'research could also explore a fuller range of livelihood outcomes linked not only to individual deals but also to

other sources of pressures on land and to the wider transformations in local economies' (Cotula et al., 2014:922).

## **2.8 CONCLUSION**

The chapter has sought to interrogate the political economy of large-scale land acquisitions on the African continent. This was achieved through examining essentially what was happening and why. There was the examination of the historical antecedents – the enclosure of the commons, through to the commodification of land and the capitalist processes. There was also the interrogation of other drivers of the rush for land. The African continent as a hub for the majority of the transactions was then focused on with an examination of the influence of colonialism on the land system and the state logics.

Historically there was the enclosure of the commons and the commodification of land. However, present day land acquisitions can be explained in terms of a capitalist crises and the overaccumulation of capital converging with state logics, and other drivers such as climate change, speculation and conservation. Much research frames land acquisition as a response to crisis (Hall, 2013:1587) and the role of domestic actors – 'governments and those with close connections to government since they have the legal authority to enclose "communal" lands, re-register them as state land and put them up for lease for "acquisitions" to occur' (Holmen, 2015:465). A convergence of crises – food, energy, finance, climate change – and the attendant overaccumulation of capital implied the need for profitable outlets and the abundant resources and land on the African continent has provided that outlet. The colonization of the continent additionally contributed to the commodification of land and a plural-legal system all of which furthered acquisitions. This was through the creation of an environment in which different institutional frameworks and customary laws operate simultaneously and give differing interpretations to issues of land disposition such as ownership.

Furthermore, where the African continent is concerned, there is the contribution of colonialism to the commodification of land, state logics and the pursuit of territorial consolidation by governments. This is in addition to national and local elites facilitating deals for their own ends. In excess capital seeking for new assets, the solution of geographical expansion proves expedient given that there is an apparent abundance of land further afield which can absorb the excess capital. The African continent is therefore a target since it is land and resource abundant. However, due to the immobility of land, the capital has to flow

to it. Thus, the investments have to move to the African continent. Through these processes, land acquisition is achieved in Africa in order to maintain the continuous circulation of capital, to address the crises of food supply for finance-rich constrained countries, prevent over-accumulation, to further interests of national and local elites and to extend state authority.

The foregoing raises the issue of the impacts of the acquisitions especially to the rural communities and the dispossessed peasantry. Due to the dependence on the land for livelihoods and sustenance, loss of access would obviously imply effects to the local communities. This study can help to explain how the impacts may not be analogous but potentially could be differentiated across various scales namely ethnic and land type. In addition, effects may not only be felt by the communities within the immediate vicinity of the acquisition. There may potentially be impacts to the adjacent communities which are external to the acquisition. This study on Ghana can therefore help to interrogate this dimension of impacts.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3 METHODOLOGY IN RESEARCHING THE LAND OF THE CHIEFS AND THE LAND OF THE STATE**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

In conducting research various processes are employed. Thus in answering a research question, 'it is obvious that a process capable of fulfilling the purposes and answering the question is needed' (Crotty, 1998:2). Within that process are four elements – 'the methods proposed, the methodology governing the choice of methods, the theoretical perspective behind the methodology and the epistemology informing the theoretical perspective. However the starting point is a real life issue that needs to be addressed, a problem that needs to be solved or a question that needs to be answered' (Crotty, 1998:2,13). The starting point of this research is the issue of the livelihood implications of large-scale land acquisitions to communities internal to and external to the vicinity of the appropriation. The study asks the question 'what happens after a land acquisition?' It seeks to investigate the outcomes following a large-scale land acquisition. This is through ascertaining the livelihood implications of land acquisitions to communities internal to the appropriation area in the light of the differing land tenure systems and whether these impacts are differentiated across various scales. It also seeks to investigate whether land acquisitions impact communities beyond the area of appropriation by examining the livelihood impacts to these localities and ascertaining whether there is differentiation in effects between communities internal to and external to the appropriations. In conducting the investigation and seeking for answers a qualitative strategy is employed. The reasons for this approach are discussed in detail further in the chapter.

Preliminary fieldwork was undertaken in Ghana between mid-August and mid-September 2016. This was mainly in the Ashanti Region although a part of the Brong Ahafo region was also visited. The preliminary fieldwork provided a foundation for the main fieldwork, as initial background information was gathered, communities were visited and contacts made. The main fieldwork was conducted between June and November 2017 in Ghana. This focused on the Ashanti region. The bulk of the fieldwork data was collected in the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti Region, specifically in three farming communities Ananekrom, Dukusen and Afrisere. The farming communities of Samsu and Mosi Panin were also visited

but even though adjacent to Afrisere (about twenty minutes' and forty minutes' drive respectively from Afrisere), these were situated in a different district (Sekyere Kumawu District) and a different traditional area (Kumawu Traditional Area)<sup>33</sup>. They were visited to make contact with people who had migrated out of the Ananekrom and Dukusen communities in order to obtain information on their livelihoods following loss and outmigration. Data was also collected in the cities of Accra and Kumasi. The rationale for the selection of these places for the fieldwork as well as the details of the data collected is discussed later in the chapter. The fieldwork activities were sequenced into phases. The fieldwork preparation and document gathering took place in June 2017. The key informant interviews took place over July and August 2017 with the fieldwork within the communities taking place between September and November 2017.

The processes involved in the collection of data and the analysis needs to be appropriate to the particular research in order to answer the questions posed. Thus the chapter details the particular processes employed and is divided into twelve sections. Section one discusses the qualitative versus quantitative debate whilst section two examines the philosophical assumptions brought to the research. Section three introduces the research strategy and section four considers triangulation and how this was achieved. The case study approach is elaborated upon in section five with sections six, seven, eight and nine considering the tools employed for the data collection namely interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation respectively. Section ten focuses on reflexivity, positionality, validity and reliability whilst section eleven gives details on ethics. A discussion on the data analysis and interpretation is undertaken in section twelve.

### **3.2 THE QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE DEBATE**

There are academic debates on the quantitative versus qualitative approaches to research and which is more appropriate. Bryman (2012:36, 620) argues that the contrasting of the quantitative and qualitative research strategies sometimes polarise or exaggerate their respective capacities. He therefore cautions against emphasizing division or 'hammering a wedge' between them. However debates over the employment of a quantitative versus a qualitative approach has been on-going. Contrasts have been made and criticisms levelled

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<sup>33</sup> The Sekyere Kumawu District being administrative would be run similar to the Agogo District. The different traditional area/paramountcy means a different paramount chief as such the manner of disposition of the customary land would be as per the customs of the paramountcy and the dictates of the traditional ruler.

by proponents of each concerning the more appropriate approach for research. This study employs a qualitative approach the reasons of which are discussed further on in the section following an overview of the quantitative versus qualitative debate. The consideration on the two strategies serves not only to highlight the polarised sides to the debate but more importantly through the discussion to draw out the reasons for the appropriateness and use of the qualitative approach where this research is concerned.

Qualitative research can be construed as a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2012:36). It is often exploratory and hence inductive (Schutt, 2009:47) with methods which facilitate study of issues in depth and careful attention to detail, context and nuance (Patton, 2002:14,226). Qualitative researchers stress the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, the situational constraints that shape enquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:17) and the emphasis is on the manner in which people appreciate or understand their world. The researchers often ask questions such as what is going on here, how do people interpret these experiences or why do people do what they do? (Schutt, 2009:47). Hence qualitative research is steered by an interpretivist inclination and 'the goal of social scientists is to understand what meanings people give to reality' (Schutt, 2009:92). On the other hand, quantitative research 'embodies a view of social reality as an external objective reality' (Bryman, 2012:35-36). Quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:17).

Bryman (2012:178) notes that over the years, quantitative research along with its epistemological and ontological foundations has been the focus of a great deal of criticism particularly from the exponents and advocates of qualitative research. These include criticisms of the specific methods and research designs with which quantitative research is associated and failing to distinguish people and social institutions from the 'world of nature' (Bryman, 2012:178). Denzin and Lincoln (2013:19) also point out that the use of quantitative positivist methods and assumptions has been rejected by a new generation of qualitative researchers who are attached to poststructuralist or postmodern sensibilities. These researchers argue that positivist methods are but one way of telling a story about society or the social world and quantitative researchers are seldom able to capture the subject's perspective because they have to rely on more remote, inferential empirical methods and materials (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:19). On the other hand too, criticism levelled at

qualitative approaches to research include the fact that they allegedly lack the 'scientific' rigour and credibility associated with traditionally accepted quantitative methods, in which inquiry is assumed to occur within a value-free framework and which rely on the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables (Horsburgh, 2003:308). Qualitative researchers work is termed unscientific, only exploratory, impressionistic and subjective with findings relying too much on the researcher's often unsystematic views about what is significant and important (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:3; Bryman, 2012:405). This is in addition to criticisms on the generalizability and the difficulty of replicating the study (Bryman, 2012:405-406).

In spite of the criticisms on both sides of the divide, both approaches abstract and study meaning albeit via different means. Qualitative researchers are more likely to confront and come up against the constraints of the everyday social world whereas quantitative researchers abstract from this world and seldom study it directly (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:19). Qualitative researchers use ethnographic prose, historical narratives, first person accounts, still photographs, life history among others, whilst quantitative researchers use mathematical models, statistical tables and graphs and usually write in an impersonal third-person prose (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:20). Although qualitative research would seem to have a monopoly of the ability to study meaning, the inclusion of questions about attitudes in social surveys suggests that quantitative researchers are also interested in matters of meaning through the form of attitude scales such as Likert scaling technique (Bryman, 2012:617,620). Furthermore, even though quantification and measurement is associated with quantitative research, a certain amount of quantification can be observed in qualitative research. For instance, a kind of implicit quantification may be in operation that influences the identification of themes and the elevation of some themes over others and the use of terms such as 'many', 'frequently', 'rarely' and 'often' (Bryman 2012:624) denotes some form of quantification. Both strategies are typically concerned to relate their findings to points thrown up by the literature relating to the topics on which they work and both carry out data reduction whether through statistical analysis or developing concepts out of data (Bryman, 2012:409). Both argue for the importance of transparency and seek to be clear about their research procedures and how their findings were arrived at (Bryman, 2012:410). In effect, one method may be no better or no worse than any other; they just tell a different kind of story and the differences reflect commitments to different styles of research, different epistemologies and different forms of representation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:19, 20).

According to Marshall and Rossman (2016:101) an excellent strategy for justifying the use of qualitative methodology is demonstrating the limitations of quantitative, positivist approaches and critiquing their narrowly defined questions. They further advise that it could be argued that the scientist by coding the social world according to preordained operational variables destroys valuable data by imposing a limited worldview on the subjects and the research techniques themselves affect the findings by interfering with natural sentiments and behaviours. Bryman (2012:381) points out that in discussing qualitative research in terms of its difference from quantitative research, qualitative research ends up being addressed in terms of what quantitative research is not. The critiquing of or the highlighting of the limitations of quantitative strategy is a plausible reason for adopting a qualitative approach. However such a line of attack will not be utilised in justifying the use of a qualitative approach with regards to this research. Notably quantitative and qualitative researchers go about investigations in different ways (Bryman, 2012:620) and hence the points of difference may turn on different ways of addressing the same set of issues (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013:17).

In the light of the above a qualitative approach is adopted in this research since the real life issues of the livelihood impacts of large-scale land acquisitions on communities within and without the vicinity of the acquisition is examined. People attribute meaning to events and to their environment (Bryman, 2012:399). Thus people in the communities can be engaged with in order to access their lived experiences. In addition, there is the need to 'understand the deeper perspectives that can be captured through face-to-face interaction and observation in the natural setting because thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values and assumptions are involved' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:101). The appropriation of land in Ghana involves the nexus of a number of actors, such as national and local elites, governmental agencies and the traditional authorities. Hence their perspectives will shed light on the issues being studied. Accordingly, through participating in the setting, observing directly, interviewing in-depth, and analyzing documents and material culture' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016) the multiple perspectives identifying the many factors involved in a situation (Creswell, 2014:235) will aid in the investigation of the issue and 'sketch the larger picture that emerges' (Creswell, 2014:235). Thus a qualitative strategy will give access to the detailed/fundamental reality of everyday life viewed through a new analytic lens (Silverman, 2013:235).

### **3.3 PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS – ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

In line with the qualitative/quantitative debate is the issue of the philosophical assumptions brought to the research. Given that 'all research has a philosophical foundation and assumptions shape the processes of research and the conduct of enquiry, inquirers should be aware of assumptions they make about gaining knowledge' (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011:38). Hence within research, philosophical assumptions – ontological and epistemological considerations – are taken into account. According to Crotty (1998:10) ontological issues and epistemological issues tend to merge together and writers in the research literature have trouble keeping them apart conceptually. Epistemology concerns 'understanding and explaining how we know what we know' and 'what knowledge is and how it is obtained' (Crotty, 1998:8; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:47). It provides a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how to ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994:10 cited in Crotty, 1998:8). However, ontology is concerned with 'what is', the nature of reality and what is real when researchers conduct their enquiries (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011:41; Crotty, 1998:10). Bryman (2012:32) points out that the central point of orientation regarding social ontology is the question of whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities in the sense that they have a reality external to social actors or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors; positions frequently referred to respectively as objectivism and constructionism. The objectivist stance according to Bryman (2012:33) is an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors. In line with such a stance is positivism, an epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond (Bryman, 2012:28).

A positivist stance, for the purposes of studying human issues has been disputed within academic scholarship. Such a position – positivist – is plausible given the fact that human beings as social actors interact and process their experiences as opposed to inanimate objects which cannot do so. For instance, Stake (2000:19-20) suggests that at the turn of the century, German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey claimed that the more objective and scientific studies did not do the best job of acquainting man with himself: the methods of studying human affairs needed to capitalize upon the natural powers of people to experience

and understand. Anti-positivists such as Dilthey, von Wright and William Dray have claimed that Truth in the fields of human affairs is better approximated by statements that are rich with the sense of human experience (Stake, 2000:21). In addition, as pointed out by Silverman (2013:105), although positivism is the most common model used in quantitative research, it sits uneasily within most qualitative research designs given that within qualitative enquiry, 'detail is found in the precise particulars of such matters as people's understandings and interactions in particular contexts' (Silverman, 2013:105). Thus qualitative research tends to use a non-positivist model of reality' (Silverman, 2013:105) and constructionism is 'the epistemology invoked by qualitative research' (Crotty, 1998:9). It begins with the premise that the human world is different from the natural, physical world and therefore must be studied differently (Guba and Lincoln, 1990 cited in Patton: 2002:96). It is, according to Bryman (2012:33), an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. What constructionism claims is that meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting (Crotty, 1998:43).

The research focus on large-scale land acquisitions and the impacts to rural livelihoods, necessitates the engagement with people concerning their experiences. This is because an appropriate method of acquiring information on the issues and the impacts to livelihoods is through interacting with the people themselves and observing their day-to-day lives. Engaging with key informants involved in the processes of land disposition in Ghana is also necessary to elicit information on the phenomena from various perspectives. In essence, a constructionist approach is adopted given the need to engage with the people in order to access the issues affecting them as well as the 'attempt to capture different perspectives through open ended interviews and observations and then examine the implications of different perceptions' (Patton, 2002:98). In addition, the research is 'shaped from individual perspectives to broad patterns and ultimately to broad understandings' (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011:40).

### **3.4 RESEARCH STRATEGY**

Where the collection of data is concerned, as previously noted, appropriate strategies need to be employed in order to answer the research questions. A case study approach is utilized because of the focus on 'one (or just a few) instances of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes

occurring in that particular instance and with the aim of illuminating the general by looking at the particular' (Denscombe, 2014:54). Within the case study approach, the emphasis of this research is on land acquisition and livelihood impacts hence, it is expedient to engage with the people and communities in order to draw out their experiences and the manner in which their livelihoods were affected. In addition because land appropriation in Ghana involves a number of actors at district, regional, national and traditional hierarchy levels, obtaining information from them through discussion aids in bringing out from their perspectives the issues of the livelihood impacts in communities. Thus the multiple perspectives aid in the investigation and draw out the issues that need to be analysed in order to answer the research questions. The foregoing throws light on the suitability and expediency of engaging with people about their experiences and undertaking group discussions to elicit the positions/views that emerge from the group dynamics. It also elicits the benefit of observing the lives and livelihood situations within the communities as well as the review of documents. Hence the research strategy entails the use of interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation to draw out the required information. The reasons for the use of each method as well as the information obtained are discussed in detail under each of the methods. The research utilises these varied methodological approaches, hence triangulation, in order to achieve accuracy and credibility. The employment of triangulation is discussed below following which the case study approach is detailed. The different methods utilised (interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation) and what they achieved are then elaborated upon.

### **3.5 TRIANGULATION**

Triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena (Bryman, 2012:392) and the use of the alternative methods allows the findings from one method to be contrasted with the findings from another (Denscombe, 2014:154). Triangulation is used as a strategy for improving the quality of qualitative research by extending the approach to the issue under study through the use of additional methods, the inclusion of different sorts of data in the research or through taking a different theoretical perspective (Flick, 2009:405).

Seale (1999:472) points out that the idea of triangulation derives from discussions of measurement validity by quantitative methodologists working with crudely realist and empiricist assumptions. The term itself is designed to evoke an analogy with surveying or

navigation, in which people discover their position on a map by taking bearings on two landmarks, lines from which will intersect at the observer's position (Seale, 1999:473). Triangulation used in this way assumes a single fixed reality that can be known objectively through the use of multiple methods of social research (Blaikie, 1991 cited in Seale, 1999:473). Thus in this research diverse methodological approaches are employed to 'get a true fix on the situation by combining different ways of looking at it (method triangulation) and different findings (data triangulation)' (Silverman, 2013:287). Denzin (1978) identifies four basic types of triangulation – data triangulation (the use of a variety of data sources in a study); investigator triangulation (the use of several different researchers or evaluators); theory triangulation (the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data) and methodological triangulation, the use of multiple methods to study a single problem (Patton, 2002:247). Triangulation is employed because by using a variety of sources and resources the observer/researcher can build on the strengths of each type of data collection while minimizing the weaknesses of any single approach (Patton, 2002:307). The validity of findings can be checked by using different sources of information (Denscombe, 2014:154) and similar results being achieved with different methods for example, survey questions and field-observations gives greater confidence in the validity of each method (Schutt, 2009:122). In this research, triangulation is achieved through the employment of the different methods of interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation to cross-check accuracy and credibility where the information obtained is concerned. For example, in ascertaining the effects of land acquisitions to adjacent community members, interviews were carried out with individual adjacent community members on the effects of decreased land to them through the sharing of portions of their land with in-migrants who had lost access to land in neighbouring communities. Observation was then employed by visiting their farms to appreciate the sizes of their farms and the portions that had been given away. Hence through the employment of the two methods, the credibility of the effects could be established. Also, interviewing and observation were supplemented with gathering and analysing documents (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:164).

Triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods (Patton, 2002:247) and as Yin (2014:120) points out, the most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of enquiry; any finding or conclusion is likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information. Patton (2002:248) supports this, noting that studies that use only one method

are more vulnerable to errors linked to that particular method than studies that use multiple methods in which different types of data provide cross-data validity checks. Notwithstanding, discrepancies can arise. Patton (2002:248) notes that a common misunderstanding about triangulation is that the point is to demonstrate that different data sources or inquiry approaches yield essentially the same result; the point of triangulation is really to test for such consistency and as Patton (2002:248) further points out, understanding inconsistencies in findings across different kinds of data can be illuminative. For example, in comprehending the community loss of access to land on forest reserves, interviews with key informants elicited the fact that the communities knowingly encroached into the forest to use forest land whereas interviews with community members brought out the fact that they were given land to farm on unaware it is forest reserve. Deeper inquiry revealed that the migrants were given the land and as Northerners they asked no questions deeming that it was not their place to ask questions about the land given to them to farm on. Such variances in responses provide deeper insight into the particular situation and gives opportunity for further interrogation.

### **3.6 THE CASE STUDY APPROACH**

A case study approach is employed. It is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-world context (Yin, 2014:16). The case study approach is not without its critiques, one of the main ones concerning generalizability. Qualitative research tends to be based on the intensive study of a relatively small number of cases which inevitably raises the question about how representative the cases are and how generalization can be undertaken on the basis of such a small number (Denscombe, 2014:299). One of the standard criticisms is that findings deriving from it cannot be generalized (Bryman, 2012:71). However case study researchers tend to argue that they aim to generate an intensive examination of a single case in relation to which they then engage in a theoretical analysis (Bryman, 2012:71), the implications of which are to generalise inferences and applications to other settings.

Denscombe (2014:62) also notes that what is crucial is the extent to which those who read the case study findings are able to infer things from them that apply to other settings. Thus, as Yin (2014:21) advises, case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations; the goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalisations) and not to extrapolate probabilities (statistical generalisations). Denscombe (2014:299) also

suggests that generalizability is addressed alternatively through transferability – the information about the particular instance that has been studied can be used to arrive at a judgment about how far it would apply to other comparable instances, that is, to what extent could the findings be transferred to other instances. Therefore sufficient information should be provided about the context in which an inquiry is carried out so that anyone else interested in transferability has a base of information appropriate to the judgement (Lincoln and Guba, 2000:40).

Comprehensive interpretations and explanations from the communities involved in terms of their experiences (what the land meant to them, how their lives were being affected by the land acquisitions) as well as neighbouring community insights shed light on the livelihood impacts experienced and the differentiation in impacts across various scales. In addition, deeper understanding of the particular scenarios in the communities that were examined shed light on the ways in which the phenomenon broadly affected community lives in other settings. The logic behind concentrating efforts on one case rather than many is that there may be insights to be gained from looking at the individual case that can have wider implications and more importantly that would not have come to light through the use of a research strategy that tried to cover a large number of instances (Denscombe, 2014:55). Real life issues were being researched into with the attendant need to access people's lived experiences. Hence the case study approach was suitable given that 'it is preferred when examining contemporary events and the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated' (Yin, 2014:12). The 'case' that forms the basis of the investigation is normally a 'naturally occurring' phenomenon that exists prior to the research project and continues to exist once the research has finished and not a situation that is artificially generated specifically for the purposes of the research (Denscombe, 2014:56). In this study, the large-scale land acquisitions, land types, ethnic groups and the attendant livelihood impacts are existing phenomena and not artificially generated for the research. Thus an 'as is' situation was being examined which provided in-depth insight into the existing situation and how this was affecting the communities under examination. The approach enables the research to delve deep into the intricacies of the situation in order to describe things in detail, compare alternatives or perhaps provide an account that explores particular aspects of the situation (Denscombe, 2014:56). In addition, 'a case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion' (Yin, 2014:17). In this manner it aided in ensuring validity of the data collected.

Denscombe (2014:58) notes that cases are not randomly selected; they are selected on the basis of known attributes and deliberately chosen on the basis of their distinctive features. The case identified has to be significant for the research question (Flick, 2009:134) and a suitable case will be one with features that are relevant in terms of the practical problem or theoretical issue that the researcher wants to investigate (Denscombe, 2014:58). There is also the need for sufficient access to the data for the potential case (Yin, 2014:28) and rationales must be presented for selection depending on purpose and intended use (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:20).

The Ashanti region of Ghana and specifically the Asante Akim North District<sup>34</sup> within the region were selected. This is because there had been large-scale land acquisitions on both government/state and customary<sup>35</sup> land in the district. Communities experienced livelihood effects within each land type. Furthermore apart from being located in the same district, the communities, in addition to the adjacent community (external to the acquisitions) fell within the same traditional area<sup>36</sup>. Therefore this gave opportunity for a balanced comparison of effects from both the political and traditional angles. In addition, given the suitability of the Ashanti region for farming, there was the presence of not only indigenes<sup>37</sup> but also significant numbers of non-indigenes<sup>38</sup> mainly from the northern part of Ghana and this allowed for the interrogation of impacts along ethnic lines.

The study focused on communities within the vicinity of the land acquisitions and the adjacent communities in terms of the loss of access to land, effects on livelihoods and

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<sup>34</sup> Per the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, for the purposes of decentralized local government, Ghana is divided into districts and the District Assembly is the highest political authority in the district having deliberative, legislative and executive powers [Article 241(3)].

<sup>35</sup> There are two major land types in Ghana – customary lands and public lands (comprising of state and vested lands). It is estimated that 78% of Ghana's territory is held under the customary land system. Of the remaining 22%, 20% is held for the government for developmental projects [state land] whilst 2% is held in a dual ownership between the government and customary owners [vested land] (Republic of Ghana, 2003 cited in Antwi-Agyei et al., 2015: 204).

<sup>36</sup> A traditional area is an area under the jurisdiction of a paramount chief, also called a paramountcy. *A paramountcy is a traditional area within the Asante set-up whose chiefs called paramount chiefs owe direct allegiance to the golden stool (Ashanti King). They got their boundaries through conquest and agreement* (Interview with Senior Official, Regional House of Chiefs, August 2017).

*The chieftaincy system evolved; lands were acquired sometimes through conquest so when you are able to conquer that becomes your area and that becomes your paramountcy and becomes your traditional area and the head chief is the paramount chief* (Interview with Senior Official, National House of Chiefs, July 2017).

<sup>37</sup> Under customary land tenure, land is considered to belong to a social group and not an individual. Hence, the rights and ownership of land is vested in a clan or family, and members of this social group have unrestricted rights of usage (Yaro, 2010; Owusu, 2008 cited in Antwi-Agyei et al., 2015:204). Every indigene, by virtue of his or her membership of the group, has access to land (Arko-Adjei, 2011:21).

<sup>38</sup> A stranger [non-indigene] is a non-subject of a clan, tribe, skin or stool (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:13).

possible effects to adjacent communities as well. Such situations existed within the communities and they were real life and not artificially generated circumstances. Thus the region and the district gave 'sufficient access to the data and would most likely illuminate the research questions' (Yin, 2014:28). The particular communities within the District that were selected were Ananekrom because it was situated within a land acquisition on state land, Dukusen because it was within a customary land acquisition and Afrisere because it was an adjacent community where acquisitions had not taken place.

The study examined the impacts on state and customary land. There was also the focus on communities internal to the acquisition and those external to the acquisition. Consequently given that there were varying scenarios, the research went beyond the adoption of a single case study approach to a multi-case study approach. This is because the 'number of cases examined exceeds one' (Bryman, 2012:74) and 'the analytic benefits from having two or more cases may be substantial – if the two cases offer contrasting situations and the subsequent findings support the hypothesized contrast, the results represent a strong start towards theoretical replication' (Yin, 2014:63). In addition, the evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust (Herriot and Firestone, 1983 cited in Yin, 2014:57) hence the adoption of a multi-case study approach. In line with the adoption of a case study approach, the tools that were employed for data collection were interviews, focus group discussions, document reviews and observation.

### **3.7 INTERVIEWS**

Qualitative research interviews are used as a source of data collection because they are 'particularly good at producing data which explore topics in depth and in detail; subjects can be probed, issues pursued and lines of investigation followed' (Denscombe, 2014:201). Qualitative interviewing captures not only how those being interviewed view their world but also the complexities of their perceptions and experiences (Patton, 2002:348). The focus is on what is significant and important from the participant's point of view 'in relation to each of the research topic areas and on how the interviewee frames and understands issues and events' (Bryman, 2012:471). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:2) note that it is an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest and knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee. Interviewing tends to be flexible and an interviewee can be interviewed on more than one and sometimes

several occasions (Bryman, 2012:470). There are also particular benefits in that immediate follow up and clarification of issues raised is possible (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:150). This method of data collection was thus useful for the research because of the need to probe in-depth to gain an understanding where the issues of large-scale land acquisitions in relation to their impacts and effects on community livelihoods were concerned. Secondly engaging with the stakeholders on all sides of the land acquisition debate from communities to government officials provided deeper insight into the issues at stake such as livelihood impacts. Moreover where the communities were concerned, through the use of unstructured and semi-structured interviews, the community members could highlight the issues that were important to them. A semi-structured format was adopted with the objective of letting 'the interviewee develop ideas, elaborate points of interest and speak more widely on the issues raised' (Denscombe, 2016:186). In addition, where the local communities were concerned unstructured interviews were also utilised in order to increase the scope for discussion.

Notably where interview data are concerned, responses can be influenced by emotions such as anger at a situation or personal bias in the form of favouring a particular position due to the circumstances the respondents find themselves in. There can also be 'reactivity of the interviewee to the interviewer' (Patton, 2002:306) in the sense that the interviewees may give responses based on their perception of who the interviewer may be or the information being sought. Given the nature of the subject, that is land acquisitions and the impact on livelihoods, there was the possibility of arousing emotion such as anger and frustration as a result of the effects the acquisitions may have had on community livelihoods. Responses emanating from such emotions were taken on board since they aided in highlighting findings. Interviews were also with the district, regional and national government officials as well as within the traditional hierarchy of authority so as to draw out the different sides to the issues. Non-governmental agency and research institutions (with focuses farming and forestry issues) views were sought to give added context. In addition, other data collection methods such as focus group discussions and observation were employed. Combined with observation, interviews allow the researcher to understand the meanings that everyday activities hold for people (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:150) and they (observations) provide a check on what is reported in interviews (Patton, 2002:306). With regards to the interviews, there was the employment of note taking alongside the use of a voice recorder 'to serve as back up, facilitate later analysis, help formulate new questions as the interview moved along and stimulate early insights' (Patton, 2002:383). The seeking of participant permissions,

disclosure on the nature of the fieldwork and the research was also considered and is discussed later in the chapter under the subsection Ethics.

Semi-structured key informant interviews were conducted with officials at the district, regional and national levels because it 'allows a systematic and iterative gathering of data where questions are arranged in a protocol that evokes rich data but is also focused for efficient data analysis (Galletta, 2013 cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2016:150). Key informants are people who are particularly knowledgeable about the inquiry setting and articulate about their knowledge; people whose insights can prove particularly useful in helping an observer understand what is happening and why (Patton, 2002:321). In conducting of semi-structured interviews with key informants, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling concerns the selection of units with direct reference to the research questions being asked, and the research questions give an indication of the units that need to be sampled (Bryman, 2012:416). Thus, specific people within these institutions were 'deliberately selected because they are seen as likely to produce the most valuable data, to provide the best information and they have relevance to the topic of the investigation' (Denscombe, 2003:15). Secondly, the individuals can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study (Creswell, 2013:150). In this research, in some instances, purposive sampling was aided with a snowball method through which 'the sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research' (Bryman, 2012:424). Hence discussions were undertaken with some key informants who then proposed or gave contact details for other key informants from whom further in-depth information could be obtained.

The semi-structured key informant interviews were undertaken as follows and are summarised in Table 3.1:

#### District Level

- District Assembly – this falls under the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. The fieldwork was undertaken in the Asante Akim North District where two senior officials within the District Assembly were interviewed. The Sekyere Afram Plains District (an adjacent district) was also visited and the opportunity arose for a discussion with a very senior official hence this was taken advantage of to gain insight into and provide further context to the phenomenon being studied since there were similar issues in this district as well. The interview topics included the

awareness and involvement of the District Assemblies in the large-scale land acquisitions, collaborations with other government agencies, the particular communities affected both internal to and external to the acquisition area, the observed effects in the communities concerned such as in/outward migrations, the responses from the communities both internal to and external to the acquisitions, the ethnic groups within the district, the sources of livelihood within the communities in the district before and after the acquisitions, possible compensations and if/how the district assemblies are working to protect the livelihoods/lands of the rural communities.

- District Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture – four officials within the District Directorate were interviewed on issues including food security, the large-scale land acquisitions in the District, the livelihood effect as well as the district directorate’s involvement in the acquisitions and/or their contribution in sustaining livelihoods in affected communities at the district and community level.
- Companies involved in large scale acquisitions – where the acquisition on customary land was concerned, an interview was carried out with a company official. The interview revolved around the size and purpose of the land acquired, the previous and current land use, any livelihood impact assessments that were carried out prior to acquisition and the responses of the local communities both internal to and external to the acquisitions on the effects on their livelihoods. The company, ScanFarm Ghana Limited, had acquired customary land of size 1,800 hectares (approximately 4,448 acres) of which 650 hectares (approximately 1,606 acres) had been developed for food production<sup>39</sup>. An interview was not carried out with the company on the forestry land (Miro Forestry) due to the unwillingness to be interviewed so instead information was obtained from the company website. The size of land acquired on the forestry/state land was 10,000 hectares (approximately 24,710 acres)<sup>40</sup>.

#### Regional Level

- At the regional level, institutions/agencies that were involved in aspects of the disposition of land (such as governmental agencies) as well as research institutions with interests in agrarian or forestry issues were contacted. These include the Forestry Commission, the Lands Commission, the Environment Protection Agency

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Company S, Agogo, October 2017.

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.miroforestry.com/plantations/boumfoum-ghana>

(EPA), the Crops Research Institute and the Forestry Research Institute of Ghana. In addition, the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Regional Coordinating Council (which is the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development at the regional level) were also contacted. In each institution, one senior official was interviewed. The interview topics included the institutions' involvement in land disposition and land acquisitions, the type of assessments prior to land acquisition, the community considerations and consultations, the consideration of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC), the impacts to the communities and to the neighbouring communities in terms of livelihoods, community responses, efforts towards sustainability of livelihoods following acquisition, any community compensations and collaborations with other government agencies and traditional authorities.

#### National Level

- At the national level, a senior official each within the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was contacted. A senior official within a Non-Governmental Organisation was also interviewed. The interview topics revolved around the collaborations where issues of land disposition and acquisition are concerned, the involvement of the local communities in stakeholder consultations and the consideration of community livelihoods, the government policies in place concerning the large-scale land acquisitions, measures in place to protect community livelihoods, whether the land policies take the large-scale land acquisitions and the impacts to rural communities into account, how the policies filtered down practically into the local communities to protect their livelihoods, livelihood concerns and how these were being addressed at the national level with respect to land acquisitions.

LEVEL	KEY INFORMANTS
<b>District Level (Officials)</b>	
District Assembly	3
District Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	4
Companies involved in large scale acquisitions	1
	<i>Total District Level – 8 Officials</i>

<b>Regional Level (Senior Officials)</b>	
Forestry Commission	1
Lands Commission	1
Environment Protection Agency	1
Crops Research Institute	2
Forestry Research Institute of Ghana	1
Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	1
Regional Coordinating Council (the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development at the Regional level)	1
	<i>Total Regional Level – 8 Senior Officials</i>
<b>National Level (Senior Officials)</b>	
Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources	1
Ministry of Food and Agriculture	1
Non-Governmental Organisation (Caritas Ghana)	1
	<i>Total National Level - 3 Senior Officials</i>
<b>Total Key Informants Interviewed</b>	<b>19 Key Informants</b>

Table 3.1: Summary of Key Informants Interviewed

Unstructured/semi-structured interviews were conducted at the community level. The semi-structured and unstructured interviews are undertaken in order to ‘let the interviewees develop their own ideas and pursue their own train of thought’ (Denscombe, 2014:187). This approach was employed in order to obtain the perspectives of the community members on the large-scale land acquisitions within or adjacent to their communities and to gain an in-depth understanding on their ways of life and their livelihoods in the light of the land acquisitions. It also shed light on the impacts on them, the livelihood implications and how they are responding to these. Where the unstructured interview approach is concerned, ‘informal conversational interviews and casual conversations are entered into with individuals or small groups’ (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:150). This was undertaken because ‘it offers for flexibility, spontaneity and responsiveness to individual differences, situational changes and personalising of questions to deepen communication with the person being interviewed’ (Patton, 2002:343).

The community level interviews were undertaken as follows and are summarised in Table 3.2:

#### Community Level

- Interviews were undertaken in three communities, Ananekrom, Dukusen and Afrisere. In addition, Samsu and Mosi Panin, the next two adjacent communities after Afrisere (albeit in a different district and a different traditional area), were visited in order to interact with people who had migrated there as a result of loss of access to land. In this research, given that whole communities had been affected (and the information had spread to neighbouring communities), the majority of the community members were either affected by the phenomenon, knew of someone who had been affected, knew of neighbouring communities which had been affected or had heard of the issues and the effects. In Ananekrom, a total of twenty-two semi-structured interviews were undertaken whilst in Dukusen thirteen were undertaken. In Afrisere, a total of twenty-eight semi-structured interviews were undertaken.

<b>COMMUNITY</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>
Ananekrom	22
Dukusen	13
Afrisere	28
Samsu	1
Mosi Panin	1
<b>Total Community Interviewees</b>	<b>65 Respondents</b>

Table 3.2: Summary of Community Level Interviews

Interviewees were selected through a convenience sampling method. This method was employed because there were participants who were readily available, easy to contact, willing to participate and easily accessible (Dörnyei 2007, cited in Etikan et al., 2015:2; Higginbottom, 2004:15 cited in Koerber and McMichael, 2008:463). In addition, the interviewees/participants proposed others who had experiences or information relevant to the research and therefore the researcher also made contact with these for interviews. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:113) advise interviewing as many subjects as necessary to find out what the researcher needs to know. They further note that beyond a certain point adding more respondents will yield less and less new knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:113).

Thus the choice of the particular number of interviews was based on the establishment of the extent to which further interviews yielded less new knowledge, in essence, the saturation point. The saturation point is the point at which new interviews seem to yield little additional information (Schutt, 2009:341). Accordingly, as suggested by Schutt (2009:341), selection of new interviewees should continue at least until the saturation point is reached. The rationale for determining when the saturation point had been reached was through ascertaining whether any new information was gleaned with every successive interview. Notably no further new information was gleaned by the twenty-second interview, the thirteenth interview and the twenty-eighth interview for Ananekrom, Dukusen and Afrisere respectively. Hence the reason for interviewing these particular numbers of people in each community.

The questions, conversations and discussions included the awareness of the large-scale land acquisitions in the district, the type of land acquired, community consultations prior to the acquisitions, the responses to the acquisitions, the sources of employment/income/livelihoods in the community and individually, the effects of the acquisitions, the effects to neighbouring communities, changes to livelihoods following the acquisitions and possible compensations. In addition to these, there were also background/demographic questions that 'identify characteristics of the person being interviewed in order to locate the respondent in relation to other people' (Patton, 2002:351).

Where Ghana is concerned, the traditional authorities have an influence on and a part to play in the disposition of land. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were carried out within the traditional hierarchy to provide further insight and context. Purposive sampling was employed because of the objective to interview specific people, that is, the traditional authorities. One authority was interviewed in each community because the one was the highest position-wise (chief, care-taker chief or traditional elder). These were carried out as follows and are summarised in Table 3.3:

#### Community Level –

- Within each of the communities, a traditional head, either a chief, sub-chief or principal elder was interviewed. The interview topics included the land type and land use, community livelihoods, any large-scale land acquisitions that had taken place and the effects concerning both them and neighbouring communities, community

consultations prior to acquisitions, community responses to acquisitions and their role as traditional rulers in the protection of community livelihoods.

**Paramountcy Level – Agogo Traditional Council**

- At the paramountcy (traditional area) level, a senior official within the Agogo Traditional Council was interviewed. The interview topics included the large-scale land acquisitions within the traditional area, community consultations prior to land acquisition, consideration of livelihood implications, benefits or otherwise to the various villages from acquisitions, efforts made to help people who had their livelihoods compromised and the collaborations with government agencies.

**Regional Level – Regional House of Chiefs**

- Within the traditional hierarchy, the paramount chiefs of each traditional area in the region constitute the Regional House of Chiefs. In order to obtain further information within the traditional set-up, a senior official at the secretariat of the Regional House of Chiefs was interviewed. The topics included the issue of large-scale land acquisitions vis-à-vis community livelihoods and lands as well as their collaborations with the government.

**National Level – National House of Chiefs**

- Within the traditional hierarchy, representatives from each of the ten<sup>41</sup> Regional House of Chiefs come together to constitute the National House of Chiefs. A senior official at the secretariat of the National House of Chiefs was interviewed. The interview topics included the issue of large-scale land acquisitions vis-à-vis community livelihoods and lands, their collaborations with the government, concerns of the House and protection of community livelihoods and lands.

<b>LEVEL</b>	<b>KEY INFORMANTS</b>
<b>Community Level (Traditional Authorities)</b>	
Ananekrom	1
Dukusen	1
Afrisere	1
Mosi Panin	1
<b>Paramountcy Level (Senior Official)</b>	

<sup>41</sup> At the time of the fieldwork there were ten regions but this increased to sixteen from February 2019 following a referendum in December 2018.

Agogo Traditional Council	1
<b>Regional Level (Senior Official)</b>	
Regional House of Chiefs	1
<b>National Level (Senior Official)</b>	
National House of Chiefs	1
<b>Total Key Informants Interviewed at Traditional Hierarchy Level</b>	<b>7 Key Informants</b>

Table 3.3: Summary of Key Informants interviewed at Traditional Hierarchy Level

### 3.8 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus groups/group discussions were employed as a method of data collection. They are a qualitative method that involve unstructured group interviews in which the focus group leader actively encourages discussion among participants on the topics of interest (Schutt, 2009:345). Emphasis is on a defined topic, interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning (Bryman, 2012:502). Thus in a focus group, the small clusters of people who are brought together explore attitudes and perceptions, feelings and ideas about a specific topic (Denscombe, 2014:188). They generate discussion and so reveal both the meanings that people read into the discussion topic and how they negotiate those meanings (Lunt and Livingstone, 1996 cited in Flick, 2009:204). Focus group discussions allow access to a variety of viewpoints on the topic in focus (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:150) through people giving their own views in their own ways and in their own words (Puchta and Potter, 2004:118).

The different perspectives on the subject from group members can give deeper and more varied information on the subject. Through the focus group discussion, participants can 'probe each other's reasons for holding particular views and explain their answers to each other thus eliciting a wide variety of different views in relation to a particular issue' (Bryman, 2012:503; Neuman, 2012:318). It therefore affords the opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it (Bryman, 2012:504). Participants are able to bring to the fore issues in relation to the topic that they deem to be important and significant and challenge each other's views thus offering

the opportunity of ending up with more realistic accounts of what people think because they are stimulated to think about and possibly revise their views (Bryman, 2012:503). Focus groups/group discussions were also utilised because ‘the interaction among participants enhances data quality and understanding of the reasoning behind the views and opinions that are expressed’ (Patton, 2002:386; Denscombe, 2014:189) and ‘the extent to which there are shared views among a group of people in relation to a specific topic can be gauged’ (Denscombe, 2014:188).

The group discussion is based on an item or experience about which all the participants have similar knowledge (Denscombe 2014:188) and which is relevant to the research questions under investigation. Thus the research focus on the subject of land acquisitions and the impacts to livelihoods was used to bring the participants together for the focus group discussions. As a result of the close-knit nature of the rural communities in terms of interdependency and supportiveness for one another, community members, both affected and not affected had an appreciation of the subject. As such there was the availability of people with the knowledge or experience for the focus groups to be undertaken. The focus group discussions were carried out in each of the three communities where fieldwork was undertaken and the researcher served as moderator for the discussions.

Each group discussion consisted of between five and thirteen participants. In Ananekrom where there had been acquisition on state land, two focus group discussions (consisting mainly of farmers since it is a farming community) were conducted. One group discussion consisted of men and the second group women. The members were selected on the basis of their willingness to partake in the discussions, share their experiences and voice their opinions. In the case of the group of women however, in their eagerness to share their experiences and their vehemence over the land acquisition issues, some of them did call out to passers-by to come and join in the discussion. This would be very typical and the norm given the manner of community interaction and the sense of being each other’s ‘brother/sister’ within the rural communities in Ghana. The passers-by willingly came, shared their experiences and then left.

Where stratification along gender lines is concerned, even though in rural settings women may feel uncomfortable openly discussing issues with the men present, this was not found

to be the case since the women actually called three men to join the discussion<sup>42</sup>. In addition, despite the fact that in patrilineal<sup>43</sup> societies men may be viewed as dominant therefore women may be silent in discussions, this was not seen to be the case. This is in spite of the fact that the majority of the community folk in Ananekrom are Northerners who follow the patrilineal system. It could possibly be attributed to the Ashanti influence given that they were living in the Ashanti region which follows the matrilineal<sup>44</sup> system and where women are accorded greater respect and freedom to speak out. However the focus group discussions were stratified along gender lines because of the desire to gain insight into the issues from men's and women's points of view and also to elicit the issues that were of importance to, and greatly affected, each of the genders.

In Dukusen where there had been acquisition on customary land, one focus group discussion was conducted and this consisted of a group of women. They were selected on the basis of their willingness to partake in the discussions. In Dukusen a great proportion of the community had left. Even though the discussion took place on a Thursday which was the *dabone*<sup>45</sup> the women were the only ones found to be available. The men had gone to work<sup>46</sup> (in the company that had acquired land in Dukusen) and the women made mention of this. Hence the group discussion was undertaken with the women. The issues that were discussed in the first two communities where large-scale land acquisitions had taken place included the significance of the land, the community livelihoods prior to loss of access to land, the effects of the loss of access to land, whether ethnicity played a role in the loss of access to land and its effects, sustenance of livelihoods following loss of access to land, migration and the effects of loss of access to land on the community.

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<sup>42</sup> Notably, this could not be attributed to fear of repercussions of having discussions without the men because the women frequently interrupted the men to the extent that the men advised the women to allow them (the men) to speak since they (the women) had spoken.

<sup>43</sup> The ethnic groups in Ghana have two main types of family. There is the patrilineal family – those who inherit according to the male line (Mensa-Bonsu and Dowuona-Hammond, 1995: 9). There is also the matrilineal family explained below.

<sup>44</sup> The matrilineal family inherit according to the female line (Mensa-Bonsu and Dowuona-Hammond, 1995: 9).

<sup>45</sup> *Dabone* - translated from the Asante *Twi* language as 'bad day' – every Thursday in Dukusen– when the community members do not go to farm because it is a day of rest and it is a taboo to go to the farm. The particular day is dependent on the community so in Ananekrom it was every Tuesday and in Afrisere it was every Wednesday.

<sup>46</sup> *The company had approached the Traditional Authorities and done pacification rites on the land to allow the company to work on the land on Thursdays* (Interview with Senior Official, Company S, Agogo, October 2017) hence for the company, work was undertaken on the *Dabone*.

In Afrisere where large-scale land acquisitions had not taken place, five focus group discussions were undertaken. Five focus group discussions were undertaken because the opportunity to conduct these arose. In two of the focus groups (fourth and fifth groups) the people had already assembled of their own accord and in one case were actually discussing land acquisitions (this is elaborated upon further in the discussion). Thus the researcher took advantage of these already gathered groups to have discussions and obtain information. Also, during a previous visit some of the men (after being interviewed) had offered to gather the men together for the researcher for an extensive discussion since they (the men who had been interviewed) wanted the researcher to hear for herself the views and experiences of others. Hence there arose the opportunity for a group discussion with a second group of men. The first focus group discussion consisted of a group of men, the second a group of women and the third a group of men. The participants were all farmers. With the first group of men and the group of women, the selection of participants was on the basis of their willingness to partake in the discussions, share their experiences and voice their opinions. With the third group of men, the aim was to undertake a focus group discussion with a group of men who had migrated to Afrisere as a result of loss of access to land from the large-scale land acquisitions in the neighbouring communities. The researcher took advantage to obtain as much information as possible from the varied groups.

Within rural areas in Ghana, it is common for discussions to impulsively commence once a few people (usually between three and eight) are gathered for a particular activity such as playing draughts (a type of board game) under trees or fetching water at a well/borehole. Hence in the case of the fourth and fifth groups, such situations were taken advantage of in order to carry out group discussions on the subject. The researcher came across the groups of people who had already converged under a tree of their own accord. The groups welcomed the researcher who then joined them and introduced the topics for discussion. The groups responded accordingly with quite lengthy discussions. This fit in with ethics approval because the procedures of the researcher introducing herself and her research, asking for consent of participants, requesting permission to join the discussion and record, assuring the anonymity of respondents and the non-obligation to participate/option to withdraw from the discussion at any time were duly adhered to. It aided in 'checking for consistency in the findings' (Schutt, 2009:345) from the various group discussions since several discussions were conducted on the same topic. The first of such groups consisted of men who were farmers as well as one businessman/buyer (of the farmers' produce) who

had come to visit them from Kumasi<sup>47</sup>. The second group consisted of men and women (who were farmers), the mix of which provided insight into how each conceptualised the issues surrounding the acquisition of land. Since the researcher came across these groups who had come together of their own accord, the researcher had no input in their selection but they were willing to participate given their welcome of the researcher. The non-selection and randomness<sup>48</sup> of participants in itself also served to enhance the range of perspectives on the subject. The issues that were discussed in this community included the awareness of large-scale land acquisitions in the neighbouring communities, the significance of land, the effects of the large-scale land acquisitions to the neighbouring communities and to them, out and in migration and community interaction. For all the focus group/group discussions, the particular themes were adopted since they would provide information that would answer the research questions. The focus group discussions are summarised in Table 3.4:

<b>COMMUNITY</b>	<b>FOCUS GROUP/GROUP DISCUSSION</b>
Ananekrom	2
Dukusen	1
Afrisere	5
<b>Total Focus Group/Group Discussions</b>	<b>8 Focus Group/Group Discussions</b>

Table 3.4: Summary of Focus Group Discussions Undertaken at Community Level

<sup>47</sup> Kumasi is the second largest city in the country and the regional capital of the Ashanti region.

<sup>48</sup> The randomness and non-selection of the participants in these groups was seen through their explanation of what they were doing. Notably in Ashanti when one goes either to visit or meet with an individual/group of people, the question often asked of the one is '*Ekwan so*'? This is translated from the Ashanti language *Twi* as '*what brings you here*' or '*when you were coming what happened on the way*'? Thus the one would give a detailed explanation of why they have come. Following this the individual/group of people (in a group, out of respect for age or deference to the males, the elder person or the male would be the one to ask) would also give a detailed explanation of what they were doing or what had transpired where they were. Thus such an exchange took place between the researcher and the gathered groups. It was through their explanation of what had transpired during the day for them and why they were sitting under a tree that the researcher learnt that it was the '*dabone*' (a day when per the Ashanti culture it is a taboo to go to the farm) hence they were gathered in the compound. Secondly one of their brothers had come from the city of Kumasi to buy yam but since he had not gotten the amount he desired he had stayed with them for a couple of days to visit. So the women would cook, they would all eat and then sit to discuss issues (Group Discussions at Afrisere, October 2017).

### **3.9 DOCUMENT REVIEWS**

Documentary research is a kind of social enquiry that uses documents as its source of data (Denscombe, 2014:225). As Marshall and Rossman (2016:164) point out, documents are often drawn on in qualitative study. Document review involves interpreting the document and looking for meanings or structures in the work (Denscombe 2014:226). Various kinds of documents can provide background information (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:164). These documents, which 'can exist as written text, digital communication or visual sources' (Denscombe, 2014:225) include 'company documents such as annual reports, mission statements, press releases' (Bryman 2012:550) and 'government publications and official statistics, records of meetings, website pages of government and non-government agencies' (Denscombe, 2014: 226). Patton (2002:293) notes that records, documents, artifacts and archives constitute a particularly rich source of information. Bryman (2012:549) also adds that the state is the source of a great deal of textual material of potential interest such as Acts of Parliament and official reports. Formal policy statements and the like are useful in developing an understanding of the organization, setting or group studied (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:164).

The decision to propose gathering and analyzing documents should be linked to the research questions (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:165). Documents were utilised as a method of gathering data within this research because it revolved around land and livelihoods. Within the Ghanaian context, land is a natural resource with a governmental ministry having specific oversight over it. Thus there are governmental documents concerning not only the agencies involved but also its administration, disposition and use. Insight into these documents was essential in understanding the institutional approaches, the land and therefore the possible manner in which land issues affected the local communities. Furthermore, through the governmental set up in the Ghanaian context, communities fall under districts and regions which are mandated to produce reports on demographic, socio-economic and other characteristics. Hence such district and regional reports were useful in eliciting information relating to the communities and their livelihoods. Consequently documents were used as a method of data gathering within this research. Moreover, documents were useful in that they served as a support/complement to other methods of data gathering.

In this study, documents were employed to 'provide background information and supplement interviewing and observation' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:164). The documents drawn on, such as the Asante Akim North District Assembly Medium Term Development Plan 2014 – 2017, the Environment Protection Agency Impact Assessments, the Government of Ghana bills, Acts of Parliament and institutional guidelines, were analysed to develop an understanding of the various stakeholders, localities and issues involved within the acquisition of large tracts of land in Ghana and the Ashanti Region in particular. In addition, the gathering and analysing of these documents helped in answering the research questions because they provided information on the communities under investigation, the ethnicities and their origins as well as the land types and land acquisitions in Ghana. Where the communities in question were concerned, information was gleaned about the demographic and socio-economic characteristics from which the impacts of acquisitions could be inferred. Notably, not all the documents accessed were produced after the land acquisitions. Some of the governmental documents were produced before the acquisitions. For example, the Ghana Statistical Service reports (which were in line with the 2010 Population and Housing Census) contained information which was useful for the study. Others, such as the Lands Commission Revised Guidelines for Large-Scale Land Transactions were produced after the acquisitions and pertained specifically to acquisitions. Furthermore, other documents shed light on the concept of land in Ghana. The governmental and non-governmental agency documents provided insight into institutional approaches and stances on land issues within the country from which the possible means by which land issues affect the local communities could be understood.

Despite their usefulness, 'documents and records have limitations – they may be incomplete or inaccurate' (Patton, 2002:306). Therefore in the utilization of documents, the question of the authenticity and legitimacy of the documents requires attention. The question of authenticity (evidence that the document is genuine and of unquestionable origin), credibility (freedom from error and distortion), representativeness (typical of its kind) and clarity and comprehensibility in meaning (Scott, 1990 cited in Bryman, 2012:544) where the documents are concerned need to be ascertained and ensured. Where this research was concerned, the practice adopted was to utilise state materials such as official reports, government agency reports and parliament bills, sourced from the various state agency offices and governmental websites in order to ensure the quality and authenticity of the documentation

being used. Notably, non-governmental perspectives were included and documents in this regard were also reviewed.

In the identification and use of these documents as sources of data consideration has been given to why they were produced and for whom they were produced not only for the sake of authenticity but also to ascertain their relevance to the research. As Bryman (2012:555) observes, documents are significant for what they were supposed to accomplish and who they are written for and 'they should be examined in terms of the context in which they were produced and in terms of their implied readership' (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011 cited in Bryman, 2012:554). The documents accessed were government institution texts produced in accordance with governmental directives for the production of these, for example the Asante Akim North District Medium Term Development Plan (DMTDP) 2014-2017 is noted in the Executive Summary to be 'a response to the constitutional provision which mandates Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) to prepare their DMTDP in line with the Medium Term Development Policy Framework' (AANDA, 2014:iii). The documents utilised give information on for example, the disposition of land in Ghana, population characteristics and socio-economic characteristics of the district under investigation. Hence they were used not only because they were authentic but also relevant to the research. The documents and policy reviews used in this research are detailed below:

- National Level
  - Draft Land Bill 2016
  - Draft Land Bill 2016 (Explanatory Memorandum)
  - Ministry of Lands and Forestry Ghana 2003; Emerging Land Tenure Issues
  - Lands Commission Revised Guidelines for Large-Scale land Transactions in Ghana 2017 (Draft)
  - Lands Commission Act 1994
  - Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS6) Main Report
  - Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS6) Labour Force Report
  - Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS6) Poverty Profile in Ghana
  - Ghana Chieftaincy Act 2008
  - Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census Non-Monetary Poverty in Ghana
  - Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census Demographic Social Economic Housing Characteristics

- Ghana Statistical Service 2015 Ghana Poverty Mapping Report
- Ghana Statistical Service Revised Gross Domestic Product 2014
- Ghana State of Environment Report 2004
- Regional Level
  - Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census Regional Analytical Report Ashanti Region
- District Level
  - Asante Akim North District Analytical Report 2014 – 2017
  - Asante Akim North District Medium Term Development Plan (2014 – 2017)
- Other Documents
  - Environmental Impact Assessment Requirements in Ghana
  - Constitution of the Republic of Ghana

### **3.10 OBSERVATION**

Observation is central to qualitative research and captures a variety of activities including both informally getting to know people via ‘hanging around’ the setting and learning the routines of the individuals and communities (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:143). As Yin (2014:114) points out, observational evidence is useful in providing additional information about the topic being studied. It is used to discover complex interactions in natural social settings (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:143) and it supplements data collected in an interview (Schutt, 2009:120). Furthermore, in order to ‘study people’s behaviour and their interaction with their environment, the observations and informal conversations of field studies will usually give more valid knowledge than merely asking subjects about their behaviour’ (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:115). According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996:206) a main advantage of observation is its directness; it enables researchers to study behaviour as it occurs and this enables the investigator to collect data first hand. Bryman (2012:494) also notes that observation can uncover unexpected topics or issues and ‘through direct observations the inquirer is better able to understand and capture the context within which people interact’ (Patton, 2002:284). Furthermore, first-hand experience with a setting and the people within the setting allows an inquirer to be open, discovery oriented and inductive because the observer has less need to rely on prior conceptualizations of the setting and there is the opportunity to see things that may routinely escape awareness among the people in the setting (Patton, 2002:284). For such reasons, observation is undertaken in this research. In addition, observation was appropriate for the research.

Denscombe (2014:209) discusses the suitability of events or behaviour for observation, noting that they should be relevant (the best indicators of the thing being investigated), overt (observable and measurable in a direct manner), obvious (require a minimum of interpretation by the researcher) and precise (there should be no ambiguity). Through interaction with the community members in each locality, the researcher noted that the behaviours and the interactions of the people provided an indication of what was being examined. Thus through witnessing how they lived, insight was gained into what was happening within their communities. Such information gave some indication of the community livelihoods, the effects of the large-scale land acquisitions, the livelihood implications and how the communities dealt with these. The possible effects to external communities were also indicated through observing what was happening in these communities and how they went about their daily lives.

Yin (2014:115) notes that photographs will help to convey important case characteristics to outside observers. Hall (2009:455) also points out that photography is seen as a way of collecting, recording and presenting data from the landscape, and it situates the researcher's own observation at the heart of the research process, promoting an active engagement with the subject studied. Mead (1963) summarized the central purpose of using cameras in social research: they allow detailed recordings of facts as well as providing a more comprehensive and holistic presentation of lifestyles and conditions (Flick, 2009:241). As such there was also the use of a camera and a number of pictures were taken in order to capture observations and data pictorially and present these visually. These were of the vegetation of the Ashanti region, the vegetation of the Northern region (where the majority of the migrant farmers hailed from), the community surroundings (but not community individuals), some farms, farm produce and the objects/containers used for measurements. Hall (2009:456) raises the ethical issue where photography is concerned by pointing out that while photography is effective at capturing details in the landscape, it is less effective, or at least more challenging, when people are the object of study and furthermore, photographing people without their knowledge or consent is an ethically questionable practice. In carrying out the observations the pictures taken focused on the landscapes and livelihoods and not the individuals. Where individuals were captured in pictures, these were taken with the researcher in the pictures as well and with the participants' consent.

Observation as a method of data gathering is beneficial. However it is not without its limitations. As Patton (2002:306) notes, the limitations of observations include the possibility that the observer may affect the situation being observed in unknown ways. For example participants may behave in some atypical fashion when they know they are being observed or the selective perception of the observer may distort the data. Observations are also limited in focusing only on external behaviours and they are often constrained by the limited sample of activities actually observed (Patton, 2002:306). It describes what happens but not why and it does not deal with the intentions that motivated the behaviour or factors that caused the events (Denscombe, 2014:212). Hence the employment of other methods. As Flick (2009:225) points out, triangulation of observations with other sources of data increase the expressiveness of the data gathered. For example, interviews would permit the observer to go beyond external behaviour to explore feelings and thoughts (Patton, 2002:306). Thus data was collected via other methods such as interviews in order to achieve corroboration, robustness and rigour of the fieldwork.

As previously discussed, three communities within the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti region served as the site for the fieldwork, inclusive of the observations. Through the process the researcher 'witnessed events at first hand and collected data concerning the real-life situations' (Denscombe, 2014:205). There was swift 'gaining of trust, establishing rapport and fostering insights' (Denscombe, 2014:217) as well as assimilation into the localities and interaction with the community members. This was because being a Ghanaian citizen and having lived in the Ashanti region, there was an appreciable knowledge of the indigenous language, culture and customs of the people within the region which enabled rapid integration into the communities. Access to the communities was made through the contacts established during the preliminary fieldwork phase and the community leaders such as the District Assembly officials, chiefs and principal elders were visited at the outset and the nature and purpose of the fieldwork and the research explained to them. Furthermore, prior to observation of the settings, the nature and purpose of the fieldwork was explained to any community members involved.

Observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events behaviours, interactions and artefacts in the social setting (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:143). The communities were observed with regards to their location, physical environment, the people present and the human-social environment. Other observations included the cultural environment,

ethnicities, livelihoods, farming/agricultural practices, land tenure systems, religious practices, relations with adjacent communities, daily activities and other events such as market days and the people who participate in the activities. Community member verbal and non-verbal behaviours and forms of communication, and how participants dress since 'these are often non-verbal cues about social norms and patterns' (Patton, 2002:290) were also witnessed in addition to 'who was involved, what was being done, how people went about what they did, where activities occurred, when activities occurred, the variations in how participants engaged in planned activities and the researcher's engagement in activities (Patton, 2002:285). The observations were noted down and 'recorded as field notes – detailed non-judgemental concrete descriptions of what has been observed and describing the contexts, behaviour witnessed and what happens' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:143; Denscombe, 2014:210,212).

### **3.11 REFLEXIVITY, POSITIONALITY, VALIDITY, RELIABILITY**

In the undertaking of research, a total disconnection from the research is not achievable given that the researcher is influenced by his or her perception. Qualitative research usually operates from the premise that total detachment on the part of the researcher is unattainable (even if deemed desirable) and that the individual who carries out research comprises an integral component of the entire process and product, as opposed to being a disembodied bystander with the capacity to provide an 'uncontaminated' account (Horsburgh, 2003:308). Qualitative researchers 'are integral to the social world they study' (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003:416) and they recognize that their perspective on social phenomena will reflect in part their own background and current situation (Schutt, 2009:318). The researcher perspective unknowingly influences the interviewee's responses and those responses also unknowingly influence the line of inquiry (Yin, 2014:112) hence who the researcher is and where he or she is coming from can affect what the research finds (Schutt, 2009:318). This therefore raises the question of reflexivity and the taking into account of the effect of the researcher perspective on the research. Reflexivity has been increasingly recognized as a crucial strategy in the process of generating knowledge by means of qualitative research and it is the self-appraisal in research (Berger, 2015:219,220). It refers to active acknowledgement by the researcher that her/his own actions and decisions will inevitably impact upon the meaning and context of the experience under investigation (Horsburgh, 2003:308). It means turning of the researcher lens back onto oneself to recognize and take responsibility for one's own situatedness within the research and the effect that it may have on the setting

and people being studied, questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretation (Berger, 2015:220).

Being reflexive about one's contribution as a researcher to the production of knowledge and attempting to gain insight into these unavoidable prejudices and write about them whenever it seems called for in relation to the research project (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:242) is essential. It helps identify and explicate potential or actual effect of personal, contextual, and circumstantial aspects on the process and findings of the study and maintain their awareness of themselves as part of the world they study (Mason, 1996; Porter, 1993 cited in Berger, 2015:221). Furthermore, as Schutt (2009:370) points out, confidence in the conclusions from a field research study is also strengthened by an honest and informative account about how the researcher interacted with subjects in the field, what problems he or she encountered and how these problems were or were not resolved. Consequently, researchers need to increasingly focus on self-knowledge and sensitivity; better understand the role of the self in the creation of knowledge; carefully self-monitor the impact of their biases, beliefs, and personal experiences on their research; and maintain the balance between the personal and the universal (Berger, 2015:220).

The position/perspective of the researcher is influenced by a number of factors. These include 'culture, age, gender, class, social status, education, family, political praxis, language, values' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:118). Furthermore, Denscombe (2014:189-190) notes that the data are affected by the personal identity of the researcher and in particular, the sex, age, and the ethnic origin of the interviewer have a bearing on the amount of information people are willing to divulge (detailed further below). Hence Denscombe (2014:190) advises that there is the need to consider whether the gender, ethnicity, social status, educational qualifications, and professional expertise of the people to be interviewed will affect the interviewer-interviewee relationship in a positive or negative way. In this research for instance, in engaging with the key informants at the District, Regional and National levels, the researcher's position of being educated and female probably gave much smoother access to the interviewees<sup>49</sup>. In addition there were no

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<sup>49</sup> In Ghana, generally, being well educated is highly respected. Hence when one presents a disposition indicating a high level of education, attention is usually paid to the person and their requests. For example, for the simple fact that the researcher entered offices and gave the introduction of pursuing a Ph.D. resulted in being attended to and the requests given attention. In conjunction with this is the positionality of being female. Being female and highly educated is much respected in Ghana. The fact that a female is pursuing a Ph.D. (from a Ghanaian perspective) is an achievement. Hence from this angle too, the researcher's requests were

suspicions regarding the research being undertaken since such officials were accustomed to being interviewed for research purposes. However, in carrying out interviews within the communities as an educated person, there was the possibility that the largely illiterate respondents could feel intimidated. There was also the possibility that the respondents would feel that the researcher was a government official who was coming to collect information to send back to the government or a middleman for a company acquiring land. Hence they would be suspicious and not willing to participate. One interviewee noted that *'sometimes there are people who.....these people who write [educated people] they are going round and some of them too are marketers for those collecting lands for people so when they come and learn/listen to the fact that there is space/room here then they come and enter and collect some [land] for people to come and buy; that is why I am asking [questions on researcher details such as name, school]* (Group Discussion at Afrisere, October 2017). In order to circumvent these constraints, the researcher endeavoured to use only the local language in conversation, create in-roads for discussion through engaging in unrelated conversation such as the cultural traditions of the area and to dress very simply. Indeed, one interviewee commented that *'when you (the community member) talk they (the officials) don't take it; only if you have put on a tie and a coat; ahaa; even you I am surprised that you have come here not wearing some of the coat'* (Group Discussion at Afrisere, October 2017).

Additionally, as an Ashanti carrying out interviews on land issues in predominantly Northern communities (albeit on Ashanti land), there was the possibility that the largely Northern respondents would feel hostile or intimidated given that they were sometimes seen as inferior to Ashantis; as one interviewee noted *'please apologies; they (Ashantis) take us Northerners like we are.....they see us as animals'* (Interview with Respondent in Dukusen, October 2017). In engaging with the interviewees at the community level, the researcher endeavoured to take on board what was said and probe further in order to appreciate the respondent viewpoint. The researcher was also sympathetic to the respondents' situations and engaged in conversation which encouraged them to bring out the issues to a greater extent given that 'respondents may be more willing to share their experiences with a researcher whom they perceive as sympathetic to their situation (De Tona, 2006 cited in Berger, 2015:220). Thus in engaging with the interviewees during the

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accommodated. Furthermore in Ghana one's physical appearance matters significantly. Hence being smartly/elegantly/stylishly dressed also paved the way for the researcher to be attended to.

fieldwork the approach adopted varied based on the perceived perspectives the participants had of the researcher.

Positionality played a significant role for the researcher where the study was concerned and in relation to the rural communities. The researcher possessed existing general knowledge of the ethnicities as well as the customs/ traditions and the cultural beliefs attached to the land. The researcher was also familiar with the workings within rural Ghana. This was with respect to the manner of greetings and approaching/speaking with the traditional authorities, the manner of introductions in terms of the need to give detailed accounts of why one had come to the community, the appropriateness of bringing gifts and the necessity of obtaining further information from the community members with regards to their particular customs. As such, the researcher was able to approach and engage with the traditional authorities and the rural folk in a manner in which they were at ease and very willing to give information. For example, on entering a community, the first call was made with the traditional authorities for the purposes of introduction and seeking permission. Furthermore, as per the traditional customs concerning visits (not only within the rural communities but within the region), a detailed account of the purpose of the visit was given to the traditional authorities – what the researcher was doing and why the researcher had come. Also for every subsequent visit to the community, a call would first be made to the traditional authorities to greet them. In addition, a gift of food (for these communities it was bread) would be given to the traditional authorities each time because per the general customs, one should not go empty handed before these authorities. Bread was given because even though not uncommon, it was not a staple diet of the farming communities hence not often consumed; thus it would be gladly received. The gift of food (bread) was also given to each interviewee after the interviews as a way of thanking them for their time. This was undertaken because it was acceptable (and generally oftentimes expected as per the customs) that the rendering of thanks would usually be accompanied by some gift. Furthermore, the researcher knew, as a result of existing knowledge of the workings within both the rural areas and Ghana generally, that such acts (giving of a gift as a way of saying ‘thank you’) would encourage cordial relations between the researcher and the community members. The fostering of such cordial relations would in turn allow for the community members to easily speak of their experiences to the researcher.

Furthermore, as noted earlier with respect to the focus group discussions, where the group discussion with the women in Ananekrom was concerned, some of them called out to some passers-by to come and join in the discussion, which would be typical in the rural settings. The researcher did not prevent these passers-by from joining, sharing their experiences and then leaving because per the researcher's knowledge of the workings within the villages, the researcher was aware that such interactions were the norm and to prevent the passers-by from contributing would be taken as being rude and offensive. Also, where one of the focus group discussions with men was concerned in Afrisere, the aim was to undertake a focus group discussion with a group of men who had migrated to Afrisere as a result of loss of access to land from the large-scale land acquisitions in the neighbouring communities. However the elder summoned all the available men and as a sign of respect to the elder (per their culture/custom) all who were around had to come for the group discussion even though the request had been made for particular people. The researcher appreciated and understood the customs and therefore respected the elder's directive. Hence the researcher did not request for any participants who did not fall into the desired category to withdraw. This perspective of respect also occurred with the very first focus group of men in Afrisere where as a sign of respect (per their culture/custom), a younger brother was silent throughout the discussion with contributions being made by the elder brother. The members of the focus group explained to the researcher that it was a part of their custom that within such a gathering the elder brother would talk whilst the younger brother kept silent. If the younger brother had a contribution to make, he would say it to the elder brother in their language and the elder brother would make the contribution. Consequently, the researcher gave due respect to the group of men and their customs by not engaging the younger brother.

Thus such actions (as a result of comprehension and appreciation of the terrain, the workings in rural areas and the customs/culture) allowed for the traditional authorities and the people to be very open and very receptive which in turn aided in the retrieval of information from them. There was also the knowledge of the local language which as previously noted was used in the discussions with the community members and which gave for more in-depth discussions as the communities' members were able to express themselves with ease. The positionality, as a result of the existing knowledge and appreciation of the customs, allowed for the researcher to conduct herself in a manner that was agreeable to the community members. This encouraged them to willingly yield

information, to give further pointers on whom the researcher could speak to and to arrange for others to meet with and speak to the researcher. Hence it aided the researcher's ability to elicit information.

Apart from reflexivity and positionality, another issue that arose with respect to the research concerned the establishment of validity. Validity refers, in ordinary language, to the truth, the correctness and the strength of a statement (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:246) and is 'the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers' (Hammersly, 1990 cited in Silverman, 2013:284). It pertains to the degree that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:246). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:249,251) maintain that to validate is to check and to question and as Denscombe (2014:297-298) points out, reassurances that the qualitative data have been produced and checked in accord with good practice include triangulation. Marshall and Rossman (2016:48) support this, noting that through triangulation using (data sources, methods, theories or researchers) the validity of specific knowledge claims is argued to be more robust. Hence in this research, validity was achieved through the 'use of multiple sources of evidence in a manner encouraging convergent lines of enquiry relevant during data collection and the establishment of a chain of evidence also relevant during data collection' (Yin, 2014:46). For instance, in order to elicit information on the access to and ownership of forestry reserve land, interviews were carried out with key informants at the regional level of the Forestry Commission. The correctness of the information received was proven when similar interviews were carried out with the key informants at regional level within the Environment Protection Agency, the Lands Commission and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, who by virtue of their responses corroborated the accounts given. In addition, information was elicited from individual interviewees at community level on the impacts of loss of access to land and the truth of the information received was demonstrated when similar information was obtained from the community level focus group discussions and the key informants at the district and regional level of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

Aside from the foregoing, there also arose the issue of reliability with respect to the research. Denscombe (2014:297) argues that credibility of qualitative research is not easily judged using criteria conventionally used for quantitative research given that it may be difficult to fully replicate a social setting. This is because for instance, in the replication, the same

people may not be available or the temporal context may be different. Consequently the question of the establishment of reliability arises. Reliability pertains to the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings and it is often treated in relation to the issue of whether a finding or the results of a study are repeatable/ reproducible at other times and by other researchers (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:245; Bryman, 2012:46). The objective is to be sure that if a later researcher follows the same procedures as described by an earlier researcher and conducts the same study over again the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions (Yin, 2014:48). According to Denscombe (2014:297), the researcher tends to be intimately involved in the collection and analysis of qualitative data so the prospects of some other researcher being able to produce identical data and arrive at identical conclusions are slim. However achieving reliability is not only a possibility but also a necessity to 'minimize the errors and biases in a study' (Yin, 2014:48). As such, Denscombe (2014:298) argues that even though in an absolute sense there is no way of knowing whether another researcher would get the same results and conclusions, the demonstration that the research reflects procedures and decisions that other researchers can see and evaluate in terms of how far they constitute reputable procedures and reasonable decisions can address this. Consequently for reliability to be calculated, the research process must be open for audit and it is incumbent on the researcher to spell out and document the procedures followed in great detail in order for replication to be possible (Denscombe 2014:298; Silverman, 2013:302; Yin, 2014:48; Bryman, 2012:47). For instance in this research, reliability was ensured through the detailed documentation of the methods employed and the methodological procedures followed in carrying out the fieldwork as per the preceding sections within the methodology chapter. In addition, there was a comprehensive documentation of the process for the analysis.

### **3.12 ETHICS**

The data collection methods that were employed in answering the research questions involved human beings. The human involvement stemmed from the fact that the research concerned large-scale land acquisitions and the effects to the individuals who lived on and off the land. Within the Ghanaian setting where land is especially important for its contribution to the livelihoods and sustenance of rural communities this was more acute. Therefore concerning this research, 'ethical scrutiny was required and the investigations were expected to be conducted in a way that protected the interests of the participants, ensured that participation was voluntary and based on informed consent, avoided deception,

operated with scientific integrity and complied with the laws of the land' (Denscombe, 2014:309). The ensuing discussion details the requirements put in place to adhere to ethical standards and the achievement of this.

In order to adhere to ethical standards the data collection should entail 'voluntary participation and the right to withdraw, protection of research participants, assessment of potential benefits and risks to participants, obtaining informed consent and not doing harm' (Silverman, 2013:161). The prospective research participants should be given as much information as might be needed to make an informed decision about whether or not they wish to participate in a study (Bryman, 2012:138) and anonymity and confidentiality in relation to the recording of information and the maintenance of records should be ensured (Bryman, 2012:143). In addition, care should be taken before the interview situation to have a clear understanding with the interviewees about the later use and probable publication of their interviews possibly in a written agreement (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:272). Furthermore, there should be 'care over maintaining confidentiality of records – the identities and records of individuals should be maintained as confidential' (Bryman, 2012:136).

With regards to the fieldwork and data collection for this research, first of all an ethics application was submitted for approval prior to commencement on fieldwork. Once on site, prior to access to the various communities, permission was sought from the District Assemblies concerning the fieldwork to be undertaken with full disclosure on the nature of the fieldwork; that is, the interviews, the focus group/group discussions, the observations and the field notes. Upon entering the communities, the chief/principal elder was first sought out and permission to carry out the interviews and group discussions was obtained in addition to the provision of full disclosure on the nature of the fieldwork and the nature of the research as well as information on the researcher (name, programme and area of study). Informed consent was obtained from the participants of the focus group/group discussions and the interviews in addition to the provision of full information on the research, the fieldwork being undertaken, the type of questions and the option to abstain or withdraw from an interview or focus group discussion. Permission was also sought from participants prior to taking pictures relating to their livelihoods (farms) and relating to the observations that were undertaken. Permission was also sought with explanations given prior to the use of a Dictaphone.

Where the interviews at District, Regional and National level were concerned, full disclosure on the nature of the fieldwork and the nature of the research as well as the identity of the researcher was granted to the senior officials. Informed consent was obtained, permission sought and explanation given before the Dictaphone was employed. In cases where the senior official requested the non-use of the Dictaphone, notes were taken down by hand. The participants were informed of their right to withdraw as well as their protection through the use of numbers and letters to identify the interviews and not the use of their names or positions. Participants were also granted the option to read through their transcribed interviews and give their consent of the discussion as a true reflection before being used by the researcher. The recorded data was stored on pendrives, the researcher's laptop and the university (Trinity College Dublin) desktop during the process of the research with the intention to delete thereafter. Hard copies of the data collected were also shredded.

### **3.13 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

Analysis is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain why those patterns are there in the first place (Bernard and Ryan, 2010:109). In qualitative data analysis the analyst is involved in 'identifying patterns, themes, and categories in the data' (Patton 2002:453) through which findings can emerge. Such a close inspection is used to 'discover, explore and generate an increasingly refined conceptual description of the phenomena (Rapley, 2011:276). The social context of events, thoughts and actions also become essential for interpretation (Schutt, 2009:358). In the light of this, the analysis of the research data is undertaken via a qualitative content analysis through 'analysis of text, data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings' (Patton, 2002:453). The basis for content analysis is that the text is segmented into chunks that conform to a set of themes and the themes are analysed qualitatively or quantitatively (Bernard and Ryan, 2010:192).

#### *3.13.1 Organisation of Data*

The analysis commenced with organisation of the data that was collected. Data was collected at community, district, regional and national levels and within the traditional hierarchy at community authority, traditional authority, regional and national levels. The transcripts of the community level interviews and focus group discussions undertaken were clustered according to these levels namely under each community (Ananekrom, Dukusen, Afrisere). The collation of the key informant interviews were also assembled under the

various levels – National, Regional, District and Traditional Authority with the same procedure adopted for the documents (National, Regional, District levels and other relevant documents).

### *3.13.2 Immersion*

Following this, 'immersion in the data' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:217) was undertaken through 'reading and re-reading through the data' (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:217) given that the more the researcher interacts with the data the more patterns and categories begin to "jump out" (Patton, 2002: 446). Thus in-depth knowledge of the data to understand what the data is saying was achieved through reading the transcripts a number of times, initially browsing through to get first impressions and making notes of impressions.

### *3.13.3 Coding and Categorising*

A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (Saldana, 2016:4). Codes can either be concept driven (uses codes that have been developed in advance by the researcher either by looking at some material or by consulting existing literature in the field) or data driven (the researcher starts out without codes and develops them through readings of the material) (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:202). In the analysis coding was driven by the data, hence the codes were developed through engaging with the data to ascertain and interpret what would emerge. The criteria for coding was anything that stood out as significant; significant because it was mentioned/echoed in many places, noticeable, an analytic idea, unusual, an event, the interviewee emphasised on it or similar insights/ perceptions/ theories/ concepts were encountered whilst engaging with the literature. This was inclusive of 'participants narratives/stories, behaviours, values, interpretations, situations, relationships and states of mind; methodological issues; researcher's views; settings/environments; metaphors and similes or setting related language' (Grbich, 2013:262). Also in order to identify the codes, questions were asked of the data such as 'what is going on, what are people doing, what is the person saying, what do these actions and statements take for granted, how does structure and context serve to support, maintain, impede or change these actions and statements' (Charmaz, 2003:94-95 cited in Grbich, 2013:262). Since we bring 'our subjectivities, our personalities, our predispositions and our quirks' (Sipe and Ghiso, 2004:

483) to the process, all coding is a judgement call (Saldana, 2016:8). Saldana (2016:5) further notes that depending on the researcher's academic discipline, ontological and epistemological orientations, theoretical and conceptual frameworks and even the choice of coding method itself, some codes can attribute more evocative meanings to data. Thus in conjunction with the above, codes also arose from the researcher's perspective of the issues emanating from the data.

Marshall and Rossman (2016:222) maintain that whilst coding, the researcher compares the codes assigned to events, behaviours and words seeking patterns, commonalities and differences. Initial codes are grouped along conceptual categories that reflect commonalities among codes. Thereafter the researcher 'soon starts to generate theoretical properties of the category' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:106 cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2016:222). The examining of 'how these elements are linked together' (Silverman, 2013:247) is established through 'classifying the various components of the data under key headings and identifying where there is sufficient congruence between them to allow some to be merged and others to be brought together within a broader category' (Denscombe, 2014:287-288). The coding of the data was undertaken manually with sections, key words and phrases of the transcripts being labelled. The codes under each interviewee/focus group were then merged into clusters based on patterns that emerged from how they grouped together, following on from which the groups of clusters were labelled as categories.

#### *3.13.4 Analytic Memo Writing*

Marshall and Rossman (2016:222) note that by writing memos, the researcher assembles thoughts about how a story of events, behaviours or sentiments seem to have meanings and these can be used as building blocks in the analysis. Furthermore, with the researcher's theoretical memos, the researcher explores the ways the theory and related literature do or do not explain and lend meaning to the emerging data (Marshall and Rossman, 2016:222). Analytic memo writing documents reflections on: the researcher coding processes and code choices; how the process of inquiry is taking shape; and the emergent patterns, categories and sub-categories, themes and concepts in the data (Saldana, 2016:44). Future directions, unanswered questions, frustrations with the analysis, insightful connections, and anything about the researched and the researcher are acceptable comment for memos (Saldana, 2016:45). During the process of coding, categorising and the eliciting of themes, analytic memo writing was also carried out through documentation of the observations that were

'jumping out' during these processes, reflections on patterns that seemed to emerge as well as concepts in the data that had parallels in literature or theory.

### *3.13.5 Eliciting of Themes*

Themes were elicited from the categories. Discovering themes is important because 'it is the basis of much social science research and without thematic categories investigators have nothing to describe, nothing to compare and nothing to explain' (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:85-86). In the discovering of themes there is a 'shift on focus from what is said by participants, what the researcher observed them doing or what the researcher read in a text (the level of description and summary) to exploring and explaining what is 'underlying' or to 'distil' essence, meaning, norms, orders, patterns, rules, structures (the level of concepts and themes) (Rapley, 2011:276). Themes were sought for in a number of ways. Firstly there was the lookout for repetitions. Repetition is one of the easiest ways to identify themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:89) and topics that recur again and again are one of the most common criteria for establishing that a pattern within a data warrants being considered a theme (Bryman, 2012:580). Patterns become more trustworthy evidence for findings since patterns demonstrate habits, salience and importance in people's daily lives and they help confirm descriptions of people's "five R's": routines, rituals, rules, roles and relationships (Saldana, 2016:6). There was the lookout for transitions, that is, naturally occurring shifts in content (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:90). Similarities and differences were also employed, through 'exploring how interviewees might discuss a topic in different ways, asking how they differ' (Bryman, 2012:580) and making systematic comparisons across units of data (Ryan and Bernard, 2003:91).

Ryan and Bernard (2003:90) note that in pioneering work, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observed that people often represent their thoughts, behaviours and experiences with analogies and metaphors. They further add that metaphors, transitions and connectors are all part of a native speaker's ability to grasp meaning in a text and by making these features more explicit the ability to find themes is sharpened. The semi-structured interviews at the community level across three communities were conducted in the local *Akan* dialect *Asante Twi*. The *Akan* style of formal speech is replete with honorifics, proverbs, metaphors and ornate expressions and is contrived to control the power of the spoken word as well as reinforce the existing social and political order (Yankah, 1991:47). Furthermore 'like in most African cultures, proverbs (which can be a metaphor, allusion, idiom, euphemism, and folk

tale and always has a didactic significance) are the main ingredients in the Akan language' (National Commission on Culture, undated). Thus 'how participants represent their thoughts in terms of metaphors, analogies, indigenous typologies, categories or local expressions that are unfamiliar or used in unfamiliar ways' (Bryman, 2012:580) as well as linguistic connectors were employed in addition to the use of theory-related material to discover themes. An index of central themes was constructed (Bryman, 2012:578) as well as sub-themes from the categories. Similar to the coding and categorising, the eliciting of the themes was undertaken manually through immersion in the data.

### *3.13.6 Topics from Interview Areas*

An interview guide if carefully conceived, actually constitutes a descriptive analytical framework for analysis and with an interview guide approach answers from different people can be grouped by topics from the guide (Patton, 2002:440). Therefore as an additional aid to the analysis, the interview questions used in the gathering of the data were amalgamated under topics that they depicted with responses to the interview questions (elicited from the transcripts) being grouped around these topics. This was carried out firstly to ascertain what each group of people were saying (community; national, regional, district and traditional authority) as direct responses to the interviews. It then took an in-depth look at the responses based on group discussions and type of agency (ministry, traditional setting) and thirdly served to compare and contrast with the themes being elicited to determine where there was convergence and divergence.

### *3.13.7 Interpretation*

The themes (from the coding and categorising) and the topics (from the interview areas) were brought together and merged where appropriate. They were then arranged with the aid of an excel spreadsheet and examined through the lens of

- What was being inferred in the transcripts (and documents)
- The discourse in existing literature
- The theories on ethnicity, the moral economy and reciprocity
- The researcher's inquiry of the above.

Silverman (2013:261) maintains the need to examine 'how the data are contextualized in particular organizational settings, the social processes or sets of experiences in addition to dividing the data into different sets and comparing the data with itself. Hence an

interpretation of the findings is achieved through ‘attaching significance to what was found, making sense of findings, offering explanations, drawing conclusions, extrapolating lessons, making inferences, considering meanings and otherwise imposing order on an unruly but surely patterned world (Patton, 2002:480). This is in addition to probing into the meaning and the ‘nature of the phenomenon of interest and moving beyond description to explain why, make comparisons, consider causes, consequences and relationships’ (Patton, 2002:477 – 479). Thus in the analysis of the data, the information under each theme was described; reasons, relationships and significance considered; explanations offered and insights and interpretations made not only along the lines of what was happening but more importantly why it was happening. After each element was discussed separately, how they connected and weaved complexly together (Saldana, 2016:287) was addressed. This sought to, in essence, ‘transcend the “particular reality” of the data and progress towards the thematic, conceptual and theoretical’ (Saldana, 2016:14).

### **3.14 CONCLUSION**

In the undertaking of research, a number of processes are utilised. Hence this chapter sought to elaborate on the processes by which the research questions would be answered. The study seeks to examine the real life issue of the livelihood implications of land acquisitions. Hence a qualitative approach was applied, the rationale of which was drawn out through the quantitative/qualitative debate and the philosophical assumptions brought to the research. The research strategy was introduced, followed by a consideration of triangulation since the research utilised varied methodological approaches to achieve accuracy and credibility. The chapter also discussed the case study approach adopted and the methodological tools employed for the data collection. This was followed up with a consideration of reflexivity, positionality, validity and reliability given the researcher’s situatedness and the approach adopted. The data collection methods employed involved human beings. Therefore ethical scrutiny was of necessity and as such the requirements put in place to adhere to ethical standards and the achievement of this was then considered. Finally there was a discussion on the processes employed to interpret and analyse the data obtained from the fieldwork. The results and analysis of the data gathered from the fieldwork forms the subject of the ensuing chapter and it is to this that the discussion turns next.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4 THE LAND OF THE CHIEFS AND THE LAND OF THE STATE – THE DISAGGREGATION OF LIVELIHOOD IMPLICATIONS**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The livelihood implications of large-scale land acquisitions have been the focus of much research and analysis. However the question remains as to whether there is differentiation in the impacts, and if so along which lines. Contrary to prevailing generalisations, livelihood outcomes are likely to be differentiated by groups of people, so research needs to disaggregate analysis of socio-economic outcomes to a greater extent than has so far been the case (Cotula et al., 2014:920). Within a single country, there is no reason to think that the drivers and impacts of land grabbing will be uniform (Kenney-Lazar, 2012 and Shi, 2008 cited in Suhardiman et al., 2015:195). It is possible that the tenure system may not be homogenous across a locality. There may be differing tenure types. Hence the livelihood outcomes could possibly be segregated according to the land systems in place. Consequently, this chapter interrogates whether the livelihood effects are differentiated by people groups and land types. The people groups and land types are within Ghana and specifically communities within the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti Region. A contextual background is provided through exploring the political economy of land within the context of Ghana and the communities in the study. Subsequently the livelihood implications within each land type are interrogated to elicit the differentiated impacts. Ethnicity is also used as a lens to interrogate differentiated effects across the groups in the communities. Finally the options arising following the livelihood impacts are examined in order to explore how people address their situations following loss of access to land and to ascertain whether this contributes to the emergence of effects in the adjacent community.

The chapter is divided into ten sections. The first section on the political economy of land in Ghana explores the concept and importance of land. It sheds light on the disposition of land within the Ghanaian context and provides a basis for understanding the relationship between social groups and the land which impinges on the livelihood implications. Section two examines the definitions and dimensions of large-scale land acquisitions where Ghana is concerned. It highlights the varied definitions and scales ascribed to land acquisitions. The third section discusses the political economy of Ananekrom and Dukusen; detailing the state/forestry land and customary land trajectories in relation to the acquisition of land. Such

contextual background aids in the understanding of the differentiated effects to the different land types. Section four examines the livelihood impacts arising from the state/forestry and the customary land acquisitions. Section five delves into who is impacted and why from an ethnic perspective. The presence and position of the non-indigene are examined in sections six and seven from the perspective of their ownership status where community lands are concerned. Section eight interrogates whether or not the non-indigene is affected to a greater degree by land appropriation given the non-indigene's status within the community and position with respect to land ownership concluding that livelihood impacts are differentiated along ethnic lines. Section nine considers where these effects are taking place, raising the issue of whether the impacts are differentiated based on location. This is examined in detail, with the argument that the impacts are different across the tenure types. Finally the chapter concludes with an investigation into the alternative livelihood options taken following the loss of access to land.

## **4.2 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LAND IN GHANA**

### *4.2.1 The Concept of Land in Ghana*

In most African economies, which continue to rely heavily on agriculture and natural resources for a significant share of gross domestic product (GDP), national food needs, employment and export revenue, land is at the heart of social, political and economic life (Commission for Africa, 2005a cited in Toulmin, 2008:10). In Ghana, there is the 'underlying principle that land is a natural resource which originally belonged to a particular community or group' (MOFA, 2018:16). Man/woman's role is one of stewardship; to preserve land for future generations (Ollenu, 1962 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:21). Culturally through the centuries, land has been perceived as a communal property that defined a community's geographic extent, its economic strength and its socio-cultural heritage (MOFA, 2018:16). It was originally obtained 'through one (or a combination) of the following: discovery and uninterrupted settlement; conquest through war and subsequent settlement; gift from another land-owning group or traditional overlord; and purchase from another land-owning group (Ollenu, 1962 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:59). Because of its intimate association with fertility, land is regarded as female<sup>50</sup> (Lentz, 2010:63) and notably human characteristics are

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<sup>50</sup> Within the Ghanaian culture land is perceived as female – this is what was passed down the generations from the forefathers. Food is obtained from the land and hence it is seen as female because it is perceived to produce and provide. Within Ashanti, land is called by the name 'Asase Yaa'. 'Asase' is the direct translation of the word 'land' from the Ashanti language *Twi* whilst Yaa is the name given to an Ashanti female born on Thursday.

ascribed to it. As such in the interviews conducted, the land was described as having 'strength', being 'weak', being 'tired' or being 'dead' (translation from the local language Asante Twi – *'ahoɔden, mmrɛ, abrɛ, awu'* respectively). It is widely believed that it is an ancestral trust which should not be sold (Gildea, 1964:102; Agbosu, 2000:13 cited in Mireku et al., 2016:150). The *Asantehene*, the king of the Asante Kingdom, affirmed this in 1971 when he declared, "the lands in Ashanti are not for sale; it is against tradition and custom to sell any land in Ashanti" (Woodman, 1996:64 cited in Mireku et al., 2016:150). Article 267(5) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana provides that "no interest in, or right over, any stool land in Ghana shall be created which vests in any person or body of persons a freehold interest howsoever described". Thus, as Mireku et al. (2016:150) suggest, this belief (that lands are not for sale) has been given a constitutional backing and this prohibition is intended to keep stool (customary) lands within the lineage of the stools (chiefs) where future members would not be deprived through any outright alienation. Any sale or purchase of land must be under the form of a long-term lease, typically a period of 50 or 99 years, after which the law states that the land must return to the original owner of the land (Fred-Mensah, 1999 cited in Lambrecht and Asare, 2016:257). Notably, although the Constitution prohibits the sale of customary land and only allows leases, nearly everyone speaks of the "selling" of land and many people, "sellers" as well as "buyers," seem to regard land allocations for residential purposes as definitive transfers (Ubink and Quan, 2008:199).

Ghana as a country has a land tenure system which reflects the unique traditional political organizations, socio-cultural differences and attributes of the various tribes, clans and families (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:7). As noted earlier, land in Ghana is classified into public land<sup>51</sup> and customary land. 'Customary lands form about seventy-eight percent (78%) of the total land area in Ghana. Of the remaining twenty-two percent (22%), the state owns outright about twenty percent (20%) where only statute law is applied to land management. The remaining two percent (2%) is held in a dual relationship where the state takes over the management responsibility for the land while the customary owners retain

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<sup>51</sup> In Ghana, there are two categories of public lands – state lands and vested lands. State land refers to land which has been compulsorily acquired by the government [for a specified public purpose or in the general public interest] by the lawful exercise of its constitutional or statutory power of eminent domain under the State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125) or other relevant statute (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:1; Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:11). Vested land refers to land which has been vested in the President, in trust for a landholding community under the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:1). It is a unique situation brought about by statutory intervention where the landowner retains the customary land ownership but the management of the land is taken over by the State in trust for the owners (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:11). The legal title is transferred to the state, whilst the beneficial interests rest with the community (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:1).

the ownership of the land' (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:4). Customary lands have a common trait of communal<sup>52</sup> ownership (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:12). They are guided by the customary tenets of: inter-generational ownership; land held in trust by the head of the community for the entire members of the community; clan or family and the belief that land is owned by the dead, living and those yet unborn (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:12). Within this category are stool, skin, clan and family lands. Communities are represented by stools, skins and families (chiefs<sup>53</sup> represent stools and skins which symbolise the community in certain areas) and 'Tendamba'<sup>54</sup>. In the South of Ghana, a stool<sup>55</sup> means the seat of a chief of an indigenous state (sometimes of a head of family) which represents the source of authority of the chief (or head of family) (National Land Policy, Ministry of Lands, Accra 1999 cited in Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:13). It is regarded as an immortal entity<sup>56</sup>, represents the spiritual and physical embodiment of the people and the occupant of the stool holds land on behalf of and in trust for the entire subjects of the stool (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:12). Customary land in the south of Ghana is therefore termed 'stool land'. In the North, the symbol is that of a skin of a cow or a sheep; where land is vested in chiefs in northern Ghana it is known as 'skin land' among the tribes of northern Ghana (Arko-Adjei, 2011:6). Stool/skin land, according to Article 295(1) of the 1992 Constitution, includes any land or interest in, or right over, any land controlled by a stool or skin, the head of a particular community or the leader/head of a company<sup>57</sup>, for the benefit of the subjects of that stool/skin or the members of that community or company (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992). A number of traditional groups are also

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<sup>52</sup> The customary "community" does not include all people living in a geographical unit such as a village, but only the indigenous people. The fact that the customary land tenure system in Ghana can be called "communal" does not imply common ownership of all resources and collective production. Instead it signifies that a person has to be a member of the group to qualify for an allocation of land for residence and cropping, and rights of access to common pool resources (Ubink, 2007:230).

<sup>53</sup> The term 'chief' (*ohene*) can denote traditional leaders at various hierarchical levels, from heads of one village (*odikro*) to divisional chiefs (*ohene*) to paramount chiefs (*omanhene*) who rule an entire traditional area consisting of dozens of villages, to in the Ashanti region the *Asantehene*, king of *Asanteman* (Ubink, 2007:228).

<sup>54</sup> Most communities in northern Ghana both have a chief and a Tendana; the Tendana, also called Tendamba, is the spiritual caretaker of the land; the Tendana takes care of the land, the chief takes care of the people (Lambrecht and Asare, 2016: 256).

<sup>55</sup> It is a community governance structure similar to chieftaincies or dynasties in other cultures. The term, similar in use to 'throne' of England's royalty or 'chair' of a committee, refers at once to the administrative structure and the actual chair on which the community leader sits. It is a symbol of unity and its responsibilities devolve upon its living representatives, the chief and his councillors (National Land Policy, Ministry of Lands, Accra 1999 cited in Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:13). The stool is also believed to contain the souls of the ancestors (Ubink 2007:228).

<sup>56</sup> Culturally/traditionally in Ghana per the beliefs and because it has a spiritual connotation, the stool/skin is regarded as living and immortal.

<sup>57</sup> Company is not in the Western sense of a corporate body but rather in the cultural/traditional sense of a people group. Culturally/traditionally the people who usually accompany a chief/head whether to war or to visit another dignitary are the company in the sense that they 'accompany' the head.

scattered throughout Ghana, which do not recognise stools or skins as symbols of communal land ownership and in such cases, the traditional arrangement is normally that of the vesting of land ownership in the clan, family or individual; that is, the allodial title holders are families, clans or village communities (National Land Policy, 1999 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:6; Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:13).

Within a customary land tenure system, 'people's access to land and other natural resources depended on their membership to and status within a particular group wielding political control over the land; kinship and ethnic adherence along with status, gender and seniority determined access and use rights' (Berry, 1989; Migot-Adholla and Bruce, 1994:5 cited in Lund, 2000:5). Theoretically, customary tenure systems are grounded in two basic principles (Pottier, 2005 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:21). First, every indigene, by virtue of his or her membership of the group has access to land (Arko-Adjei, 2011:21). The second principle, which is described as 'probably equally ancient' (Pottier, 2005 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:21), is the recognition of an individual's right to anything that he or she has created in land, whether this is a homestead or field<sup>58</sup>. Such a right can be inherited according to the regular rules governing the inheritance of private property and these rights in improved land can thus become the particular rights of an individual and can be transferred to another in the lifetime of the right-holder (Arko-Adjei, 2011:21). In general, families enjoy fairly well-defined spatial and temporal rights of use over parcels of cultivated land, which are then transmitted to succeeding generations in accordance with the prevailing rules of succession, usually through inheritance (Migot-Adholla and Bruce, 1994 cited in Arko-Adjei, 2011:21). People from outside the community do not have rights to communal land, even though they may acquire land for farming by entering into a contractual agreement with the chief or the traditional head for a period of time (Kasanga et al., 1996 cited in Antwi-Agyei et al., 2015:204).

In addition to the tenure systems are the interests in land. In Ghana, the 'interest' in land refers to the right to use, occupy and alienate the land<sup>59</sup> and the interests held in land are either derived from Ghanaian customs and traditions or assimilated from English Common Law and Equity (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:8). A number of interests in land exist

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<sup>58</sup> Notably the land is communally owned however the individuals have portions which are respected as theirs to farm *ad infinitum* (provided they have descendants to pass it on to) hence the right to anything they have created on that parcel of land which is respected as their portion.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Lands Commission Ashanti Region, August 2016.

for example, the Allodial Interest<sup>60</sup>. The most relevant interests for the purposes of this study are the usufructory interest and the lesser interests (customary tenancies). Lesser interests (customary tenancies) can be created under customary law by holders of an allodial title, customary freehold or common law freehold; these are usually share-cropping<sup>61</sup> contractual arrangements by which a tenant farmer gives a specified portion of the produce of the farm to the landlord each harvest time (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:9,10). The two best known of such tenancies are the ‘*abunu*’ (the produce is shared 50:50) and ‘*abusa*’ (one-third to the land owner and two-thirds to the farmer) (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:9,10). In the communities studied, these customary tenancies of *abunu* and *abusa* were sometimes opted for in place of monetary remuneration when land was hired. The payment with either part of the harvest (*abunu/abusa*) or in monetary form was dependent upon the terms agreed upon between the land ‘owner’ and the one hiring the land. As explained by one respondent,

*‘For someone he/she will not collect money from you but you will share the proceeds (from the harvest) .....if you want to pay money alternatively he/she can charge you about one million (100 GHC approximately USD<sup>62</sup> 23) .....for one acre.....yes [every year].....but if you don’t have money to hire or for someone he will say as for me I don’t like hiring (out land) or sometimes ‘cultivate and lets share’; someone too is there he will say he doesn’t like ‘cultivate and lets share’ I need money; if you have*

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<sup>60</sup> The term allodial in its original sense means land free from the tenurial rights of a feudal lord. In practice in Ghana, it refers to the fundamental land rights holder. For example, land reverts to its allodial holder, typically a chief and elders acting in behalf of the community upon termination of an individual’s usufruct (Kasanga et. al., 1996:4). It is the highest proprietary interest known to customary law, beyond which there is no superior title; it is sometimes referred to as the paramount or absolute title and has been likened to the freehold interest, as the concept is understood in English common law (CDD, 2002 cited in Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:9). The allodial title is vested in the head of the land owning group who manages it on behalf of the community with the consent and concurrence of the principal members of the community (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:9).

<sup>61</sup> Sharecropping is generally explained as an arrangement in which the tenant pays a predetermined share of the harvest to the respective landowner (Ellis, 1993 cited in Lambrecht and Asare, 2016:258). Such arrangements occur frequently for annual crops such as maize or cassava. However, other variations in sharecropping arrangements are common, especially for tree crops. In a first sharecropping variation, after the establishment of the farm by the tenant, the trees are divided in two equal parts. These two equal parts are then independently managed by landlord and tenant. As long as the trees remain on the farm, the tenant has full control over that land. Upon his death, the trees can be inherited by his relatives. Once the trees die, the land returns to the landowner. In a second variation, the land is shared rather than the trees. This means that the land remains with the tenant, even after the trees die (Takane, 2002 cited in Lambrecht and Asare, 2016:258).

<sup>62</sup> United States Dollar was equivalent to 4.40 Ghana Cedis mid October 2017.  
<https://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GHS&date=2017-10-16>

*money then you negotiate with him then you hire' (Interview with Community Member DUR9; Dukusen, October 2017<sup>63</sup>).*

The usufructory interest is an interest held as of right by members of such a community who acquire it by first cultivation or by allotment from the land owning group of which they are members; this interest, so long as it is held and exercised by an indigene, assumes indefinite duration and prevails against the whole world<sup>64</sup> including the allodial titleholder, the only caveats being that the land must not be abandoned and the members' lineage must not become extinct (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:9,10). Thus rights to rural land in many areas stem from the first settlers, who cleared the land and converted it from bush to field (first cultivation) and commonly, these rights pass down through the male or female line, so that current occupants can say: "this land belongs to me and my family because my great-great-great grandfather settled here and started farming" (Toulmin, 2008:11). Such a situation existed in the communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen where the indigenes, that is the Ashantis 'owned'<sup>65</sup> the customary land or the land 'belonged' to them because they held the usufructory rights. In essence, their ancestors were the first ones to work on particular parcels of land and hence the land as it were remained in the family and passed down the generations. As explained by one Traditional Authority,

*'For someone [indigene] it is the grand/great grand/great great grand parent who came to farm; as for where the person's ancestor came to farm that person then inherits that portion' (Interview with Dukusen Traditional Authority, August 2017).*

On the other hand, as Toulmin (2008:12) explains, investment of effort in the land may generate the basis for a claim and such rights associated with "land to the tiller" policies may contradict other rights, particularly those based on first settlement. Tensions can arise between those who claim first settlement rights and those claiming rights through long

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<sup>63</sup> Interviews and Focus Group Discussions with communities were undertaken in the local Ashanti language *Twi* and translated to English.

<sup>64</sup> Where there is the usufructory interest in the land, the particular parcel(s) is/are respected as the individual (s). Acquisition of land can occur but should be with the consent of the usufruct (the one with the rights) and there should be remuneration/compensation for the use of the land. Thus where such (consent) does not occur the usufruct can stand their ground and fight for the land.

<sup>65</sup> In the discussion, inverted commas have been used with reference to the ownership of the land – that is land is 'owned' or 'belongs' to people. When a person's/family's ancestors were the first to clear and cultivate a portion of land it was then respected as their portion and passed down the generations to the current individual/family. The land is actually respected as their portion to use *ad infinitum* however the terms often used are that the land belongs to them or they own the land.

occupation as tenants, for example areas where there are substantial numbers of incoming migrant farmers (Toulmin, 2008:12). This distinction between the rights of original settlers and those of more recent arrivals is illustrated by the Ashanti of Ghana, who say “long occupation can never ripen into ownership”, while the Bambara of Mali also affirm that “a log may stay a long time in the water, but it never turns into a crocodile” (Toulmin, 2008:12). Correspondingly, the Northerners in the communities under study understood and accepted this principle of ‘non-citizenship’ in spite of long stay. Hence all of the Northerners interviewed (eighteen in Ananekrom and eleven in Dukusen) maintained that they were ‘visitors/ migrants/ foreigners/ strangers’. As explained by one respondent,

*‘Every time you are a visitor (migrant) [you are always seen as a migrant]; you can reach 100 years they [Ashantis] will still say you are a visitor.....so every time you are a visitor’ (Interview with Community Member DUR2; Dukusen, September 2017).*

They also accepted that they did not ‘own’ land in Ashanti and the land ‘belonged’ to the indigenes. As noted by one respondent and confirmed by a key informant at the Traditional Council,

*‘One thing too that is there is that in this town it is the indigenes who have the land so if you are a visitor you don’t have land’ (Interview with Community Member ANR3; Ananekrom, September 2017).*

*‘One thing is every family [indigenes] has got land, every family within our traditional area has got land’ (Interview with Senior Official, Agogo Traditional Council, October 2017).*

In like manner, where the land in the North was concerned, it ‘belonged’ to the Northerners as noted by one respondent: ‘As for there [North], our own land someone cannot come for it’.<sup>66</sup> Notably, the indigenous land tenure and management system continues to operate and provide land for many people and purposes; it has wider coverage than the state system and dominates particularly in rural areas and for agricultural purposes (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:26).

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with Community Member ANR17; Ananekrom, October 2017.

#### 4.2.2 *The Importance of Land in Ghana*

The agricultural sector contributes significantly to the Ghanaian economy (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014c:102). This is in spite of a decline in its share of gross domestic product (GDP) from 29.8% to 20.3% in the five-year period spanning 2010 to 2015 (MOFA, 2018:xi). The sector contributes to employment. Farming itself is predominantly rural, with 82.5 percent of households in rural areas involved (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014c:102). Agriculture plays a vital role in Ghana's economy, impacting poverty reduction and being critical for rural development (MOFA, 2018:4). A key resource where agriculture is concerned is land and thus the land inherently plays a significant part in the Ghanaian economy.

As a resource, land is a form of natural capital which, as noted by Scoones (1998:7), refers to the natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, genetic resources etc.) and environmental services (hydrological cycle etc.) from which resources flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. In rural areas, land is significant given the predominance of farming. This came out strongly through the interviews and focus group discussions with respondents in both Ananekrom and Dukusen where the land emerged as the main focus around which their livelihoods revolved. The main importance of the land that respondents in both communities brought up related to it serving as a source of employment, food supply/nutrition, catering for the household, catering for the children (in terms of their ability to go school, payment of school fees), catering for health, monetary income, self-sufficiency, base/foundation for other investments, imputed income and peace of mind. This was summed up by a number of respondents:

*'When we talk about land and its significance/benefit even the buildings we sleep in it is on the land that the buildings are built.....also even before our hands go to our mouths (we eat) for us farmers it all depends on this very land so the land has a lot of benefit for us.....it brings us money so for our children too we can pay their school fees and excuse me oh even when you get sick that same money... the benefit that the land brings us... that is where money comes from to get healing from sickness by going to hospital... so those are the benefits' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'Land is what holds our lives... if you will get anything it is from the land... everything that we will do its land that we use' (Interview with Community Member DUR9; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Hence where the livelihood of the rural individual was concerned, the dependence on the land went further than simply the benefits of a source of nutrition and employment. The land acted as a channel for the provision of for further necessities such as monetary income from the sale of farm produce which in turn catered for their households, their children's education and their health. There were also indirect benefits in that the need to purchase food was reduced since they sourced from their farms. In addition, from their perspective there were few alternatives once there was no land and opportunity to farm. Thus in essence, the very lives of the rural individuals depended on the land in their perspective.

#### **4.3 LARGE-SCALE LAND ACQUISITIONS IN GHANA – DEFINITIONS AND DIMENSIONS**

A large-scale land acquisition or transaction would have ramifications given the importance of land. Prior to detailing these ramifications, the question is how are large-scale land acquisitions defined within the Ghanaian context and what is the scale? In Ghana, it emerged from the interviews from the key informants at national level that the definition of large-scale land acquisitions (LSLA) was undergoing review by the government<sup>67</sup>. It was mainly based on the land size but this varied dependent upon the draft document being referred to. On the one hand, there was the draft New Guidelines on Large-Scale Land Transactions. As explained by one senior official within the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources,

*'It's [definition] actually undergone a number of reviews because they [the Lands Commission<sup>68</sup>] started with a thousand acres, anything a thousand acres and more was considered as large-scale land acquisition and they*

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<sup>67</sup> In a speech by the National Lands Commission, land acquisitions and land grabs were referred to in the same context - 'Land grabbing as it's called within the civil society arena but we the bureaucrats call it large-scale land acquisition' (Speech by National Lands Commission, CARITAS Stakeholder Consultation on Large-Scale Land Acquisitions, Accra, December 2017). Notably land 'grab' is just a phrase that 'refers to, describes and analyses the current explosion of large-scale (trans) national commercial land transactions, acquisitions and speculation in recent years mainly, but not solely, around the large-scale production and export of food and biofuels (Borras and Franco, 2012:34; Borras et al., 2011:210). Hence within this discussion, the terms, deal, transaction, appropriation are used to refer to the acquisition of land.

<sup>68</sup> The Lands Commission administers state lands on behalf of the President and administers vested lands, as a government agency, on behalf of the customary owner as provided in the 1992 Constitution Article 258 and in the Lands Commission Act 1994 (Act 483). (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:11, 12; Kasanga and Kotey (2001:1).

*were also focusing on agriculture mainly; then they had to do some review and they are just about coming up with.....the draft of the new guidelines..... so as I said we were at a thousand but then they are revising it' (Interview with Senior Official, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Accra, January 2018).*

As previously noted, the draft New Guidelines on Large-Scale Land Transactions defined these acquisitions as:

*'Transactions over land that on one hand covers a land area of 20.23 hectares or 50 acres or more and on the other hand covers an area less than 20.23 hectares or 50 acres but triggers social, economic and/or environmental concerns that needs to be safeguarded'* (Draft Guidelines for Large-Scale Land Transactions In Ghana – Draft, Lands Commission, February 2017:iv). On the other hand, there was the new land bill which was in draft stage and ready for parliamentary consideration as explained at a Stakeholder Consultation on Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: *'Under the land administration project, a land bill has been drafted, it's now ready..... for parliament; it has even passed the cabinet level; to parliament'*<sup>69</sup>. Within this document, large-scale land disposition/transactions and their definition were stated under Clause 99 sections (3) and (4) as follows:

*(3) The Land Registrar shall not register any large-scale disposition of stool, skin, clan and family land unless the Regional Lands Commission has in furtherance of Articles 36(8) and 267(3) of the Constitution granted consent to the disposition taking into account the following: (a) unconscionability; (b) capacity of the parties; (c) adequacy of consideration; (d) size of the land; (e) duration of the grant; (f) protection of indigenous land rights; (g) previous transactions affecting the land; and (h) fairness of the terms of the agreement.*

*(4) For the purposes of subsection (3) large-scale land disposition means disposition of land or interest in land which exceeds ten acres. (Draft Four A Bill Entitled The Lands Act 2016: 54 – 55).*

Hence there were discrepancies in size based on the draft document under consideration. A large-scale land acquisition was one which either exceeded 10 acres, was 50 acres or more, or was less than 50 acres but prompted social, economic and/or environmental concerns. Notably, where the research was concerned and as previously mentioned, the size of land acquired by a company (ScanFarm) on the customary land was 1,800 hectares

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<sup>69</sup>Speech by National Lands Commission, CARITAS Stakeholder Consultation on Large-Scale Land Acquisitions, Accra, December 2017.

(approximately 4,448 acres)<sup>70</sup>. The size of land acquired by a company (Miro Forestry) on the forestry/state land was 10,000 hectares (approximately 24,710 acres)<sup>71</sup>. Therefore even though different state documents gave diverse definitions, both acquisitions far exceeded these.

#### 4.4 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ANANEKROM AND DUKUSEN

The communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen fall within the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti region, one of the districts newly created in 2012 with Agogo as the administrative capital (AANDA, 2014:14) as indicated in the map below.

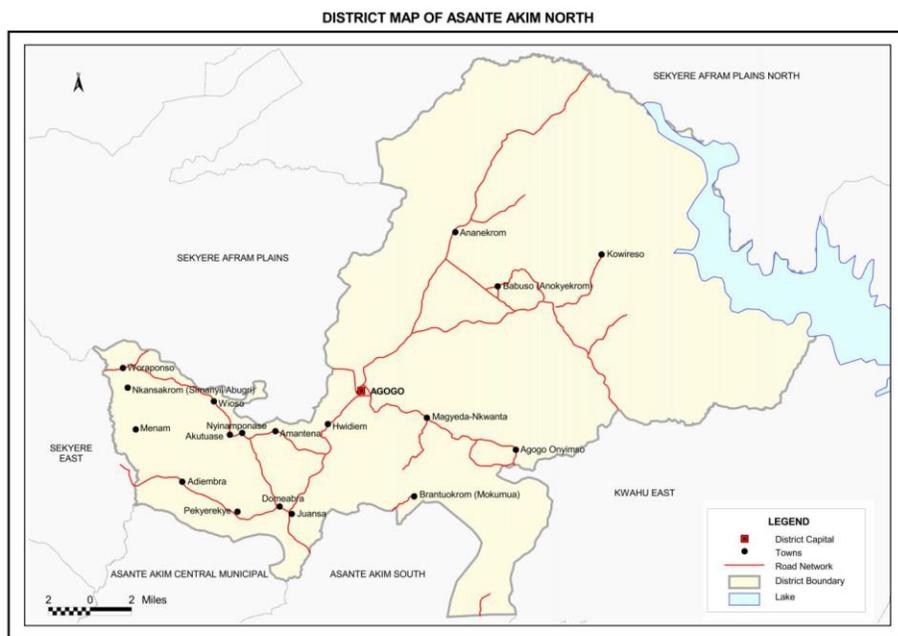


Figure 4.1 District Map – Asante Akim North District. Source – Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a.

The district is located in the eastern part of the Ashanti Region and covers a land area of 1,125 square kilometres (AANDA, 2014:14). It shares boundaries with Sekyere Kumawu and Sekyere Afram Plains in the north, Kwahu East in the east, Asante Akim South in the South and Sekyere East in the West (AANDA, 2014:14). Asante Akim North experiences wet semi-equatorial climate with annual rainfall between 125cm and 175cm occurring in July and November; the first rainy season occurs from May to July, the second from September to November and the dry harmattan season is between December and March (Ghana

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Company S, October 2017.

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.miroforestry.com/plantations/boumfoum-ghana>

Statistical Service 2014a:ix). It lies within the moist semi-deciduous forest belt (AANDA, 2014:15).

According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the total population of Asante Akim North District is 69,186 (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a:1) representing 1.4 percent of Ashanti Region's population (AANDA, 2014:19). The population density of the District stands at 61.5 persons per square kilometre (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a:ix). The Asante Akim North District has five communities assuming urban status (using the population of 5,000<sup>72</sup> as a basis) - Agogo, Domeabra, Juansa, Hwidiem and Wioso (AANDA, 2014:19). About 53.5 percent of the population in the district is rural (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a:ix) as a result of which majority of the settlements in the District would be deprived of the provision of a high level of services since they do not meet the required threshold (AANDA, 2014:19). Ananekrom and Dukusen are rural communities and have populations of less than 5,000 each. For the Asante Akim North District, there are 15,480 households<sup>73</sup> with the average size of 4.5 persons per household (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a:ix). The majority of the households (54.6%) live in rural areas where the average size is slightly lower (4.4) (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a:ix). In addition, households in the District have more extended family (56.4%) than nuclear family (43.6%) (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a:ix)<sup>74</sup>. The Ashanti culture dominates in the District however there are migrant settlers mostly from the northern regions who also practice their culture alongside the Akan/Ashanti tradition and culture (AANDA, 2014:21, 56). Ananekrom and Dukusen are characterised by sparse population; little access to health facilities; inadequate basic infrastructure, i.e., health, education, water and sanitation; poor road network; charcoal production by the Sissalas (minority ethnic group); food crop production and the presence of mostly migrant farmers (AANDA, 2014:22).

Asante Akim North is an agrarian economy and 72.7 percent of households in the District are engaged in agriculture; in the rural localities, about eight out of ten households (79.7%)

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<sup>72</sup> The Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census, Demographic, Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics report classifies localities with 5,000 or more persons as urban while localities with less than 5,000 persons are classified as rural (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013e xxiii).

<sup>73</sup> The Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census, Demographic, Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics report defines a household as a person or a group of persons, who live together in the same house or compound and share the same catering arrangements (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013e xxiii).

<sup>74</sup> This means that for more households, members of the extended family live together – grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces as opposed to only the nuclear family of father, mother and the children under one roof.

are agricultural households (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a:xi). Most households in the District (98.4%) are involved in crop farming (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a:xi) and the major staple food crops produced include maize, cassava, plantain, cocoyam, yam, groundnuts and vegetables through farming practices which are predominantly traditional, that is, agriculture is rain-fed and lands are cleared by slash and burn (AANDA, 2014:15,29). Correspondingly, in both Ananekrom and Dukusen, the main source of employment was crop farming with dependence on the rains as well as the use of traditional farming tools (hoe, cutlass) and tractors, fertilizers and by-day labourers to aid in crop production. The major crops cultivated in Ananekrom and Dukusen as noted by respondents were maize, yam, cassava, groundnuts, plantain and beans. In Ananekrom, fifty percent (50%) of respondents farmed land sizes of up to 10 acres; thirty-six percent (36%) of respondents 11 – 20 acres and fourteen percent (14%) more than 20 acres. In Dukusen, sixty-one and a half percent (61.5%) farmed land sizes of up to 10 acres and thirty-eight and a half percent (38.5%) 11 – 20 acres. Where the land acquisitions in Ananekrom and Dukusen were concerned, there were the state and the customary land contexts respectively. The contextual backgrounds for each of these are elaborated upon in the ensuing.

#### 4.4.1 *The State Land Context*

The forest lands were solely under the management of the Forestry Commission<sup>75</sup>. This was explained by key informants at both the Lands Commission and the Forestry Commission. The Forestry Commission was the government agency mandated to oversee the management of the renewable natural resources like timber, wildlife and other forest resources<sup>76</sup>. In order to appreciate the land acquisitions within the forestry reserve context, there is the need for the contextual background which emerged from the data. First of all, there was the reservation of the forests. The reservation policy was put in place during the colonial era<sup>77</sup> during which there was the first major law, the Forest Ordinance of 1927 CAP 157 and that law empowered the then Forest Department to create forest reserves and also specified how the reserves were to be managed<sup>78</sup>. The lands of the forest reserves in effect

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with Senior Officer, Lands Commission Ashanti Region, July 2017.

Also, as explained by a District official, '*Usually an official letter simply arrives from the Forestry Commission informing the District Assembly that a compartment of land has been released to the company [carrying out reforestation]*' (Interview with Official, Asante Akim North District Assembly, October 2017). The average compartment is 128 hectares (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017).

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Senior Researcher, Forestry Research Institute of Ghana, Kumasi, July 2017.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Collaborative Unit of Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

belonged to the communities and were reserved with the consent of the chiefs. This was explained by a key informant:

*'With almost all our forest reserves.....the lands were not outright purchased but they were reserved with the consent of the stools [the chiefs].....the forest reserves have not been bought and as such taken totally from the indigenes. However, the government exercises the control' (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Ashanti Region, July 2017).*

Then in the 1980s there were fires which destroyed the forests, as explained by the officials from the Forestry Commission, the District Assembly and the Traditional Council<sup>79</sup>. The officials did not categorically state that the forests were completely destroyed but the responses from interviews at the community, Traditional Hierarchy, District and Regional level suggested that the destruction was significant because there was the constant use of terms like *'the land was lying there [empty]*<sup>80</sup>(following the forest fires). There was also the explanation by some of the officials that *'all the forest collapsed'*<sup>81</sup> and *'there wouldn't even be much vegetation [for farmers] to clear'*<sup>82</sup>.

For the Asante Akim North District, this was the Boumfoum Forest Reserve. As explained by one official,

*'When Ghana faced the adverse weather conditions I think it started in the '80s; '83 fires and what not; fire swept through the [forest] reserves there and therefore the vegetation became denuded' (Interview with Senior Official, Collaborative Unit of Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017).*

In addition, there was a lack of physical monitoring of the reserves on the part of the forestry officials due to the lack of resources to be able to do so<sup>83</sup>. These resulted in people encroaching onto the land. This was corroborated by respondents at the community, Traditional Hierarchy, District and Regional levels. As explained by a key informant at the Forestry Commission,

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<sup>79</sup>Interviews with: Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017; Senior Officials of the District Directorate MOFA, Asante Akim North District, July 2017; Senior Official, Agogo Traditional Council, October 2017; Dukusen Traditional Authority, August 2017; Community Member ANR3; Anankrom, September 2017.

<sup>80</sup>Interviews with: Dukusen Traditional Authority, August 2017; Community Member ANR7; Focus Group Discussion 1; Anankrom, October 2017; Senior Official, Agogo Traditional Council, October 2017.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Senior Officials of the District Directorate MOFA, Asante Akim North District, July 2017.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Collaborative Unit of Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

*'When these forest fires passed, the forests could not recover and it even opened up for people to encroach maybe easier for people to go in and farm.....and forestry [personnel] also became lethargic; relaxed monitoring you know whether due to the lack of resources but I believe it is due to the lack of resources' (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017).*

The encroachment was a problem since there was the objective on the part of the government was to bring back the forest and this conflicted with the growing of crops by those who had encroached. A key informant also noted that the settler farmers, that is, those who were not indigenous to the community but had come to settle from elsewhere, would sometimes forcibly settle without the knowledge of the indigenes; other times, the indigenes claimed the land was theirs and gave it out to the non-indigenes to be farmed even though it is forest reserve<sup>84</sup>.

In addition, there was the discrepancy in the understanding of who the land belonged to, as explained by a key informant:

*'[the community members say] of course the land belongs to us and you say you are keeping it in trust for us; so if I need it do I have to come; they keep questioning us; those people who live by the sea they go and fish; nobody puts any restrictions on them so why are we living by our forests and you don't want us to go there; it's a big question that we still haven't been able to answer.....For a long time they have acknowledged that it's a big issue they have not been able to tackle it well except using the task force and all that to stop people encroaching into the forest but that is not a long term solution' (Interview with Senior Researcher – Forestry Research Institute, Kumasi, July 2017).*

Thus in order to reafforest and with people on the land, the *taungya* system was developed, as corroborated at the Regional, District and Traditional Hierarchy levels. The system was a model to let the farmers grow their crops whilst the Forestry Personnel intercropped with

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<sup>84</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, August 2016. This information aligned with that given by some of the Ananekrom non-indigenes who had lost access to land. As noted by one of the community members, *'When you go he says it is his; he will not say it is forestry land; then he too he will give it to you; and he will get something from you [land rent].....he didn't let us know that it is someone's; he said it is his; you too you need it [the land]; you can't ask him a question that you say it is yours where did you get it from when you came to meet the land'* (Interview with Community Member ANR15; Ananekrom, October 2017).

tree seedlings so that whilst the farmers were taking care of their crops they would simultaneously look after the tree seedlings<sup>85</sup>. Within the Ananekrom community, some members (four community members) confirmed that they had been employed in the *taungya* system before being ejected from the land. They were allocated land, planted their food crops and took care of the tree seedlings that the forestry officials planted/had given them to plant. However some discussants within the first focus group, noted that even though the forestry officials told them that they would bring tree seedlings for them to plant this never happened.

The *taungya* system was not successful from the key informants' perspectives. This was because the farmers had no security. As explained by a key informant, after three years of cultivation they had to vacate the land because the tree seedlings would have grown to a height that there would be canopy closure and so the farmers would not be able to continue farming. Therefore they would kill the tree seedlings (by uprooting them when they weeded around their crops) in order to be able to remain on the land<sup>86</sup>. Following the *taungya* system there was the modified *taungya* system whereby the farmers would have to vacate the parcel of land after three years but would be given another parcel of land to work on. There were varying views on the success of the modified *taungya* system at the Regional level. From one key informant perspective it was seen to be successful albeit in a different district within the Ashanti region. However, from two other key informants, the modified *taungya* system was also unsuccessful. This was explained by one key informant:

*'Because local [rural] people are dicey; because they are not guaranteed that they can see any future in what they are doing; to them its government land; they have access and they want to grow food crops although they understood the whole concept that you have to integrate trees and after canopy closure you move to the next [parcel of land] and all that; with all that they understood; but to them they were looking beyond today into the future and thinking that it was tricky; maybe the government just wants to use them and after a while they [government] will throw them out.....so they [farmers] will kill the trees and get their food crops' (Interview with Senior Researcher – Forestry Research Institute, Kumasi, July 2017).*

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

Following the *taungya* and modified *taungya* systems, the government then employed the private public partnership system<sup>87</sup>. Private entities possessing the resources to reforest<sup>88</sup> were contracted to do so as explained by the key informants:

*'But if the [private] company came with their funds that they want to do systematic establishment of plantation we will give it to them' (Interview with Senior Official – Collaborative Unit of Forestry Commission Ashanti Region, July 2017).*

In Ananekrom, it was one of such companies (Miro Forestry<sup>89</sup>) which had been granted compartments of land by the Forestry Commission to carry out reforestation through the planting of teak and other tree species. This company had acquired 10,000 hectares (approximately 24,710 acres)<sup>90</sup>. A key informant at the Forestry Commission noted that the farmers had been given the opportunity to harvest their crops and leave the land in 2012:

*'We held a big forum in Agogo ..... brought in all the farmers, the land owners, the chiefs and sub chiefs, we held the meeting in January and asked them [farmers] that we are not going to destroy any old farms but then don't clear new areas; don't plant new crops so that after you harvest you can just leave [the land]' (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017).*

As further noted by the key informant: *'Company M yes were allocated and they were ready to plant meanwhile we had given these people [farmers] in 2012 we gave them the opportunity to harvest and then leave and then they didn't leave'*<sup>91</sup>. However as will be discussed further on in the study, most respondents claimed that they received no notification to remove their crops. As such the community members felt that the Forestry

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<sup>87</sup> This was explained by a number of key informants: *'So then we got to this angle where private developers; these are private people who are entrepreneurs they have their own resources so they can come in [to undertake reforestation].....now we are in the PPPs (public private partnership)'* (Interview with Senior Researcher – Forestry Research Institute, Kumasi, July 2017).

*They currently employ a PPP system (public private partnership) and so bodies who are interested and have the resources to assist in planting can obtain the land to do so* (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Ashanti Region, August 2016).

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Senior Researcher – Forestry Research Institute, Kumasi, July 2017.

<sup>89</sup> Miro Forestry operates forestry plantations. The company mixes commercial plantation forestry with the protection and regeneration of indigenous tree species and the promotion of bio-diversity and environmentally sustainable land-use management. (Source – <http://www.miroforestry.com/plantations/boumfoum-ghana>. Accessed August 2017).

<sup>90</sup> <https://www.miroforestry.com/plantations/boumfoum-ghana>

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Ashanti Region, July 2017.

Commission had 'sold' the land to the 'whiteman' as a result of which they were being ejected. Eighty-six per cent (86%) of respondents brought up the Forestry Commission as an actor in the situation. Fifty-nine per cent (59%) of the respondents mentioned that the 'white man' had accessed the land or been sold the land, whilst forty-one per cent (41%) mentioned the mode of the acquisition of the land with the use of the words 'sold', 'collect', 'bought'. The government was also referenced as a contributor to the state of affairs by 32% of respondents. In spite of the aforementioned, one community respondent noted that forestry land allocations<sup>92</sup> were still ongoing and in addition, one respondent affirmed she was still farming the forestry land.

*'People enter; up to today they allocate portions for people to work on; yes they share out portions of the sofeya land [forestry land] for people to work on.....they give it to us; currently they are still giving out portions; even presently that they have spoilt some [destroyed some farms] they are still giving out allocations to people' (Interview with Community Member ANR9; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Similar to the community respondents' claims that land was still being allocated, a key informant at the Traditional Council made the same observation:

*'But some of the forest guards like I was saying they will collect money from you and say oh come and work at this area but when it comes to checking, proper checking they will stay outside' (Interview with Senior Official, Agogo Traditional Council, October 2017).*

The implications of this was that there was uncertainty as to why some were still granted forestry land whilst others had had their farms destroyed. There was also uncertainty as to what could happen in the future to those who still farmed the forestry lands. The respondent who affirmed that she was still farming the forestry land assumed she could access the land because she had paid the rent, yet still was uncertain why for some areas the land had been taken from the people farming it but not for other areas. She also did not have any certainty concerning whether or when the area she cultivated would be taken from her<sup>93</sup>. A key informant within the Forestry Commission weighed in on the situation explaining that:

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<sup>92</sup> Allocation of land for people to pay rent and farm on or carry out the *taungya* system.

<sup>93</sup>The respondent explained that: *'Our line here [where we cultivate] they [forestry personnel] didn't take.....so every year you have to pay every acre is two of the GHC 20 [approximately USD 4.6] and one of the GHC 10 [approximately USD 2.3] so even if you have 10 acres you will pay the two 20 GHC and one 10 GHC for each*

*'A farmer will tell you that somebody, forestry allocated the land to me meanwhile it's not forestry; it could be a timber man who has some technical persons or maybe a retired forester or somebody he has contracted to manage the place for them so that was how some people are able to say oh forestry allocated the land for me and now forestry [has come for it]' (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Ashanti Region, July 2017).*

#### 4.4.2 The Customary Land Context

Similar to the state land situation, the background to the customary land acquisitions aids in appreciating the context. This is detailed in the following discussion. Customary land is under the remit of the Traditional Authorities, with individual families having usufructory rights over parcels of land. Customary land acquisition was undertaken by a company whose original project objective was biofuel production but this changed to maize and soya bean due to the discovery of oil in Ghana<sup>94</sup>. According to Boamah (2014:329), this was due to perceived inadequate economic returns from *jatropha* investments and furthermore expectations of quick profit from *jatropha* by the company were not forthcoming as finding markets for the harvested *jatropha* nuts was quite difficult. The discovery of oil also potentially implied that biofuel production would be less lucrative due to a focus on the oil. The company operates within the Dukusen area of the Afram plains. Boamah (2014:329) also notes that the project which initially involved a 50-year land lease agreement with the Agogo Traditional Council in Southern Ghana was signed in 2008 for *jatropha* biofuel production. *Jatropha* cultivation began in 2008–2009 but was switched to maize production in 2010 (Boamah, 2014:329).

Some community members detailed the advent of the company to their locality. As explained by one,

*'When the company came first.....they went for a meeting.....and they put it before the people that you who you think if they come to your village*

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*so when you pay that .....if you pay they won't collect it but if you don't pay they will collect it.....yes [it's the forestry people's land].....I cannot tell, I cannot tell the time they [forestry personnel] may collect it [the land]' (Interview with Community Member ANR16; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

United States Dollar was equivalent to 4.40 Ghana Cedis mid October 2017

<https://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GHS&date=2017-10-16>

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Senior Official, EPA, Ashanti Region, August 2016.

*they will get land to work on raise your hand.....that day I was with them going round the nearby towns and they put it before the chiefs that they would bring their work' (Interview with Community Member DUR2; Dukusen, September 2017).*

The granting of the land was with the involvement of the Traditional Authorities as confirmed by one key informant:

*'You come to meet individual lands falling into what we the Traditional Authorities have given them [the company]; there we call those of those lands [the land 'owners'] to sit down with the company to make arrangements; some will say we will give our lands so that we collect something from that; others will say we will not give out our lands' (Interview with Senior Official, Agogo Traditional Council, October 2017).*

It emerged from the interview with a senior official of the company that the land belonged to individuals but was leased through the Traditional Council/Authority. One thousand eight hundred (1,800) hectares of land had been acquired for food production, but 650 hectares had been developed. A lease fee was given to the Traditional Council; each family was compensated with a bulk sum; and a yearly rental fee paid every year to the land 'owners'. They [land 'owners'] took payment based on the acreage and not a flat fee<sup>95</sup>. This was also noted by some community members<sup>96</sup>:

*'When they [the company] weeded, if mine [land] is part and I can't cultivate a lot then I hand it over to the whites maybe a month or year I will collect x amount from you [the company]; it's like they have rented it to them' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Official, Company S, October 2017. The Official however did not disclose the amounts of money given.

<sup>96</sup> Notably, the issue (which is discussed in detail further on) was that the indigenes received remuneration for the land they gave out whereas the non-indigenes who worked on the land but did not have usufructory rights were affected. This is because they lost access to that upon which their livelihoods depended with no course to remuneration and this is partly the focus of the study. Previous research has been conducted on the indigenes and the effects of the large-scale land acquisitions to them in Dukusen (see Boamah 2014; Boamah and Overa, 2016). The focus of this study is comparative – how the impacts are differentiated across various scales, inclusive of the effects to the indigenes versus the non-indigenes.

*'So those who the land is for, for them at the end of the month they go and collect their small [remuneration]' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

## **4.5 THE LIVELIHOOD IMPLICATIONS OF THE LAND ACQUISITIONS**

The foregoing discourse has considered the political economy of land in Ghana, Ananekrom and Dukusen. It also elaborated on the state and customary land acquisition contexts as a background to the livelihood implications and the differentiated impacts. The following section discusses the livelihood impacts of the land acquisitions. It then delves into who is impacted and why and finally interrogates whether the livelihood effects are differentiated along ethnic lines and across tenure types.

### *4.5.1 The Livelihood Impacts arising from State and Customary Land Acquisitions*

Where the Ananekrom community was concerned, a number of major effects came to light from the data. Firstly the land deprivation clearly brought about a loss of livelihood and employment. Providing more space for nature often requires constraining people's lives and activities (Brockington and Igoe, 2006:426). Thus people living adjacent to the forest 'but unable to gather firewood or wild foods, to hunt, or fish, or unable to walk to their farms would be unable to live as they were before' (Brockington and Igoe, 2006:425). Brockington and Igoe (2006:425) further maintain that exclusion of economic activity, which does not lead to moving home, still displaces that activity elsewhere. Economic displacement refers to restrictions that make it hard to pursue a livelihood (Cemea and Schmidt-Sol, 2003; Cemea, 2005 cited in Brockington and Wilkie, 2015:3). One might be allowed to live in a national park, but not allowed to cut thatching grass or firewood, or plant crops and graze livestock (Brockington and Wilkie, 2015:3). Consequently where Ananekrom was concerned, the loss of access to land affected livelihoods. A similar situation of loss of livelihood was prevalent in the Dukusen community. The impacts which emerged in these two communities are discussed below commencing with the effects most frequently raised and concluding with those that were least elicited from respondents.

#### **4.5.1.1 Out migration and corresponding reduction in community population size**

The impacts that were highlighted the most in Ananekrom were outmigration and the effect to the community as a whole by way of reduction in population size and therefore lack of progress. These were noted by eighty-six percent (86%) of respondents in Ananekrom. In

Dukusen, this was highlighted by seventy-seven percent (77%) of respondents (in Dukusen only the land deprivation, as an effect, was highlighted to a greater extent – by eighty-four percent [84%] of the respondents). The outmigration stemmed from the fact that the loss of access to and dependence on land implied that there was the need to source for the resource for livelihoods. Therefore outmigration was necessary for the purposes of sourcing for land. This was stressed both in the communities<sup>97</sup> and by a key informant at the Regional level:

*'If you won't get somewhere to farm where will you go; you just have to leave; you can't do anything'*

*'It has resulted in many people leaving the town' (Focus Group Discussions 1 and 2 respectively; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'They have to relocate; they just have to relocate.....that [farming] is what they are here for; they have to look at where are the other places where they can get land to farm' (Interview with Senior Official, Ministry of Food and Agriculture Ashanti Region, July 2017).*

The exact numbers migrating out were not known to the community respondents although per their perception of the current state, respondents in both communities could testify that 'many' had left, noted from some responses.

*'Yes; I say many have left; many have left'*

*'Oh plenty have left here; they move out' (Interviews with Community Members ANR3, ANR16 respectively; Ananekrom, September 2017).*

*'At first here we were plenty; plenty have left'*

*'They would not reach hundred [households] now; all the people have left' (Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR6 respectively; Dukusen, September 2017).*

From the data it emerged that the outmigration undoubtedly contributed to the decrease in population. As observed by respondents<sup>98</sup> across both communities,

*'For someone they have left; maybe he/she was helping the town small; right now he/she is gone.....maybe if he/she was helping in something in*

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<sup>97</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR3, ANR5, ANR8, ANR9, ANR12, ANR15, ANR17; Ananekrom, September – October 2017.

Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR7, DUR8, DUR10; Dukusen, September –October 2017  
Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017.

<sup>98</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR4, ANR5, ANR11, ANR16; Ananekrom, October 2017; Focus Group Discussions 1 and 2; Ananekrom, October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017.

*the town then it has decreased; yes; so the town if we have 100 people and 50 leave what benefit is there that right now we will get in the town; it doesn't help the town' (Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'As for the village it has retrogressed totally now; this village it wasn't a village; like when you come to this village like today Thursday you would hear a lot of noise like Agogo<sup>99</sup>.....there is not really any progress; even if you want something they [district authorities] look at the number; if they are giving something they ignore you' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Thus there was the consequent effect of a decrease in the numbers available for community work<sup>100</sup> as well as a general lack of community progress and development stemming from the outmigration.

#### 4.5.1.2 Land Deprivation

The second most stated impact – highlighted in Dukusen by eighty-four percent (84%) of the respondents and by seventy-seven percent (77%) in Ananekrom – was the land deprivation. Given that the villages were farming communities and hence depended on land, being deprived of the resource due to acquisitions would be an obvious impact. A significant factor was however the degree to which they depended on the land, which in turn gave rise to the extent of the impact. As noted by one key informant at the regional level, for most of the areas where the predominant occupation is farming, they [rural communities] basically depend on the land; everything is tied in with the land so without the resource they believe they cannot survive<sup>101</sup>. Respondents in both Ananekrom and Dukusen maintained that prior to the acquisitions, what they produced had been sufficient to live on, such as catering for

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<sup>99</sup> The district capital for the Asante Akim North District.

<sup>100</sup> Generally in many of the villages in Ghana development projects may be undertaken using the village labour. Thus depending on the development project that needs to be undertaken, the chief and traditional authorities may schedule a particular day of the week for a number of weeks for the community to contribute their labour to the project. The communal work is compulsory for all adults and exemption can result in a fine. Some of the projects that villages can communally work on include the building of a school block, desilting of the rivers that supply the community with water, erection of electricity poles and the building of a communal toilet.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Senior Official, EPA, August 2017.

feeding, the household, the children's school fees and hiring labour for the farm work<sup>102</sup>. As elaborated by some respondents:

*'[Food was] in abundance in the home; when you get up the only need is for is nsisawa [type of dried fish] and salt and soap and what you would get to buy a pen for your child to take to school' (Interview with Community Member ANR14; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'At first it was okay.....as for here it was good/sweet.....there was no difficulty.....even if there was difficulty it was okay [we could deal with it]' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Hence from the respondents, there was sufficiency once they had the land to cultivate.

The extent to which they depended on the land implied that the loss of access created a major deficit in their livelihoods, as elicited from the data. One hundred percent (100%) of the respondents in both Ananekrom and Dukusen were farmers. In addition the added income-generating activities undertaken, such as animal rearing, sale of farm produce or manufacture of farm produce into another product for sale all depended on or emanated from the land. There was therefore a very high dependency on the land. It was emphasized by sixty-eight percent (68%) of respondents in Ananekrom and seventy-seven percent (77%) in Dukusen that there was no work following the land loss, as observed by one group of respondents,

*'We have no work to do...we don't do anything; we are just there; we don't do anything; what do we do?' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'Because there is no land for you to work on; it's if there is land that you can work on it' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Thus the land deprivation resulted in a loss of livelihood and employment which was aggravated by the fact that the farming and other income-generating activity (which was related to the land) was all they depended on.

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<sup>102</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR8, ANR9, ANR10, ANR12; Ananekrom, October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017.  
Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR10; Dukusen, September – October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017.

#### 4.5.1.3 Decreased Production/Harvest

The third most highlighted impact was the decreased production/harvest. This was noted by eighty-two percent (82%) of respondents in Ananekrom and seventy-seven percent (77%) of respondents in Dukusen. This was explained by some respondents:

*'For someone they can't thresh the maize even ten bags [will not get ten bags after threshing] but at first too he could get even fifty' (Interview with Community Member ANR2; Ananekrom, September 2017).*

*'We don't get as much as we used to.....so when you cultivate, it doesn't work out well like at first' (Interview with Community Member DUR7; Dukusen, October 2017).*

The decrease in production was as a result of the loss of land and the ensuing access to other parcels of land which came with associated challenges such smaller landholding sizes or marginality.

#### 4.5.1.4 Access to Other Parcels of Land and Associated Challenges

The access to other parcels land (sourced following loss of access to the ones previously worked on) came with a number of associated challenges as maintained by respondents. The major issue was that the land now accessed was either of a smaller size or marginal as noted by seventy-seven percent (77%) of respondents in both Ananekrom and Dukusen. Local people are often forced to move to more isolated, marginal locations (Zoomers, 2010:430) and as emerged from the data, respondents in both communities noted the fact that the land now accessed was of poorer quality than the previous land they worked on<sup>103</sup>. As explained by some community members,

*'But when you go the family lands for some they have farmed on, the land is dead [infertile]; if you farm on it only weeds; food cannot.....it will not succeed; there is nothing [nutrients] in' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

The access to other parcels of land had the associated challenge of size. Jiao et al. (2015:323) note that the most direct and immediate impacts on households are reductions

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<sup>103</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR2, ANR8, ANR9 respectively; Ananekrom, September - October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017. Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR7, DUR8, DUR9; Dukusen, September – October 2017.

in their land holdings. As emerged from the data, a significant proportion of the respondents were in the position of currently accessing smaller land parcels than prior to the land acquisitions. Within the Ananekrom community and where the forestry land was concerned, fourteen of the sixteen respondents who had worked on forestry land had lost access to the land. Of this number, ten had been able to access smaller parcels of land elsewhere and two had not been able to access land at all. Two had been able to access larger sizes of customary land in the community<sup>104</sup>. In addition, two of the respondents previously working on forestry land still accessed it, claiming that where they farmed had not been taken yet. Out of the sixteen respondents who had worked on the forestry lands, fourteen of them (that is eighty-seven percent [87%] of those who had worked on the forestry lands) had lost access to it and two respondents (thirteen percent [13%]) still worked on the land with no loss of access. For the respondents who had lost access, two of them (fourteen [14%]) had not been able to acquire new land at all. Twelve of the respondents (seventy-one percent [71%]) had gotten new lands elsewhere but of a smaller size and as per the Table 4.1, half those on new lands had a sixty percent to eighty percent (60% to 80%) decrease in land size as compared to previously. Two of the respondents (fourteen percent [14%]) had acquired new lands of a size between twenty percent and forty percent (20% and 40%) larger than prior to the acquisitions albeit by accessing customary lands.

Percentage Decrease in Land Size as Compared to Pre-Loss	Respondents previously farming forestry land
0 – 20	0
21 – 40	1
41 – 60	3
61 – 80	5
81 – 99	1
100% Decrease i.e. No New Land	2

Table 4.1. Percentage Decrease in Land Size Compared to Pre-Loss in Ananekrom

<sup>104</sup> If the land 'owner' was only willing to hire out a large parcel of land and the one had the resources and was agreeable to the terms then a large parcel of land could be accessed for cultivation. As explained by a respondent:

*'So someone too won't give his family land to you if you don't have money to hire it.....but the person [land 'owner'] too they don't like that you will hire it for one year; maybe five years then they collect the money for that.....as for one year what are they using that for [what will they use that money for; its small]; so if you don't have a lot of money that you will use to collect five years or ten years [hire land for a period of five or ten years].....then the person [land 'owner'] knows that they are getting bulk money [when hired out for a longer period] but if you go and collect one year; as for one year what are they doing with it [that amount of money]; they won't even give it [land] to you'* (Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, October 2017).

Within the Ananekrom community too, where the customary land was concerned, two of the six respondents who had worked on customary land had lost access to the land. In both cases the loss was due to vacating the land because of disputes. In the first case the land 'belonged' to three people. There was disagreement amongst them on the extent of their portions and the rent (bags of maize) paid to each hence the farmer renting the land vacated. In the second case, the land 'owner' died and the relatives who inherited the land were fighting over it so the farmer vacated the land. Even though these losses of access were not as a result of company acquisitions of land, they still highlighted the effects to the rural livelihoods once there was a loss of access to land. One had been able to access smaller size of land elsewhere; a fifty percent (50%) decrease in size on the previous land. The other had been able to access an equal amount of land. As noted, even though not related to company land acquisitions, these cases still exemplified some of the repercussions associated with the loss of access to land. Four of the respondents previously working on customary land still accessed it; two had the usufructory rights and two hired the land.

Within the Dukusen community, where the customary land was concerned, eleven of the thirteen respondents who had worked on the land had lost access to the land. Of this number, nine had been able to access smaller parcels of land elsewhere, and one no land at all. In addition, one had lost access not to the land per se but to the trees for burning into charcoal. Two of the respondents on the land still accessed the land with no loss. Eighty-five percent (85%) of those who had worked on the lands had lost access to it and fifteen percent (15%) still worked on the land with no loss. For those who had lost access, nine percent (9%) had not been able to acquire new land at all and for another nine percent (9%) the loss was primarily to do with the access to trees. Eighty-two percent (82%) had gotten new lands elsewhere but of a smaller size as per the Table 4.2.

Decrease in Land Size as Compared to Pre-Loss (%)	Respondents previously farming customary land
0 – 20	1
21 – 40	1
41 – 60	1
61 – 80	2
81 – 99	2
Admitted loss but size undetermined	2
100% Decrease i.e. No New Land	1
Loss of access to Trees	1

Table 4. 2. Percentage Decrease in Land Size Compared to Pre-Loss in Dukusen

On another note, the respondent who had lost access to land in Ananekrom and had migrated into Mosi Panin also managed to obtain land. In terms of size however it was an eighty percent (80%) decrease on the previous land accessed. The decrease was mainly because of lack of resources to start over. This is elaborated upon later in the discussion on impacts. From the data presented above, land deprivation was associated mainly with either inability to access land elsewhere or the obtaining of reduced sizes of land. A decrease in size or no new procurement of land would undoubtedly result in the knock-on effects noted by seventy-two percent (72%) in Ananekrom and fifty-four percent (54%) in Dukusen. The loss and then access to smaller sizes or no land at all would bring a reduction in income with the associated struggle to cater for the household and children and an increase in poverty unless otherwise employed<sup>105</sup>. Such flow of effects were a common negative impact on rural livelihoods where there were land acquisitions (Rulli and D’Odorico, 2014; Cotula et al., 2009 cited in Antonelli et al., 2015:109). In addition, there was a state of hardship and difficulty stemming from the reduction in income and associated struggle to cater for the household and children as emphasized by half of all the respondents in Ananekrom and more than half in Dukusen.

Along with the issue of marginality and size, there were a number of other challenges associated with access to other parcels of land. These were the location of the land

<sup>105</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR2, ANR4, ANR5, ANR9, ANR13, ANR17; Ananekrom, October 2017; Focus Group Discussions 1 and 2; Ananekrom, October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017.

accessed in terms of distance, tenure insecurity and type of crop cultivation that could be undertaken. Following loss of access to land and the search for another parcel to cultivate, there was the problem of the location of the new parcel of land. This was raised not only at the community level but also at the district level where the Ananekrom community was concerned. The reason for the distance was the fact that there was no customary land available close by (the immediate environs of the community) because it was already being used or hired. Apart from the customary land, the immediate environs were essentially forestry land which was not accessible again. This was because it was forest reserve land for which reason those cultivating on it had been ejected. In addition, it was prohibited by the Forestry Commission to enter the reserve and monitoring took place. This was in spite of the allocations that were being undertaken in some areas of the forestry land (explained previously under Section 4.4.1 – the State Land Context). Respondents noted that they were prohibited from entering. As explained by some respondents,

*'They [forestry personnel] don't allow.....If they come and meet you they won't allow; because maybe you will cut down a tree and if so you have spoilt his [forestry] tree.....if they come and meet you they will disturb/worry you'*

*'Yes and the forestry people.....they do not allow easily/like that'*

*'When they [forestry personnel] see you there they will catch [arrest] you' (Interviews with Community Members ANR15, ANR17, ANR18 respectively; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Hence once ejected, the community members could not access it again. The problem of location of another parcel of land was explained by one respondent and key informants respectively:

*'It (new land accessed) is far away; since they have apportioned those close by so if someone will give you it will have to be the far away one that you will get to farm; but you won't get the close by (land)' (Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'Because of that (reafforestation) program farmers travel very far to farm... because there is no land around; people in fact have to move further.....so now to get land to farm you have to move about six*

*kilometres seven kilometres’ (Interview with Senior Officials of the District Directorate MOFA, Asante Akim North District, July 2017).*

The location highlighted the problem of access on a number of levels. As a result of the distance, the attention to the cultivated crops required more financial input in that means of transport had to be hired to convey water to the farms. As explained by some of the district level key informants,

*‘They hire taxis even to move gallons of water for spraying so now the problem has even [increased].....you are somebody without motorbike or maybe money to bear such a cost you might stop farming’ (Interview with Senior Officials of the District Directorate MOFA, Asante Akim North District, July 2017).*

Secondly, the distance, in conjunction with the poor road network to such far places resulted in difficulty in bringing harvested produce from the farm to the market or to the household for consumption<sup>106</sup>. This implied that the harvests could get spoilt at the farm with a consequent reduction in income for the farmer. Within the Dukusen community, it emerged from the data that oftentimes the new land accessed was closer than that previously hired<sup>107</sup> (which had been appropriated). However to source for wood for charcoal, two of the respondents noted that the travel distances were much farther away. This was because in the respondents’ opinion, the acquisition of the land had resulted in the destruction of the vegetation so there was the need to look much farther away to source for trees for charcoal burning.

Matters of tenure insecurity came up where new land was accessed. This was in both communities and was because the new land hired ‘belonged’ to those with the usufructory

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<sup>106</sup> Distances to farms range. Some are quite nearby – about 1 or 2 miles from the community. Others are farther away for example, 7 miles or more from the community. Some can be much further requiring a three hour bicycle ride (Interview with Community Member ANNRA; Ananekrom, October 2017). Hence where the road network to the farm is poor such as a dirt track (often the case), transporting harvested produce from the farm to the village becomes difficult especially during the rainy season and if there is flooding. As observed by one respondent *‘When it rains and the place floods then the food cannot come [we cannot bring the harvested produce to the village]’* (Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, September 2017).

<sup>107</sup> In the rural areas, it is common for indigenes to have parcels of land in different places, for example, one parcel of land three miles from the village in a northerly direction, another parcel of land two miles from the village in a south-westerly direction, another parcel of land four miles from the village in an easterly direction etc. The land they ‘own’ may not all be in one location. This could be because the grand/great grand/great great grandparents farmed different portions in a number of areas and so the land in various locations is passed down the generations. Hence in the event where the non-indigene lost access to hired land and therefore searched for another piece to work on, the one could get land closer or further away than the previous land depending on the location. This is because of the aforementioned where parcels of land are either close by or faraway.

rights. It emerged from the data that the land could be granted by one member/faction of a family but then another member/faction would be in disagreement<sup>108</sup>. Or the land could be given by one family then another would come and claim ownership. As experienced by one respondent:

*'Someone gave it [the land] to me and someone else came to tell me that that land is not for that woman and so I should stop cultivating there; that land I haven't planted anything there; it is lying there' (Interview with Community Member ANNRA; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Hence one would simply vacate the land. This is because if they stayed on the land and cultivated it, due to the disagreements between the family members he/she would eventually have to move off the land with the risk of losing his/her investments (crop) in the land. Also the one would not be able to cultivate in peace since he/she would be caught between different members/factions of a family or different families claiming ownership of the land. In addition, the access to the new land came with the associated cost of hiring. Even though, rents were previously paid for land use, these were now more expensive as maintained by some residents<sup>109 110</sup>.

As transpired from the data, with the accessing of other parcels of land there was the related matter of the type of crop cultivation that could be undertaken. There could be 'implications for agricultural production patterns' (Arezki et al., 2013:208) since 'the ramifications of

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<sup>108</sup> Family land belongs to the family. For example a person having usufructory rights over a parcel of land passes it down to his/her children hence that parcel of land would then belong to all the children. All of them thus have ownership of the land unless they divide it up amongst them. As noted by one respondent: *'Your mother has given you land; your mother also did not give birth to only you so by the time your mother passes on her land its two acres and the siblings are coming to share; the small that you will get your children will also come and share'* (Interview with Community Member DUR9; Dukusen, October 2017). So if the inherited land is not divided amongst the members and one of the family hires out part of the family land without the approval of the others, there could be disagreements.

<sup>109</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR2, ANR3, ANR10, ANR11; Ananekrom, September – October 2017 Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017.

<sup>110</sup> Notably in the rural areas there are no stipulated ranges of rents where the hiring of land is concerned. The arrangements and cost of hiring is between the one leasing the land and the one hiring. Thus as per simple demand and supply, when community members were ejected off the forestry land, the number seeking land to hire would increase from previous numbers and therefore correspondingly the cost of hiring would potentially increase. Eight respondents in Ananekrom noted the increased land rents and it was further elaborated within one of the Focus Group Discussions: *'You see at first with the land rent, we did not pay too much for it but now because of the situation; it is expensive'* (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017). With Dukusen, the respondents did not raise the issue of increased land rents. Ten of the thirteen respondents highlighted the difficulty in accessing new land, the marginality and the smaller sizes but not increased rents. This was possibly due to the fact that the majority of them (nine of them) had been able to access smaller parcels of land elsewhere. Hence the focus was more on the land size (the inability to access land of equal or more size) as opposed to the cost of hiring.

reduced access to land include changes in resource-use patterns (Thondlana, 2014:16). From both communities, it emerged that there was the possibility that the new land accessed would not support the cultivation of the type of crops the farmer typically farmed. This is because the nature of the land might not be suitable for such crops. This was highlighted at both community levels:

*DUFGD1: 'Right now it is the waterlogged land that is left/ that has remained'*

*Researcher: 'But there (waterlogged land) you cannot really plant anything?'*

*DUFGD1: 'Except rice; if you will plant it will be rice and the like; and if you will plant yam by the time you are aware before you harvest the water would have removed the mound from around it and all the outer part would have rotted; and maize too if you do then .....it cannot succeed' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

*'Maybe the land he/she goes to get maybe that land will not help him/her; it is not all land that you will farm on which you can get things.....sometimes it [new land accessed] will be land suitable for rice cultivation; he/she too he/she doesn't want to do rice farming' (Interview with Community Member ANR8; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

It was also raised at the district level where a Senior Official noted that even though there might be vast lands at other places, the question was whether those lands would be suitable for the farmers to undertake the kind of cultivation they wanted to do<sup>111</sup>. Thus with access to new land, there was the possible need to change the crop cultivated to another in order to make use of the land or to abandon the new land due to its unsuitable nature. Either way, this could have ramifications on livelihoods. The abandoning of the new land procured would potentially extend the period of their livelihood deprivation until another parcel of land was obtained given their dependency on land.

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with Official, Asante Akim North District Assembly Planning Department, July 2017.

#### 4.5.1.5 Food Security

There was the impact on food security. This was raised sixty-eight percent (68%) of respondents in Ananekrom and sixty-two percent (62%) in Dukusen, who noted that there had been a decrease in the availability of food as compared to before the acquisitions<sup>112</sup>. The accessing of smaller sizes of land or none at all implied that less could be cultivated and harvested implying less for sale and consumption. As noted by some respondents,

*'As for that one God says we should tell the truth it [food availability] has gone down' (Interview with Community Member DUR1; Dukusen, September 2017).*

*'But like you [researcher] coming here like cassava and plantain and others that you would take back it would not be easy [it would be a lot] but now there is none there; even what we will eat is a problem' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

#### 4.5.1.6 Inability to allow the land to lie fallow for renewal

One other effect of the loss of access to land, albeit noted by very few respondents (18% in Ananekrom and 15% in Dukusen) was that the land available for cultivation could not be allowed to 'rest', that is, to lie fallow for a period of time for renewal. According to DeSchutter (2009 cited in Yengoh et al., [2016:329]) food production in many rural communities is supported by a farming system that depends substantially on fallowing to replenish soil fertility. Food and livelihood security for a vast majority of the population therefore depends on the abundance of land to support the fallow systems, characterized by low external input farming' (DeSchutter, 2009 cited in Yengoh et al., 2016:329). However given that on the one hand, there was the reduction of land sizes, the opportunity and abundance did not exist for such a shifting cultivation system whereby a portion could be left to lie fallow for renewal. In addition, the constant use gave rise to lower productivity levels. This was across both communities as noted by respondents in each,

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<sup>112</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR2, ANR9, ANR14, ANR15, ANR16, ANR17, ANR18, ANR19; Ananekrom, September - October 2017.  
Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR6, DUR7; Dukusen, September – October 2017.

*'That's what we used to do (shifting cultivation) but this time you will not get it like that with the land' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

*'That is why when it is getting to some time we don't get food because for the year every day that is where you work; how will it be able to regain strength [fertility]?' (Interview with Community Member ANR12; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

#### 4.5.1.7 Lost Companionship

Even though raised by only five percent (5%) of the Ananekrom respondents and eight percent (8%) of the Dukusen respondents, one of the impacts stemming from the outmigration was the loss of social interaction within the communities. This was because from the perspective of the respondents, their neighbours, with whom they interacted, were leaving them and the companionship was lost. This was across both communities and as one respondent explained,

*'It affects us; maybe me and this person; me and my brother/sister; we are 'brothers/sisters' and they have collected their land and they have gone and left me don't you see that it will affect me? It will affect me; and maybe mine too they didn't collect it and they collected this person's and they have gone and left me like that; it will bother me' (Interview with Community Member DUR5; Dukusen, September 2017).*

#### 4.5.1.8 Lack of resources to start over again

Two further impacts were raised by a respondent at Samsu (an adjacent community – albeit in a different district and under a different traditional authority – where a number of affected people had sourced land). For the in-migrants coming in search of land, the main impact concerned their destitution following the loss of access to land. As a result the problem was the lack of resources needed to migrate and to start over again. As explained by the respondent,

*'It affected them because for someone how they will even be able to take their stuff [uproot] from where they were to here.....you see that for here farmers are a group of people who we don't often have money so it*

*becomes impromptu; they are collecting the land; go; maybe he hasn't even sold his crops or that year things didn't go well; how he will even be able to get a car to bring his belongings; the money aspect is not good so if he had been cultivating about 10 acres because he is moving from there to here maybe when he comes here the farm he will be able to cultivate will be only two acres; so he is now starting all over again; it has created a lot of problems' (Interview with Community Member SAR1; Samsu, October 2017).*

These particular impacts were echoed by a respondent who had lost access to land in Ananekrom and had migrated into Mosi Panin (another adjacent community in the same district and under the same traditional authority as Samsu— where a number of affected people had sourced for land). They were also raised by a key informant at the district level.

From the preceding and as per the data, a number of impacts arose as a result of the loss of access to land. Some of these impacts, such as the complete<sup>113</sup> loss of livelihood were obvious given the fact that it (form of livelihood) was derived from farming. To continue in the livelihood and income generation they had been 'trained' in there was the search for alternative land because as explained by respondents in both communities, farming was what they did; they were not formally educated<sup>114</sup>. (Notably, their livelihoods – such as source of food, source of income, ability to cater for their households were tied to the land in that it was through the resource that they could obtain these and make their living. Hence once there was loss of access to land there was loss of livelihood). Thus the impacts in themselves were to be expected and common where large-scale land acquisitions take place and rural farming communities are concerned (Yengoh et al., 2016:336; Jiao et al., 2015:323; Antonelli et al., 2015:109; Sebastian and Warner, 2014:16; Krieger and Leroch, 2016:198). However, the issues that stand out are threefold. On the one hand, the impacts themselves created knock-on effects. For example, a loss of access to land implied a loss

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<sup>113</sup> This noted by some respondents: *'Since they collected it I don't go anywhere I don't farm' 'All of us are farmers so when it happened like that; we are sitting there; right now we don't do anything' 'All of us; ask everyone this farming work; right now there is no work in Ananekrom that we can say that maybe we are going to do some'* (Interviews with Community Members ANNRA, ANR2, ANR3, ANR5, ANR14; Ananekrom, September – October 2017).

Similar was noted in Dukusen - Interviews with Community Members DUR6, DUR7, DUR8, DUR10, DUR11; Dukusen, October 2017.

<sup>114</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR3 ANR5, ANR14, ANR15, ANR19; Ananekrom, September to October 2017.

Interview with Community Member DUR2; Dukusen, September 2017.

of livelihood for a farmer. This in turn gave rise to a decrease in income generation and food consumption and an increase in hardship and difficulty as emerged from the data. A loss of access to land also gave rise to the search for new land which had the attendant possibilities of access to marginal lands or tenure insecurity. There was also the possibility of obtaining smaller land sizes or land of higher rents<sup>115</sup>. Access to marginal lands and decreased land sizes for example, gave rise to decreased production as noted by some respondents. Therefore the effects were arguably in a cycle over a period of time and as such, the affected persons were repeatedly impacted because the loss of access to land as it were created further losses.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, there was the issue of who was impacted and why. This was because there were different ethnicities residing in the locality with some indigenous to the locality, whilst others were not. Therefore there was the possibility that the impacts could be segregated along ethnic lines with some being more impacted than others. Thirdly, there was the issue of where the impacts were taking place, given that there were the different land types – government land and customary land. Hence there was the prospect that impacts could be differentiated along tenure types with the nature of the effects differing according to location. The discussion therefore turns to interrogate whether there was differentiation along ethnic lines and/or across tenure types commencing with a background to the presence of the non-indigene.

#### **4.6 THE ETHNIC ELEMENT – THE INDIGENE AND THE NON-INDIGENE**

The Ashanti region is a core area<sup>116</sup> of the Asante nation (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a:1), that is, the Asante people/ethnic group. However similar to other regions of the country, there are many ethnic groups residing in the Ashanti Region (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a:3-4). These other ethnic groups who have moved into Ashanti are ‘migrant settlers particularly from the Northern parts of the country’ (Asante Akim North District, 2014:21; Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a:24). The predominance of Northern migrants in

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<sup>115</sup> Notably from the data, none of the respondents raised the fact that higher productivity lands were accessed. At best the amount of yield was similar to their previous land albeit this could be attended by the land being further away or costing more to hire for example.

<sup>116</sup> The geographical entity of all territory under the *Asantehene* (Ashanti King), includes the Ashanti region and parts of the Brong Ahafo region (Ubink, 2007:228). The Ashanti region is where the Ashantis originate from even though some have dispersed and settled elsewhere in the country. In addition, some of the chiefs in the Brong Ahafo and Northern regions swear allegiance to the Ashanti King (Interview with Senior Official, Regional House of Chiefs, August 2017). However the Ashanti region itself is the territory within Ghana which the Ashantis lay claim to.

the region is mirrored in the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti region. The most recent census, the 2010 Population and Housing Census indicated that of the migrants recorded in the district, the highest number came from the Northern Regions (Asante Akim North District, 2014:56). To comprehend the presence of the non-indigene and in this case specifically the Northerner in the south, there is the need to go back into history to gain insight into the rationale and scale of the southward migration. This is because such background information gives an understanding into the existence of the non-indigenes in territory they do not originate from.

#### *4.6.1 The presence of the non-indigene*

Historically, the northern part of Ghana otherwise known as the Northern Territories, officially became part of Ghana, then the Gold Coast, in 1901 when it became a protectorate of the British colonial government (Darkwa et al., 2016:8). The area of the Northern Territories was acquired belatedly; an afterthought to the Gold Coast Colony and the annexation was preceded by explorations of the political situation and economic possibilities of the North (Sutton, 1989:637-638). Before the annexation, there was southward movement from the north. Indeed movement from the north to the south had existed before cocoa and gold-mining came into being, but Northerners did not migrate as labourers; they came as far as Accra<sup>117</sup> as traders with shea-butter, leather goods, local cloth and livestock commodities (Plange, 1979:11).

The environmental conditions of the northern part of the country have been explained as a rationale for southward movement from the North during the early 1900s and the colonial era. From an environmental perspective, the 'soil was poor in places, the availability of water was variable and from the agriculture and land use surveys done in the 1930s the Northern Territories were reckoned to be generally a poor area, with low rainfall producing a marginal subsistence in most areas' (Sutton, 1989:641, 652). The 'natural' conditions of soil, climate and even population have been used by several anthropologists and historians to 'explain' the relatively underdeveloped condition of Northern Ghana during the colonial period and its aftermath (Plange, 1974:4). It is these purported environmental conditions which have been used to account for the trend of movement south by the inhabitants of the North. Notably, according to the Ghana Living Standards Survey Round Six, migratory movement within

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<sup>117</sup> The capital of Ghana.

Ghana has usually been from the north to the south (GLSS 6, 2014c:66). As Plange (1979:9) suggests, attempts to explain the phenomenon of migration have always made references to certain natural conditions of the geographical environment which either compelled or encouraged migration. The argument has generally been made concerning the low productivity of the land and soil erosion within the context of mounting population pressure (Plange, 1979:9,10). These are held to have led to a certain adaptation by the people, namely migration to the southern areas (Plange, 1979:9,10).

The southward movement however takes on a different rationale when the colonial political economy is taken into consideration. The colonial authorities capitalised on the mineral abundance and vegetation of the south for extractive and commercial production purposes respectively. The exhaustion of the local supply of native labourers for the mines implied that the industry was faced with shortage, a problem resulting from the fact that the Akan mine labourers resented underground work; they believed that underground mining was associated with unfriendly spirits and they viewed underground mining as a low status activity associated with slaves and therefore degrading (Anarfi et al., 2003:10). In order to source for labour to serve the mines, there was a plan to import labourers from the North. The Northern Territories were deemed by the colonial regime to have little direct economic value; hence in the 1920s the territories were designated as a labour reserve for the supply of cheap labour for the mines and general labour in the cities in the South<sup>118</sup> (Anarfi et al., 2003:14). In practice this meant that there was the southward movement of northerners (because labour for the mines was sourced from the north).

The development of the southern part of the Gold Coast depended on there not being similar development in the north; the southern industries – commercial agriculture, mining, and other enterprises – depended on labour from the north (Sutton, 1989:637). In order for the extraction and production in the south to continue, there was the need for a constant supply of labour. The Northern section of the colony was deemed a suitable labour supplier. Conditions were created such that ‘there was far greater opportunity to earn money and higher wages in the south, and the south grew to depend on this labour, with the result that programs to enable Northerners to earn money at home were ambivalent’ (Sutton, 1989:663). The vision of the north as a supplier of labour conditioned colonial investment,

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<sup>118</sup> Governor Guggisberg outlined a compulsory labour recruitment system for Northern Ghana in his Development Plan of 1919 (Agyei and Ofori-Mensah, 2009 cited in Darkwa et al., 2016:8; Anarfi et al., 2003:14).

or the lack of it, in northern agriculture and especially infrastructure, so that little was done to create alternatives to labour migration when cash was demanded (Sutton, 1989:638). By the end of 1950 the north trailed behind the southern region in terms of commerce, population enrolled in schools, as well as population with some level of education and it is factors like these which in part gradually gave the Northern region its features of relative backwardness and underdevelopment (Plange, 1979:13). In general, the migration for a period of nearly two decades set in motion a culture of southward movement such that by the 1940s, male migration to either the mines or cocoa farms had become the norm (Shepherd, 1981 cited in Darkwa et al., 2016:8).

The poverty and underdevelopment created in the North has continued. The three<sup>119</sup> Northern regions of Ghana have consistently ranked among the poorest regions in the country for each of the Ghana Living Standards Surveys [GLSS] from the GLSS 1 1987/1988 to the most recent GLSS 6 [2012/2013] (see Darkwa et al., 2016:10). The poverty levels in the three Northern regions rank constantly among the highest of the ten<sup>120</sup> regions in Ghana. According to the Ghana Living Standards Survey Round Six – Poverty Profile in Ghana 2005 – 2013, Ghana's poverty analysis has focused on consumption poverty which has classified the poor as those who lack command over basic consumption needs, including food and non-food components (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b:9). Where such poverty is concerned, more than four in every ten persons are poor in Upper East (44.4%), increasing to one in every two in the Northern region (50.4%) and seven out of every ten in Upper West (70.7%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b:13). The Ghana Living Standards Survey Round Six – Poverty Profile in Ghana 2005 – 2013 also defines extreme poverty as those whose standard of living is insufficient to meet their basic nutritional requirements, even if they devoted their entire consumption budget to food (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b:12). In terms of extreme poverty incidence, the Upper West region has the highest extreme poverty incidence of 45.1 percent, followed by the Northern (22.8%) and the Upper East (21.3%) and the three northern regions combined account for more than half of those living in extreme poverty (52.7%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014b:14). Hence these regions are still the poorest within the country. The proletarianisation of the Northerners, the deliberate

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<sup>119</sup> From Tuesday February 12, 2019, President Nana Akuffo-Addo gave legal backing to the creation of six new regions. The Northern Region was divided into three hence for northern Ghana, the regions have increased from three to five in number – Upper West, Upper East, North East, Savannah and Northern regions.

<sup>120</sup> As a result of the creation of six new regions, the total number of regions in Ghana has increased from ten to sixteen.

lack of investment and infrastructure in the North and the creation of conditions favouring southward migration during the colonial era all contributed to the endemic poverty and underdevelopment in the region in the decades following the exit of colonialism.

In the present day, due to the same socio-historical and environmental conditions, Northerners migrate southward. For example differences are exemplified in the climatic and environmental conditions of the North versus Ashanti. For the Northern Region, the climate is relatively dry, with a single rainy season that begins in May and ends in October (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b:2). The amount of rainfall recorded annually varies between 750 millimetres and 1,050 millimetres and the main vegetation is grassland, interspersed with guinea savannah woodland' (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013b:2). The Upper East Region is comparable with 'savannah woodland natural vegetation, characterized by short scattered drought-resistant trees and grass; climate characterized by one rainy season from May/June to September/October and a mean annual rainfall between 800 mm and 1,100 mm. The rainfall is erratic spatially and in duration with a long spell of dry season from November to mid-February' (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013c:2). For the Upper West Region which is 'located in the Guinea Savannah belt, the climate follows a general pattern identified with the northern regions. It has a single rainy season from April to September, with average annual rainfall of about 115 cm. This is followed by harmattan, a prolonged dry season from early November to March' (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013d:1). An example of the Northern landscape is presented below.



Figure 4.2. Picture of Landscape in Northern Region of Ghana. Source: Researcher.

This is considerably different from the vegetation and climate of the Ashanti region. With the Ashanti region, 'more than half of the region, the south-western part, lies in the semi-equatorial forest zone and a smaller north-eastern part lies in the savanna zone. The region has an average annual rainfall of 1,270 mm and two rainy seasons; the major season is from April to mid-August and the minor season is from September to November. The climatic conditions of the region permit successful cultivation of many annual and tree crops' (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013a:1). An example of the Ashanti landscape is presented below.



Figure 4.3. Picture of Landscape in Ashanti Region of Ghana. Source: Researcher.

Hence where physical geographic factors – abundance and frequency of rainfall, soil type, vegetation – are concerned, the Ashanti region is much more suitable for year-round farming, as emerged from the community responses. Furthermore tying in the fact that, as noted from the Northern respondents their main livelihood was derived from farming, a location where it was possible to farm continuously through the year was more desirable, not only for employment and livelihood purposes, but also in order to accumulate wealth for themselves and to send back to their families in the North. Thus more favourable climatic and vegetation factors precipitated a migration southward. Underdevelopment also precipitates migration. However the responses of the community members referred only to more favourable climatic and vegetation factors as the reasons for moving. This was possibly because they derived their livelihoods from farming and hence their focus was on the factors that would make farming beneficial to them or the factors on which cultivation with higher yields depended. As explained by one respondent,

*'The land [North], the way the rain falls; the land is hard and sometimes the rain will fall but the rains will be late; you have travelled somewhere to see that the land there every year the rains fall to the end of the year; but there [North] when it rains once that is all. There [North] if you will cultivate yam once and the groundnuts too you cannot plant groundnuts in the harmattan. As for this area [Ashanti] you can work continuously till the next round which is why [we migrate here]' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

In effect, it could be argued that for the present day, the predominant presence of the Northerners in the study area which falls under Ashanti territory stemmed from a number of factors. The immediate factors related to the climate and vegetation conditions with that of Ashanti proving more beneficial where Northern livelihoods were concerned. Secondly, historically there was the colonial political economy, which exacerbated northern poverty and underdevelopment. Thus there was the significant presence of the Northerners, with communities being established in the south.

The data gathered indicated that there were a significant number of Northerners in the two communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen<sup>121</sup>. The apparent numerical dominance of the Northerners could not be attributed to the sampling method since Northerners were not particularly sought out. The community respondents themselves stressed on the prevalence of the Northerners. As noted by some respondents, they were 'many' or 'made up the village':

*'We [Northerners] are many here'; 'All of us are from the North'  
(Interviews with Community Members ANR12, ANR17 respectively<sup>122</sup>;  
Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'Since you [researcher] came have you seen anybody from this town [indigene]? Only us visitors [migrants] are here; it is only visitors [migrants] here' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

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<sup>121</sup> Out of the twenty-two respondents interviewed in Ananekrom, eighteen were Northerners from the Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions (at the time of the fieldwork in 2017 there were only three Northern regions). Four were Ashantis from the Ashanti Region. Out of the thirteen respondents interviewed in Dukusen, eleven were Northerners and two were Ashantis (from the Ashanti region).

<sup>122</sup>Also interviews with Community Members ANR2, ANR6, ANR7, ANR8, ANR13, ANR14, ANR15; Ananekrom, October 2017.

*'We are Northerners. Let's say if you come to this village, all those who make up the village aren't from here; the Ashantis who are from Agogo and are here won't even number 4; but they don't actually live here; so those of us here are all from the North; we are all Northerners who make up this village'* (Interview with Community Member DUR1<sup>123</sup>; Dukusen, September 2017).

There was a consistent emphasis by the respondents<sup>124</sup> on the majority originating from the North<sup>125</sup>. Thus there was an ethnic dimension to the localities. It was Ashanti territory therefore Ashanti land. In spite of this, as previously noted, in the particular communities there was a significant and dominant Northern presence. From the foregoing, the question that then arises is what was the position of the non-indigene, (particularly the Northerners in this study) given the predominance albeit on territory which was not their own? The discussion turns to address this next.

#### *4.6.2 The position of the non-indigene*

Following migration southward from the North, two issues were to be grappled with as emerged from the data. One issue was the land ownership - it was Ashanti land and hence being 'strangers' (also referred to as 'visitors', 'foreigners', 'migrants') the non-indigenes who had come to this territory had no rights to the land. 'A stranger is a non-subject of a clan, tribe, skin or stool. Strangers who wish to acquire land must first seek the permission of a Chief to settle in his area and if permission is granted, the stranger may then contact any landholder, or most frequently the family he/she may be residing with for land on a contractual basis, such as a gift or on share cropping terms' (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:13). Sharecropping is generally explained as an arrangement in which the tenant pays a predetermined share of the harvest to the respective landowner (Ellis, 1993 cited in Lambrecht and Asare, 2016:258).

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<sup>123</sup> Also interviews with Community Members DUR4, DUR5, DUR6, DUR7; Dukusen, September – October 2017.

<sup>124</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR6, ANR7, ANR8, ANR12, ANR14, ANR15, ANR17; Ananekrom, October 2017.

Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUR2, DUR3, DUR4, DUR5, DUR6, DUR7; Dukusen, September – October 2017.

<sup>125</sup> The various ethnicities originating from the North of Ghana was elaborated upon by one respondent: 'We came from the North; from the North...we have Dagartes here we have Frafras here we have Kusaases here we have Dagombas here we have Mamprisis here we have Gruishes here; all of them too are from the North' (Interview with Community Member ANR13; Ananekrom, October 2017).

As highlighted by the responses within the community interviews, the non-indigenes accepted that they did not own land in Ashanti. The point was re-iterated constantly by the Northerners and they accepted that they were 'visitors/ migrants/ strangers/ foreigners'. As noted from some respondents:

*'We are visitors [migrants]; we don't have land; so we came to serve them [Ashantis]' (Interview with Community Member ANR3; Ananekrom, September 2017).*

*'So those of us living here; those of us living here; we don't have any land here' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

The non-ownership of land was also confirmed by the responses of the key informants at the Traditional Hierarchy, District and Regional levels. The migrants/non-indigenes had to hire land from indigenes or approach the Chief or *Odikro* (caretaker Chief) for it. In hiring the land from the indigenes, they were at the mercy of the land 'owners' with vulnerability to insecurity of tenure issues since they did not have the rights to the land. The second matter which was tied in with the first was the fact that in their (Northern) perception, they were looked down on by the Ashantis; as noted by one respondent,

*'The Akan people [Ashantis] please apologies they take us Northerners like we are..... they see us as animals so every time they want to make us servants'*

(Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).

Hence they were vulnerable to poor treatment when hiring and working on indigenes' land. Notably conflict did not arise where the ethnic groups were concerned because as stated earlier the Northerners acknowledged the fact that the land did not belong to them and they accepted that they were 'migrants/ visitors/ foreigners/ strangers'. West, Igoe and Brockington (2006:260) contend that protected areas, as with any development intervention, are also instrumental in fuelling social conflict between groups. This is because the people groups may compete with each other for the remaining resource available for their sustenance. However such conflict did not arise between the ethnic groups. Within the Dukusen community the respondents acknowledged that they did not have a say in land issues once the 'owner' wanted it back. As explained by some respondents

*'We are migrants; we cannot come in and talk about land issues with someone'*

*'It's like you holding someone's child and the mother says give me my child, you can't argue with her, you'll give her her child' (Interviews with Community Members DUR2, DUR7 respectively; Dukusen, September – October 2017).*

This perhaps portrayed the extent to which the Northerners appreciated and acknowledged their status as 'migrants/ visitors/ foreigners/ strangers'<sup>126</sup> with no say in land issues. It also highlighted the extent of their vulnerability to the impacts and treatment, given their position as Northerners. The situation was similar in Ananekrom where respondents noted that they had no say because the land was not theirs (Interviews with Community Members ANR4, ANR9, ANR15, ANR18, ANR19; Ananekrom, October 2017). Thus given the position of the Northerners/non-indigenes as 'visitors' and their lack of usufructory land rights, the issue is whether there was an uneven distribution of impacts on this basis and it is to this that the discussion turns next.

#### **4.7 THE DIFFERENTIATION OF IMPACTS ALONG ETHNIC LINES – THE EFFECTS TO THE INDIGENE AND THE NON-INDIGENE**

The responses from the communities highlighted the livelihood impacts that had arisen as a result of the acquisitions. Given that the territory was Ashanti land and there was a significant non-indigenous (mainly Northern) population residing in the communities in addition to the fewer indigenes, the question was whether, in terms of livelihoods, the diverse ethnicities were affected differently. Hence the interrogation of the following:

1. The impact to the indigenes on state land and on customary land
2. The impact to the non-indigenes on state land and on customary land.

##### *4.7.1 The impact to the indigenes*

Taking the case of the indigene (that is, Ashantis) in the first place, was the indigene affected by loss of access to land where state land was concerned? It emerged from the data that the Ashantis were affected. Those farming on the forestry lands were ejected off the land. This was affirmed by some of the respondents:

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<sup>126</sup> Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUR3, DUR8, DUR10, DUR11; Dukusen, September - October 2017; Interviews with Community Members ANR1, ANR2, ANR3, ANR13, ANR17, ANR18; Ananekrom, September – October 2017.

*'All of us who were farming the sofoya [forestry] land they collected it; whether you are an indigene or a migrant.....even if you are an indigene they will collect it' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

In this vein, they were impacted not only by the loss of access to the land and the loss of their crops but also by further knock-on effects such as decreased food supply, loss of income and problems with catering for their households to name a few. Additionally, as elicited from the community responses, it was the access to the forestry land that aided some of the indigenes in cultivating significantly. This is because with the forestry lands there was the opportunity to cultivate larger sizes of land. As explained by some respondents,

*'Someone might come from here but ...maybe the family land might not be big so that side [the forestry land] was what was helping the person' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

In being removed from the land the indigenes were affected. Despite this, there was the existence of the family lands. Thus there was the option to move back to one's family lands where the indigenes were concerned. Consequently, there was some amount of security given that there was land to fall back on. The non-indigenes pointed out that the indigenes had their lands<sup>127</sup> and it was elaborated upon by a Senior Official of the Agogo Traditional Council:

*'One thing is every family has got land, every family within our traditional area has got land elsewhere so if they cannot work in the forest land [then they] go back and search for their [family] land and work on it. This is the practice they have been doing. They have been driven from the forest so they go back to their original family lands to work and this is what is prevailing at the moment' (Interview with Senior Official, Agogo Traditional Council, October 2017).*

Furthermore, there was the option to hire out the family lands to the Northerners as a source of income. This was undertaken, with the non-indigenes noting that the family lands were hired out to them, provided they had the resources to rent it. Therefore on the forestry land, there was the impact to the indigene in the sense of loss of access to the land, destruction

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<sup>127</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR2, ANR9; Ananekrom, September – October 2017.

of crops and ensuing knock-on effects. However due to the ethnic situation of being an indigene and within one's own territory, there was the usufructory right to a portion of land which 'belonged' to the family. In essence, there was family land which could be accessed. Furthermore, given that there was the right of access to a portion of land, there was also the possibility of hiring out the land for income. Therefore, on the basis of ethnicity, as an indigene, there were effects resulting from the loss of access to forestry land; yet still there was security in being able to access land or income in a quicker timeframe.

On the other hand, it must be noted that in going back to the family lands there could be a decrease in the land size available. As emerged from the data, given that it was family land and hence belonged to the extended family, the size of land that a family member could access might not be to the extent that would be desired for farming. As one respondent explained,

*'Your mother has given you land; your mother also did not give birth to only you so by the time your mother passes on her land, it is two acres and the siblings are coming to share; the small that you will get your children will also come and share; so every time then the land is becoming smaller and smaller so with that you can't cultivate large scale' (Interview with Community Member DUR9; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Hence on the one hand, there was the opportunity of accessing family land as an indigene but on the other, there was also the possibility of a smaller scale of cultivation due to a decreased size of land<sup>128</sup>. Nevertheless the overriding issue was that regarding the resource of land required for the particular livelihoods, where the indigene was concerned, there was the availability and opportunity to access one's 'own' land.

The second question is whether the indigene was affected by loss of access to land where customary land was concerned. Two scenarios emerged from the data. On the one hand, the indigenes who had the usufructory rights to parcels of land were the ones who had hired them out to the company acquiring lands. Hence they received some form of compensation periodically as noted by the community respondents:

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with Community Member DUR9; Dukusen, October 2017; Interview with Community Member ANR5; Anenekrom, October 2017.

*'So those who the land is for, for them at the end of the month they go and collect their small' [remuneration/compensation] so that is how it is' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

This was also confirmed by a company official that compensation was in the form of 'a bulk sum as well as a yearly rental fee' because 'if someone is giving his/her land he/she needs access to other land to farm on/sustain him/herself'<sup>129</sup>. Thus there was the payment of rent for the land given to the company<sup>130</sup>. Compensation was also granted. This is because there was the acknowledgement of the need for the one giving out his/her land to access alternative land<sup>131</sup>. Notably these payments were to the ones who 'owned' the land, that is, the ones who had the usufructory rights to the land; in essence, the indigenes.

It must be noted however that where compensation was concerned the issue was the (dis)satisfaction with the compensation. Thus as noted by one Traditional Authority, even though the compensation was paid, it was unsatisfactory to the people as a result of which they were always complaining<sup>132</sup>. For the indigene giving out his/her land therefore, on the one hand the compensation was paid but on the other hand the levels of compensation were not satisfactory.

The fact that there was dissatisfaction with the amount of compensation appeared consistent, although there were discrepancies concerning the exact amounts. The Traditional Authority was not very certain about the amounts but had heard it was ten cedis [10 GHC approximately 10 USD in 2008<sup>133</sup>] per acre per annum<sup>134</sup>. According to a community member (albeit non-indigene) it was even less:

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<sup>129</sup> Interview with Official, Company S, October 2017.

<sup>130</sup> Land grabbing as previously noted is a phrase that encompassed acquisitions, transactions, deals, appropriations whereby people's livelihoods were compromised. Therefore even though rents and compensation was paid and people's livelihoods were still compromised, they would still be affected. In the studies by Boamah (2014) the dissatisfaction led to renegotiation of the lease agreement. Furthermore, the non-indigenes who worked on the land were not compensated as per the data and therefore were significantly affected with livelihoods compromised. So a section of the population had their livelihoods affected even though there was compensation paid to some.

<sup>131</sup> It was not stated whether this was a legal requirement (i.e. for the one giving out his/her lands to access alternative land). However a Senior Official at the Lands Commission noted that there was the requirement for those who had given out their lands to be settled/compensated (Interview with Senior Official – Lands Commission Ashanti Region, July 2017).

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Traditional Authority, Dukusen, August 2017.

<sup>133</sup> <https://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GHS&date=2008-07-15>; 1 GHC was approximately equivalent to 1 USD in July 2008.

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Traditional Authority, Dukusen, August 2017.

*'One cedi [1 GHC approximately 1 USD<sup>135</sup>] for an acre; one acre 0000; I am saying one man one cedi; one man one cedi I bet you.....one man one cedi and that one acre if I use it to farm maize and I get even one bag [of maize] will it be one cedi; isn't it stupidity; Maame<sup>136</sup> isn't it stupidity; one man one cedi' (Interview with Community Member DUR11; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Boamah (2014:330) makes reference to the fact that 'advocacy by ActionAid Ghana led to re-negotiation of the lease agreement and consequently compensation for affected land areas increased from GHC 15 to 30 [approximately 15 USD to 30 USD] per acre per year'. The study by Boamah (2014) does not state when the renegotiations took place although the information on the amounts are from interviews undertaken with 'village residents and the Agogo Traditional Council Registrar in 2012' (Boamah, 2014:330). Boamah's study does note that the lease agreement was signed in 2008 (Boamah, 2014:329). The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was also undertaken in 2008<sup>137</sup> (required before Environment Protection Agency permit is granted) therefore it is most likely that the compensation figures were from this period onward. Notwithstanding, there is discrepancy in the amounts stated – Boamah's (2014) study of 15 GHC to 30 GHC; the Traditional Authority of 10 GHC and the community member of 1 GHC per acre. Either way, it appears that the compensation amount was within this range – 1 GHC to 30 GHC (approximately 1 USD to 30 USD) per acre per year<sup>138</sup>. Notably Boamah (2014) may potentially be more accurate given the closer time of the interviews (2012) to 2008 as well as the interviews [by Boamah (2014)] with the Agogo Traditional Council Registrar who would potentially have records. Even though the exact compensation cannot be ascertained, what is verifiable is the fact that there was dissatisfaction in the compensation levels as noted from these three different sources – a previous researcher's study, the traditional authority in the village and a non-indigene

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<sup>135</sup> <https://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GHS&date=2008-07-15>; 1 GHC was approximately equivalent to 1 USD in July 2008.

<sup>136</sup> Addressing the Researcher; it could used as a title either meaning Madam, or woman.

<sup>137</sup> Interview with Senior Official, EPA; Kumasi, August 2016.

<sup>138</sup> The study by Boamah (2014) details that 'the project initially involved a 50-year land lease agreement with the Agogo Traditional Council' (Boamah, 2014:329) and public agitation about the land deal led to the reduction of the lease tenure from 50 to 15 years (Boamah, 2014:329). However in the interview conducted by the researcher in 2017, a Senior Official of the company noted that the lease was for 50 years – there was the first 25 years and then the possibility of renewal (Interview with Official, Company S, October 2017). The discrepancy in the length of the lease suggests that possibly between the interviews in 2012 by Boamah (2014) and those by the researcher in 2017, there could have been some renegotiation/change in the lease length. The compensation period assumed for this study is the 25 year (renewable) given the researcher's own interrogation with a Senior Official of the company in 2017.

resident in the community. Notably, there is the possibility that people are usually dissatisfied with compensation levels. This was observed by one Official at the District level<sup>139</sup>. The implications of such dissatisfaction are that there will be complaints/agitation for more compensation or the desire/request to get the land back. This did arise – according to the Senior Official – who noted that there were a few cases where farmers would spend the compensation money and then wanted their land back after two or three years (Interview with Official, Company S, October 2017). There were also a few cases as explained by the Senior Official where the farmers would try to outsmart the company – they (the farmers) would want to come for the land they had given to the company so as to give [the company] a different parcel of land to use (Interview with Official, Company S, October 2017). Since these situations could not be encouraged, there was sometimes protest in the form of possible scare tactics. This was observed by the Company Official who noted that he was not certain whether it was cursing but could arrive at the plot and see a red<sup>140</sup> band tied there but would simply go ahead with work<sup>141</sup>.

It also emerged from the data that in scenarios where the Ashantis felt that they had lost access to their land, they could fight over what they deemed was theirs. This was with the result that they would still be accessing and farming the land whilst disputing over it. This was highlighted by one respondent.

*DUR5: 'So those who have planted like sorry ooo the Ashantis who live here; some of them can fight continuously then the land still they are farming it'*

*Researcher: 'But for the Ashantis they can dispute continuously?'*

*DUR5: 'Then he/she [Ashanti] is still planting'*

*Researcher: 'So like the Ashantis they will fight continuously?'*

*DUR5: 'Yes'*

*(Interview with Community Member DUR5; Dukusen, September 2017).*

Hence there was some form of resistance – either through the consistent fighting (disputing and arguing) over the land or through possible scare tactics (elaborated on in the preceding paragraph) using objects representing curses or danger.

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<sup>139</sup> The Official noted that *'There have also been times that lands have been acquired and the required compensation has been paid yet you have people complaining'* (Interview with Official, Asante Akim North District Assembly Planning Department, July 2017).

<sup>140</sup> Red in Ashanti signifies danger, is used to express the gravity attached to a situation or extreme displeasure (for example during demonstrations). It is also used for funerals.

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Official, Company S, October 2017.

Taking either scenario, where the indigene was concerned, a source of income and livelihood was still maintained. This is because compensation was paid to them. Therefore even though land was acquired from them, there were the measures in place for them to persist in their livelihoods. Furthermore by reason of ethnicity, as indigenes, the perception of rights to the land gave a basis for disputing over it whilst continuously cultivating it. Notably the respondents did not highlight the subject of displacement of the indigenes. Hence access to the land and livelihood was maintained. This is not to suggest that the access to land and maintenance of livelihood contradicts earlier statements concerning the effects to community members. Rather the situation highlights how the various categories of community members were differently affected. In the case of the indigenes, notwithstanding the acquisitions and the effects to community members generally (relative to the situation of the non-indigenes discussed in the following Section) there was some form of access to land [the family land] or some form of income [the compensation for the indigenes] and therefore maintenance of sustenance.

#### *4.7.2 The impact on the non-indigenes*

Taking the case of the non-indigenes (in this study, Northerners), were they affected by loss of access where the state land was concerned? The data showed that the non-indigenes were affected significantly. Within the Ananekrom community, sixteen respondents had cultivated the forestry (state) lands, fourteen of whom were Northerners and of the fourteen, twelve had lost access to the forestry lands. At the outset, it appeared that the non-indigenes accessed the forestry lands to a greater extent. Why was this so? A number of reasons emerged from the data.

Due to the forest fires of the 1980s, the land was purportedly vacant and available. Hence as claimed by the community respondents, it was given out by forestry officials to be farmed on. In addition, as maintained by the key informants at the district and regional levels, there was ease of encroachment. Both of these situations encouraged the non-indigenes onto the forestry/state lands. Secondly, there would be no sharecropping agreement on the forestry/state land and as explained by one official, '*when cultivating on government land, everything is yours*'<sup>142</sup>.

This was also echoed at the community level:

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<sup>142</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

*'They (Northerners) prefer the sofeya [forestry land] so they go for the sofeya [forestry land].....so they [the Northerners] liked it that way because they would not share the produce with anyone, they would not share the produce with anyone'*

(Interview with Community Member ANR10; Ananekrom, October 2017).

A third reason for the use of the forestry lands pertained to their higher fertility levels as compared to the family lands, which were described by some of the non-indigenes<sup>143</sup> as 'dead'<sup>144</sup>, 'tired', 'weak', 'old' or 'unable to regain strength'. The forest soils were perceived as more fertile by farmers because they were seen as a source of virgin land<sup>145</sup>. The fertility of the forest soils was also highlighted by two of the key informants<sup>146</sup>. In addition (prior to the acquisitions) there was the likelihood of more 'peace of mind' with the forestry lands in the sense that it did not belong to indigenes and so the non-indigene cultivating it would be able to do so undisturbed unlike the family lands where the 'land owner' could intercrop at any time or different family members could demand differing land rents. Conceivably, the use of state/forestry land by the non-indigenes left them open to ejection from the land when acquisitions took place. The fact that they, as non-indigenes, had no usufructory rights to land arguably contributed to their preference of land for which there would be peace of mind and no sharecropping agreement. Hence their cultivation of the state/forestry lands.

Subsequently, were the non-indigenes (in this study, Northerners), affected by loss of access where the state land was concerned? The data showed that the non-indigenes were affected significantly. Discussions in previous sections detailed the livelihood implications arising from the land acquisitions as well as the manner in which the indigenes were affected. Given that, as previously noted, indigenes and non-indigenes cultivated the forestry/state lands and both were ejected, all suffered the impacts of removal from the land. However on taking into consideration the ethnicity, the territory of Ashanti and the usufructory rights to land, the effects to the non-indigenes went further.

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<sup>143</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR4, ANR5, ANR8, ANR9, ANR12, ANR13; Focus Group Discussion 1; Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017.

<sup>144</sup> Dead land – translated directly from the Asante Twi word 'awu'. It means that the land has been used continually (without allowing it to lie fallow to replenish its nutrients) to the extent that the nutrients are depleted and so crops give low yields and as time goes by they do not produce any yields. Basically the land is infertile.

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Collaborative Unit of Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017.

<sup>146</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Ministry of Food and Agriculture Ashanti Region, July 2017; Interview with Senior Official, EPA, August 2017.

Where impacts to non-indigenes were concerned, as previously noted, though all those farming the forestry lands were affected, the Ashantis would have their family lands to fall back on but the Northerners would have to hire the lands of individuals/families. There were a number of challenges associated with the hiring of individual/family lands. There was the issue of being able to acquire the land in the first place, since as a result of the acquisitions, the individual/family lands had become more expensive to hire. The other situation also existed where the land sizes available for farming were small and so one could not cultivate to the extent that one desired. Furthermore, the available land was very far away; hence this affected not only the access to it but also the magnitude of crop production<sup>147</sup>. Then there was the matter of the land quality. The land available for hiring was usually marginal land or, as described by the non-indigene respondents, 'tired' or 'dead'. In addition the land might not be suitable for the type of farming the non-indigene desired to undertake, for example if the land was waterlogged and the individual was not a rice farmer then he/she would either have to cultivate rice or forgo the land. As explained by some respondents,

*'Where you will get to farm it has to be that someone has his family land then he hires it out to you; but when you go the family lands for some they have farmed on, the land is dead [infertile]; if you farm on it only weeds; there is nothing [nutrients] in.....or else you will go to the water [waterlogged area] to cultivate rice those are the issues.....that are facing us here; in the waterlogged areas.....there is no large land there; you will not get large tracts of land to farm on; unless one plot land that you will go and get' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Where the hiring of land was concerned, the circumstance also arose where the indigene was not willing to hire out land to the non-indigene with the result that the Northerner would have to search for other options such as migrating out of the community in search of land. As one indigene explained,

*'Even for us who we have our town we are Ashantis ....will I leave mine [land] for you that go and farm [will I give my land to you].....but if he [Northerner] isn't getting land to farm on what is he staying here for; is here*

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<sup>147</sup> As a result of the distance, the cultivation of more crops required greater financial input. For example, with the spraying of the crops, for a closer farm, one could walk to fetch water. Where the farm was further away, there was the need to hire a vehicle to transport water to mix with the chemicals. Therefore, a larger farm would require more effort (more water for spraying hence more trips with regards to transport and more financial input). Furthermore, the hiring of a water truck for example would have attendant issues of affordability.

*his [does he originate from/have rights to land here] ?' (Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

In essence, as a result of ethnicity and usufructory land rights, the Northerner was not indigenous to the community or region and hence in the absence of land, was expected to farm elsewhere.

In circumstances where a new parcel of land was obtained from the indigene there was still the challenge of insecurity of tenure. From the data, this manifested in a number of ways. There was the situation where the land 'owner' would hire out the land and allow the non-indigene to clear it. Once the land was cleared of vegetation, the land 'owner' would then come to collect his/her land. By such means, the indigene would have used the non-indigene's labour to get his/her land cleared without allowing the non-indigene to plant his/her crops. As explained by one respondent,

*'But now one thing with the family land is that if you can do the work; they [Ashantis] will let you do the work; let a Northerner come and do the work..... the one which is difficult he/she [the Ashanti] won't farm; he/she will let you the Northerner somewhere like that [farm the difficult part where much effort is required to remove the vegetation] so that he/she deceives you; when you finish doing the work; the time the land lies there free from vegetation and one can farm and get crops then he/she will tell you that his/her children have come that they want to come and farm' (Interview with Community Member ANR8; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Furthermore, given that the land 'belonged' [usufructory rights] to the indigene, the non-indigene would have no option but to vacate the land with little or no resistance because there was the general acceptance in the words of the respondents that 'they were visitors' and 'they did not bring land with them when coming down south'<sup>148</sup>. There was also the situation where the land 'owner' would come and intercrop with his/her own crops at any time on the land hired out to the non-indigene with no prior notification and no reason given. As explained by one respondent,

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<sup>148</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR1, ANR2, ANR3, ANR13, ANR15, ANR17, ANR18; Ananekrom, September – October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017.  
Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUR2, DUR3, DUR8, DUR10, DUR11; Dukusen, September – October 2017.

*'When you go and hire someone's to farm on when the year ends he won't even tell you; when you come he would have planted plantain on his land and yet he will tell you to pay' (Interview with Community Member ANR14; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Other respondents explained the need therefore to accommodate the Ashantis in order to be able to continuously get land to farm on. They noted that

*'If you are not wise and you don't talk to them [negotiate with Ashantis] and give them a little room to plant plantain for a year; you will then have to move; but if you want to see [plant] only maize, as soon as you plant they will come and intercrop with plantain so that a year later you won't get any land to farm on again' (Interview with Community Member ANR18, ANR19; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

The situation highlighted not only the insecurity of tenure issue but more importantly the fact that the land did not belong to the non-indigene; he/she had no rights over the land and the indigene had the power to do as he/she pleased with his/her land even when hired out. This was summarised aptly by one non-indigene:

*'Sometimes if he/she [the Ashanti] wants to he/she will tell you; if he/she [the Ashanti] wants he/she will not tell you; because the land is his/hers; all you will see is that they have planted plantain' (Interview with Community Member ANR8; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

There was thirdly the circumstance where the land 'owner' could specify that he/she did not want a particular crop planted. A reason for this may or may not be given but either way, the non-indigene had no option than to either abide by the land 'owner's' wishes or to vacate the land. As clarified by one respondent,

*'The land owner will not allow that plant cassava because if you plant cassava you are spoiling his/her land; you too you have no power, if you beg him/her and he/she still doesn't allow there is no need for you plant it; if you plant it and he/she collects the land from you where are you going?' (Interview with Community Member ANR15; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Finally there was the situation where the land belonged to a family (extended family) and the different factions within the family would either demand different rents or sack the non-

indigene from the land altogether. In addition, the non-indigene could be granted land to farm on only to be advised by a third party to stop farming due to ownership disputes concerning the land. In effect, there were these various scenarios arising. They ultimately highlighted the tenure insecurity for the non-indigene who hired land from the indigene.

Was the situation any different with the non-indigenes on customary land? Where the customary land was concerned, a number of scenarios emerged from the data. To begin with, on customary land, given that the non-indigenes did not have usufructory rights, they accessed the land from those who 'owned' the land through some form of contractual basis such as hiring. Hence when it came to the acquisition of land by a company, the one who 'owned' the land (that is, the Ashanti who had the usufructory rights) could request that the non-indigene (in this study Northerners) vacate the parcel of land which had been hired out to him/her once he/she harvested the crops because the 'owner' wanted to give it out for rent to the big company acquiring land. As described by one respondent,

*'That land that I was cultivating the land owner collected the land for them; it's not the company that has collected it; it's the land owner who has collected it .....even the owner of the land was not living in this town; he lived at Nsonyameye. I have not seen him again I do not hear from him again and he collected it [land] and gave it to the company' (Interview with Community Member DUR2; Dukusen, September 2017).*

In addition, as the Northerners noted, once the owner made such a request irrespective of the customary tenancy agreements, given that the land 'belonged' to the Ashanti and the Northerner was a 'visitor/migrant/stranger/foreigner' (irrespective of however many years he/she had been in the community) he/she had no say and no option but to vacate the land. There was little or no resistance because there was the acceptance that the land did not belong to the Northerner. The sense of non-ownership of the land was explained by one community member:

*'You are sitting there and I come and beg you that give me your something small, help me with your something small, and you give it to me this morning and in the evening you come for it.....but it can't disturb me; the thing is yours' (Interview with Community Member DUR2; Dukusen, September 2017).*

Hence since the land was viewed as not belonging to the non-indigene, there was the acceptance of the situation when the land was taken from the Northerner.

Where impacts to the non-indigene on customary land were concerned, there was the issue of compensation. The compensation that was paid by the company acquiring the land was given to the land 'owner' that is the indigene who had the rights to the land and who gave it out. The non-indigene (in this study the Northerner) who actually cultivated the land did not receive anything. This was elicited by some of the community members:

*'They didn't give us anything; they didn't give us anything.....so those who the land is for, for them at the end of the month they go and collect their small [remuneration/compensation]; so that is how it is' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Thus the impact was felt to a greater extent by the non-indigenes because even though in the case of the indigenes there were some complaints about the level of compensation received some amount of recompense was paid to the indigenes. However with the non-indigene actually working on the land there was no compensation for the land and the one had lost access to the resource as well which impinged on the livelihood. One Senior Official within the Lands Commission noted that the settler farmers or sitting tenants (migrants/non-indigenes who were mostly Northerners) were supposed to be compensated because they were actually farming the land:

*'Somebody has entered into an abunu or abusa [customary tenancies] with maybe his/her landlord or land owner; at the end of the day he/she is supposed to share the products [with the land owner]; now if you [entity acquiring the land] go to the owner and pay everything [compensation] and then his/her [tenant] crops is affected what happens to him/her [tenant]; so you look at [consider] both the sitting tenant as well as those with the title<sup>149</sup>; and we are more concerned with the farmers [sitting tenant].....if we get to know the farmers, the settlers, now we ask them*

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<sup>149</sup> As noted by a Senior Official within the Lands Commission, 'title' may extend beyond registered documents to equitable interest: *'Those people don't have actual registered documents but they have some sort of equitable interest with their family name, they are 'eating' from there [the land], they are in possession of the land, even if somebody put them there they are in possession so they have some sort of equitable interest and so you cannot just say that I have legal interests so you allow it to override the equitable interest of those people'* (Interview with Senior Official – Lands Commission Ashanti Region, July 2017).

*questions.....so they will be settled as well as the landlords' (Interview with Senior Official – Lands Commission Ashanti Region, July 2017).*

It is questionable as to whether generally, compensation filtered down to the settler farmers where large-scale land acquisitions were concerned. For Dukusen, nine of the thirteen respondents noted that no compensation was given<sup>150</sup>. This was also observed by the focus group discussants who maintained that the compensation went to the land owner<sup>151</sup>. Given such circumstances therefore, other lands had to be sought, which had associated challenges.

Similar to the situation with the non-indigene on state land, once a new parcel of land was obtained from the indigene, there was the challenge of insecurity of tenure. From the data, this manifested in a number of ways. There was the situation where the land 'owner' would decide to hire out the land to a third party based on the type of crop that could yield more income. Hence the non-indigene would have to vacate the land after harvest. As explained by one respondent,

*'Let's take it like this area of late, they claim plantain has a lot of income, so if you cultivate maize and they think a plantain farmer can fetch them enough money, then they will take the land away from you and rent it to a plantain farmer' (Interview with Community Member DUR1; Dukusen, September 2017).*

There was the situation where the land 'owner' would come and personally intercrop with his/her own crops at any time on the land hired out to the non-indigene with no prior notification and no reason given as opposed to hiring it out to a third party based on the type of crop that could yield more income. As explained by one respondent,

*'You see that the Ashantis they don't really farm the maize like that; they farm plantain.....immediately they give us land then they come and intercrop with plantain; you can do it [continue to plant irrespective of that situation] if you want too you can stop [vacate the land]' (Interview with Community Member DUR5; Dukusen, September 2017).*

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<sup>150</sup> Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUR2, DUR3, DUR5, DUR6, DUR7, DUR8, DUR10, DUR11; Dukusen, September - October 2017.

<sup>151</sup> Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017.

The only options available to the non-indigene were to accommodate the situation or to vacate the land. On the other hand however, there was the occasional subtle resistance in the form of using other means to register protest to the treatment by the land 'owner'. As described by one respondent

*'When I had finished putting in the fertilizer [on the hired land] he [land owner] went to plant in his plantain.....[I said to him] no problem take your land pay me the money I used to get people to weed the land; he told me that.....he won't pay. I said ..... the repercussions of it will come.....as of today he has left the land there; the plantain it is there; I said I won't touch it; the sort of prayers I will pray on you the plantain there it can never grow for him to ever harvest' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Hence there was the subtle resistance and protest – making use of 'prayers' or 'cursing' occasionally resorted to given that the land itself could not be disputed over since it did not 'belong' to the non-indigene/Northerner.

Another impact to the non-indigene due to loss of access to land was that he/she could be granted land to farm on only to be advised that there were ownership disputes concerning the land. Therefore the only option would be to stop farming the land. As noted by one respondent,

*'Where the land is far [where you can get land] that one too you have to follow it up; what you will follow up on too it is for someone; for the person too if you don't go and see him and you farm then there will be a dispute so you only have to stop [vacate the land]' (Interview with Community Member DUR10; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Furthermore, there were issues associated with the land itself, such as the location and the size of the land. The new land accessed could be much further away and/or of a smaller size which hampered the extent of crop production in that due to the terrain size, less could be cultivated and harvested. In addition the size limited the diversity of crops that could be cultivated on the land.

There was also the matter of the quality of the land – that obtained was of poorer quality as maintained by the respondents:

*'Right now the land itself there is no strength in (fertility)'*

*'The land too is not as good as the other one we were farming on'*

*'And it's like the lands that are fertile is where they've have taken and it's left with water areas alone'* (Interviews with Community Members DUR2,

*DUR5, DUR8 respectively; Dukusen, September – October 2017).*

In effect, these scenarios which arose highlighted the tenure insecurity for the non-indigene when hiring land from the indigene following loss of access to customary land.

Essentially, as tabulated below, where the differentiation in impacts along ethnic lines was concerned, the data suggests that there were differences in impacts.

Status/Ethnicity	State/forestry land – following removal from land	Customary land – following removal from land
Indigene/ Ashanti	Quicker timeframe for accessing land/income through: Option to move back to family lands Option to hire out family lands <sup>152</sup>	Giving out lands – still accessing land/income through: Option to get compensation Option to fight for land and still farm
Non-indigene/ Northerner	Accessed forestry land more making them more vulnerable to ejection Asked no questions when accessing land No family lands to fall back on in Ashanti Had to hire family/individual lands following ejection with associated challenges Cost of hiring land Smaller sizes available meaning less production	Vacation of land when landowner wanted to give it to company No compensation paid to the non-indigene working on the land – compensation was paid to land owner Insecurity of tenure – crop specification, intercropping, disputes, Hiring other land associated with challenges - Smaller sizes available meaning less production Marginal land

<sup>152</sup> Family lands were hired out however given the previous availability of the forestry lands and associated fertility and lack of contractual arrangements, these were accessed more. Hence once there was ejection, there was the greater turn to the family lands for hiring.

	Land further away Marginal land Issue of obtaining land – unwillingness of indigene to hire out Insecurity of tenure – use of non- indigene labour, intercropping, crop specification by landowner, disputes concerning the land	
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Table 4.3 The differentiation in impacts along ethnic lines

Where acquisitions took place on both state/forestry and customary lands, both the indigene and the non-indigene were impacted. However, based on the factor of ethnicity combined with the particular territory, the non-indigene/Northerner was affected to a greater extent. This is because the baseline was the fact that the non-indigene did not have rights to land in Ashanti territory unlike the indigene. Hence there was no family to land hire out or to fall back on in Ashanti. There was no compensation to receive since the compensation went to the land ‘owner’. There was no indigenous position to stand on in order to fight over land unlike the indigene. The indigenes could stand on the grounds that they originated from the communities, the land ‘belonged’ to their ancestors and it had been passed down to them thus they had the rights to it. This was a position the non-indigenes did not have. There was the option to obtain land elsewhere on some form of a contractual basis but this came with attendant issues of costs, size, marginality of land, specifications of the land ‘owner’ and (in)security of tenure. In essence, the non-indigene was at the mercy of the indigene. But as aptly noted by one respondent,

*‘What can you say [how can you complain]; it is their [Ashanti] land that you are on’* (Interview with Community Member DUR10; Dukusen, October 2017).

As such the non-indigene/Northerner was more open to the effects asserted by them:

*‘For us Northerners we are the ones who have been most affected’*  
(Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).

## 4.8 THE DIFFERENTIATION OF IMPACTS ACROSS THE TENURE TYPES – THE EFFECT ON STATE LAND AND ON CUSTOMARY LAND

Within the study area there were two land types – state/government land (the forestry land) and stool/customary land. Ananekrom was within the state/government land and Dukusen was customary land. Given that there were livelihood implications resulting from large-scale land acquisitions and there were different land types, the question remained as to whether the livelihood implications were differentiated across the tenure types. The livelihood implications were influenced by whether community members were on the particular land types (state or customary). Three factors contributed to their presence or not on the state or the customary lands. These were:

1. The dissemination of information
2. The possibility of encroachment
3. The perception of rights.

### 4.8.1 *The dissemination of information*

The dissemination of information took place where the customary land was concerned. This was in the sense that where the land had been acquired by the company and community members were being ejected off the land they were given prior notice/advanced information of this. Hence they were able to remove their produce off the land. In the community on customary land, excluding the one respondent who had lost access to the trees, of the ten who had lost access to the land for farming, six were able to harvest/were allowed to remove their produce from the land they worked. Of the remaining four respondents, two had their produce destroyed; one was given prior notice and allowed to harvest part of the crop and in the case of another a small portion of the land was left for community members to work on. Hence eighty percent (80%) of the respondents received prior notice and could remove their crops, partially remove their crops or were left a small portion of land to work on. Essentially, even though there was the ejection of the land, for the majority they left with some or all of their crops – some form of provision. Even in the case of loss of access due to the land owner simply wanting his/her land back and not company acquisition, notice was still given to the respondent to harvest and leave:

*'What we have planted the land owner says when we leave that is it; when we harvest then that is it we leave; we will not get the land' (Interview with Community Member DUNRA; Dukusen, October 2017).*

It also emerged from the data that once the land belonged to someone, if the Northerner went to farm on it or if there were issues surrounding the land the Northerner would be warned to stop working on it. One respondent who managed to access some customary land noted that

*'Someone gave it to me and someone else came to tell me that that land is not for that woman and so I should stop cultivating there; that land I haven't planted anything there; it is lying there' (Interview with Community Member ANNRA; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

From the study therefore it appeared that where the customary lands were concerned, the non-indigenes/ Northerners were given notice to move off the land or given notice that they would not be allowed to access the land in the next planting season. This was because it was individual and family lands and so the owners passed on the details concerning what was theirs.

Where the state/forestry land was concerned, the situation played out differently. The Forestry Commission maintained that notice was always given and the encroachers engaged severally before destruction of farms. However, most respondents countered that they received no prior information. Where the forestry land was concerned, fourteen of the sixteen respondents who had worked on forestry land had lost access to the land. Eleven of the respondents noted that either they were not given prior information to remove their crops or the timeframe was too short because the crops were now fruiting or they had begged for time for the crops to fruit so they could harvest but were not allowed and the crops were destroyed. As noted by one respondent,

*'As you are standing there [in the farm] then they are destroying then you are crying; you have nothing to say.....so the only thing is for you to stand there quietly then they do what they want' (Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Hence seventy-nine (79%) of the respondents who had worked on the forestry land and had lost access were not able to remove their crops. Essentially, there was ejection from the land and for the majority, they left with none of their crops – that is no form of provision. If there was the possibility of retrieving/harvesting one crop, potentially a form of provision

would be available<sup>153</sup>. However, the farms were totally destroyed with no opportunity to remove or harvest their crops, as noted by the respondents. They were therefore left with no form of provision.

Thus it could be argued that where the state/forestry lands were concerned, either the community member did not receive the notice to move off the land or the situation was such that the timing of the prior information was short and the crops were not ready for harvesting. Therefore the crops were destroyed. Given that the Forestry Commission claimed to have maintained quite a lot of engagement prior to destruction of farms<sup>154</sup> and the community members maintained they did not receive notification<sup>155</sup> there was some disconnection of information dissemination at some point.

#### 4.8.2 *The possibility of encroachment*

Taking into consideration the second factor – the possibility of encroachment – invariably this did not take place where the customary land was concerned. This was because the lands belonged to individuals/families who monitored what was theirs. Therefore any case of encroachment by a non-indigene would result in the one being made aware that the land belonged to someone. As one respondent observed,

*'For example, you can try weeding this very place and suddenly someone will come and let you know he/she is the owner of the land' (Interview with Community Member DUR1; Dukusen, September 2017).*

For the state/forestry land, the history of forest fires and the destruction of the forests resulted in people trespassing to cultivate farms as the land was '*lying there empty*'<sup>156</sup> and monitoring by the Commission was relaxed/lethargic purportedly due to a lack of resources. However following the failure of a programme to incorporate the encroachers in reforestation (*taungya* and modified *taungya* systems), the land was given to entities such

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<sup>153</sup> The various ethnicities had their staple diets based on a few crops which formed the basis of their proficiency in the cultivation of those particular crops. As explained by some respondents:

*'Just as I told you earlier, we the Northerners, it's yam we cultivate. It's yam that used to be our staple meal'*  
*'Those [Northerners] who cultivate yam are the Konkombas, Krachi, Dagomba; those who really cultivate the yam'*

*'[The Ashantis cultivate] plantain, cocoyam, cassava'*

*'Maize is the Kusaase and Frafra and Mamprusi and Komba people [Northerners]'*

(Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUR6; Dukusen, September - October 2017).

<sup>154</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Ashanti Region, July 2017.

<sup>155</sup> Focus Group Discussions 1 and 2; Ananekrom, October 2017.

<sup>156</sup> Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017.

as private companies with the resources to plant trees. In order to do so and given that it was government land those who had trespassed were pushed off. Undoubtedly the history surrounding the forest destruction and the ownership by government with the lack of close monitoring on the lands gave rise to the opportunity for encroachment. With the customary lands, the families/individuals kept close watch over what 'belonged' to them hence the lack of encroachment.

#### *4.8.3 The perception of rights*

The third factor had to do with the perception of rights. Where customary lands were concerned, they belonged to the stools (chiefs), as well as families and individuals having usufructory rights. Consequently those working on the land were aware of who had the rights to the land. However where the government/state lands were concerned, indigenes felt they had the rights to the forests – their forbears had entered and worked there and therefore they in turn had the rights. This was noted by one official at the District Assembly:

*'The company [carrying out reforestation] claimed that they legitimately acquired the land but the indigenes are having problems accepting this' (Interview with Official, Asante Akim North District Assembly, October 2017).*

The issue was further explained by one senior official with the Environment Protection Agency,

*'That's where the family has been farming over the years; the ancestors did it and they also feel they have to; but now you are telling them that the land has been demarcated as a reserve so that they cannot go there so it means they think you are denying them of their rights' (Interview with Senior Official, EPA, August 2017).*

In the case of the outsider who was obtaining the land to work on through some form of contractual basis, the problem arose where the native inhabitant claimed he/she had the rights and went onto the land or allowed the non-native to go onto the land. This was a problem because the non-native went onto the land with the knowledge that he/she had

collected it from the native only to be later ejected by the Forestry Commission on the premise that it was forestry land<sup>157</sup>.

The matter of the forest reserve land was a problematic issue. As suggested by West, Igoe and Brockington (2006:259), indeed the ambiguities protected areas can create are remarkable. On the one hand, the forests were demarcated as part of reservation areas and therefore not designated for farming. Essentially the government exercises control and so if the indigenes want to use the land they have to get permission from the Forestry Commission<sup>158</sup>. Given the monitoring carried out by the Commission, the potential for squatting was difficult<sup>159</sup>. For the indigenes, as explained by a senior Researcher with the Forestry Research Institute of Ghana,

*'[they say] of course the land belongs to us and you say you are keeping it in trust for us; so if I need it do I have to come; they keep questioning us; those people who live by the sea they go and fish; nobody puts any restrictions on them so why are we living by our forests and you don't want us to go there; it's a big question that we still haven't been able to answer.....it's a big issue they have not been able to tackle it well except that using the task force and all that to stop people encroaching into the forest but that is not a long term solution' (Interview with Senior Researcher – Forestry Research Institute, Kumasi, July 2017).*

Furthermore, as noted by some of the community members, the land had been 'lying there empty'<sup>160</sup>. The denial (in the view of the community members) of rights affected their livelihoods.

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<sup>157</sup> This was noted by a respondent in Ananekrom, a respondent who had moved from Ananekrom to Afrisere (and within a focus group discussion):

*'The one who originally collected the land had collected it from someone else; when you go he says it is his he will not say it is forestry land; it is someone's then he too he will give it to you.....he didn't let us know that it is someone's; he said it is his; you too you need it [the land]; you can't ask him a question that you say it is yours where did you get it from when you came to meet the land' (Interview with Community Member ANR15; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'You are looking for somewhere to do your work; even if it isn't his land and he says it is my land you would first have to go and farm before you see [find out] the land owner; if you don't go and farm how will you find out whether this is the land owner; he has told you that this is my land; work on it and this too is what I will collect; for you it's the work that you came to do' (Interview with Community Member AFR26; Afrisere, October 2017).*

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Ashanti Region, July 2017.

<sup>159</sup> Notably following the 1980s forest fires, there was the lack of monitoring (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017). However with the emergence of programmes to reafforest and the objective to bring back the trees (Interview with Senior Official, Forestry Commission, Kumasi, July 2017) monitoring of the forest reserves was then undertaken hence squatting was difficult.

<sup>160</sup> Focus Group Discussion 1; Ananekrom, October 2017.

All three factors discussed above contributed to the presence of community members on the particular land types – state/forestry land and customary land. The land type determined the dissemination of information, the possibility of encroachment and the perception of rights. Where the customary lands were concerned, generally those hiring (mainly non-indigenes/Northerners) were given prior notice which allowed for them to remove their produce off the land, leaving them with some provision. For the state/forestry land, the respondents maintained prior notice was either not given or given at a time when they could not remove their crops. Ultimately, they were not able to remove their crops from the land hence it was destroyed leaving them with nothing. Where encroachment was concerned, with the customary land the individuals/families monitored their lands hence invariably there was no encroachment onto it. Even in the event that it occurred the encroacher would be warned off the land. However with the state/forestry land, as a result of the history surrounding the destruction of the forests and the lack of monitoring there was encroachment. Thirdly, those cultivating the customary lands were aware of who had the rights to the land whereas with the state/forestry lands, the indigenes felt they had rights and so either went onto or hired out land to outsiders which contributed to the encroachment that later resulted in ejection.

For both land types, there were effects arising from the loss of access to land. However, the land type was a determinant of how the effect played out through: prior notice, encroachment and rights. Hence where there was prior notice, no encroachment and awareness of rights, that is, on the customary lands, those hiring the lands had some form of provision or protection in the sense that they could remove their produce off the land or they could be warned off the land. Therefore where it came to effects to livelihoods, on customary lands, there was no instant deprivation and destitution. Even though there was ejection off the land, there was the factor of time to allow for harvest [where they were given notice to vacate the land] or the prevention of cultivation [where they were warned off the land prior to cultivation]. Therefore there was something for consumption and sale [where they had the time to harvest their crops] in the interim or some extent of protection/intactness of livelihood. Furthermore there was the absence of destruction of their farms and loss of investment where they were warned off the land prior to cultivation. On the other hand there was the second scenario on state/forestry land – the setting which had allowed for encroachment, no/short prior notice or a disconnection in dissemination of information, and an assumption of rights. Those cultivating the land had no form of provision/protection in the sense that they

could not remove their produce off the land. Invariably as noted by the respondents, the destruction of their farms was instantaneous. Thus when it came to effects to livelihoods, on state/forestry lands, there was instant deprivation and destitution as a result of immediate eviction.

#### **4.9 ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS FOLLOWING LOSS OF ACCESS TO LAND**

The foregoing discourse has highlighted the differentiated impacts of the land acquisitions across the tenure systems and along ethnic lines. The non-indigenes, who in this study were Northerners, were in more vulnerable positions with knock-on effects which were greater in extent. Three courses of action emerged from the data following the loss of access to the land. The ensuing discussion examines the options that emerged, analysing whether they were differentiated on the basis of tenure, whether ethnicity played a role and thirdly the particular options most sought after.

The option of sourcing for an alternative livelihood was raised by forty-one percent (41%) of the respondents in Ananekrom and sixty-two percent (62%) in Dukusen. In both communities, this was achieved through the selling of one's labour on a daily basis (daily waged labour), going to work for the company that had come in to acquire the lands (Miro on forestry land and Scanfarm on customary land) or petty trading. Additionally in Dukusen, there was the burning of wood into charcoal and the logging of trees. Notably, a few more options were raised where the community on customary land was concerned as compared to the community on state land. Where the community on state land was concerned, apart from the forestry reserve land, there was the existence of customary land belonging to the indigenes and being worked on by the indigenes or non-indigenes who had hired portions of it. Thus as explained by respondents, following the loss of access to land, there was the option to sell one's labour on a daily basis in order to get some form of income. Secondly, the community was within the vicinity of a forest reserve and a company was in the process of reforestation. Hence there was the option of being employed by the company, albeit for poor pay as noted from the respondents. As a result of the land being a forest reserve and the ongoing reforestation programmes, there was no option to burn wood for charcoal or log timber. This was because the resource required (wood) was not accessible given that entry into the forest was prohibited. As explained by one respondents:

*'The forest wood.....they [Forestry personnel] don't allow.....if they come and meet you they won't allow; because maybe you will cut down a tree and if so you have spoilt his [Forestry] tree; if you even cut the small ones, when they come and see them around here [the compound of the house] they won't allow; if they come and meet you they will disturb/worry you; they have intentionally planted their trees, if you go and destroy/cut, will it be okay?' (Interview with Community Member ANR15; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Where Dukusen was concerned, portions of the customary land had been acquired by a company (ScanFarm). There were also parcels of land that belonged to indigenes and were being worked on by the indigenes or non-indigenes who had hired some of it. Therefore for those affected by loss of access to land, there was the option to undertake company employment or sell their labour to those who had farms as an alternative. This emerged from some respondents:

*'If someone gets by-day [daily labour] to weed someone's farm or plant the person's beans or the person's maize for the person then we collect a little [of the daily labour work]'*

*'It [farming] has gone down but as for [company] work when it comes you can put yourself in' (Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR10 respectively; Dukusen, September – October 2017).*

It also arose from the data that some respondents burned wood for charcoal as an alternative livelihood<sup>161</sup>. Furthermore, two of the respondents who had chain saws felled trees for timber.

The type of land contributed to the availability of the alternative livelihood source. Concerning similar alternative livelihood sources, with both land types, there was the option to sell labour for income on a daily basis given the presence of farming on the customary

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<sup>161</sup> The wood was sourced from trees either within the boundary of the community or further away from the community. As explained by a community member: *'For the fuel wood [where we go to get] it is far away.....it can be one hour; if it isn't far you will reach before one hour.....it is part [of Dukusen]'* (Interview with Community Member DUR5; Dukusen, September 2017). Since the company had acquired the lands community members had to travel further away to source for trees. This was explained by another community member: *'Right now, they [company] have pushed the trees so there's no tree around...there's not much trees.....we go very far [to get trees]....those who have the strength, they can wake up and go to where the trees are, like behind Afrisere area.....those who have strength like the men'* (Interview with Community Member DUR8; Dukusen, October 2017).

lands. Secondly, there was the companies' acquisitions and therefore the possibility of gaining some employment within the companies although in different job categories and also based on the land types. Where the forestry land was concerned, employment albeit for poor pay had to do with the planting of trees as noted by respondents:

*'The trees that they are planting; they have taken some who they are paying who are working but even the pay, if you enter the pay will not help you' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

With the customary land, employment concerned either bagging of maize or employment as security as noted from the respondents.

*'I'm also a security there [company that has acquired the land]'*

*'It is the company work that we are doing.....we do bagging [of maize]'*  
*(Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUR10 respectively;*  
*Dukusen, September – October 2017).*

The alternative livelihood sources however for the customary land went further. From the data, there was the option to source for wood to burn for charcoal<sup>162</sup>, the only caveat being permission required from and sharing of the product with the chief (as a form of land rent)<sup>163</sup>. Two respondents also mentioned the felling of trees. These alternative livelihood options were not possible where the forestry land was concerned as explained previously. However on the customary land, outside of the portions acquired by the company, the rest belonged<sup>164</sup> to the chief and those with usufructory rights hence there was the possibility of sourcing for the wood resource.

The matter of ethnicity arose where alternative livelihoods were concerned. From the data, it emerged that both communities were predominantly occupied by Northerners. Within the

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<sup>162</sup> A community member explained that :*'So it's charcoal that we do a lot.....it's like if you don't get a land to farm on, at least for wood you'll get some to burn for charcoal'* (Interview with Community Member DUR1; Dukusen, September 2017).

<sup>163</sup> This was explained by some community members: *'He [chief] says it is his land so if you stay on it [the land] and you don't have the permission/you should not go and burn wood for fuel'*  
*When we do it, we give him [chief] his percentage.....like a rent'*  
*(Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR8 respectively; Dukusen, September - October 2017).*

<sup>164</sup> The land from which a community has the right to derive its sustenance is communal and the chief is the custodian. However, as previously explained, there are the usufructory rights. Hence where in generations past the community members went onto portions of land and farmed, those portions are 'respected' as theirs *ad infinitum* so long as they have descendants to inherit. Thus the land is communal however there are portions that 'belong' to individuals and hence are family lands and there are the portions that 'belong' to the chief. Thus a non-indigene coming into the community for land to farm on will approach the chief for some land.

state land area particular Northern ethnic groups were made mention of as per some observations:

*'We have Dagartes here, we have Frafras here, we have Kusaases here, we have Dagombas here, we have Mamprusis here, we have Gruishes here; all of them too are from the North'*

*'Marm people, Mamprusi people, Kusaase people, Dagarte.....yes please we [Northerners] are many here'*

*(Interviews with Community Members ANR13, ANR17 respectively; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Notably these references did not include the Sissala ethnic group also from the North, possibly because they were very few in number or absent from the Ananekrom community. However, particular mention was made of them in the Dukusen community, as noted by some respondents.

*'Yes yes there are Sissala people here; the Sissala people first if you came they would be a full building; they were a lot; they were a lot more than the Daagarte people' (Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Notably, charcoal production is the main occupation of the Sissalas, a minority ethnic group (Asante Akim North District Assembly, 2014:22). Their livelihood thus required the resource of wood and the unavailability of wood and prohibition where Ananekrom was concerned could possibly account for their absence there but notable and felt presence where the customary land community, Dukusen, was concerned. Their presence in Dukusen as opposed to Ananekrom also contributed to the source of an alternative livelihood, because they served as 'customers' for some. As explained by one respondent:

*'But I don't do by day labour because the Sisala people they cut down trees and I have one of the machines; someone comes and says come and do my work for me then I go and cut down the trees and collect my money' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

It was emerged that they (Sissalas) were moving further away in order to source for wood. This was because of the loss of trees due to the land acquisitions. Yet still their presence within the customary land locality contributed to the source of an alternative livelihood. Hence in this respect, ethnicity also contributed to a particular land type having a particular alternative livelihood.

The option of searching for a new parcel of land within the community to work on was raised by eighty-one percent (81%) of the respondents in Ananekrom and sixty-nine percent (69%) in Dukusen. This was associated with a number of challenges (such as the quality of the land, the size, the location and the tenure insecurity) as discussed in previous sections. Responses from both communities highlighted the option to source for land elsewhere. However the issue was whether the tenure type or the ethnicity influenced this particular option. The land type was an influencing factor. As emerged from the data, the livelihood of farming depended on the resource of land. It had to be sourced from elsewhere if an alternative livelihood was either not found or was not of an equivalent status in terms of income generation or satisfaction as compared to the previous livelihood. The need for land following loss was a matter of urgency. This was because of the extent to which the land was depended upon and the timing for the preparation of the land for the planting season<sup>165</sup>. Thus regarding the state land there was the immediate need to source for land. With the customary land even though ultimately there would be the need for land, in the interim the urgency was not to the extent of that of the state land. The ethnicity also influenced the option to search for a new parcel of land within the community. The non-indigenes were more affected by loss of access to land therefore they were more prone to search elsewhere for land to work on as opposed to the indigenes.

The third option that emerged from the data was to migrate out of the community. This option was raised by eighty-six percent (86%) of the respondents in Ananekrom. Even though specific numbers could not be given by respondents, there was the consistent affirmation that outmigration had taken place to a large extent with the use of the words 'many', 'most', 'plenty' to describe the numbers moving out. As observed by some respondents,

*'For the town plenty people have left'*

*'Some have moved out, some have migrated out of here because they are not getting land to farm'*

*'Oh plenty have left here; they move out'*

*(Interviews with Community Members ANR14, ANR15, ANR16 respectively; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

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<sup>165</sup> The major planting season starts in March/April when the major rains begin to fall after the dry/harmattan season. However the preparation of the land for the planting commences around January. Harvesting is undertaken in June/July for the perennial food crops and then the minor planting season commences around August to coincide with the minor rains.

The situation was similar with Dukusen where seventy-seven percent (77%) highlighted the extent of outmigration with the words 'plenty', 'a lot', 'many'. As noted by some respondents within the community,

*'At first here we were plenty; plenty have left'*

*'The land issues have resulted in all the people leaving the village'*

*'But a lot of people have left'*

*'Eeei they have moved out; they are plenty'*

(Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR6, DUR7, DUR10 respectively; Dukusen, September – October 2017).

From the data, outmigration was perceived as the appropriate option by the majority of the respondents for a number of reasons. This is as opposed to sourcing for an alternative livelihood or searching for another parcel of land within the community. First of all, where alternative livelihoods were concerned, even though there was the option to go and work in the company acquiring the lands, it was noted by respondents in both communities that the company pay was poor:

*'They [company] have taken some who they are paying who are working but even the pay, if you enter the pay will not help you....it [the pay] is not good it is small' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

*'Even if it [company pay] is not good can you say anything?.....there is not much money in it'*

*'The pay too isn't good and people can't stay there for a long time; they don't pay well'*

*(Interviews with Community Members DUR2, DUR3; Dukusen, September 2017).*

Notably some people worked for the company. The question is why they did so when they could migrate. As noted, there were a number of options and the one chosen the most was migration, as evidenced by the community members' emphasis on the numbers who had left (86% of respondents noted this in Ananekrom and 77% in Dukusen). As previously explained, the community members could not give exact numbers of those who had left but described the situation with the words 'most', 'many', and 'plenty'. Furthermore, a number of respondents either advocated leaving or claimed they were in the process of doing so

themselves<sup>166</sup>. This did not imply that other options were not taken, but that to migrate out appeared the most preferred. From the respondents, in Ananekrom none of those interviewed worked in the company themselves; they knew of people who took that alternative livelihood option. In Dukusen, three of the interviewees worked in the company as well as the husbands of the women who took part in the focus group discussion. Poor pay was a reason why fewer people joined the companies. Furthermore as per their responses, people did not stay long with the companies. Notably a few of the respondents (interview and focus group discussion) were of the view that farming was more beneficial in terms of an income source and reliability<sup>167</sup>. There was the sale of produce and it provided a source of food supply as opposed to the company work where they would have to take money to buy food. The little income from the company employment would have to serve for the purchase of food and the catering of the household. This was less desirable; with farming, there was the automatic provision of a source of food supply hence income did not have to be spent on this.

Secondly, where the selling of one's labour was concerned, as noted by respondents in the Ananekrom community, the men travelled far away to work for months at a time leaving the women and children and in being left, sustenance was a struggle. Thirdly, the sourcing for new parcels of land within the communities was fraught with a number of challenges (quality/marginality, size, location and tenure insecurity of the land) as previously elaborated upon. Fourthly and perhaps most significantly, there was the ethnic factor. The non-indigenes were farmers and hence needed land but they did not 'own' land in Ashanti. Therefore if there was no land available in the immediate vicinity their only option, as indicated by both indigenes and non-indigenes, was to move out in search of some parcels to work on:

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<sup>166</sup> Interviews with Community Members ANR5, ANR8, ANR9, ANR12, ANR15, ANR17; Ananekrom, October 2017. As maintained by some respondents:

*'As we are even speaking I am making preparations so that maybe next year.....I will leave.....me too I will go.....I want to go'*

*'And if I don't get somewhere that will be enough for me and my wife and my children then what am I sitting there doing?'* (Interviews with Community Members DUR9, DUR11; Dukusen, October 2017).

<sup>167</sup> This was expressed in both communities:

*'If it was my farm that I was doing there from now till a year like the amount of money I would have gotten it would not be a small amount of money; the money [paid by Scanfarm] could not compare, it could not compare;.....it was rice I was stealing from there to supplement; I would have gotten more than that from this time till now [if farming] plenty money'* (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).

*'Okay the farm has benefits; at any time you can get something there [the farm] but for the company it can collapse; it can collapse; when it collapses where are you going?'* (Interview with Community Member DUR10; Dukusen, October 2017).

*'Because there is no land for you to work on; its if there is land that you can work on it and it is then that you will stay and work.... now there is no work so what are you doing?.....You simply have to go and look for somewhere else' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

This was also echoed by the key informants:

*'They move; they migrate; that's why most of them are settler farmers; if it's hard here then they move to another place where they can easily get land; they have to relocate [because] to them their livelihoods have just been curtailed' (Interview with Senior Official, Ministry of Food and Agriculture Ashanti Region, July 2017).*

Furthermore, given the land issues (such as loss of access, problems with indigenes), the need for peace of mind also served as a catalyst for outmigration. This emerged from respondents in both communities as noted by some:

*'So if I go and farm there [out-migrate].....and me and my children [will] have peace [there],... then I [will] go' (Interview with Community Member ANR3; Ananekrom, September 2017).*

*'I would go and find somewhere to stay and have my peace of mind'*

*'They [Northerners] go where they will have peace' (Interviews with Community Members DUR6, DUR10 respectively; Dukusen, October 2017).*

Ethnicity also contributed to outmigration being the most sought after in that it was the non-indigenes who were moving out the most, as emerged from the data. In Ananekrom, eighty-two percent (82%) of respondents emphasized the fact that the Northerners had left or were leaving, as noted from some responses:

*'For the Northerner he has left; they have collected his [land]; he has gone; but if he isn't getting land to farm on what is he staying here for?'*

*'So most of the Northerners have left' (Interviews with Community Members ANR3, ANR11 respectively; Ananekrom, October 2017).*

Also in Dukusen sixty-nine percent (69%) of respondents maintained that the Northerners had left or were leaving.

If people were migrating out, the first question then was where were they moving to? There were various destinations for the outmigration, ranging from the neighbouring communities to other parts of the Ashanti region to migration back to the North where the majority of the respondents had originated from. However, more than half of the respondents in both communities noted that the destination for outmigration was the neighbouring communities. This was explained by some respondents.

*'Oh for someone too he moves [migrates].....like from town to town; maybe someone has gone to give him some land further away; so maybe if he goes to maybe Samsu [then] he has gone to settle there; so for him he has gone; for someone too he goes to Maame Krobo; some are roaming; wherever your eyes look/see [wherever you can get land].....then you go; if you sit here and you don't get some [land] to farm you will go'*

(Interview with Community Member ANR5; Ananekrom, October 2017).

*'Bamba just here; some have moved and gone there.....and Brade; the Afrisere side; plenty have moved there'*

*'Some have migrated to the nearby communities.*

(Interviews with Community Members DUR5, DUR6 respectively; Dukusen, September – October 2017).

The second question then was how did the move into the adjacent community affect it? In essence, were there any indirect impacts to the adjacent community arising as a result of loss of access to land in the communities within the state and customary land areas? This is investigated in the subsequent chapter.

#### **4.10 CONCLUSION**

The chapter sought to examine whether there is differentiation in the livelihood implications of large-scale land acquisitions, and if so along which lines. In achieving this, there was the exploration of the livelihood outcomes of the different people groups. This was in order to ascertain whether the impacts were differentiated according to indigenous/non-indigenous positionality. There was also the consideration of whether the livelihood implications were differentiated across the various tenure systems. This is because the land tenure systems may not be homogenous across a locality. Furthermore there was the interrogation into the options arising following the livelihood impacts. This was undertaken in order to explore how

people address their situations following loss of access to land and give indication of whether this contributes to the emergence of effects in the adjacent community.

From the analysis and discussion, it emerged that indeed the livelihood implications following land acquisitions were differentiated. The disaggregation of effects was across land tenure types and along ethnic lines. Where ethnicity was concerned, due to the socio-historical and environmental factors, there had been the southward movement of non-indigenes from the northern parts of the country which accounted for a significant northern presence in the south. The community members also stressed on the favourable climatic and vegetation factors as reasons for their current presence in the communities since these elements were beneficial for their farming activities. Along the ethnic lines too, there was the position of the non-indigenes as 'strangers' (also referred to as 'visitors', 'foreigners' and 'migrants'). Their non-originary status in Ashanti implied that they did not have usufructory rights to land but could access it on a contractual basis. The analysis showed that both the indigenes and the non-indigenes were affected by loss of access to land. However the indigenes had the benefit of being able to return to or derive income through hiring from their family lands where forestry land acquisitions were concerned. They also obtained some compensation where customary land acquisitions were concerned. The non-indigenes on the other hand lacked the usufructory rights to land in the Ashanti territory and therefore following loss, were more vulnerable to effects. This is because they had no family/individual lands to return to and the land available for hiring was usually fraught with attendant challenges such as marginality or distance. The interrogation of the differentiation in livelihood impacts thus provides insight into a cultural/traditional aspect where land acquisitions are concerned. This is in the sense that the culture/traditions of the different people groups contribute to their approaches to land access and their stipulations for outsiders. The manner of access to land for the indigenes and the non-indigenes are based on these traditional/cultural systems. As a result, livelihood impacts emerge which differ according to the positionality of the people. Hence the traditional/cultural structures play a role in the emergence of impacts.

Where tenure systems were concerned, the livelihood implications were influenced by the type of land the community members accessed. For the customary lands, those hiring had some form of provision or protection in the sense that they could remove their produce off the land or they could be warned off the land because of information dissemination, non-

possibility of encroachment and awareness of rights. For the state/forestry lands, the setting which had allowed for encroachment, no/short prior notice or a disconnection in dissemination of information, and an assumption of rights resulted in a situation where those cultivating could not remove their produce off the land. As such, there was instant deprivation and destitution as a result of immediate destruction of farms and eviction.

The analysis and discussion further showed that following loss of access to land, there were a number of options such as sourcing for an alternative livelihood, for example, petty trading, employment within the company that had acquired the land or selling one's labour for income on a daily basis. There was also the option to search for a new parcel of land within the community to work on. However outmigration was perceived as the appropriate option by the majority of the respondents. In migrating out, the predominant destinations were the neighbouring communities which therefore begged the question whether this created any effects for the adjacent community. The interrogation of this forms the discussion for the ensuing chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5 THE ADJACENT COMMUNITY – WHAT HAPPENS AFTER A LAND ACQUISITION?

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Large-scale land acquisitions have livelihood implications for communities within the vicinity of the appropriation. This has been well documented by academic scholarship, the impacts of which include large-scale loss of local livelihoods (Deininger et al, 2014:76); displacement of small producers (Deininger and Xia, 2016:227; Zoomers, 2010:430); reductions in land holdings, limited access to forest products and restrictive access to livestock grazing areas (Jiao et al., 2015:323) and repercussions for local food security (Vermeulen & Cotula, 2010:903; Borras Jr and Franco, 2012:37). But what of the adjacent communities? Do the adjacent community experience the effects of a large-scale land acquisition nearby? Adjacent communities could well be affected by the impacts of large-scale land acquisitions in neighbouring communities. Such effects could stem from the existing or new links between the communities. Linkages ‘consist of flows (of goods, people, information, finance, waste, information, social relations) across space’ (Tacoli, 2015:1) connecting one rural area with another. Thus it stands to reason that effects on one community as a result of some phenomenon could be transmitted to the neighbour with which it relates. But does this occur within the context of livelihood implications from large-scale land acquisitions?

This chapter addresses the adjacent community of Afrisere<sup>168</sup>. The lands of the Afrisere community were not included in the large-scale acquisitions that took place. The ensuing interrogation seeks to determine whether livelihood impacts from the neighbouring communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen emerged in Afrisere. This is examined taking into consideration the adjacent location of Afrisere, the predominant option of outmigration for land and peace of mind in the neighbouring Ananekrom and Dukusen and the Northern perception of themselves as ‘brothers/sisters’ or ‘siblings’. Furthermore if there were

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<sup>168</sup> From the field trips, the distance from Ananekrom to Dukusen was about 40 km (it took about 20 minutes’ drive travelling at 120km/hour). The distance from Dukusen to Afrisere was about 30 km (it took about 15 minutes’ drive travelling at 120 km/hour. Hence the distance between Ananekrom and Afrisere was approximately 70 km and Dukusen and Afrisere 30 km. From the district capital of Agogo, when travelling in the direction of the study area, the communities followed one another – Ananekrom then Dukusen then Afrisere then Abotantiri then Samsu then Mosi Panin and so on. Generally the communities were about 30 – 40 km distance apart. Ananekrom, Dukusen and Afrisere fell within the Asante Akim North District and the Agogo Traditional Area. Beyond Afrisere, the communities fell within the Sekyere Afram Plains District and the Kumawu Traditional Area.

livelihood implications, how did they emerge in the adjacent community and what factors contributed to the effects experienced by the adjacent community? In addition, did the livelihood effects to the Afrisere community differ from those experienced by the communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen? These questions will be examined in order to elicit the effects to the adjacent community following land appropriations nearby.

The chapter is divided into nine sections. The first section discusses the political economy of the adjacent community Afrisere, detailing the demographic, livelihood and economic characteristics as well as the history of its founding. The contextual information on this community provides the background to the discussion on the impacts to them. Section two examines the livelihood impacts experienced by the Afrisere community members as a result of the acquisitions in neighbouring Ananekrom and Dukusen. The third section investigates the differentiation in effects across communities, that is, the livelihood impacts experienced by the communities both internal and external to the vicinity of the land transactions. Section four interrogates the question of why the adjacent community experienced livelihood impacts through the lens of the ethnic dynamics. The moral obligation and the moral economy are then analysed in section five as causes for the emergence of effects. The issue of peace of mind is examined in section six whilst section seven investigates reciprocity as the means through which impacts emerged in the adjacent community. The chapter then ends with the conclusion summing up the discussion as a whole.

## **5.2 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE ADJACENT COMMUNITY AFRISERE**

Afrisere falls within the Asante Akim North District of the Ashanti region, the geographical, demographic, social and cultural characteristics of which have been detailed in the previous chapter. It is a rural community with a population of less than 5,000<sup>169</sup>. The Traditional Authority estimated that the community population would be around 700<sup>170</sup> and at the focus

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<sup>169</sup> The Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census, Demographic, Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics report classifies localities with 5,000 or more persons as urban while localities with less than 5,000 persons are classified as rural (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013e xxiii).

<sup>170</sup> Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, October 2017.

group level, respondents estimated the number of households<sup>171</sup> in Afrisere to be between 100 and 150<sup>172</sup>.

Afrisere is characterised by sparse population; little access to health facilities; inadequate basic infrastructure, i.e, health, education, water and sanitation; poor road network; charcoal production by the Sissalas (minority ethnic group); food crop production and the presence of mostly migrant farmers (AANDA, 2014:22). The community's founding was explained by some of the respondents: the father of the *Odikro*<sup>173</sup> was a Dagomba (one of the Northern ethnicities) and he founded the village along with his family. As time went on relatives and other migrants came to settle in the community established hence it expanded till what it is today<sup>174</sup>. The Traditional Authority emphasized that the community consisted predominantly of Northerners<sup>175</sup>, both adults and children.

The Asante Akim North District is an agrarian economy and nearly seventy-three percent (72.7%) of households in the District are engaged in agriculture; in the rural localities, about eight out of ten households (79.7%) are agricultural households (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a:xi). Most farming households in the District (98.4%) are involved in crop farming (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014a:xi). The major staple food crops produced include maize, cassava, plantain, cocoyam, yam, groundnuts and vegetables through farming practices which are predominantly traditional, that is, agriculture is rain-fed and lands are cleared by slash and burn (AANDA, 2014:15,29). In Afrisere the main source of employment was crop farming with dependence on the rains as well as the use of traditional farming tools (hoe,

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<sup>171</sup> The Ghana Statistical Service 2010 Population and Housing Census, Demographic, Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics report defines a household as a person or a group of persons, who live together in the same house or compound and share the same catering arrangements (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013e xxiii).

<sup>172</sup> Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017.

<sup>173</sup> A Northerner in Ashanti territory cannot hold the position of 'Chief' [titled as *Ohene*] and hence would be a 'caretaker Chief', titled as *Odikro* because the Northerner is deemed by the Ashantis as a visitor/stranger/foreigner. Only Ashantis within a royal line of a community can hold the position of Chief [*Ohene*] hence a non-royal Ashanti picked to be head where there is no royal available is also called an *Odikro*. Within a foreigner/visitor/stranger settlement in Ashanti (such as the Northern communities within the Agogo Traditional Area), there is the need for a 'headman' who reports to a divisional chief or paramount chief depending on the location of the settlement hence the title *Odikro*. Some settlement heads would report directly to the paramount chief whereas others would report to the divisional chief who in turn would report to the paramount chief. This would depend on whether the paramount chief would designate a divisional chief to oversee the lands on which the settlement exists. If there is that designation then the 'headman' reports to the divisional chief and if not he reports directly to the paramount chief. This was explained by a Senior Official of the National House of Chiefs: '*Odikro so to speak they are not chiefs because odikro it means he is just a caretaker either for the divisional chiefs or for the paramount chiefs.....well because the [title] 'Nana' is abused; everybody who is leading the community is so called*' (Interview with Senior Official, National House of Chiefs, July 2017).

<sup>174</sup> Interview with Community Members AFR7, AFR27, AFR28; Afrisere, September – October 2017 and Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017.

<sup>175</sup> Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, August 2017.

cutlass) and tractors, fertilizers and by-day labourers to aid in crop production. Hunting and fishing was also undertaken as noted by the respondents. The major crops cultivated, as noted by respondents, were maize, groundnuts, yam, cassava, plantain, rice and beans. Sixty-four percent (64%) of respondents farmed land sizes of up to 10 acres; twenty-one percent (21%) of respondents 11 – 20 acres; seven percent (7%) of respondents 21 – 30 acres and four percent (4%) more than 30 acres. Four percent (4%) of respondents did not disclose how much land they farmed. Land was very significant to the respondents of Afrisere. For them, it served as a source of life, employment, food supply/nutrition, fuelwood, catering for the household, catering for the children (in terms of their ability to go school, payment of school fees), catering for health, monetary income and self-sufficiency. It was also noted to be the vehicle for the livelihood of farming to be passed down the generations. As summed up by one respondent,

*'Land has a lot of benefits for us human beings; it is land that we farm on and get food to eat and get life; it is because of the land that we live here; if you go and live somewhere and you can't get a small parcel of land to farm on and plant food and plant maize or beans, groundnuts or yam then what's the use of staying there; you would then have to move and look for somewhere that you will get the land'*

(Interview with Community Member AFR14; Afrisere, October 2017).

Land was therefore not only depended upon for the supply of food. It served as a means to gain employment and monetary income, which in turn catered for their households, their children's education and their health.

### **5.3 THE LIVELIHOOD IMPACTS TO THE ADJACENT COMMUNITY, AFRISERE**

The investigation into the impacts to the adjacent community commences with the subject of their awareness of the land acquisitions and the impacts to their neighbours. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the respondents in Afrisere acknowledged an appreciation of the large-scale land acquisitions and the impacts to Ananekrom and Dukusen as well as other neighbouring communities within the district. In addition, at the focus group level, there was the acknowledgement of the land acquisitions and effects to neighbouring communities in each of the five group discussions. The main awareness concerned the effects that the acquisitions and subsequent ejections from the land had had on the communities. These acknowledged effects included destruction of farms, the loss of land and employment, the

difficulty in catering for the household and children, a decrease in income and food supply/sufficiency, the use of marginal lands and outmigration/the search for land further away. As a result there was also a lot of suffering, struggle, hardship and difficulty. As noted by some Afrisere respondents,

*'Oh they cry a lot [continuously].....someone [the size of] his land [is] from here to you getting to Dukusen; they have collected it and left him so he is distraught; when that happens then he faces difficulty; he and his wife and his children; I mean that was his investment; it is from the land that he gets food to take to look after his household and get some to eat and get some to look after his children's schooling and they have collected it; where will he go and get.....aha like that'*

(Interview with Community Member AFR14; Afrisere, October 2017).

*'Like from the Kokode area to the Onyinatokro [Ananekrom] area to Dukusen they have collected [the land]; so many of them they have sacked them from there; they cannot stay there; even when they plant plantain they use a caterpillar [bulldozer] to destroy all that food crop; many came here to come and get land'* (Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017).

The Afrisere community's awareness of the issues – the large-scale land acquisitions and the effects to the neighbouring communities – was significant. Their awareness was significant because, as will be discussed further on in the chapter, their appreciation of how their neighbours were affected partly influenced their extension of assistance which in turn contributed to them experiencing effects.

Following on from their awareness of the land acquisitions and effects in the neighbouring communities, there was the question of whether there had been effects to the Afrisere community. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of respondents acknowledged that Afrisere had also been affected by the large-scale land acquisitions in spite of the community being external to the transactions. Similarly there was the resounding acknowledgement within all of the focus group discussions that the effects of the large-scale land acquisitions had reached the community members. As emphasized by some respondents,

*'So it [land acquisitions] has brought hardship to Nyinatokuro [Ananekrom], it has affected us all.....so when we say we get some of the*

*consequences.....[they] have gotten to us.....some really affect us'*  
(Interview with Community Member AFR21; Afrisere, October 2017).

*'It [effects] comes on us, it comes on us, it has come, it has come, it comes on us; it is not easy at all; as for coming it comes; a lot; if anyone is sitting here and it doesn't affect him he is lying; everyone is facing a lot of difficulty'*

(Focus Group Discussion 5; Afrisere, November 2017).

The impacts that emerged from the Afrisere respondents were in five main areas namely:

- i. The effects resulting from the sharing of land (and resources)
- ii. The knock-on effects arising from (i) above
- iii. Migration
- iv. The mental/emotional effects of worry, fear and suffering
- v. Permissions and information transfer.

These are elaborated upon below.

### *5.3.1 Effects due to sharing Land*

The respondents noted that people who had lost access to land in other communities had come into their community to request or beg for land to farm on. This gave rise to the most prominent effect – the sharing of portions of land that the community members cultivated. The reasons for the sharing – ethnicity, moral obligations, reciprocity – will be discussed further on in the chapter.



Figure 5.1: Current Farm of Respondent AFR1. Source: Researcher.



Figure 5.2: Portion of Land of Respondent AFR1 given out. Source: Researcher.

As exemplified in the pictures above, some of the community members gave out portions of their land.

Out of the twenty-two respondents who acknowledged that Afrisere had also been affected, one third had given out/shared portions of their land. Out of the one third who had given out/shared portions of their land, five of the respondents were Northerners and three were Ashantis. The pie chart shows the percentage of respondents who shared their land by the proportion of land they shared. From the chart, nearly 38% of those who had shared/given part of their land gave out between 60 and 65% of their land [two Northerners and one Ashanti]. Twenty-five percent of those who had shared/given part of their land shared between 40 and 45% of their land [one Northerner and one Ashanti]. Another 25% of those who had shared/given part of their land shared less than 40% of their land [one Northerner and one Ashanti] and nearly 13% of those who had shared/given part of their land did not state how much land they shared [Northerner].

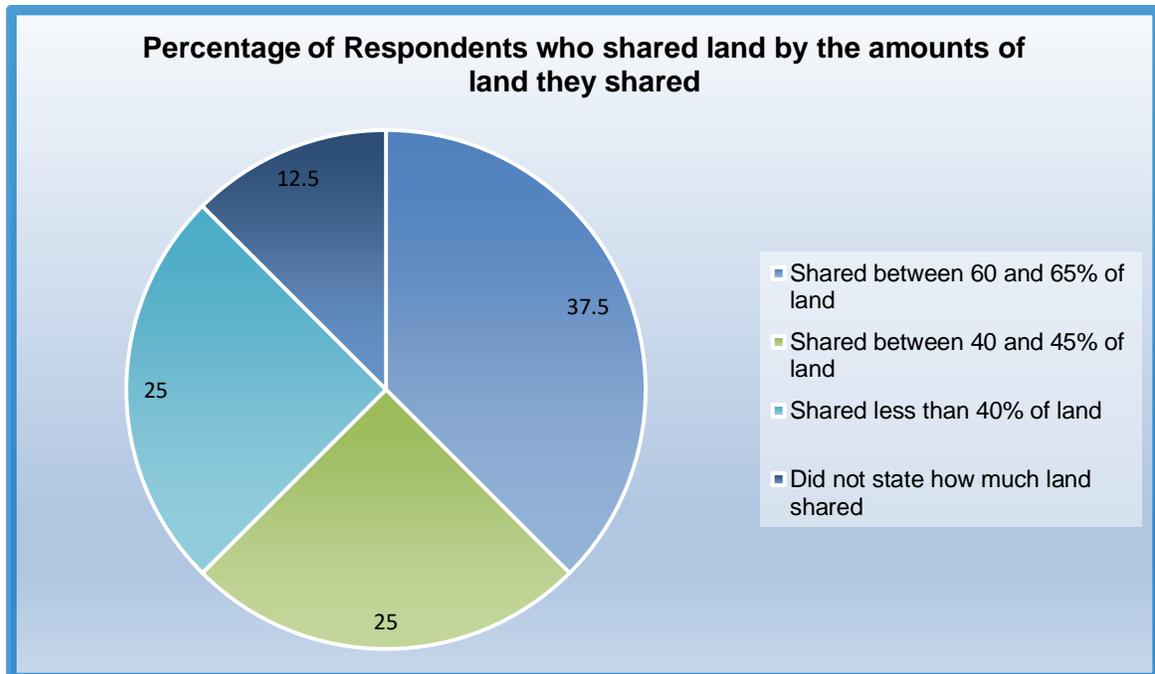


Figure 5.3 Pie chart detailing percentage of respondents who shared land by the amounts of land they shared

A few other related scenarios surfaced – one respondent had been asked for land by an Ananekrom resident whose farms had been destroyed however did not turn up to work on the land. Another respondent also maintained that he had been at the receiving end (was in receipt of land) – his farms at Ananekrom had been destroyed and he had come into the community of Afrisere and been granted some land to subsist on. He had previously farmed ten (10) acres when in Ananekrom but now farmed seven (7) acres in Afrisere. Hence though different scenarios surfaced, on the one hand, there was the request for land by people migrating out of areas where they had lost access and could not farm. On the other hand, there was the giving out of land by members of the Afrisere community. This was explained as follows:

*‘Since theirs have been taken, the little that we are farming on is what [we share].....you have to share and give them some which is a bit disturbing.....if he comes and yours is about ten or fifteen.....he wants a piece of land to earn a living from.....so you also give him some.....so that he cultivates a little that he and his family will cultivate’*

*‘Since they have collected land it has resulted in many also coming to collect some of ours small’* (Interview with Community Members AFR6, AFR14 respectively; Afrisere, September – October 2017).

*'He [in-migrant] will eat; he has a wife and children; so when that happens you have to divide and give them a portion; when you give them a portion too right now for you; like where you would farm for your wife and children to eat from that is what you have given to him so what you too you have that one too it's not enough for you'*

(Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017).

#### 5.3.1.1 Decreased land holding for farming

The sharing of portions of land that community members farmed on brought with it a number of consequences. First and most prominent was the decreased sizes of land remaining for cultivation for the community members. Out of the twenty-two respondents who acknowledged that Afrisere had been affected, one third had actually given out/shared portions of their land and one was in receipt of land from someone. However, sixty-eight percent highlighted the fact that sharing resulted in decreased sizes for farming. A greater number of respondents acknowledged the impact than those who actually experienced it. This is in the sense that fifteen out of twenty-two (sixty-eight percent) of respondents raised the issue that the sharing of land gave rise to decreased sizes of land for farming. However eight out of the twenty two actually experienced the sharing/giving of portions of land. Thus apart from the proportion who had actually experienced sharing of land, a further seven (7) respondents acknowledged the repercussions of doing so. The pointing out of such repercussions by these respondents who had not experienced it themselves is likely because the processes associated with land and cultivation was known by all due to the common livelihood of farming. Therefore those who had not shared land would still appreciate the repercussions associated with doing so. It was explained by one respondent:

*'And someone too is there that because they have cut a portion of his land for his brother [not biological] so maybe in his farming all his land was two acres since the visitor has come to ask..... he too has come to ask for small to farm on; yours too the small that is left maybe it will not be enough for you to farm on'* (Interview with Community Member AFR14; Afrisere, October 2017).

#### 5.3.1.2 Reduction in crop cultivation

A few respondents (nearly one fifth) highlighted the reduction in crop cultivation. As explained by them, the spacing between crops had to remain the same. The respondents

explained that if the interspacing sizes decreased the crops would not be able to fruit properly and there was the need to leave space for air to circulate around the crops. Hence more crops could not be planted onto the smaller portion of land to achieve the same production levels as previously. The reductions in land holding also gave rise to less harvests as emphasized by over a quarter of the respondents. As explained by some,

*'Because of the land they collected, the piece of land has reduced, our produce has also reduced'*

*'It [harvest] becomes small small small small...it [harvest] decreases like that'*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR20, AFR23 respectively; Afrisere, October 2017).

### 5.3.1.3 Absence of fallow period or shifting cultivation

In line with the sharing of portions of land arose the issue of the constant use of the land with no room for a fallow period or shifting cultivation. As noted by over one quarter of the respondents, the land available for cultivation could not be allowed to 'rest', that is, to lie fallow for a period of time for renewal<sup>176</sup>. This resulted from reduced land sizes. With larger landholdings, the farmers were able to section off parts of their lands, cultivate on a portion for a period of time then leave it to rest whilst moving to cultivate another portion. However with the reduced landholdings, this was not feasible since the land parcels were smaller. As explained by some respondents,

*'We used to do that [allow the land to rest] at first but now.....'*

*'Because there isn't land there again'*

*'The land that you are farming on it is that same piece of land that you will continuously eat from'* (Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017)

*'Right now we don't do it like that [shifting cultivation].....because the land is small.....the land is small; you can't do it like that..... the land is not plenty like that.....right now we farm all, even the dry season it is the same [soil] that you will go and farm it; the rainy season the same'*

(Interview with Community Member AFR1; Afrisere, September 2017).

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<sup>176</sup> Food production in many rural communities is supported by a farming system that depends substantially on fallowing to replenish soil fertility; food and livelihood security for a vast majority of the population therefore depends on the abundance of land to support the fallow systems (DeSchutter, 2009 cited in Yengoh et al., 2016:329).

In addition, a few of the respondents - nearly 15% - believed that the lack of fallow period contributed to decreased soil fertility.

#### 5.3.1.4 Use of Marginal Lands

Although raised by only a minority of the respondents – nearly one fifth – another effect of the sharing of land regarded the cultivation of lands previously not farmed on, such as those close to the river banks. The respondents explained that previously the lands near the river banks which were swampy were not cultivated. However due to the need for land, these were now being used as explained by one respondent:

*'There is a lot there which for that one it had not been cultivated before but when it came to these difficulties even the swampy areas they let them farm.....no; previously you see where it is swampy; there I would say that we did not farm but as a result of the desperate need from the lands that they have been collecting so now all the swampy areas people are farming there'* (Interview with Community Member AFR17; Afrisere, October 2017).

The issue with this, even though raised by only ten percent (10%) of respondents, was the fact that the chemicals used in spraying the farms near the river banks were washed off into the river when it rained. This was the same water source that the community used as its sole supply, given that there were no wells, boreholes or other water sources within the community<sup>177</sup>. The issue was also raised by one focus group:

*'The chemicals that we use to kill the weeds that one too the same we spray near the river'*

*'They use it to spray; that same water'*

*'Even me I have drank it continuously that now it has made me sick Auntie<sup>178</sup> I tell you if you go to our side all that area they have farmed everywhere; we have sprayed with chemicals'*

*'It [chemicals] gets in [the water] and this is what we drink but what can you do'* (Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017).

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<sup>177</sup> Interview with Community Member AFR18; Afrisere, October 2017.

<sup>178</sup> Addressing Researcher.

### 5.3.1.5 Inability to save/invest

A small section of the respondents – ten percent – highlighted the fact that the sharing of land had impacted the extent to which they could save or use part of their land as investment. The respondents who raised this point were Northerners. There was originally the ability to put aside some of the monetary income gained from the sale of harvest produce. However, with the reduced landholdings, reduced cultivation and subsequent reduced harvests, the income currently obtained was not such that savings could be made<sup>179</sup>. In addition, regarding ‘investment land’, prior to the sharing of land, there was the ability to keep a portion of one’s land for use as ‘investment’. This was in the sense that one could obtain one’s food supply from a portion of the land and use the other portion of land as a type of investment – by not consuming the produce but rather selling it and saving the monetary income accrued from the harvest of this portion of land. However with the need to give away a portion of land one had to use the portion one had put aside as an ‘investment’ for consumption purposes and there was none left for use as an investment. This was explained at the focus group discussion level:

*‘But now your brother has come; he is struggling/facing hardship; won’t you go and cut some of your land for him; once you have given it to him you cannot get it from him again.....so then it is hard; like maybe that land that I gave to him that is what I eat from.....then you use this one [other portion of land] for your investment; but now what you eat from you have given it to someone where will your investment come from? [you have given out what you eat from and now have to eat from your investment land]’*

(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).

### 5.3.2 The Knock-On Effects Arising From the Aforementioned

A number of knock-on effects arose from the sharing of sections of land and hence the decrease in landholding sizes. First of all, as raised by fifty percent (50%) of respondents, there was the effect to food sufficiency. As emerged from the data, the decrease in land holding affected the amount of crops that could be cultivated, which in turn affected the amount of the harvest, and the food crops available for consumption. This was illustrated by one respondent:

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<sup>179</sup> Interview with Community Member AFR1; Afrisere, September 2017.

*'At first, like maybe that land which I had given to my friend like I could get one bag of maize to sell for about one million [100 GHC approximately USD<sup>180</sup> 23] or 700 000 [70 GHC approximately USD 16] then I give to the woman [wife] that take and use then we are eating.....it [diet] has really changed my sister<sup>181</sup> it has really changed; right now as we are here; you take a look; the soup that is over there; go and open it and see; it is ayoyo [a type of green leaf] that they have done like that; there is even no meat in it'*

(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).

In addition, nearly fifteen percent (15%) of respondents (who had not shared their land due to factors such as distance to their farms) mentioned that they had shared portions of their harvests/food crop with other community members who had given out land. This is because their neighbours who had given out land had had decreased harvests. So they in turn shared parts of their harvests/food crop with them. In this manner, their food supply was also impacted. This came up both within the individual interviews and at a focus group discussion. As emerged in one group discussion,

Researcher: *'You didn't give part of your land to somebody but the small of yours [foodstuffs] which you went to bring.....'*

AFRFGD2: *'Yes I will remove some for him [brother who shared land] to eat'*

Researcher: *'You will remove some for him?'*

AFRFGD2: *'Exactly'*

*'As for that yes'*

Researcher: *'Then yours too decreases?'*

AFRFGD2: *'That is the situation'*

*'As for that one it is really so'*

*'The other day when he came from his farm.....when he came he removed six tubers of yam for me'*

(Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).

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<sup>180</sup> 1 United States Dollar was equivalent to 4.40 Ghana Cedis mid October 2017.  
<https://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GHS&date=2017-10-16>

<sup>181</sup> Addressing Researcher.

Of the respondents who acknowledged the impacts to the Afrisere community, half (50%) raised the effect on finances. For the respondents who had shared portions of their land, seventy-five percent (75%) highlighted the knock-on effect on their finances. Twenty-five percent (25%) maintained that despite sharing portions of land they had not been affected financially (in the first case, an Ashanti, the explanation was that the family land was vast and so they still had access to a lot after giving a portion out. In the case of the Northerner he had accessed land at the adjacent Kumawu paramountcy – the neighbouring traditional area and so in giving out some he still had enough left to live on such that he was not affected financially). Notably there was also the sharing of monetary resources with the in-migrant who had come into the community and needed help starting over again. This also impacted on some community members' finances. This came to light in two of the group discussions. For example, as raised at one group discussion,

AFRFGD1: *'If you farm 10 acres then maybe you say that you will give him about three or two then he too he farms to look after his wife and children'*

Researcher: *'Then for you too it has let yours go down; money wise yours would have gone down?'*

AFRFGD1: *'As for that one so much because even when the person came like that you see that what you will use to buy even salt you have to divide it and give the person small'*

(Focus Group Discussion 1; Afrisere, October 2017).

In line with the effect on finances and monetary income was the decrease in resources for catering for the household and children, highlighted by one fifth of the respondents. As noted by a number of respondents,

*'It's the looking after of the children.....it's the looking after of the children that's the problem.....but really that you say you will farm like that and you will get money like first that you could save a little to look after the children it is difficult'*

*'For the children and their schooling, if the food [harvest] is plenty, that's when you can also take care the children; and you can sell some and take care of them well'*

*'What you will use to look after your children and their schooling that's what you can't [get]'*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR20, AFR24 respectively; Afrisere, September – October 2017).

### 5.3.3 Migration

As emerged from the data, the Afrisere community was affected by migration. However some respondents specifically highlighted the scenarios surfacing – in the form of in-migration and the movement of people out of the community to source for land elsewhere.

Where the movement of people out of the community was concerned, it emerged that there was the need for community inhabitants to source for land further afield. This point, highlighted by fifteen percent (15%) of the respondents, was explained as arising because inhabitants had less land to farm on since portions had been given to others. As a result, the land they cultivated was not sufficient for them, hence they in turn had to source for land to farm on further afield. As explained by some respondents, it took the form of either movement further away to farm but with residence maintained at Afrisere or eventually total migration out of the community. The respondents could not give exact figures but the situation was described with the terms ‘a lot of people’ and ‘many’. This was elaborated upon by some respondents,

*‘First they used to farm here.....yes; they have moved....they have left.....it has happened; it has happened; there are people living in this town they farm at the Kumawu [adjacent district and Traditional Area] side’*  
*‘The thing, if he stays here the land that he had already that he was farming on it is small for him then his brother<sup>182</sup> also comes to ask for some; it results in his, what is left, maybe he also he has a lot [a large family], yes it won’t be enough for him and he sees that here he won’t get somewhere to farm then he moves from here; many have left here’*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR13, AFR14 respectively; Afrisere, October 2017).

There was also the in-migration into the Afrisere community emphasized by fifty percent (50%) of the respondents. They could not give numbers regarding migration but there was the description of the situation with the phrases ‘some come here’, ‘they have come’, ‘many come’, ‘a lot come here’. As noted by some respondents,

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<sup>182</sup> ‘Brother’ as used by the rural communities would not necessarily imply a biological brother; it could refer to a friend, neighbour or complete stranger. Familial terms can often be used for a non-relative, a system very common in Ghana. The researcher was often addressed by the respondents in such terms like ‘sister’, ‘daughter’, ‘auntie’.

*'When some come here then they tell you that they have collected their land..... when they come here [for help/refuge] then they say so.....some from Onyinatokro [Ananekrom]; some from various places'  
'For here people come here a lot.....in fact we do hear that they have come here.....for that one they have come here that they are coming to beg/request for some land'*

*'So the way it has affected us that I know of is that when they collected the lands of our brothers/sisters it has resulted in them also coming to us to come and ask/beg'*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR3, AFR14 respectively; Afrisere, September – October 2017).

Since the Afrisere community was the next adjacent community<sup>183</sup> outside of the acquisition areas, it was the first stop for people who had been sacked and were searching for land to farm on. One respondent explained that he had in-migrated after his farms and property had been destroyed at Ananekrom.

*'Me too I was living at Ananekrom; so it was like they were coming to even collect our house that we were living in; so it let us move and come here; so when I moved and came here it is my in-laws place that I went to beg that he too he has gotten small [land] for me that I am on'*

(Interview with Community Member AFR26; Afrisere, November 2017).

In line with the in-migration, there was an apparent community population increase, albeit this was perceived by only one fifth of the respondents. In addition, even though raised by only five percent (5%) of respondents, there was the situation where an in-migrant had been granted land and would therefore give some of his/her harvest to the grantor of the land as

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<sup>183</sup> From the district capital Agogo, the asphalt road led through the communities of Ananekrom then Dukusen then Afrisere. Hence when travelling via the main asphalt road, Afrisere was the first community outside the acquisition areas. There were other communities and some informal settlements that could be accessed through dirt routes created through the vegetation and hence untarred. From the interviews, in addition to Afrisere being a first stop, some of these other communities were also accessed by those searching for land. Due to the difficulty in accessing these communities (during the rainy season when the fieldwork took place due to flooding and/or when the dirt road's muddy nature would stall car access since the vehicle could get stuck in the mud) visits were not made to them. Community members also advised that for some of these communities vehicles could not get there especially during the rainy season (Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017). Thus the extent of their closeness to the areas of acquisition cannot be ascertained. Notably per the interviews, the Afrisere area was commonly mentioned as a locality people migrated to (Interviews with Community Members ANR5, ANR10, ANR12, ANR13, ANR17, Focus Group Discussion 2; Ananekrom, October 2017; DUR5, DUR6, DUR8, DUR9, Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, September – October 2017).

a form of rent. But when the in-migrant's harvests failed as noted by one respondent, it could not be insisted upon that the in-migrant still provide the 'rent'<sup>184</sup>.

#### 5.3.4 *The mental/emotional effects of worry, fear and suffering*

Even though these could not be physically quantified, there were mental/emotional effects to adjacent community members due to the loss of access to land of their neighbours. This was emphasized by forty-one percent (41%) of respondents and had to do with the worry and suffering faced by the community members. On the one hand, there was the sense of constant hardship and suffering stemming from the difficulties that had come upon them due to the sharing of land and the resultant decreases in their own resources. There was also the worry about the plight of kinsmen following their loss of access to land. As noted by some community members,

*'They [in-migrants] too they have come to join us; so you can't leave the person; if you have even a little you have to give the person a little so sometimes it gets to a point where it can bother/worry you [you will be thinking] and then you are down/distraught'*

*'So it gets to a time that you can eat but thinking can result in you are there but you are slimming.....you are a human being but you are like you are not a human being because your friend you see how the person is struggling/suffering, he too is coming to depend on you.....so as for struggling/hardship, we are struggling, we are struggling'*

(Focus Group Discussion 1; Afrisere, October 2017).

On the other hand, there was the apprehension about the future and the sense of foreboding that the land acquisitions would gradually reach their locality. As noted by some respondents,

*'The way they are collecting the land we will move out of here; it is the effect that we believe we will leave here.....whatever the case, I will have*

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<sup>184</sup> The in-migrant was granted land to farm on and per the arrangement with the grantor of the land, the in-migrant would give a portion of his/her harvest as a form of land rent. However when the in-migrant had a poor harvest, the grantor felt that she could not take part as land rent. This is because in her opinion it would not be right to do so since the in-migrant would need something to live on. As explained, *'You see that my giving it [land] to him [in-migrant].....sometimes when he farms it does not succeed; sometimes too when he farms it succeeds.....so when it [harvest] doesn't succeed you cannot go and collect the maize [form of land rent] from him; you see; right now if it [harvest] doesn't succeed and you go and collect it [land rent] from him what have you gained from it; you don't gain anything.....the small [harvest] that he got you can't go and by force say that he should pay you [land rent]'* (Interview with Community Member AFR14; Afrisere, October 2017).

*to stop and look for elsewhere that's how it is; I know that whatever the case I will stop [farming]*

(Interview with Community Member AFR13; Afrisere, October 2017).

*'But it is all one [the land].....all the land is next to each other.....it will get to a point that Afrisere here too it will reach here.....yes yes [we are worried]'* (Focus Group Discussion 4; Afrisere, November 2017).

### 5.3.5 Permissions and information transfer

Two factors that also played a role in the transmission of impacts to the adjacent community were the permission from the caretaker chief (the *Odikro*) and the transfer of information on the availability of land and the invitation to stay with a 'brother' and farm. In line with people coming into the community and requesting for land was the role of the caretaker chief, the *Odikro*. As noted by fifty percent (50%) of the respondents, once people came into the community, there was generally the requirement to seek for land from the *Odikro*. Even in situations where one's 'brother/sister' came to dwell with a community member and requested for land, the chief was still either informed of the sharing arrangements between the parties or his help sought to acquire land for cultivation. As explained by one respondent,

*'They [in-migrants] come to the chief; so he also looks for a place that is a bit large and then he discusses it with you [the community member cultivating the land].....then he apportions a piece to them.....if he comes and yours is about ten or fifteen [acres].....he will tell you that this person or that, he wants a piece of land to earn a living from so do give him a little so you also give him some..... so that he cultivates a little that he and his family will cultivate.....so he [chief] will tell [ask] you, if there is understanding...you can even say no if you want to. If you agree to it, you can also give some [land]'* (Interview with Community Member AFR6; Afrisere, September 2017).

Thus subsequent to the in-migration, the *Odikro* played a role. This is because he would give the approval for land to be shared or would approach community members for land to give to those seeking some.

There was also the transfer of information on the availability of land, in conjunction with the possible invitation to stay with a 'brother/sister' and obtain land there. This was explained by a community member:

*'Probably he [in-migrant] has some 'brother' here so if the 'brother' is here then he [in-migrant] will come/run and come and be by his side [take refuge with him] ..... so once he [in-migrant] has come to his ['brother'] side then he will say that he should take him to see the Odikro [for land]'*

(Interview with Community Member AFR1; Afrisere, September 2017).

Only nine percent (9%) of the respondents brought up the issue of invitations to in-migrants and the possibility of obtaining land to cultivate on. However, the transfer of information or the invitation to 'a brother' who had lost access to land was not only found in the Afrisere community. Within the localities where land had been acquired, this system (of inviting in a 'brother'/'sister' who had lost access to land elsewhere) was present. Notably this had been raised by respondents in both Ananekrom and Dukusen:

*'Maybe their brother is there; he says come I have a small piece of land; come and stay; you can move and go [migrate there].....it is that which I am explaining that maybe your brother is somewhere he has land there he can say that come; not his land ooo, ahaa it is people's land which he will hire for you.....yes because he is a visitor [migrant] it is not his land so if he has a friend then he will say I have my brother who [needs land].....hire for me so I give it to him..... then you can go and work [there]'*

(Interview with Community Member ANR13; Ananekrom, October 2017).

*'Moreover the land which the people have collected if I stay here I will not get so maybe if I call my brother and I ask him that where he is I would like somewhere to farm and eat [live off] so maybe if I come there will I get some of the land to cultivate maybe he will say let me see the chief if there is somewhere there if the chief gives him the go ahead then he will call that I should come the chief will get somewhere for me to work on and then you [I] go' (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).*

In the request for land – whether from the in-migrant, to the *Odikro* or via a kinsman's invitation – and subsequent granting of land to the in-migrant, the community member then 'lost' a portion of his/her land with attendant effects.

Within the adjacent community of Afrisere, there was not only the awareness of the neighbouring community situations with regards to acquisitions and loss of access to land; there was also the acknowledgement that the effects had reached them even though they were located outside of the vicinity of the land deals. The result was that their land holding diminished affecting them not only physically in terms of decreases in resources and knock-on effects (such as their finances, catering for the household and the payment of their children's' schooling requirements). It also impacted them mentally/emotionally in terms of worry, struggle and suffering. The question is how different were these effects from those within the vicinity of the acquisitions and secondly, why did they give out portions of their lands and resources when such courses of action had associated negative repercussions on them? These are discussed in the ensuing sections.

#### **5.4 THE DIFFERENTIATION OF IMPACTS ACROSS COMMUNITIES – THE EFFECTS TO THE COMMUNITIES BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TO THE VICINITY OF THE LAND TRANSACTIONS**

In view of the large-scale land acquisitions and the ensuing impacts, there was a transmission of effects to the adjacent community. But did the impacts in the communities internal to and external to the transactions mirror each other? Was there differentiation in effects and if so what were the differences and why? The ensuing section seeks to answer these. The impacts of the large-scale land acquisitions to communities both internal and external to the vicinity of the transactions has been elaborated upon and are tabulated below. The impacts appeared to be similar to each other across the communities.

	Communities within Land Acquisition Areas		External Community
	ANANEKROM	DUKUSEN	AFRISERE
Land 'loss/ decrease'	Deprivation – Land 'taken' from people	Deprivation – Land 'taken' from people	Sharing – Land 'given' by people
Effects of land 'loss'	Livelihood deprivation	Livelihood deprivation	Decreased sizes Decreased crop cultivation No fallow period Decreased soil fertility

Knock-on effects	Food Insufficiency Decreased harvests Decreased monetary income Decreased resources for household and children Lost Companionship Lack of resources to start over again	Food Insufficiency Decreased harvests Decreased monetary income Decreased resources for household and children Lost Companionship Lack of resources to start over again	Food Insufficiency Decreased harvests Sharing portions of harvests/ monetary resources Decreased monetary income Decreased resources for household and children Cultivation of marginal land Chemicals into water supply
Access to new parcel of land and issues	Distance to new land Marginality Tenure insecurity Cost of hiring new land Type of crop cultivated Size of new land Absence of fallow period	Distance to new land Marginality Tenure insecurity Cost of hiring new land Type of crop cultivated Size of new land Absence of fallow period	
Migration	Outmigration Reduction in community population size	Outmigration Reduction in community population size	In-migration Movement out of community to source for land elsewhere Community population increase
Mental/emotional effects	Hardship and suffering Pain	Hardship and suffering Pain	Hardship and suffering Worry for kinsmen Apprehension and foreboding

Table 5.1: Effects of Large-Scale Land Acquisitions to Ananekrom, Dukusen and Afrisere.

This is because there was generally land 'loss' in the communities internal and external to the acquisitions. The 'loss' was in the sense that across all the communities there was a reduction in landholding for some of the respondents. The reasons for such reduction is what differed. In the two communities within the vicinity of the acquisitions the decrease in landholding was as a result of the acquisitions. In the adjacent community external to the acquisitions, the decrease was due to the community members' choices to share land with in-migrants who had lost access to land. The 'loss' precipitated effects on the community members. In all the scenarios it included repercussions such as decreased cultivation which gave rise to reduced harvests, food and monetary resources. This in turn created a decrease in resources for the household and for children. Furthermore, there was the mental/emotional effect of suffering, struggle and hardship. However through an in-depth enquiry it could be observed that there was differentiation in impacts where the specifics, the precipitating factors and the responses were concerned.

#### *5.4.1 Loss of Land and Associated Effects*

Commencing with the 'loss' of land, this was similar across all the communities but the specifics and precipitating factors were different. The communities within the acquisition areas were deprived of the land. Essentially the land they were cultivating was taken from them either by companies that had acquired the land for various purposes or by individuals who 'owned' the land and were giving it out to the companies undertaking acquisitions. On the other hand, some of the external community members gave out land when approached to share; notwithstanding it could be argued that this was remotely precipitated by the land acquisitions elsewhere.

Given the fact that these were farming communities, the loss of land implied a loss of livelihood for those who had lost access within the vicinity of the acquisitions. With the adjacent community, those who shared their lands were not necessarily deprived of their livelihoods. Rather they experienced decreases in production given the decrease in landholding sizes, as they themselves maintained. The issue of size regarding landholding also came up as an effect – it was in itself an impact felt by the Afrisere community members as a result of sharing of land. The decreased land size was also an impact felt by the Ananekrom and Dukusen community members but for different reasons. The loss of access to land precipitated a move to search for land elsewhere for farming and as emerged from the data, the majority managed to access smaller sizes of land after loss (in Ananekrom and

Dukusen seventy-one percent [71%] and eighty-two percent [82%] respectively of respondents accessing new lands had gotten some elsewhere but of a smaller size). The decrease in landholding resulted in a decrease in harvests and this was maintained across all three communities. In addition, in the view of the respondents there was also a reduction in soil fertility due to the need to constantly cultivate the land resulting in the absence of a fallow period for rejuvenation.

As maintained by respondents across all the communities, the decreases in harvests in turn affected food sufficiency. Thus there was the knock-on effect to food sufficiency across all the communities however the precipitating factors for these differed – in Afrisere decrease of land and reduction in cultivation; in the other communities loss of land and destruction of food crops. Further knock-on effects included the decrease in monetary income in all the communities which in turn affected the resources available for catering for the household and children. It emerged that for communities within acquisition areas one main issue was the lack of resources to start over again. This was not the case with Afrisere where it was rather the sharing of resources with in-migrants who needed support to start over again. This added to the reduction in monetary and other resources.

#### *5.4.2 Access to Land Elsewhere and Associated Effects*

The loss of access to land within the territory of the acquisitions precipitated the need for community members to search for land elsewhere. The new land accessed could be further away in terms of distance, of poorer quality or more expensive to hire. In addition, there was the lack of tenure security since the land 'owner' could come and intercrop with his/her crops or request that the one hiring vacate the land since he/she ('owner') wanted it back. Furthermore there could be disputes on the land from different factions/members within a family or from different families<sup>185</sup>. However this was one impact which did not emerge from the Afrisere community. In all likelihood this was due to the fact that the adjacent community members who shared land still had some on which to subsist. The issue of a movement out of Afrisere was raised by a few community members as people sought for lands elsewhere due to the smaller landholdings they were left with after sharing land but no 'complaints' emerged from the respondents. Rather (as will be discussed further on in the chapter under

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<sup>185</sup> Where a family (whether nuclear or extended) has the usufructory rights to a parcel of land and one/some of the members decide to hire the whole/part out without the consent of the other members, disputes may arise with the various family members taking sides. Furthermore, due to unclear boundaries, different families could dispute over parcels of land.

the issue of the moral economy and moral obligations) it was a case of a situation that had to be accepted since other people (in their terms 'brothers/sisters') had to be helped.

The cultivation of marginal lands came up as an effect across all three communities but once again the specifics differed. Where the Afrisere community – external to the acquisitions – was concerned, it emerged that previously unused lands (for example swampy or near the river banks) were now being used for cultivation due to the pressing requests for land. These marginal lands had been given to in-migrants who had come to the community requesting for land<sup>186</sup>. On the other hand where the communities within the vicinity of the acquisitions were concerned, the loss of land precipitated access to new lands, which the respondents claimed were marginal but in this case they were marginal because, as alleged by the respondents, these were lands that had been continuously farmed and were in their words 'dead'<sup>187</sup>. Hence there was the impact of the use of marginal land within all the communities but the reasons precipitating their use were different. Furthermore, an impact associated with the use of marginal land in the Afrisere community but which did not surface with the Ananekrom or Dukusen communities was the water supply which some respondents alleged contained run-off from fertilisers and chemicals used in cultivation. This impact was not elicited in Ananekrom or Dukusen even though for Dukusen they also sourced their water supply from a nearby river. Ananekrom, as a community larger than the other two, had a number of boreholes. Albeit highlighted by a minority of respondents in Afrisere, it still shed light on the difference in impacts across the communities in the acquisition versus non-acquisition areas. It also showed how effects within one place can extend to an adjacent area and give rise to other impacts in that locality.

### *5.4.3 Emotional Effects*

Even though raised by few respondents, a further effect which surfaced in the Ananekrom and Dukusen communities was the loss of companionship resulting from people migrating out of the localities. The same did not come up in Afrisere but rather there was worry for kinsmen, relatives, friends and the people who were experiencing the loss of access to land. It could be argued that the impacts of loss of companionship and worry for kinsmen were not the same. However there was similarity in the sense that these impacts evoked emotion

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<sup>186</sup> Interviews with Community Members AFR17, AFR18, AFR19; Afrisere, October 2017.

<sup>187</sup>Dead land – translated directly from the Asante Twi word 'awu'. It means that the land has been used continually (without allowing it to lie fallow to replenish its nutrients) to the extent that the nutrients are depleted and so crops give low yields and as time goes by they do not produce any yields. Basically the land is infertile.

concerning one's fellow humans; the difference was in how this manifested – loss of companionship versus worry. Furthermore, with regards to the emotional effects, for the community members in Afrisere there was the sense of apprehension and foreboding that the land acquisitions would eventually reach their area and this in turn caused them worry. This was not so in the communities within the land transaction areas because they had obviously already gone through the experience regarding acquisitions. However as emerged from the data, they rather experienced the pain of the situation – the loss of their farms and livelihoods and attendant effects. Thus once again, in the communities internal to and external to the acquisitions, there was the emotional impact however what was evoked is what differed. Additionally where emotional impacts were concerned, across all three communities there was the verbalisation of the effects of hardship, struggle and suffering that was being experienced<sup>188</sup>. Within Ananekrom and Dukusen this was due to the acquisitions and loss of access to land whereas within Afrisere it arose from the sharing of land.

#### 5.4.4 Migration

Finally where impacts across the communities were concerned, there was the issue of migration. In Ananekrom and Dukusen, outmigration emerged quite strongly from the data as a major option following loss of access to land. Furthermore according to the respondents it was with the attendant reduction in community size, though respondents could not give exact details/statistics other than to affirm that 'many' or 'most' or 'a lot of' people had left. In Afrisere the subject of migration also emerged. This was in the form of in-migration into the community given that it was external to the vicinity of the acquisitions and the first community on the route when travelling in its direction and further afield from the district capital Agogo. Some respondent perceptions were that there had been a population increase due to the in-migration although once again exact numbers could not be confirmed. Further respondent perceptions were that there was also movement out of the community

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<sup>188</sup> This was frequently verbalised - *'If we say we are not suffering; we are suffering that is what is there'; 'It has resulted in hardship coming to us'; 'For suffering we have suffered.....'We are suffering; truly; if I say things are not difficult then I am lying.....'All of us are suffering; but everywhere; everywhere is hard/difficult'; 'We have suffered; we have really suffered; we have really suffered'; 'So now it has let a lot of difficulty come'; 'It has become difficult.....It has resulted in hardship coming'* (Interviews with Community Members ANR3, ANR4, ANR5, ANR17, ANR18; Ananekrom, September – October 2017).

This verbalisation also came up at the Interviews with Community Members DUR1, DUNRA; Dukusen, September – October 2017; Focus Group Discussion 1; Dukusen, October 2017 and the Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR14, AFR23, AFR24; Afrisere, September – October 2017; Focus Group Discussions 1, 2, 3; Afrisere, October – November 2017.

since the sharing of land resulted in people having smaller landholdings hence the need to move out to source for land sizes that would be sufficient for them. Thus where the issue of migration was concerned, across all the three communities migration as an impact was raised. On the one hand, it was similar in that in Ananekrom and Dukusen, it concerned out-migration resulting from loss of access to land and in Afrisere there was also movement out because of sharing of land. On the other hand the migration impact differed in the sense that in Ananekrom and Dukusen only the issue of outmigration emerged from the respondents whereas in Afrisere the subject of in-migration was very prominent. Both scenarios point to the fact that arguably the overarching impact could be defined with the same terminology however the specifics and what precipitated it was different.

In the light of the foregoing, essentially there were impacts to communities internal to and external to the acquisitions. The question of whether the impacts were or should have been exactly the same could be answered in the negative. This is because obviously the locations were internal to and external to the acquisitions. The communities experiencing the acquisitions would obviously get direct impacts – loss of access to land with resultant effects. The community external to the acquisition would not be in receipt of direct impacts since the lands its community members cultivated were not taken. It experienced indirect impacts. This is in the sense that people who had lost access to land moved into this community and then through the sharing of land and resources they (community members) in turn experienced effects. The question of whether the impacts could have been similar is answered in the preceding discussion which shows that indeed at a preliminary/surface level, the effects were similar. The reason for the similarities stemmed from the fact that the resource at the centre of the issue was land. Across all the three communities the land was of great significance especially given the fact that they were rural communities and farming was the predominant livelihood. Once there was some effect to the land (such as a decrease in size through acquisition or sharing) there was the potential that the repercussions would be similar since it was the same resource that was employed and the same type of livelihood which depended on that resource. The question of differentiation in impacts across the communities internal to and external to the acquisitions is answered in delving into the specifics and the precipitating factors as discussed above. These buttressed the point that there were differences in impact.

Comparatively therefore, the impacts were not exactly the same yet there were similarities. Simultaneously when viewed through the lens of the specifics and precipitating factors, there was differentiation. The question is how the impacts emerged in the adjacent community in the first place. In view of this, the discourse next interrogates why the effects emerged in the adjacent community through the lens of the ethnic dynamics, moral obligations, the moral economy, reciprocity and the matter of peace of mind.

## **5.5 THE ETHNIC DYNAMICS**

### *5.5.1 Ethnicity*

The subject of ethnic dynamics begins with the question of ethnicity. Throughout history people have often used ethnic distinctions to rank members of society (Yang, 2000:41). But what does ethnicity refer to? Banton (2018:99) submits that in the English language, the adjective 'ethnic' came into use initially to identify a certain kind of social group or category. In social and cultural anthropology it was customary to use 'ethnic group' as identifying a distinctive people with a common culture evident in their shared history, language and other characteristics (Banton, 2018:100). Yang (2000:39) suggests that at first glance ethnicity is seemingly a straight-forward concept but in fact is subject to different interpretations. In like manner, Parsons (1975:53) notes that it is an extraordinarily elusive concept and very difficult to define in any precise way. Whereas the term 'identity' was already popular in the early 20th century, 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity' have only become catchwords since the 1960s (Glazer/Moynihan, 1963; Niethammer, 2000; Wikan, 2002 cited in Antweiler, 2015:25). For Nagel (1994:152-153), ethnicity is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality.

Ethnicity is a socially grown collective identity, which assumes a common history and origin as well as shared traditions, and claims to define a culture as different from (all) others (Antweiler, 2015:27). According to Yang (2000:40) it is the product of the human mind and human sentiments. It is a matter of identification or a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Yetman, 1991:2 cited in Yang, 2000:40). Jenkins (2008:10) contends that 'ethnicity' comes from the ancient Greek *ethnos* which is typically translated today as 'people' or 'nation. It was also used in reference to a band, tribe or race (Baumann 2004:12). Thus ethnic communities as suggested by Smith (2010:27) are defined as named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with

a specific territory and a sense of solidarity. The foregoing can arguably also include diasporic ethnicities since they have an indigenous connection to a particular geographic locale through shared ancestry and origins. Jenkins (2008:11) maintains that shared language and ritual are particularly implicated in ethnicity as is the mutual sense of what is 'correct and proper' which constitutes individual 'honour and dignity'. The ethnic group therefore, as suggested by Eriksen (2010:50) has come to mean something like 'a people' through which 'there is the creation of a sense of belonging' (Blanton, 2015:9177).

### *5.5.2 Approaches*

The foregoing highlights the intricacies where the subject of ethnicity is concerned. The definitions emphasize the cultural, historical and ancestral aspects of ethnicity; in essence, the belonging or collective identity of a group of people on the basis of these factors. The acknowledgement of a collective identity would also imply an awareness of distinction from another group. In contrast, there is also the perspective of ethnicity being constructed by society; fundamentally the contribution of others to the demarcation of a group. But how are these different perspectives put forward? Ethnic dynamics are postulated through three main approaches. The primordialist approach explains ethnicity with reference to a factual shared history, common origin of the respective collective as an ethnic group, an ascribed identity, assigned status or something inherited from one's ancestors (Antweiler, 2015:27; Yang 2000:42). 'Primordialist' is used to characterise this school of thought because it stresses the role of primordial factors such as lineage and cultural ties in determining ethnicity (Yang, 2000:42). According to Esteban et al. (2012a:859), the primordialist view takes the position that ethnic differences are ancestral and deep. With regards to the constructivist approach, ethnic affiliation or identification is determined or constructed by society and ethnicity is a reaction to changing social environments, hence ethnic boundaries are flexible or change (Yang, 2000:44). Antweiler (2015:28) further explains that the boundary ('We/They') is more relevant than the specifics defining the collective's way of life, such as norms, values, religion, or practices ('cultural factors'). In contrast to the assumptions of primordialists, the shared way of life among the members of a collective is not seen as the basis of cultural boundaries, but as an effect of them which implies that boundaries are dynamic and that membership may be fluid (Antweiler, 2015:28). The instrumentalist approach builds on the primordial structures but emphasizes that several of these aspects might be differently and selectively activated in different situations. Thus ethnic groupings emerge around an identity causing characteristic, which then increases collective interest (Kolo, 2012:15). Essentially,

ethnicity is viewed as an instrument or strategic tool for gaining resources and people become and remain ethnic when their ethnicity yields significant returns to them (Yang, 2000:46). The foregoing explanations for the approaches are not mutually exclusive. The approaches can be employed simultaneously to illuminate ethnic elements in a given situation. Hence they cannot be said to be mutually exclusive. As noted further on in the next section, the ethnic elements portrayed in the Afrisere community can be viewed through the lens of all three approaches. In spite of this, as noted with the Afrisere community, one approach to ethnicity may emerge as a dominant explanation within a setting.

### 5.5.3 *The Emergence of the Ethnic Dynamics*

The aforementioned sheds light on the various approaches to ethnicity. The question is how the ethnic dynamics emerged in Afrisere. Secondly, as a result of such dynamics why did this community experience impacts from land acquisitions albeit being located outside the vicinity of the appropriations?

Notably, the community consisted predominantly of people originating from the northern part of the country. Hence at the outset, there was a regional identity as Northerners. Identity, as suggested by Guibernau and Rex (2010:4), helps to place an individual within a group or involves 'identification' with a collectivity. There was the acknowledgement of the common origination from the North as well as a collective identification as Northerners from the respondents. This was evident in their manner of speech:

*'We the Northerners, where he/she can earn a living, that is where he/she goes'*

*'We the Northerners that we are living here we know that it is farming the land that brings people here'*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR12, AFR13 respectively; Afrisere, October 2017).

*'Even as we are sitting here we are all Northerners; there is no Ashanti here'*

*'It is us the Northerners who are affected; us Northerners are the ones who they can do this to us'*

(Focus Group Discussions 1, 5 respectively; Afrisere, October – November 2017).

*'The Northerners are the most; we are the ones who are working the land; its only Northerners working here; the Ashantis are not here'*

*(Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, August 2017).*

Where the Northerners are concerned, those who originate from the other regions in the south of the country refer to them as such (as Northerners) and they accept and used the terminology when identifying themselves<sup>189</sup>. Notably, as a result of the collective identity, the in-migrants (also Northerners) came into the community once they lost access to land elsewhere. They came to those with whom they had familial relations with and those who they identified with on the basis of ethnicity and similar regional origins.

Apart from the regional identification, there was also the ethnic identity as explained by some respondents:

*'We [Northerners] are a lot here.....there are Dagombas, there are Gruishes, there are Sissalas and Konkombas'*

*Yes, we are Frafras.....we have Dagombas.....we have Sissalas.....we have Gruishes'*

*(Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR2 respectively; Afrisere, September 2017).*

With regards to the population, the ethnic elements were herein displayed. It was Ashanti land yet it was predominantly Northerners from different ethnicities who had converged and were living and working in the community. This may well be partly as a result of the origins of the village – founded by a Northerner who then brought in his family with relatives and other in-migrants joining – as recounted by respondents in one of the group discussions. This in itself pointed to the ethnic dynamics in that on the basis of a sense of belonging, a group of people of similar ethnic identity would converge to be together on territory which was not theirs. These ethnic and regional dynamics and the resulting impacts to the Afrisere community are discussed extensively below.

The question of how the ethnic elements were portrayed within the Afrisere community can be viewed through the lens of all three approaches to the dynamics. Firstly, where the primordial approach was concerned, a sense of collective identity emerged from the

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<sup>189</sup> The term 'Esre' in the Ashanti language *Twi* refers to the grasslands indicative of the nature of the environment in the Northern part of the country. Hence the *Twi* term 'Esremunii' (singular) or 'Esremufuo' (plural) refers to the Northerners, literally translated as 'those who come from the grasslands'.

respondents. This came out through their statements using the phrases 'we the Northerners', 'us Northerners'. As noted from some of the respondents,

*'We [Northerners] are a lot here'*

*'We the Northerners.....'*

*'We the Northerners that we are living here....'*

*(Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR12, AFR13 respectively; Afrisere, September – October 2017).*

In addition, there was the acceptance of where they came from especially in relation to land – through the collective articulation that they did not bring land when coming down south.

*'All of us here there is no one who doesn't have somewhere they hail from'*

*'You see that we too when we came here; when we came from the North here we were not carrying land'*

*'As for the land, us Northerners who have come there is no-one who has land'*

*(Focus Group Discussions 1, 3, 5 respectively; Afrisere, October – November 2017).*

The northern part of Ghana consists of three separate regions (Northern region, Upper East region and Upper West region)<sup>190</sup>. In spite of such distinction, collectively the non-indigenes from these regions emphasized that they hailed from the North with no demarcation as to which particular area/region they came from. There was thus the collective sense of belonging. This was through a shared awareness of not only originating from the North but also not being 'Ashanti'. This was expressed in one focus group:

*'Right now all of us are from the North.....because he is not an Ashanti and I am not an Ashanti so all of us are co-equals; all of us are one person'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Notably, the dynamics of collective identification and shared sense of belonging, – the 'we' versus 'they' as well as the acceptance and acknowledgement of being Northerners was also strongly demonstrated within the two communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen.

Remarkably, those who were not Northerners who were interviewed made reference to their respective ethnicity – Ashanti and a few Ewes. They did not refer to themselves as southerners<sup>191</sup>. This was so even where they were migrants from another (albeit southern)

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<sup>190</sup> At the time of the fieldwork there were three regions but this increased to five from February 2019 following a referendum in December 2018.

<sup>191</sup> Those from the southern parts of Ghana (all the regions with the exception of the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions) are not referred to as southerners but each goes by their ethnicity whether Ga, Fante,

part of Ghana, for example the Ewes from the Volta Region or the Ashantis originating from other parts of the Ashanti region. The non-Northerners and the Northerners as well all identified those from the northern part of the country as Northerners [the singular *ƐsrƐmunii* or the plural *ƐsrƐmufuo* in the Ashanti language *Ɔwi*]. This brings out the constructionist approach to ethnicity within the community and the research area at large. This is because, apart from the historical and cultural aspect as well as the origins for which reason there was the shared sense of belonging from a particular area, there were these ingrained perceptions from non-Northerners. Those not originating from the north project those from the north as Northerners. Such interaction of the groups of people – Northerners with those from other ethnicities – possibly brings out the differing attributes of the peoples originating from the northern and southern parts of the country. Hence the Northerners are then labelled and distinguished as such even though the vice versa does not occur – the southerners are not labelled as southerners. Therefore it is not only a perspective of self-identity whereby the Northerners view themselves as such. They are perceived as such (as Northerners) by non-Northerners. Furthermore, there was the likely boundary created which demarcated north and south and also contributed to the Northerners being seen to and referred to as such and hence in turn also referring to themselves as Northerners. The discussions with the Afrisere community elicited distinct demarcations where the Northerners and the Ashantis were concerned. As articulated in some of the group discussions,

*‘They don’t say Northerners they say ntafo<sup>192</sup>; a tani<sup>193</sup> did not bring any land down here’ (Focus Group Discussion 1; Afrisere, October 2017).*

*‘The Ashantis own and our own....but we have come inside [in their jurisdiction] so there is nothing we can say’*

*‘As for the Ashantis.....for them their ancestors land you cannot sell it [you cannot take it from them].....we [Northerners] too when we were coming [down south] we don’t have any ancestors in the Ashanti kingdom’ (Focus Group Discussion 5; Afrisere, November 2017).*

Academic scholarship posits that for ethnicity from the social constructivist perspective, the boundaries are flexible hence there could be change and membership may be fluid (Antweiler, 2015:28; Yang, 2000:44). It is unlikely as to whether (within the Ghanaian

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Akuapim, Ashanti, Ewe and so on. There is no term that groups them all together as southerners. But even though there are numerous distinct ethnicities in the North, they are all generally grouped together and referred to as Northerners both by themselves and by the other ethnicities in the south as well.

<sup>192</sup> A common derogatory term used for Northerners.

<sup>193</sup> The singular of the common derogatory term *ntafo*.

context) such movement of boundary could take place. By virtue of the traditions, culture and history, it is unlikely that membership from Northern to another ethnicity or vice versa could occur<sup>194</sup>. Notably this was illustrated by respondents within the Dukusen community:

*'You can reach 100 years they will still say you are a visitor...so every time you are a visitor'*

*'America when you stay there five years you are an automatic citizen; for here you can't be a citizen'*

(Interviews with Community Members DUR2, DUR11 respectively; Dukusen, September – October 2017).

The ethnic elements were portrayed through the instrumentalist approach. For those within the Afrisere community who reached out to help those in the adjacent communities who had lost access to land, it could be argued that ethnicity was an instrument through which assistance was achieved. This is in the sense that as a result of the ethnicity, they saw those coming into their community as brothers/sisters. Thus due to the sense of oneness and (all being Northerners) community members were willing to provide support to in-migrants. Notably the incoming migrants would contribute to the land rent of the one who gave them a portion of land once they harvested crop and got some for consumption. Those who gave out portions of their land did not collect 'rent' for themselves from the in –migrants. Rather (for example) if the one giving out the land originally used to give the chief three bags of maize as land rent, now that an in-migrant was sharing the land, the former would give two bags of maize and the in-migrant would give one bag of maize (the amount the in-migrant would give would depend on the arrangement between them) [Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017]. The contribution to the land rent by the in-migrant would start after he/she had settled and been able to harvest some to feed himself/herself and family. So the giver of land did not gain financially<sup>195</sup> or crop-wise from the sharing of a portion of his/her land hence the extension of support without gain, discussed in detail under the

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<sup>194</sup> The ethnic groups in Ghana have two main types of family – the patrilineal family – those who inherit according to the male line and the matrilineal family – those who inherit according to the female line. For the patrilineal family, a male parent belongs to the same family as his children. For the matrilineal family, a female parent belongs to the same family as her children (Mensa-Bonsu and Dowuona-Hammond, 1995:9-10). One does not 'change' ethnicity. Depending on the ethnicity of one's parents one would then either belong to the father's family, the mother's family, both families or none at all. Through marriage the same would apply to one's children (see Mensa-Bonsu and Dowuona-Hammond, 1995:9-10).

<sup>195</sup> The land rent was not lowered for there to be financial gain. As explained by the Odikro, there was a mandatory collection of three bags of maize: *'However much you will plant every year even if it is 100 acres that you will farm it is three bags [of maize for the land rent]. That is what I collect; if you cultivate your rice I don't mind; if you cultivate beans I don't mind if you cultivate groundnuts I don't mind but for the maize three bags that I will collect'* (Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, August 2017).

section the moral obligation and the moral economy. This was explained by some community members (and by the *Odikro*<sup>196</sup>):

*'And when he [in-migrant] comes like that if you believe that maybe your brother..... you cannot eat and leave him then you can take him to the chief that right now my brother has come he is struggling/facing hardship; so right now my land I am cutting a portion for him; then he will say okay; so if you will pay the land rent then he too he has to pay some; so that all of you eat from the land'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017).*

A respondent who had migrated into the neighbouring community of Mosi Panin also confirmed this<sup>197</sup>. The collection of the land rent was however generally tempered with mercy<sup>198</sup>.

In addition, ethnicity was used as an instrument to seek for aid since support was sought from the adjacent community members who were perceived as 'brothers/sisters'. Hence in identifying with each other, the Afrisere community gave and the in-migrants received.

The prevalence of the collective identity, shared sense of belonging and common origin as emerged from the data suggests that the ethnic dynamics manifested dominantly through a primordial approach. Even though through interaction the north/south boundaries arose between Northerners and Southerners which was consistent with a constructivist approach, there was the constant predominant emphasis on the fact that they were Northerners, they originated from the North, they had affection for each other and they had to help themselves<sup>199</sup>. Antweiler (2015:26) suggests that ethnicity is an aspect or variant of collective

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<sup>196</sup> As explained by the *Odikro*: 'So if yours is big and you divide it into two such that your brother can get something small to eat; so if its ten acres and you have divided it into two everyone will take five five so when the year comes to the end you will give me three bags [of maize] and the other person will give me three bags [of maize] then me to I will go and give it [to the paramount chief]' (Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, August 2017).

<sup>197</sup> As explained by the respondent: 'I haven't started; once the year ends and you get what you will eat before you start paying [land rent].....for here if I tell you I have paid one cedi [1 GHC] then I will be lying' (Interview with Community Member MPR1; Mosi Panin, October 2017).

<sup>198</sup> As explained by the *Odikro*: 'Sometimes the time that my elder brother [former *Odikro*] was alive.....he could send me; I would go to look for people's farms..... so when you [!] check/observe the maize the person harvested it will not even be enough for him to eat; and then if you are going to collect land rent from him at his home how will he pay; so even sometimes when I come sometimes I don't even tell my older brother; I say that for this person let us leave him; this one let us leave him; this one let us leave him you see; so that he uses it to eat; someone he is standing there and uses a cutlass small small to weed/farm; he farms a little, about two acres or three acres, his wives too are about two his children about five will it be enough for him to eat? Ahaa so if you collect it [land rent] it will not work [you cannot collect it]' (Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, August 2017).

<sup>199</sup> Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR2, AFR3, AFR4, AFR6, AFR12, AFR13, AFR21, AFR22; Afrisere, September – October 2017; Focus Group Discussions 1, 2, 3, 5; Afrisere, October – November 2017.

identity which is about perceived or experienced consistency and continuity in human collectives. Identity, whether personal or collective, is about staying (partially) the same in the context of others (Antweiler, 2015:26). Thus, identity is always related to difference and demarcation and in both personal as well as collective identity dynamics, both inclusion and exclusion, and often also discrimination, are principally implied (Antweiler, 2015:26). Ethnic identities take shape around real, shared material experience, shared social space, commonalities of socialization and communities of language and culture (Fenton, 2010 cited in Kolo, 2012:15). Within the community there was the experience of being on Ashanti land which by virtue of originating from elsewhere, the community members could not lay claim to. As such there was the identification with others in such situations who were similar to themselves not only because of the non-claim to the land but also by virtue of similar cultures and places of origin. Hence ethnic identity and regional collectivity emerged and resulted in the extension of assistance. Furthermore, as suggested by Antweiler (2015:29), where ethnicity is concerned, the collective identity is linked with individuals and their actions, for example through words and idioms indicating emic sentiments and concepts such as ethnonyms – ‘Our land’, ‘We/They’; ‘Us/Them’ (Antweiler, 2015:29). The collective identity was expressed prominently in the diction of the community members with the constant use of the words ‘we’, ‘we northerners’, ‘us northerners’ as emerged from the data. Furthermore there was the sense of the demarcation of difference with the Ashantis through the constant acknowledgement of the Ashantis, their endeavours, activities and their rights to land. Notably these ethnic delimitations emerged in the communities where there had been loss of access to land as well.

#### *5.5.4 Significance of Ethnic Dynamics*

Two questions arose where the Afrisere community was concerned. Firstly, why were the ethnic dynamics of significance (specifically the issues of appreciation of common origination, links of kinship and positionality as brothers/sisters)? Secondly why did such significance emerge especially in relation to the subject of loss of access to land in adjacent communities and subsequent in-migration? The collective identity and shared sense of belonging was relevant because it influenced/partially explained why the impacts of land acquisitions reached the adjacent Afrisere community. This was in a number of ways.

Firstly, as a result of the ethnic dynamics, the Northerners saw themselves as brothers/sisters and as one, hence there was solidarity and cohesion. More than half of all

the respondents – fifty-seven percent (57%) – in the community made reference to the subject of being 'brothers/sisters' or being 'one'. This was noted by some respondents:

*'We are the ones they [in-migrants] know that we are their brothers/sisters; we and them all are one'*

*'So for here, as we live here, I am your brother/sister; you are also my brother/sister'*

*(Interviews with Community Members AFR14, AFR21 respectively; Afrisere, September – October 2017).*

In addition, one Ashanti respondent testified to the unity of the Northerners:

*'The Northerners are some type of people who.....you see them like that; they are really together; if you kill one you are dead; if you joke with them.....as for that love; it is really there'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR22; Afrisere, October 2017).*

From the ethnic and regional identity emerged the sentiment of brotherliness/sisterliness, oneness and togetherness amongst the Northerners. This was in spite of the fact that their origins were from different parts of northern Ghana. They were all living and seeking a livelihood in the Ashanti territory. Thus their regional identity and their ethnicity bonded them together on Ashanti soil. Hence in like manner, the community members viewed those from other communities who lost access to land as their brothers. As expressed in one focus group discussion,

*'So when he [in-migrant] comes to meet you [community member] like that what can you do.....all of you too you have come from travelling [are foreigners] to come and meet [in Ashanti, a foreign territory]; so you will say that he/she is your brother/sister'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).*

At the focus group discussion level too, the subject of brotherliness/sisterliness/oneness was not only highlighted in all five discussions but strongly emphasized. As explained in one group discussion,

*'It's true he/she [in-migrant] is my brother/sister'*

*'You can't say he/she isn't your brother/sister'*

*'As we stand here right now if you take your hand to beat one, all of us sitting here will beat you; we will fight; we will not sit there for you to hurt our brother/sister'*

*'That is why they say that Northerners we love each other'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 5; Afrisere, November 2017).*

There was the sense of brotherliness/sisterliness/oneness and that sense also evoked the impulse to aid the brother/sister when in time of need. Hence when the in-migrant came into the community after having lost access to land elsewhere it could be argued that firstly on the basis of ethnicity the one was seen as a brother/sister. The basis of ethnicity here was in the sense of belonging to an ethnic group with origins in the northern part of the country. As such it was a situation where a brother/sister needed to be assisted. There was also the outsider positionality. As Northerners on Ashanti land there was the understanding and appreciation of the outsider status commonly noted in their comments of being strangers. Hence in appreciating this outsider position themselves, they then assisted others in similar positions. Furthermore, not only was there the need to assist, there was the motivation to do so due to the cohesion and oneness. Thus the in-migrant was helped. The help came in the form of the giving out of resources and land. In addition where a community member (also seen as a brother/sister) had given out some of his/her resources and therefore had less, the one would also be assisted because he/she was seen as one of them. Consequently, the support through the sharing of resources gave rise to the impacts to the community members previously elaborated upon.

In relation to the sense of oneness was the issue of the rural-rural linkages. There was inter-community interaction which in turn fostered support amongst the communities. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the respondents affirmed the inter-community interaction. It occurred through events such as funerals, weddings and the market day of Tuesday which took place at Ananekrom. The rural-rural interaction was significant in the sense that the coming together at events partly aided in the flow of information about the happenings within the communities which to some extent accounted for the issues surrounding the land acquisitions reaching the adjacent community. In addition, the rural –rural interaction allowed for information on the plight of those who had lost access to land to reach the adjacent community. When combined with the sense of brotherliness and oneness, such information and awareness of the situation in turn evoked the impetus to provide support within the adjacent community. Thus the interaction between the communities essentially contributed to the supply of support further down the line by the adjacent community:

*'We do things together; when something happens to us we can let them know and when someone passes on we can all go and help with*

*it.....for that we do well.....the funeral and weddings and others; the people here can go and when it reaches them they too they come; for that one it is done'*

*'As for us and them the interaction amongst us it is 'heavy' [solid]; as for the interaction between us and them; if we need anything they will come here.....for us and them the interaction that exists as we live here and right now when it is seen that one is facing difficulty if maybe their relation has passed they themselves will again help all of us'*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR7, AFR13 respectively; Afrisere, September - October 2017).

The ethnic dynamics promoted the collective awareness and identification of the visitor/ foreigner/ migrant/ stranger status. More than half of the respondents – fifty-four percent (54%) – made reference to this position as Northerners. This came out in some of the responses:

*'All of us are foreigners/visitors here'*

*'A visitor/migrant do you have power?'*

*'You see we are foreigners/visitors'*

(Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR7, AFR12; Afrisere, September – October 2017).

The visitor/ foreigner/ migrant/ stranger status was also emphasized within all five of the focus group discussions. They saw and accepted their status as visitors/ foreigners/ migrants/ strangers because they were on Ashanti soil and not within their own territory. They did not originate from the Ashanti region but had come there (or their forbears had come there and given birth to them there) to seek livelihoods. The perception and acceptance of the foreigner status also added to their acknowledgement of a lack of rights when it came to the issue of land. Essentially they were not Ashantis and hence could not 'own' land in Ashanti. Furthermore as visitors on another's soil, they accepted that the 'laws of the land' had to be obeyed. As articulated within some of the group discussions,

*'And you too Northerner when you came you did not bring any land with you'*

*'For those of us who are visitors when we came.....we don't break the law'*

(Focus Group Discussion 1, 2 respectively; Afrisere, October 2017).

It could be concluded that the understanding and awareness of their own visitor status within the adjacent community made them appreciate the position of their fellow Northerners in the neighbouring communities where there was loss of access to land. The visitor status engendered an appreciation of the lack of rights to land and the ensuing powerlessness to strive for the land if it was taken. Such awareness gave rise to their appreciation of the plight of their fellow Northerners who had lost access to land elsewhere. The adjacent community members grasped the meaning of being identified as a visitor and the issues that attended such a position. Their neighbours in the other communities were equally Northerners on Ashanti territory and hence were visitors just like them with no rights to the land and so were powerless when there was the prospect of loss of access to land. As explained within one focus group discussion in Afrisere,

*'You see that we too when we came here; when we came from the North here we were not carrying land; so now if they say they are collecting it; can you say anything'*

*'We are visitors/migrants; you can plant [farm] for 100 years but when you were coming [from the North] you were not carrying plants; it is here that you came to get the plants so if they say that if they are removing your plants [evicting you] they are removing them'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017).*

Thus there was the extension of help to the fellow migrants/visitors in their time of need from the Afrisere community members.

To sum up, ethnicity contributed to the transmission of impacts of large-scale land acquisitions to the adjacent community. The role of ethnicity was principally through the primordial approach whereby there was the collective identity and the sense of belonging arising from the lineage, traditions, culture and common origin. As a result of such common identity there was the fostering of brotherliness/sisterliness. There was also the perception and appreciation that they (adjacent community) were visitors. Such acknowledgements emerged through the descriptions they ascribed to and how they referred to themselves with the use of the words 'we Northerners', 'us Northerners', 'our brothers', 'we love ourselves'. This is in spite of originating from different parts of northern Ghana. The regional identity and ethnicity thus fostered oneness.

Notably and on the contrary, ethnicity has been perceived to be instrumental where conflict is concerned (Esteban et al., 2012b:1311; Esteban et al., 2012a:858). An ethnic conflict is a dispute about important political, economic, social, cultural or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities (Brown, 2010:93). The reasons for ethnic conflict are diverse. As noted by Brown (2010:94) the conventional wisdom among journalists and policy-makers is that the 'lid' on ancient rivalries it is said, has been taken off and long suppressed grievances are now being settled but scholars generally agree that this conventional wisdom offers an inadequate explanation of the causes of ethnic conflict. Some explanations of ethnic conflict focus on the false histories that many ethnic groups have of themselves and of others and in addition, systemic explanations focus on the security concerns of these groups (Brown, 2010:94, 98). Esteban et al. (2012a:858) argue that pre-existing ethnic divisions do influence social conflict. Furthermore, Brown (2010:95) maintains that groups are often unaware of, or insensitive to, the impact their actions will have on others. Levine (1999:166) also contends that ethnic identities and hatreds naturally draw people into persistent antagonisms. These aspects of ethnicity which, as suggested by academic scholarship, fuel conflict were not evident across the communities albeit the differing ethnicities within the majority-Northerner residents. This is in spite of the fact that in Ghana, there has been significant ethnic conflict in the northern part of the country over the past decades.

The 2016 Country Review Report on Ghana by countrywatch.com highlighted that in late May 2010 there was ethnic conflict and disputes over land in the northern Ghana; the dissonance was not a new phenomenon, having been going on for several years. Indeed, as far back as the mid-1990s, land disputes in the region degenerated into ethnic conflict' (Countrywatch.com, 2016: 27). In research conducted on ethnic conflict in northern Ghana for the period 1980 – 1999, Brukum (2000:131) noted that a disturbing phenomenon in the northern region of Ghana during the last nineteen years had been the intermittent eruption of either intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic conflicts. Brukum (2000:131) further gave examples of the Gonja being involved in wars with the Nawuris and Nchumurus, the Gonja fighting amongst themselves, the Nanumbas fighting against the Konkombas, the Dagombas fighting against the Konkombas, the Dagombas fighting amongst themselves and the Mamprusis fighting with the Kusasis. In similar manner, Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah (2016:1) also note that in recent years, the Northern Region has been the scene of sporadic ethnic conflicts with high recurrence rate. Of the estimated over one hundred chieftaincy and

ethnic disputes across the country, the Northern Region alone accounts for 70 percent of them (Tonah 2012; Seini and Tsikata 2004 cited in Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah, 2016:1). For instance, in 1992 Gonja-Vagla, Konkomba-Nanumba, Mamprusi-Kusasi, and Kokomba formed a war pact and fought against Gonjas, which lasted several months, thereby destabilizing the peace of the area (Pul, 2003 cited in Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah, 2016:1). Similar violence occurred in Bawku in the Upper East Region between Mamprusis and Kusasis in 2001 and 2002 in connection with local elections and the appointment of a mayor [District Chief Executive] (Lund, 2003 cited in Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah, 2016:2). Therefore the northern part of the country is not devoid of ethnic conflict. Rather it is quite the reverse. The majority of such conflict within Ghana occurs there. Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah, (2016:3) suggest that the conflicts that have occurred in Ghana's northern region are complex and have largely revolved around issues of ethnic identity and rights.

Within the communities under the study, rather than mirroring the conflict in their areas of origin, the differing ethnicities produced solidarity and oneness which gave rise to the support for one another even where it was detrimental to oneself. As constantly emphasized by Afrisere community members, *'you cannot sack him/her, you cannot look the other way, you have to help, you cannot go to bed full whilst he/she goes on an empty stomach, he/she is your brother/sister, when your brother/sister sleeps then you sleep'*<sup>200</sup>. Thus the primordialist approach (whereby factors such as lineage and cultural ties [Yang, 2000:42] and common origin and ancestry [Antweiler, 2015:27; Yang, 2000:42] define ethnicity) rather produced the strengthening of ties, the acknowledgement of oneness and therefore support for the brother/sister in need. The question is why did the differences in ethnicity rather create support in these communities? In the first place, the probability of conflict was low because the land did not belong to them. They could not lay any claim, having no usufructory rights hence they could not fight over the land. Secondly, the fact that they had no rights to the land and were perceived as migrants/ visitors/ strangers/ foreigners increased their vulnerability. Therefore it encouraged the extension of help to one another because it is on each other they had to depend. They needed each other to maintain their livelihoods whilst residing in a territory that was not their own. Thus in effect, the ethnic dynamics were

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<sup>200</sup> Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR6, AFR14, AFR21 and Focus Group Discussions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

employed as a means to ensure security of livelihood and support. On the other hand, because the adjacent community members perceived those who had lost access to land as brothers and sisters because of common origins, there was the impetus to provide support to them. This resulted in a number of effects to them which has been elaborated upon extensively.

## **5.6 THE MORAL OBLIGATION AND THE MORAL ECONOMY**

A second influencing factor in the transmission of impacts to the adjacent community concerned the subject of the moral obligation. This came up extensively from the interviews. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the respondents stressed on the obligation to extend some form of help to the one experiencing loss as a matter of course, in the sense that it was the appropriate and inherent/natural action to take, even to their own detriment. The extension of support to in-migrants as a natural or logical outcome of the awareness of their need came up in all five of the group discussions and with the community Traditional Authority as well. The moral obligation to help thus played a part in the extension of support. But why was there that obligation to provide help and secondly was there a moral economy at play? Furthermore, why did the moral obligation/moral economy result in impacts to their livelihoods even though the community was external to the acquisition areas? These issues are interrogated below.

### *5.6.1 The Moral Obligation*

*'But you cannot look the other way; even if all of you get a little each that is better than you alone getting and your brother/sister having nothing'  
(Interview with Traditional Authority, Afrisere, August 2017).*

*'They have come to collect his/her [land], how will you not give a portion of yours [land] to him/her?'  
(Focus Group Discussion 4; Afrisere, November 2017).*

These statements highlight an obligation to provide help to another person in the one's time of need. They also shed light from the perspectives of the respondents on the fact that their conscience could not be at rest when another person was undergoing some form of suffering<sup>201</sup>. Even though their reactions/responses regarding assistance could be as a result

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<sup>201</sup> This was frequently expressed by respondents:  
*'Even you when you are eating you can't [forget about the in-migrant]; if you come and I have eaten and am full then you too you go and sleep hungry; how can you [I] live [it will be on my conscience]?'*

of their geographic proximity, there was still the perception that it was necessary that they provided help to the one in need. Hence the provision of help and assistance arose because of what one felt one should do or the reactions one perceived as right upon coming into contact with a particular situation. The perception of what is right goes back to the subject of morality and ethics.

The reason why there was an obligation to help can be viewed through the lens of five factors: a natural empathy/feeling for others, the natural emergence of solidarity mechanisms, the matter of social beings and relationships, the moral emotions/ sentiments/ reasoning and finally cultural values. Each factor brings up the subject of morality hence before proceeding to examine these five elements, it is necessary to delimit morality within the context of the discourse. According to Sayer (2003:4) there is sometimes a preference for the term 'ethics' to 'morality' and sometimes the two terms are assumed to correspond to a distinction between informal, embodied dispositions deriving from concrete forms of social life, and formal, abstract norms and rules, though confusingly the referents of the two terms are sometimes reversed. Sayer (2003:4) further maintains that though in political theory ethics is often associated with the pursuit of the good and morality with the right, arguably there is a triple distinction: ethical dispositions or moral sentiments arising from interpersonal interaction, norms of particular communities, and supposedly universal moral principles. No matter how the distinctions are made, they are very fuzzy: norms can be internalized as dispositions; dispositions can be formalized as norms, the right and the good ultimately presuppose each other (Sayer, 2003:4).

Similarly, Sayer (2011:16-17) suggests that many different ways of distinguishing ethics and morality have been proposed. Currently the association of morality with norms and ethics with questioning of such norms is popular (Sayer, 2011:16-17). Morality is also taken to mean 'simply the matter of what kinds of behaviour are good, how we should treat others and be treated by them; moral feelings, ideas and norms about such things also imply and merge into what philosophers term 'conceptions of the good' - ideas or senses of how one

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*'As your brother/sister is sitting there you can see that he/she is suffering/struggling; even when his/her child is sick the money that he/she needs to go and buy medicine for the child he/she does not have and so you too you cannot sit there like that; you have to remove the small that you have to support him/her'*  
*'We all have to help each other; he/she came to meet you; can you sack him/her; you cannot sack him/her; if you have something to eat, you have to help him/her'*  
*'Because you can't say that you alone will get full then he/she goes to sleep hungry [on an empty stomach]'*  
(Focus Group Discussions 1, 2, 3 respectively; Afrisere, October – November 2017).

should live' (Sayer, 2003:4). Morality has to do with mores (or customs): that is, with generally accepted norms of individual conduct (Donagan, 1977:1). It is characteristically learned as one learns to speak one's mother tongue grammatically: not by formal instruction in times set aside for it but by conversation and by participation in a common life and one learns it incidentally to learning how to act well (Donagan, 1977:12). Therefore dependent upon the perspective, morality and ethics are seen to have similar meanings or even be used interchangeably. Furthermore, there is perhaps a fine distinction between the two such that the terms are often undifferentiated. As such and for the purposes of this discussion, morality and ethics are used interchangeably in order to encompass the meanings ascribed to both<sup>202</sup>.

#### 5.6.1.1 Natural Empathy/Feeling for Others

The first reason why there was an obligation to help within the Afrisere community is the natural empathy/feeling for others, where natural is defined as inherent, innate or inborn. Even though Butler (2011:77) suggests that human beings all have a natural feeling for others this is often times not the case, obviously evidenced from information on for example crime and war in the print and electronic media. However the 'natural feeling towards others' did emerge within the study. People who had lost access to land and their livelihoods elsewhere came into the community and community members shared of their land and resources with them. One explanation for this can be the fact that such reaction arose out of compassion and empathy which spurred the desire to help another human being in his/her time of need. Such a sense of empathy emerged in some of the statements made by the community members for instance:

*'You yourself when you see how he is [the in-migrant's situation], together with his wife and children, you would be in a hurry yourself [to help]'*  
*(Interview with Community Member AFR21; Afrisere, October 2017).*

The concept of such natural empathy derives from the seminal work of Adam Smith in his book '*The Theory of Moral Sentiments*' where he proposes that 'how selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives

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<sup>202</sup> The Merriam-Webster Dictionary and the Cambridge Dictionary both denote ethics as a synonym to morality. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/morality>  
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/morality>

nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it' (Butler, 2011:77). This is not always the case as previously noted but it did emerge in the study. As articulated within one focus group discussion,

*'Where I will farm for there it is not much but my brother/sister who they have sacked him/her from where he/she was farming when he/she reached here I looked at him/her with pity; maybe the land you [I] have to cut a portion for him; it will affect [me]; like I would not have preferred it that way; but you are [I am] having pity on him/her; but what can you [I] do so you [I] cut a portion for him/her'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017).*

In all probability and as evidenced from such statements, there was the natural empathy and feeling for the plight of the in-migrant. There was the provision of support to people simply on the basis that they had lost access to land and their livelihoods and were in need of help. Essentially, the disposition of those in need prompted pity and compassion from the community members and spurred them to provide assistance.

#### 5.6.1.2 Inherent/Innate Emergence of Solidarity Mechanisms

The natural emergence of solidarity mechanisms provided a second reason for the obligation to provide help. In the words of Evans-Pritchard, 'it is scarcity not sufficiency that makes people generous' (Fafchamps, 1992:149). Thus as Fafchamps (1992:149) suggests, whenever economic and social conditions are such that individual survival is extremely uncertain without some form of mutual insurance, informal solidarity mechanisms tend to emerge socially. The responses from the community members suggest that such solidarity mechanisms surfaced in the light of the plight of the in-migrants. For instance, as was explained by some respondents,

*'We all have to help each other; he [in-migrant] came to meet you; can you sack him? You cannot sack him; if you have something to eat, you have to help him' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).*

*'When he [in-migrant] comes like that.....he doesn't have anything.... [we] get somewhere for him; it can even happen that [in] helping one another to farm we can use that to help him then we all get up and go and farm with him; if he doesn't have chemicals this one will say give him 150 [15 GHC approximately USD 3] then we go to buy then use to help'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Such statements highlight the networks of unity that spontaneously emerged when the community members were confronted with the situation of the in-migrants who had lost access to land. There was the tendency to address the situation, not only at individual but at a collective level, highlighted through the emphasis that they all had to help as well as how that help unfolded through for example farming together or contribution of resources. Notably, it was not a 'societal law' in place in the community which prompted the move to help. Rather it was the various individual convictions that providing support was the right/appropriate course of action to take which combined at community level, an example being the previous quotes. This, according to Fafchamps (1992) is common within the developing world: solidarity mechanisms exist in many rural communities of the third world (Fafchamps, 1992:149).

The emergence of solidarity networks relates to the previous point where it is proposed that human beings have an inborn feeling and empathy towards others even though this may not exist in all cases given that humans differ. If the individuals have a naturally occurring compassion on their fellow man/woman who had lost land and livelihood, it reasonably follows that the convergence of each individuals' compassion and desire to help culminates in a collective empathy hence the natural emergence of the solidarity mechanisms whereby the in-migrants are accepted and supported. From the foregoing, the emergence of the solidarity mechanisms can be explained as natural, inherent or innate. The innate nature of the solidarity mechanisms is so because they commenced with the individual convictions which collectively merged to give rise to the responses of support. Notably there were examples of people who did not help or were not inclined to help for different reasons. Out of the twenty-eight respondents, twenty-two, that is approximately 79%, raised the issue of the moral obligation to help. Out of the remaining six respondents, two did not raise the subject of moral obligation, whilst for two of the interviewees, they had not been approached because where they farmed was far away. Only two (one Ashanti and one Northerner) emphasized the fact that one could not give a portion of the land he/she had to someone else when it was already insufficient<sup>203</sup>. One of these respondents noted that in order to share one had to have in abundance:

*'But he/she is farming; he/she should give his/her out and farm where?*

*How much has he/she gotten for him/her to give some to someone? When*

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<sup>203</sup> Interviews with Community Members AFR5, AFR27; Afrisere, September – October 2017.

*you have it [land] vastly, that is when you can have pity on someone and give him/her some'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR5; Afrisere, September 2017).*

The other respondent emphasized that he would not be able to share:

*'But me the small he/she has given me if you come it [land] won't be sufficient for me and you; as for me if they come that I should give them I will not get for them'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR27; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Thus in one situation there was the inclination to help if one had enough for oneself and in another inability to do so since one's was insufficient. These contrasted with the majority of the respondents who perceived the obligation to assist and to share one's resources to one's own detriment as the right approach to take. The solidarity mechanisms therefore appeared to be the norm.

### 5.6.1.3 Social Beings and Social Relationships

The obligation to provide support from the Afrisere community members could be viewed through the lens of them as social beings and as having social relationships. Human beings are social beings. They are social beings because they interact and connect with each other. This interaction can arise naturally as a matter of course or purposefully as a matter of intention. There is not first an individual who then contingently enters social relations; relations are constitutive of the individual and their sense of self (Sayer, 2011:119). Interaction exists not only by virtue of being living beings but also essentially for continuity as humans. Individual agency develops through relationality and difference; what we are is dependent on but irreducible to such relations (Sayer, 2011:119) and as the South African saying goes, 'a person is a person through other persons' (Sayer, 2011:120). Hence humans are social beings. Such interaction also highlights interdependence. Interaction is undertaken with another party and therefore if interaction is important then arguably the other person is important. So in a sense there is dependence on the other person because without the other person there is no interaction. Sayer (2015:292) suggests that to say we are social beings is to acknowledge our dependence on others. Furthermore, the relational character of human beings – our dependence on others for our individuality and sense of self – is fundamental (Held, 2006 cited in Sayer, 2011:119).

The matter of humans as social beings brings up the subject of morality. As Sayer (2000:263) points out, any social relation has a constitutive moral dimension, inasmuch as actors have to have some idea of their responsibilities, entitlements or rights, how they are supposed to behave, and the kind of circumstances to which they are supposed to apply in order for a social relation of that kind to exist. As social beings we simply cannot live without developing some sense of how actions affect well-being and how we ought to treat one another (Sayer, 2011:144). Sayer (2011:145) further argues that given people's capacity for flourishing or suffering, their self-command, their vulnerability and dependence on others and their recognition of these qualities in others it is likely that they will be ethical to some degree. Thus essentially, on account of humans being social beings, there is a moral/ethical nature. Sayer (2011:148) suggests that the formation of individuals with ethical sensibilities dispositions and concerns depends on their socialisation not merely in terms of the learning of rules but from the experience of living as sentient social beings – embodied, capable, dependent and vulnerable – with others in various kinds of social relations.

Ethical dispositions are influenced by socialisation (Sayer, 2011:159) and contribute to the sense of obligation. This is because it is out of a sense of morality, what is right and how to treat others, that there would be the consideration of another in a situation and thereby the obligation to do what is right in the situation. Hardly any social relationship 'is intelligible without a recognition of the ethical responsibilities and obligations which it carries with it, and much of our moral life is made up of these kind of loyalties and commitments' (Norman, 1998:216 cited in Sayer, 2003:5). In effect, humans interact and connect with each other as social beings as a result of which there is a disposition of morality, a sense of how to live, how to treat others and what is good. The moral disposition in turn draws out the sense of obligation because of the ethical perception of the right thing to do in the given situation. The fact that there was interaction and connection in the locality implied that the community members were social beings. This therefore raised the subject of morality. This was because their interactions provided a sense of how things should be done for relations to exist. In essence, embedded in the appreciation of responsibilities and behaviours to foster relations, there was the sense of that which was right. Such disposition in turn gave rise to the obligation to help as noted from interview and focus group discussion responses:

*'If it is your brother/sister or you don't even know them [in-migrant] but they come to meet you and they are struggling, even if you don't even have,*

*you will give them something little to buy water [help with the little you have].....because of the hardship, you have to help'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR21; Afrisere, October 2017).*

*'Yes [your resources decreases] but if you don't do it like that it won't work .....he/she [in-migrant] is your brother/sister'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 1; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Basically, given the circumstance, there was the right or appropriate thing to do and that was to help the one who had lost access to land. This stemmed from their positionality as social beings with interactions with others out of which there arose the sense of the right approach to take.

#### 5.6.1.4 Moral Emotions/Sentiments and Moral Reasoning/Judgement

A fourth reason for the sense of obligation was due to the moral emotions/sentiments and moral reasoning/judgement. The community responses consistently highlighted the fact that one could not 'look the other way', as noted from some:

*'It is because they too they will face difficulties.....so you must give him/her a piece so he/she can also farm a little'*

*(Interview with Community Members AFR6; Afrisere, September 2017).*

*'Well if your brother/sister is going to bed on an empty stomach and you alone you eat that will not work'*

*'You can't say that you alone will get full then he/she goes to sleep on an empty stomach' (Focus Group Discussions 1, 3; Afrisere, October – November 2017).*

From the perception of the Afrisere community members, on the one hand, the in-migrants suffering ('going hungry' in their words) whilst the community members were comfortable ('full' in their words) was not right and on the other hand, they (in-migrants) had to be helped because they had lost access to land and their livelihoods and were in difficulty. Essentially, not only did the situation of the in-migrant evoke emotion, it also precipitated judgement calls. But why was there the evoking of emotion and the emergence of reasoning/judgement calls about the situation?

Commencing with the issue of reasoning/judgement, as analysed in the previous section, there is an attendant moral dimension to the fact that humans interact and hence are social beings. Sayer (2015:292) suggests that moralities seek to prescribe what kind of behaviour is permissible, but they do so according to evaluations of what is just and conducive to well-

being. Hence, as Sayer (2003:5) points out, we often behave in a certain way regardless of whether there are any penalties for not doing so, because we feel that it is right, because it is conducive to well-being, and because to do otherwise would cause some sort of harm to people. "Moral judgment is what we 'always already' exercise by virtue of being immersed in a network of human relationships that constitute our life together" (Benhabib, 1992:125-6 cited in Sayer, 2003:5). Notably, there are exceptions given that not everyone exercises moral judgement (as evidenced through information on for example crime in the electronic and print media). However this does not preclude the fact that some people do exercise moral judgement. "The domain of the moral is so deeply enmeshed with those interactions that constitute our lifeworld that to withdraw from moral judgment is tantamount to ceasing to interact, to talk and act in the human community" (Benhabib, 1992:125-6 cited in Sayer, 2003:5). People often act rationally without basing their actions on conscious rational deliberation (Arpaly, 2003 cited in Sayer, 2011:77). Thus such actions are not purely accidental and arbitrary; at a subconscious level they are likely to relate to previous experiences, musings and feelings, as a result of which we perhaps changed the balance of our commitment (Sayer, 2011:77). In effect, for the community members, moral reasoning/ judgement arose because of the inherent moral element emerging from interactions as social beings. As explained by the community members, the extension of help was the right course of action to take<sup>204</sup>. Scott (1976:167 cited in Arnold [2001:87]) suggests that such an approach is likely with the rural folk. This is because 'woven into the tissue of peasant behaviour whether in normal local routines or in the violence of an uprising, is the structure of a shared moral universe and a common notion of what is just' (Scott, 1976:167 cited in Arnold, 2001:87). In the situation of the Afrisere community, it caused the members to consider what was the right or appropriate action to be taken and since it was not acceptable that a 'brother/sister' should go hungry whilst they community members were 'full', the option then was to provide help and assistance to those who were in need.

Tied in with moral reasoning/judgement was the matter of moral sentiments/emotions. Sayer (2011:147) suggests that moral sentiments can't be ignored because they matter greatly to individuals and they tell something about both the individual and his/her situation. The reactions of the community members to the plight of the in-migrants brought to light the moral emotions involved. The responses to the interviews elicited the fact that it was not right to ignore whilst another was suffering and that one must of necessity provide help.

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<sup>204</sup> Focus Group Discussions 1, 3; Afrisere, October – November 2017.

These responses, it could be argued, arose out of emotions such as compassion and sympathy and a number of reasons could be given for the emergence of such sentiments. Sayer (2011:119) argues that for Adam Smith<sup>205</sup> sympathy arises more from being able to understand the other's situation by imagining ourselves in it, than merely from identifying their feelings alone. There was the awareness by the community members of the situation of lack, frustration and difficulty on the part of the in-migrants due to their loss of access to land. An awareness of the situation it could be argued created an understanding of the circumstances. Such identification with the situation of the in-migrants possibly influenced the desire to help. As noted by one respondent,

*'The brother [in-migrant] too he doesn't have just like me.....he [in-migrant] doesn't have anything so I said he should come and all of us should stay'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Furthermore, as noted by Sanghera and Satybaldieva (2009:922), moral emotions are as important as economic resources and human rights for human well-being, since emotions, such as pity and compassion, can respond to individual vulnerable situations and can inform and motivate social actors to give assistance, care and support. Within the Afrisere community, there was the motivation to provide help. Where did this motivation come from? The motivation came from the emotions evoked but in addition, as argued by Sen (1987) in order to understand motivations, economic analysis must examine how people consider the ethical question of how they should live (Sen, 1987:2-7 cited in Sanghera and Satybaldieva, 2009:922). One community member aptly summed up the answer to this:

*'Having mercy is how we live'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Given that for the community members they lived by showing mercy, it followed that when confronted with the situation of an in-migrant experiencing loss of access to land and livelihood, the response would be to provide assistance and support. Hence the community members provided help because of the motivation to do so based on how they perceived that they should live as well as the influence of emotions of compassion and sympathy based on identification with the situation of the in-migrants.

It could be argued that the moral judgements and reasoning emerged concurrently to produce the effects of the provision of help by the community members. Moral

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<sup>205</sup> Adam Smith in his book '*The Theory of Moral Sentiments*'.

sentiments/emotions, Nussbaum (2001) proposes, are part of ethical reasoning: instead of viewing morality as a system of principles to be grasped by the detached intellect and emotions as motivations that either support or subvert our choice to act according to principle, we will have to consider emotions as part and parcel of the system of ethical reasoning (Nussbaum, 2001:1 cited in Sayer, 2011:147). In like manner, Sayer (2011:147) suggests that moral emotions are a part of everyday ethical reasoning; they also prompt reflection and this in turn feeds back to emotional responses moderating or intensifying them or perhaps altering the particular mix of emotions evoked by a situation or a memory. As articulated by some of the community members,

*'If he [in-migrant] comes and he is in difficulty/hardship and you are eating and he comes and the food is however small all of you have to eat; if you eat and you are not even full take it like that.....I will eat and get full then your [in-migrant] stomach is growling....will I be able to sleep [my conscience will not permit it]?' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).*

The community members' responses – one could not watch a brother/sister go hungry, one had to help, one would not be able to sleep when the brother/sister was hungry – suggested that the one in need could not be ignored. There were the emotions of compassion and sympathy on the in-migrants' situation. At the same time, there was the reasoning about the right thing to do. Notably, where human beings are concerned, not all show empathy. Some would not show it at all and for others it would depend on the circumstance. The different reactions and the emergence or not of empathy could differ according to the circumstance and the people since human beings differ. However within this study, people did show empathy and actually expected that it was the course that one should take. The extension of empathy was not of itself an impact. It did contribute to the emergence of impacts. This is because the empathy produced in the community members the desire to help and the response to the situation. It is through their response that they were then affected.

#### 5.6.1.5 Cultural Values

The cultural values formed the final reason for the sense of moral obligation. Culture is defined as the customary beliefs, social forms and material traits of a racial, religious or social group; the way of life especially the general customs and beliefs of a particular group of people at a particular time (Merriam-Webster.com; dictionary.cambridge.org, undated). Hence cultural values can be viewed as the standards, morals, ethics, principles or tenets

that the particular group of people believe in and adhere to. Cultural values are the cultural conceptions of the good or desirable (Robbins, 2012:120). Therefore morality it can be argued is embedded in cultural values. This is because particular groups of people have their beliefs or principles on what they deem right or wrong and in so doing, they have their moral standards which invariably form a part of their culture.

One face of morality suggests that people treat all routine action – action that conforms to cultural expectations and meets the demands of cultural norms – as moral, and that actors must account for their deviations from even the most banal cultural expectations or risk being judged morally suspect by others (Robbins, 2012:118). The other face of morality is one that is characterized by a sense on the part of social actors that they need to make moral choices, often between competing goods (Robbins, 2012:119). The cultural aspect of the obligation to help invariably emerged within the community responses. Often, one can learn about cultural values by attending to relatively fixed statements people make about what is good and bad (Robbins, 2012:120). As noted from previous discussion, there was the constant emphasis of the phrases *'you cannot sack him/her, you cannot look the other way, you have to help, you cannot go to bed full whilst he/she goes on an empty stomach, he/she is your brother/sister, when your brother/sister sleeps then you sleep'*<sup>206</sup>. Even though there was the moral sentiment and moral reasoning/judgement aspect to these statements, they also shed light on the cultural values at play. This is because as noted from community members they were Northerners and as Northerners they loved themselves. Hence the standards, beliefs and principles of these groups of people was that in loving each other and seeing each other as brothers/sisters they had to provide assistance to the one who had suffered loss. The statements also elicited what the expected reaction was under the circumstance. Thus even in the midst of lack themselves they helped with the little they had. As noted from one respondent,

*'So if we both don't get full he will sleep hungry and I will sleep hungry; he can't tell me that I can't eat.....is it now that you are going to say get up get up [I cannot help you; you cannot eat]; you cannot say that; whether you get full whether you don't get full all of us will go and sleep in that state'*  
(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).

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<sup>206</sup> Interviews with Community Members AFR1, AFR6, AFR14, AFR21 and Focus Group Discussions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Therefore, their cultural values influenced their sense of obligation to help the in-migrant in the face of loss of access to land.

### 5.6.2 *The Moral Economy*

The previous discussion has interrogated the reasons for the moral obligation (which has to do with the perceptions of the right and appropriate behaviour) on the part of the adjacent community. The ensuing proceeds to examine whether there was a moral economy at play. The moral economy, as noted by Sayer (2000:79), embodies norms and sentiments regarding the responsibilities and rights of individuals and institutions with respect to others. It is concerned with moral sentiments and norms that influence economic behaviour and how these in turn are influenced, compromised, or overridden by economic forces (Sayer, 2000 cited in Sayer, 2003b:341). These norms and sentiments go beyond matters of justice and equality to conceptions of the good; for example, regarding needs and the ends of economic activity (Sayer, 2000:79).

The concept of the moral economy is portrayed prominently in the work of James C. Scott and E.P Thompson. The concept within both contexts throws light on the subject of morality, in essence what is good, what is the right thing and the permissible behaviour. In his seminal work *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, in a discourse on a Southeast Asian village, Scott (1976:5) writes that “within the village context a wide array of social arrangements typically operated to assure a minimum income to inhabitants. The existence of communal land that was periodically redistributed in part on the basis of need functioned in this way. In addition, social pressures within the precapitalist village had a certain redistributive effect: rich peasants were expected to be charitable, to sponsor more lavish celebrations, to help out temporarily indigent kin and neighbours.” Scott (1976:5) also quotes Lipton (1968:341) who suggested that many superficially odd village practices make sense as disguised forms of insurance. These social arrangements that distinguish much of peasant society imply that all are entitled to a living out of the resources within the village and that living is attained often at the cost of a loss of status and autonomy (Scott, 1976:5). Booth (1994:654) contends that there is a moral expectation based on the right to subsistence that leads to redistribution within the community. In short, all important aspects of the village economy – its use of land, patterns of redistribution, and ultimately its response to exogenous forces of change – are to be explained by reference to its being embedded in a non-economic, moral universe of solidarity and the right to subsistence (Booth, 1994:654). Hence there was the

execution of the right thing or the good thing in the sense that the social arrangements put in place ensured that none were in need. There was the perception that all were entitled to a living so some sacrificed in order for others to be provided for. In the same vein, in E.P. Thompson's pivotal work on *The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century* the issue of what was right and what was the permissible behaviour was elicited. Thompson (1971:79) notes that concerning the food riots in eighteenth-century England, the grievances operated within a popular consensus as to what were legitimate and what were illegitimate practices in marketing, milling, baking, etc. This in its turn was grounded upon a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor (Thompson, 1971:79).

In like manner, it could be concluded that a moral economy materialized within the Afrisere community with respect to the in-migrants from other communities who had lost access to land. This is because social arrangements emerged to help the in-migrants. These were in the form of the distribution (sharing) of land and the sharing of resources such as food and labour to help the in-migrants start over again. As previously noted, the reasons for these arrangements stemmed from the moral obligation to do so – the fact that it was the right thing or the good thing to be done and it was the permissible behaviour. It also served as a social insurance function (discussed under the section on Reciprocity). The expectation of the right thing to be done did not come from the in-migrants; they were suffering and in difficulty following loss of access to land. The expectation of the good thing to be done and the permissible behaviour came from the adjacent community members and this perception influenced their behaviour. In addition, their function under the circumstances was to provide the necessary assistance.

Within the moral economy there was the matter of rights and entitlements. Edelman (2005:332) notes that according to Scott (1976:35), most peasants held deeply rooted beliefs about the right to "subsistence security". The "right of subsistence" for peasant movements in recent decades and in diverse world regions has broadened to the "right to continue being agriculturalists" which means, in essence, the right to continue living from the land (Edelman, 2005:332). The matter of rights and entitlements also emerged where the in-migrants and the adjacent community members were concerned. For instance, as articulated by some community members:

*'If someone comes from somewhere and they come and there is food there once he comes and washes his hands he eats'*  
(Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).

*'So if we both don't get full he will sleep hungry and I will sleep hungry; he can't tell me that I can't eat'*  
(Interview with Community Member AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).

From the stance of the Afrisere community members, the in-migrants, perceived as their 'brothers/sisters', were entitled to livelihoods to cater for themselves and their families. Given that their 'brothers/sisters' were entitled to sustenance, in order for the in-migrants to be able to gain livelihoods, they (Afrisere community members) themselves had to provide the necessary conduit in the form of help and resources.

Embedded in the moral economy and in line with the identification as 'brothers/sisters' mentioned above is the subject of solidarity. Commenting on *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Fafchamps (1992:147) notes that James C. Scott showed how the solidarity mechanisms of Southeast Asian peasants are reflected in their ethical values: the right to subsistence and the principle of reciprocity. Fafchamps (1992:148) further points out that in pre-industrial societies and much of the third world today, solidarity bonds often tie members of a same family, kinship group, or village together and those bonds manifest themselves in a wide variety of ways. Labour invitations and other forms of manpower assistance are an opportunity for relatives and friends to help the sick and the old; cost free land and livestock loans allow the redistribution of productive assets from those who cannot use them effectively to those who have unemployed labour resources; gifts, food transfers or credit without interest allow the less successful to close the food gap (Fafchamps, 1992:148). The responses of the Afrisere community members highlighted such a show of solidarity through their statements: they were '*all brothers/sisters*' and they '*had to help one another*' to name a few<sup>207</sup>. This solidarity resulted in the sharing of land and the sharing of other resources such as food and money and the contribution of labour. In essence, a support system emerged through the extension of help.

Sykes (2012:183) argues that moral reason is the keystone of the arch that supports the moral economy. That there was a moral economy at all depended on the possibility that a

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<sup>207</sup> Interviews with respondents AFR1, AFR6, AFR14, AFR16, AFR21, AFR23, and focus group discussions AFRFGD1, AFRFGD2, AFRFGD3, AFRFGD4, AFRFGD5.

person could imagine the needs of another, based on the earlier record of their own need (Sykes, 2012:181). Where the Afrisere community was concerned, was there the awareness and identification of the situation and needs of the in-migrant? It could be concluded that there was and this was articulated many times by the respondents. Secondly, why was there the appreciation of the needs of the in-migrant? The community members identified the in-migrants as brothers/sisters given that they were all Northerners and all on Ashanti land. Furthermore, the adjacent community members appreciated the difficulties facing the in-migrants following loss of access to land. The moral economy represented/stood for the norms and sentiments regarding the responsibilities and rights of individuals and institutions with respect to others and to conceptions of the good (Sayer, 2000:79). As such it could be established that a moral economy existed because such norms and sentiments emerged in the adjacent community when they were confronted with the situation of the in-migrants. The in-migrants in turn honoured efforts made to assist them through capitalising on the resources and assistance they had been given to gain livelihoods for themselves<sup>208</sup>. Thus apart from the emergence of a moral economy through which there was assistance to in-migrants, they in turn also brought aspects of this (moral economy) through responding with that which was appropriate and right – capitalising on the resources given to address their situations rather than taking advantage of the community members through continuous dependence on them. Furthermore, one respondent also highlighted helping out where possible (albeit for some remuneration):

*‘What I am doing is that I know how to build atakpame [clay material] houses but here not everyone knows how to build so when someone needs it built then I collect and build it’*  
*(Interview with Community Member MPR1; Mosi Panin, October 2017).*

### *5.6.3 The Outcomes of the Moral Obligation and the Moral Economy*

Discussion earlier in the chapter has advanced the argument that the adjacent community experienced impacts from land acquisitions. It could also be concluded that indeed there was a moral economy at play and the moral obligations influenced the adjacent community’s impetus to aid those from neighbouring communities who had lost access to land. The question that follows is: did the moral obligation and moral economy result in impacts to their livelihoods and if so why? First of all, the moral obligations and the moral economy did give

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<sup>208</sup> Interview with Community Member MPR1; Mosi Panin, October 2017; Interview with Community Member AFR26; Afrisere, November 2017.

rise to impacts to the adjacent community members. This is because there was the obligation to provide help stemming from the natural empathy/feeling for others, the fact that they were social beings and had social interactions, the moral sentiments and reasoning and the cultural values. Furthermore, the moral economy ensured the emergence of social arrangements to help in-migrants, promoted the belief of rights and solidarity and was linked to the moral obligations. Consequently, the community members gave of their own resources and as has been detailed previously, in them giving of their land and resources, that which was available to them decreased with attendant ripple effects. Secondly, if the moral obligations and the moral economy did give rise to impacts in the adjacent community, why was this so? The presence of the moral obligation implied that the adjacent community members had to provide assistance and support. With respect to the moral economy, social arrangements emerged and solidarity and the belief in rights and entitlements was evoked conceivably as a result of hearing the experiences and seeing the plight of the in-migrants. Thus both the moral obligation and the moral economy gave rise to the production of the impetus to provide assistance and it is in the provision of help through land and resource sharing that the adjacent community members were impacted.

## **5.7 PEACE OF MIND**

Following on from the subject of the moral obligation and the moral economy is the issue of peace of mind. The actual statement 'peace of mind' was not made in the community interviews. However the articulation of the respondents pointed to the issue of peace of mind. Notably, such expression was brought up by very few respondents – seven percent (7%) – and raised in three of the focus groups. Yet it was significant because remarkably it was the very same statement (the very same words) that was articulated each time by the respondents and in the focus groups:

*'When your brother/sister sleeps then you sleep'*

*'When your friend sleeps then you sleep'*

*(Interviews with Community Members AFR14, AFR23 respectively; Afrisere, October 2017).*

*'Because when your friend sleeps then you sleep'*

*'When your friend sleeps then you sleep'*

*'When your brother/sister sleeps then you sleep'*

*(Focus Group Discussions 1, 2, 3 respectively; Afrisere, October - November 2017).*

This expression (an idiom in the Ashanti language *Twɔ*) relates to the subject of care for each other. Essentially, it is when one's neighbour is at peace that one can be at peace. When one's neighbour is in some type of difficulty then one will also be affected. This is because one would be concerned for the neighbour and hence be disturbed. There would also be the need to provide any assistance available to the neighbour. Therefore when one's neighbour is without worry or disturbance, it is then that one would also be untroubled. As explained by some community members,

*'If your brother/sister doesn't sleep whatever the case some will affect you'*

*'When it affects you, it affects me; when it affects me, it affects you; so we don't play with that'*

*(Interviews with Community Members AFR14, AFR21 respectively; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Within the context of the adjacent community, the plight/condition of those who had lost access to land was of concern/worry to them, that is, the Afrisere respondents. This was in terms of the effects the neighbouring communities had experienced such as the loss of land, loss of employment, destruction of farms and difficulty catering for their families. Eighty-six percent (86%) of the respondents expressed an appreciation of the suffering, hardship and problems of those who had lost access to land. As noted from some responses,

*'You yourself when you see how he is [the in-migrant's situation], together with his wife and children, you would be in a hurry yourself [to help]'*

*(Interview with Community Member AFR21; Afrisere, October 2017).*

*'Your friend [in-migrant] you see how the person is struggling/suffering'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 1; Afrisere, October 2017).*

It is in seeing the suffering of the in-migrants that the impact manifested in the adjacent community. This is because the situation of the in-migrants disturbed the community members and therefore prompted them to extend help. The support was in the form of aiding them to regain their livelihoods. This assistance included sharing of their land and other resources such as food and monetary with in-migrants or resources with those who had shared their land. This in turn resulted in them (Afrisere community members) being at the receiving end of the effects discussed extensively earlier on in the chapter. In essence, for them (community members) to have their peace of mind, there was the compulsion to extend assistance to those who were in need of support. Thus the peace of mind, predicated on the

neighbour also being at peace, gave rise to the adjacent community being in receipt of impacts from the land acquisitions.

## 5.8 RECIPROCITY

There was finally the matter of reciprocity. Even though this was raised by only fourteen percent (14%) of the respondents and within two of the focus groups, the subject of reciprocity still proved significant because it provided a means for impacts to move from areas of acquisition to the adjacent community. According to Von Tevenar (2006:182), reciprocity is the returning of something fitting and of proportionate value for benefits received. Likewise, Molm (2010:119) maintains that reciprocity is the giving of benefits to another in return for benefits received. It is one of the defining features of social exchange and more broadly, of social life (Molm, 2010:119; Molm, Schaefer and Collett, 2007:199). Von Tevenar (2006:183) explains that it is part of the very meaning of reciprocity that what is returned is equivalent to what has been given by way of proportionate value or effort. From the foregoing, where reciprocity is concerned, there is the giving back of something (mainly to the original giver) due to a benefit received (from the original giver). However Molm (2010:120) does highlight that in reciprocal exchange, actors perform individual acts that benefit another, like giving help or advice, without negotiation and without knowing whether or when the other will reciprocate. Molm, Schaefer and Collett (2007:200-201) further suggest that when reciprocity is direct, the recipient of a benefit returns a benefit directly to the giver (A gives to B and B to A); when reciprocity is indirect, as in generalized forms of exchange, the recipient does not return a benefit directly to the giver, but to another actor in the social circle (A gives to B, and B reciprocates indirectly by giving to C, who in turn gives to A). Within the Afrisere community, there was the belief in the direct reciprocation as articulated within one group discussion:

*'If you love me then me too I love you'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017)<sup>209</sup>.*

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<sup>209</sup> Notably this also emerged in the Ananekrom and Dukusen communities. As noted by community members: *'If you don't go for someone's when yours comes they won't come; you say you won't come and help me..... if I cry and you don't come and cry with me when yours comes me too I will ignore; are you going to come and tell me? So when a funeral comes we don't joke with it; when a wedding comes we don't joke with it; maybe some contributions have to be made'* (Interview with Community Member ANR15; Ananekrom, October 2017). *'When you come to mine then I come to yours; they say that if someone does not love you he will not come and invite you to a funeral, it's because he loves you that's why he comes to invite you to a funeral so you have to go and help him and weddings too the same that's what is done'* (Interview with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen, October 2017).

Despite this, the reciprocation which emerged strongly from the respondents was not directly in the sense of actor A giving to B and B giving back to A. Neither was it in the sense of the indirect system put forward by academic scholarship (A gives to B, and B reciprocates indirectly by giving to C, who in turn gives to A). The form of reciprocation which emerged strongly from the data had to do with the need to help so that at a future time one would in turn receive aid (arbitrarily from anyone) by virtue of the fact that one helped someone in a previous situation. There was the articulation and the belief that in one's time of need help would arise from somewhere because one provided help in time past<sup>210</sup>. As noted by some community members,

*'You have to help him [in-migrant]..... for the sake of an issue one day [you could be in need of help]'*

*'Maybe [it is] today that someone [in-migrant] has come to stay with him [community member]; you too someone will come and stay with you and maybe even [at that time] in your house there is [will be] no food; so whatever you have, you have to bring it to help your brother [when an in-migrant comes to him] so that..... [you will be helped when it happens to you]'*

*(Interviews with Community Members AFR21, AFR23; Afrisere, October 2017).*

In line with this, there was also the issue of the appreciation of the need to help since 'one had been helped in times past'. Thus, additionally there was the situation of being prepared to help an in-migrant on the basis that the community member had been previously helped by someone else during their time of need. This was also in essence reciprocity. As noted in one group discussion,

*'But it is the same way that we came and someone gave us somewhere.....if someone is in trouble and comes it is the same way we will help them' (Focus Group Discussion 4; Afrisere, November 2017).*

Reciprocity also manifested through the sense of unity. As suggested by Molm (2010:129) reciprocity is a source of societal cooperation and solidarity. There was the recognition of collectively/mutually being faced with having to extend help to the one who had experienced

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<sup>210</sup> It is a common belief system generally within the Ghanaian setting inherited from the ancestors. The belief of help arising from unknown quarters in one's time of need because one has previously provided assistance is captured in the Asante *Twi* proverb ' *Daakye asem nti na wo di kwadu a wo gya ni hunu*'; translated as 'It is because of a future issue that today when you are eating a banana you reserve [do not throw away] the peel'.

loss. As such, there was the appreciation of the fact that each had to 'do their part' to help under the circumstances. This was illustrated within the group discussions:

*'Once they [community members] have seen that you [in-migrant] have come, this woman would go and cut foodstuffs and bring to you; this one will cut foodstuffs and bring; this one will cut food and come because a visitor has come to his brother's house; it is not his visitor alone [the visitor is the responsibility of all of us]'*

*'You [community member] can say.....I have some one acre; I will use it to help him [in-migrant]; then this one [another community member] will say maybe I have this I will use it to help him; the sum total of it is that all of us are together' (Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).*

Hence reciprocity was portrayed through the togetherness of the community members. It was not a situation of rewarding kind acts but rather kind acts being undertaken by each, and everyone having to contribute their quota because they were in the circumstance together.

According to Celen, Schotter and Blanco (2017:63) the theory of reciprocity is predicated on the assumption that people are willing to reward kind acts. However as emerged from the data, within the Afrisere community, the reciprocation was mainly on the basis of helping so that one would be aided in one's time of need. In this respect it could be deemed to be the reverse of that propounded above by Celen, Schotter and Blanco (2017:63). This is in the sense that rather than 'people being willing to reward kind acts', 'kind acts' were undertaken so that people would be 'rewarded' for these at a future date and specifically in their time of need. Remarkably, it emerged from the data that 'rewards' for helping the one who had lost access to land were not necessarily looked for. Even though there was the hope that because one extended assistance in one's time of need help would arise from somewhere, when it came to extending support or resources there was more of an acceptance of the situation of giving and thus having less for oneself rather than expectancy of a return on the good one had done. This differed from the moral economy where there was the undertaking of that which was appropriate/right in the light of the in-migrants' need of assistance, the emergence of social arrangements to help the in-migrants and the perception of their entitlement to livelihoods. For reciprocity however, the assistance was undertaken on the basis of the anticipation of future need for help as well as acceptance of sacrificing as opposed to obligation and the appropriate/right action to take. This was raised by more than

thirty percent (30%) of the respondents and as articulated by some, the situation (of giving and thus having reduce resources) simply had to be accepted:

*'You would have to take it [the reduction of your land] like that'*

*(Interview with Community Members AFR6; Afrisere, September 2017).*

*'Yes you take it [reduction in your resources] like that.....you take it like that.....no, it is not a problem.....it [your resources] will decrease, it will decrease' (Focus Group Discussion 4; Afrisere, November 2017).*

Secondly, the other form of reciprocation was helping because one had been helped and hence it was not essentially 'rewarding a kind act' done to one by another. Rather it was because of a kind act done to one that the one would in turn do kind act to a third party. Furthermore, as noted by Fafchamps (1992:148), the person receiving assistance was not expected to give something back equivalent to what was received. What was expected from the recipient was simply to help others in return but how much help must be provided depended on the recipients own circumstances at the time as well as on the situation of those calling for help (Fafchamps, 1992:148). From the foregoing, two questions emerge – why such reciprocation and how did it encourage the flow of impacts to the adjacent community?

The question of why such reciprocity is answered in the immediately preceding discussion. Reciprocity arose because of the issue of togetherness/oneness – a visitor or an in-migrant was not perceived as the responsibility of the one the person came to alone. He/she was seen to be the responsibility of all hence each had to bring their contribution to help under the circumstance. Secondly, there was reciprocity because of the matter of 'securing goodwill against the future', a form of social insurance. This was in the sense that one too could face a situation of dire need or the situation of the in-migrant or the one helping the in-migrant. In essence, because of the 'it could happen to you/it will get to your turn' aspect, people were willing to share resources/help in order to have a 'credit of assistance' available for themselves in the future. Thus if they supported, in their time of need assistance would come to them. The third reason for reciprocity was because of the issue of 'paying it forward'. This was in the sense of 'I was once helped therefore I will help'. Even though this was elicited within only one focus group, it did however arise that people conditioned themselves that they would extend support because in their time of need they had been assisted.

The subjects of the togetherness, 'securing goodwill against the future' and 'paying it forward' also answer the second and perhaps more important question of why reciprocity encouraged the emergence of livelihood impacts in the adjacent community. When those who had lost access to land elsewhere arrived in the community<sup>211</sup>, the situation arose where support could be provided by the community members. This was in the form of help to the in-migrants. It also occurred through aid to community members who had given some assistance to in-migrants and thereby required assistance themselves. The matter of reciprocity was a factor influencing the provision of such support. This was in the sense of the three factors discussed:

- ❖ Togetherness/oneness – “it is not person x’s visitor alone”;
- ❖ Securing goodwill against the future/ Social insurance – “it could happen to you/get to your turn”;
- ❖ ‘Paying it forward’ – “I was helped therefore I will help”.

Notably, 'securing goodwill against the future' entails assisting in order that one will be aided at a later date when in need. 'Paying it forward' is not helping so that one will be aided but rather assisting because one was supported in one's time of need. Therefore the two are different in that 'securing goodwill' looks to the future as the impetus to assist whereas 'paying it forward' looks to the past as the incentive to support.

Each of these three reasons for the reciprocity gave rise to the provision of support. This assistance was via sharing of resources whether land, monetary, food or physical effort to aid the in-migrant in settling in and starting over again. As articulated in some of the group discussions:

*‘We ourselves cut [land] for them [in-migrants] small small small’*  
*‘If he [in-migrant] says he doesn’t have at all what he will eat; maybe one cedi, one cedi, one cedi, one cedi [1GHC approximately USD 0.22<sup>212</sup>]; then*

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<sup>211</sup> Afrisere respondents explained that the in-migrants simply came thus they arrived before they knew they would get support: *‘When he comes you can’t farm all; he will eat; he has a wife and children; so when that happens you have to divide and give them a portion’*; *‘When he comes like that.....you can take him to the chief that right now my brother has come he is struggling/facing hardship; so right now my land I am cutting a portion for him; then he will say okay’* (Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, November 2017). However there were some cases in which in-migrants arrived with the knowledge that they would get support as explained by respondents in Ananekrom and Dukusen: *‘Maybe if I call my brother and I ask him that where he is I would like somewhere to farm and eat; maybe he will say let me see the chief.... if the chief gives him the go ahead then he will call that I should come the chief will get somewhere for me to work on and then you [I] go’* (Interviews with Community Member DUR6; Dukusen and Community Member ANR13; Ananekrom, October 2017).

<sup>212</sup> 1 United States Dollar was equivalent to 4.40 Ghana Cedis mid October 2017.  
<https://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GHS&date=2017-10-16>

*we contribute; if we get some one million [100 GHC approximately USD 23] then we put it in your hand [give it to you the in-migrant]'*

*'It can even happen that..... helping one another to farm; we can use that to help him [in-migrant]..... then we all get up and go and farm with him; if he doesn't have chemicals this one will give him 150 [15 GHC approximately USD 3] then we go to buy then use to help so that his work too he can get somewhere good to stand [start over again]'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 2; Afrisere, October 2017).*

*'Someone [in-migrant] too can be there, we can have an open contribution for him; whatever anybody has [they will] use it to help him'*

*(Focus Group Discussion 3; Afrisere, October 2017).*

In the giving of resources one's own reduced and this was accompanied by attendant effects as has been discussed extensively previously. Sharing was also via the giving of food or monetary resources to the community member who had given land. Hence all in all, there was a reduction in one's resources as a result of reciprocity.

## **5.9 CONCLUSION**

The chapter sought to examine whether the adjacent community experienced the effects of the large-scale land acquisitions and if so why. In achieving this, there was the exploration of the impacts that affected the livelihoods of the adjacent community members. There was also the consideration of how the effects moved from the areas of land acquisition to the external locality. Furthermore there was the interrogation into reasons for the impacts: that is, why there were impacts at all when there had been no land acquisitions in the community.

From the analysis and discussion, it emerged that indeed there were livelihood impacts to the adjacent communities and these effects reached these external localities as a result of channels such as migration and the transfer of information. The impacts to the adjacent community appeared similar to those within the vicinity of the land appropriations. However when viewed through the lens of the specifics and the precipitating factors, there was differentiation in impacts. The question of why the impacts to the adjacent community was analysed through interrogating the issues of the moral obligations, the moral economy, reciprocity and the matter of peace of mind. Each of these factors played a role in the emergence of livelihood impacts to the adjacent community. This is because due to each of these factors, the community members were motivated to provide support and assistance

to in-migrants who had lost access to land. In the provision of such support through the sharing of their land and resources, the adjacent community members were then left with less on which to subsist (through for example, decreased harvests, diminished monetary income) which brought difficulty to them. Even though each factor played a role, notably the element which influenced them the most was the moral obligation. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the respondents stressed on the obligation to extend some form of help to the one experiencing loss as a matter of course, even to their own detriment. The ethnic dynamics was the second major influencing factor – on the subject of being one or being brothers/sisters, fifty-seven percent (57%) of the respondents emphasized this fact with fifty-four percent (54%) stressing that they were all Northerners. Hence where the adjacent community was concerned, the major reason why they were affected as it were by the large-scale land acquisitions in the neighbouring communities was because of the subject of morality – perceiving and carrying out the right/good thing to do, portraying the acceptable/permissible behaviour, identifying with another human being and having compassion and pity.

Through the examination of the adjacent community of Afrisere and the livelihood impacts reaching them, the discussion illuminates the nature of some of the effects of large-scale land acquisitions. Impacts can go beyond the vicinity of the appropriation to the neighbouring community. The examination also throws light on the fact that there could be an ethnic angle to the debate which in turn fosters the impact. Where the particular ethnic group is residing on territory that they cannot lay claim to, they would provide assistance to their counterparts who lose access to land because they identify with them. In this case, the Northerners viewed their fellow Northerners as one with them and as brothers/sisters. As such, they provided assistance. The interrogation of the effects of land acquisitions to the adjacent community also provides insight into the moral aspect of the debate. The moral aspect of the debate in this sense is from the angle of people extending help to those who have lost access to land. Help is extended because it is the right thing to do and also since people interact, they have a sense of what is good or appropriate or right and how to treat others. In addition, they have a sense of compassion, pity and sympathy. Therefore when a situation befalls a fellow person, the impetus is to provide support even to one's own detriment. The subject of the effects of land acquisitions to neighbouring communities also highlights the issue of reciprocity. In essence, assistance is also given because one might be in need of help in the future and therefore providing aid can serve as a source of 'credit' for future help.

In addition there is the issue of peace of mind in that support is given in order that one may have peace of mind since the affliction of a fellow person would mean one would also be affected.

The examination of the effects to the adjacent community bring out a 'human' aspect to the large-scale land acquisitions. This is in the sense that the effects to the adjacent community are produced as a result of helping the in-migrants who are facing difficulties. The impulse to help stems from the fact that the adjacent community members are equally human and therefore as a result of human characteristics – interaction, compassion, pity, sympathy, appropriate behaviour, views of the right and the good – the option is to support those who lost access to land. Therefore their ways of thinking and feeling, inherently their humanness, allowed for them to receive impacts of acquisitions which took place in other locations.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6 CONCLUSION – WHAT HAPPENS AFTER A LAND ACQUISITION IN GHANA?

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

*'If you sell land to any of your own people or buy land from them, do not take advantage of each other'*

*Leviticus 25.14*

In the literature on land acquisitions and rural communities, previous studies attest to the fact that livelihood implications emerge and are rife (Kleeman and Thiele, 2015:269; Deininger et al., 2014:76; Deininger and Xia, 2016:227; Zoomers, 2010:430; Jiao et al., 2015:323; Vermeulen & Cotula, 2010:903; Borras Jr and Franco, 2012:37). Potentially, the outcomes following large-scale land acquisitions can be differentiated across a number of scales such as the local communities, the land types or the ethnicities. The African context provides evidence of these differing dimensions given that on the continent, there exist varying tenure systems, land rights and a heterogeneity of ethnic origins. Furthermore, there is the potential for the livelihood impacts to emerge in communities external to the land deals. The essence of this study therefore was to investigate the outcomes following a large-scale land acquisition. This was achieved through the examination of two research questions. The first question addressed the livelihood implications of large-scale land acquisitions with respect to differentiation in impacts within and across communities within the areas of the appropriation and the reasons for such differences. The first question also interrogated the disaggregation in impacts between communities internal and external to the areas of appropriation and the reasons why this occurred. The second question focused on the adjacent community. It sought to ascertain whether large-scale land acquisitions impacted communities beyond the areas of appropriation and asked the questions how and why livelihood impacts emerged within this locality. The study revealed that the livelihood outcomes stemming from the large-scale land acquisitions were differentiated within and across communities internal to the acquisition areas through the tenure systems and along ethnic lines. Furthermore impacts were experienced by the adjacent community and these were also differentiated from those experienced by communities internal to the acquisition area. This concluding chapter reflects on the main findings and discusses the wider implications of the research.

## **6.2 REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPLICATIONS ON LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES FOLLOWING LARGE-SCALE LAND ACQUISITIONS**

Overall the study argues that following a large-scale land acquisition and ensuing implications, more significantly than simply the emergence of effects, there is differentiation in livelihood impacts. The effects of land acquisitions may not be uniform within communities or across rural areas or land types and therefore they cannot be generalised. As advised by Cotula et al. (2014:920) contrary to prevailing generalisations, livelihood outcomes are likely to be differentiated by social groups. The study demonstrates that within communities internal to the acquisition areas, there is the uneven distribution of impacts on the basis of ethnicity and the associated rights, or lack thereof, to land. Across communities there is also the differentiation of impacts on the basis of land tenure types. The potential for differentiation across such scales and uneven distribution of impacts is more so on the African continent with its heterogeneity of ethnicities, land rights and tenure systems. Furthermore the majority of land acquisitions take place on the continent (Warner et al., 2013:223) where rural people are affected since they source their livelihoods from the land. As such, there is the need to disaggregate these livelihood outcomes to inform mitigation measures and policy recommendations. This is because differentiated outcomes may require different policy interventions. Therefore it is through the awareness of the varied impacts rather than generalisation of implications that the appropriate interventions can be proposed such as considerations of the effects to the non-indigenes actually cultivating the land or compensation for not only the land 'owner' but also the sitting tenant (the one farming the land).

The study also argues and demonstrates that the impacts from land acquisitions can be transferred beyond the vicinity of the acquisition to the adjacent locality. This predominantly stems from human sensitivities such as compassion, sympathy, the appropriate behaviour and the right response, giving rise to a sense of moral obligation, the emergence of a moral economy, and ethnic dynamics leading to solidarity networks. In this vein too cognisance needs to be taken of how the adjacent communities are affected by the land acquisitions elsewhere. This is in order that adjacent communities may be considered where possible impacts and mitigation measures in policy interventions are concerned. Notably, the impacts to the adjacent community were associated with human sensitivities as has been noted. Hence where adjacent communities are concerned, the light is therefore cast on the human aspect/angle to land acquisitions and how human nature can act as a channel through which

impacts can emerge outside of the appropriation area. Therefore even though impact assessments are undertaken where acquisitions are concerned and consider environmental and socio-economic implications to name a few, the adjacent community further needs to be assessed in the light of the human characteristics of compassion, kindness, mercy, in effect, humane aspects through which impacts could emerge. This is in addition to, issues of ethnicity in relation to solidarity and the relations with the neighbouring communities in terms of the perceptions of being brothers/sisters/one.

The differentiation in livelihood impacts on the basis of social groups and land tenure systems does not emerge in the narratives on effects of large-scale land acquisitions. In the same vein, the channels through which adjacent community implications emerge such as morality and solidarity networks do not feature in the discourse on the effects of land acquisitions. This study on the implications within the different land tenure systems and the uneven distribution of effects where social groups are concerned highlights the scales of effects arising from land tenure types and how different ethnicities are impacted. This study also demonstrates that these factors, such as the ethnic dynamics, morality and reciprocity serve as channels through which the adjacent community could experience the effects of a large-scale land acquisition which have taken place elsewhere. There is the human aspect to the implications of land acquisitions through which the moral obligation to extend assistance, the emergence of a moral economy, ethnic dynamics and solidarity networks create channels for the emergence of impacts. Thus the study illustrates that the emergence of impacts does not only arise due to physical or social factors such as decrease in landholding, reduced harvests or food insecurity. Impacts can also manifest through humane structures. Research needs to disaggregate analysis of socio-economic outcomes to a greater extent (Cotula et al., 2014:920). Hence the research achieved this through moving beyond the narratives on large-scale land acquisitions and the ensuing outcomes to take into account of how implications get refracted through the particular land tenure types as well as the social structures and the differentials in positionality as determined by ethnicity and origin status. Furthermore, it was achieved through adjacent community considerations and how impacts emerged through the social structures and human sensitivities. The ensuing discussion elaborates on these.

## 6.3 REFRACTION OF LIVELIHOOD IMPLICATIONS

### 6.3.1 *Through Differentials in Positionality and Social Structures*

The first question of the research asked whether there is differentiation in livelihood impacts within and across communities inside the areas of the appropriation and for what reasons. The study showed that such differentiation exists as noted previously. The first reason for the differentiation in impacts was due to the differentials in positionality and social structures, specifically ethnicity and originary status. This study revealed that ethnicity and originary status can result in differentiated impacts. This is because those who are indigenous to a locality have usufructory rights to land and therefore can revert to accessing family lands or gain some compensation (depending on the land type) once through acquisitions they lose access to land they are cultivating. Those who are not indigenous do not have rights in a locality outside of their area of origin. Hence they are more vulnerable to effects arising from land issues such as acquisitions. This sheds light on the differentials in positionality – the ethnic angle to the discourse which in turn fosters the extent of the impact. The study therefore recasts the literature on implications of land acquisitions by demonstrating that contrary to the generalised livelihood implications presented on transactions, effects are disaggregated by social groups and structures stemming from the traditions/culture.

The social structures are such that 'ethnic identity provides an entitlement to claim land in one's ethnic homeland and recognised membership in an ethnic group is a requirement of all individuals wishing to obtain or defend a land right on the basis of birth right' (Boone, 2014:93, 94). The social structures are the centuries-old cultural/ traditional systems in place whereby the various ethnic polities have their respective lands and as such do not have usufructory rights where the land of other groups is concerned. Notably these systems are recognised and upheld by the state. The usufructory right is held as of right by members of such a community who acquire it by first cultivation or by allotment<sup>213</sup> from the land owning group of which they are members (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:9,10). Indeed outsiders land rights are weaker and access is contingent upon permission but this is because they do not have the usufructory rights within that territory. They would have such rights within their own territory. In the same manner that the Ashantis have usufructory rights to Ashanti land, those who originate from the northern part of the country have usufructory rights to land in their areas of origin. Therefore without ancestral links to an area, the non-

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<sup>213</sup> This has been the case from centuries past and has been handed down the generations.

indigene would be more vulnerable to outcomes where land issues are concerned. However, the overriding issue is that each ethnic polity as a landholding group has access to land within its own territory. Hence in accessing land in another's territory, one is perceived as a 'stranger' and has to abide by the requirements for access. It is the customary/traditional system in place and would equally apply if the ethnic outsider went back to his/her origins and a non-indigenous person also came there seeking for land. Thus because of the ethnic positionality around resource access, the social structures within communities contribute to livelihood outcomes. The ethnic positionality determines the manner in which there is the access to the resource, for example, through the possession of rights (or lack thereof) of land.

Land within the Ghanaian context is widely believed to be an ancestral trust which should not be sold (Gildea, 1964:102; Agbosu, 2000:13 cited in Mireku et al., 2016:150). This belief (that lands are not for sale) has been given a constitutional backing and this prohibition is intended to keep stool (customary) lands within the lineage of the stools (chiefs) where future members would not be deprived through any outright alienation (Mireku et al., 2016:150). The customary land systems are guided by the traditional tenets of: inter-generational ownership; land held in trust by the head of the community for the entire members of the community; clan or family and the belief that land is owned by the dead, living and those yet unborn (Ministry of Lands and Forestry, 2003:12). Hence the system of the rights to the land is to ensure the livelihoods and sustenance for future generations within the indigenous community. It is a fact that the ethnic outsider, in this study also termed 'foreigner/migrant/stranger/visitor' has no usufructory rights to the land in territory that he/she is not indigenous to. However such arrangement which arises from the traditional/cultural systems, manifests through the ethnic positionality and the social structures and is in order that the land will remain within the landholding community. As has been previously stated, the in-migrant would also have land within his/her ethnic origin to which the same customary/traditional systems would apply. Notably, the study does reveal that the non-indigenes are impacted to a greater extent where land issues are concerned. The ethnic positionality of the non-indigenes implies that on the basis of usufructory rights to land they will be more susceptible impacts than the indigenes. Hence ethnic positionality and social structures are a determinant in livelihood outcomes where resource access is concerned. The arrangements around resource access will be all the more prominent where access is compromised, for example, if land acquisitions take place. This is because the

ethnic positionality and the social structures will stand out as parameters determining who will still have some access (in the midst of resource capture), upon what basis, the effects of loss of access, where impacts will be prominent and who would be most vulnerable. Thus assessments of potential livelihood implications need to be viewed and filtered through the lens of the community social structures. This is in order to disaggregate the various people groups to elicit possible livelihood implications along such lines. There is also the need for the reconciliation or intersection of the customary land system with the positionality of the non-indigenes where land issues such as large-scale acquisitions create impacts. This is in the sense of how the non-indigenes can be supported and considered such that they would not be unduly affected on the basis of their ethnic status outside of their area of origin. At the state level, policy on land acquisitions needs to underscore the need for mitigation and/or compensation measures to take into consideration not only the land 'owner' but more importantly the sitting tenant (who is actually cultivating the land) and the need for engagement at the community level in order for the awareness and implementation of such considerations to be effective.

In line with the positionality and social structures is the issue of the presence of the Northerners on Ashanti lands due to their southward migration. The northern part of the country has lagged behind the southern part due to underdevelopment (Sutton, 1989:638,663; Plange, 1979:13). There is the contribution in part of a historical and political economic perspective through the focus of development in the south and the corresponding lack of advancement in the north. In addition, there are also the climatic conditions of one rainy season and hence one planting season as well as vegetation and soil type. Thus those from the north migrate down south to pursue their livelihoods of farming in the more climate-suitable south where there are two planting seasons. As previously mentioned, once down south the Northerners are non-indigenes with lack of usufructory rights, as such there is the positionality around resource access. By virtue of their non-indigenous status land is accessed on a contractual basis with minimal tenure security. The indigenous land tenure and management system continues to operate; it has wider coverage than the state system and dominates particularly in rural areas and for agricultural purposes (Kasanga and Kotey, 2001:26). The rights of one landholding group should not be diminished in order to give way to another group when the latter has access to land albeit in another region with different environmental conditions. There are implications of the foregoing for the state. The cultural/traditional systems with reference to land have constitutional backing and therefore

cannot be overridden. Simultaneously, the livelihoods of the Northerners need security. The study revealed that the political economy of underdevelopment as well as the more suitable conditions in the south for farming was the reason for their presence. Hence more favourable conditions (such as improved soils achieved through the provision of fertilisers) could potentially encourage access to their own lands. The state therefore needs to increase efforts to address the underdevelopment of the northern regions in relation to the south of the country. Potentially this could be achieved through the development of drought resistant varieties of crops, subsidised fertiliser provision and improvement of soil quality. This in turn could allow for access to better quality land to farm on or adapted crop which could ultimately decrease the vulnerability and impacts to the non-indigenous Northerners on land they cannot lay claim to. They would then equally have quality land to farm on as well as the usufructory rights.

### *6.3.2 Through Land Tenure Types*

The second reason for the differentiation in impacts was due to the different land tenure types. The effects that emerged from access to and subsequent loss where state (forestry) land was concerned varied from impacts on customary land. The basis of such differentiation was the dissemination of information, the possibility of encroachment and the perception of rights. The study demonstrated that where prior notice was given regarding removal off the land, where encroachment was restricted due to monitoring and where the land rights were well defined in terms of the usufruct (the one with the usufructory rights), even though impacts followed acquisitions, the aforementioned factors contributed to the intactness of livelihood in the immediate future and allowed for time (till the next planting season) to search for land elsewhere. This was the situation with the customary land. On the other hand, where there was the opposite – no/short prior notice or disconnects in information dissemination, ease of encroachment, non-awareness of who had the rights to the land – it gave rise to instant deprivation and destitution as a result of immediate eviction as occurred on the state land. The study therefore modifies the literature on implications of land acquisitions by demonstrating that these are not generalised across land systems but can be differentiated by virtue of the land tenure type. They can also be differentiated by virtue of the background situation regarding the land type prior to the acquisition. Comparatively the effects from the customary land acquisitions, even though also severe especially for those affected, impacted to a lesser extent in the immediate term as opposed to the state land acquisitions. With the customary lands there was gradual deprivation and hardship and

hence some extent of protection/intactness of livelihood in the interim. With the state/government land there was instant deprivation and hardship as a result of immediate eviction and therefore no form of provision in the interim. From the foregoing, the study further sheds light on the fact that the accessing of customary lands provided more insurance/ protection in the interim (especially for the non-indigenes) as opposed to state/government lands. This is despite the seemingly more favourable terms/conditions in forestry land access since there were no/few contractual arrangements. When juxtaposed against the impacts arising from the state land acquisitions and especially the effects to the non – indigenes, this study reveals that there is more insurance/protection even for the outsider. This is because for the customary lands, the gradual ejection implies some latitude given and thereby the maintenance of some livelihood in the interim. The foregoing is significant because it reveals the relative security associated with accessing customary lands. The customary lands offer more security/insurance in the interim where there is land acquisition since livelihoods are not immediately compromised. Thus overall, land types are significant where resource matters and livelihood outcomes are concerned. This is because the land type (and the terms associated with it) can contribute to the effects that emerge where the resource is concerned. This is in the sense that dependent on the land type, the effects may be instantaneous giving no room for livelihood maintenance whilst searching for new land. Alternatively the impacts may be gradual allowing for the affected to search for land elsewhere whilst still maintaining a livelihood. Hence where the land is traditional and the rights fall within the remit of the individuals/families, the extent of vulnerability and impact to livelihood even though present, is to a lesser degree than where there is the state ownership of the resource.

Where the forestry land is concerned, the state has the right to intervene given its mandate over the natural resources. The Constitution vests the natural resources in the government (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992:145). The study highlights that such intervention of the state when finally undertaken, is swift, destructive and unrelenting, exemplified in the extent, speed and non-negotiability of destruction of farms once the enforcement was undertaken. Thus where there was the extension of state influence on the forestry lands, the effects were more severe in the immediate term and there was very little/ no latitude for the maintenance of a livelihood in the interim. Furthermore, due to the mandated responsibility of sole oversight over the resource by the particular state agency (Forestry Commission), other state agencies are not involved in the land

allocation/transaction process which also encourages the type of effects. This is because the involvement of other state agencies such as the District Assembly could potentially result in less instantaneous impacts due to them taking on an intervening role to protect livelihoods in the interim. There was little involvement of the District Assembly where the circumstances and impacts to the villagers were concerned whereas they noted they could advise on the most appropriate way forward. The study showed that the foregoing (non-collaboration where the state land acquisitions were concerned) applied to the customary authority as well. Lavers and Boamah (2016:95) contend that in many African countries an important legacy of colonialism is the existence of overlapping authorities between state and societal organisations regarding land tenure. Consequently, both state and societal organisations have the potential to play important roles in promoting, facilitating or vetoing investments (Lavers and Boamah, 2016:95). This was not the case with the forestry land. An overlapping system with both state and traditional authority playing roles was absent. The allocation of forestry land was entirely within the remit of the state agency responsible with no recourse to the traditional authority or other state agency. Hence it is not in all situations that both state and societal organisations play roles where acquisitions are concerned. This study showed that for this particular state land, forestry land, the traditional authority influence/power did not extend into this arena. The traditional authorities did not intervene except to advise the indigenes to go back to their family lands and also to note the need to perhaps approach the government to release parts of the forestry lands for access since the communities were expanding.

With respect to the impacts emerging from the state land acquisitions, the research further confirmed studies by Brockington and Igoe (2006), Brockington and Scolfield (2010) and Brockington and Wilkie (2015) which highlight the contentions involved where the preservation of natural resources and the restriction on lives and livelihoods are concerned. On the one hand, the forests are demarcated as part of reservation areas and therefore not designated for farming. However there is the encroachment by community members. The objective is to bring back the trees on the part of the state, essentially conservation/reafforestation, which conflicts with community members' growing of food crops which forms their livelihood. The Ananekrom situation highlighted the fact that where communities and adjacent forestry lands are concerned, there is the issue of how to address these contestations given that communities are expanding and need land for their livelihoods whilst on the other hand, the preservation of the forestry resources is essential. The study

revealed that a permanent solution that provided a win-win situation (whereby the forest fringe communities had sufficient farmland whilst simultaneously the forests were preserved) had not been found and hence there are implications for the state. Without the finding of a permanent solution which also benefits the communities, Forestry Commission task forces (mandated personnel) will continue to forcefully eject encroachers off the forestry lands. This could result in outmigration and gradual depopulation and retrogression of communities as the study demonstrated was the case with Ananekrom. It could potentially also result in local instability and unrest due to community frustrations from lack of access to the lands. State intervention to produce a permanent solution which caters for both the preservation of the forests and community livelihoods is essential. This could be through revisiting the modified *taungya* system, addressing farmers concerns and security issues and possibly producing a revised version in which villagers would not feel threatened with movement to new parcels of land or loss of land after a few years.

#### **6.4 DIFFERENTIATION IN IMPACTS FOR DIRECTLY VERSUS INDIRECTLY AFFECTED COMMUNITIES**

The first question of the research further asked whether there is differentiation in impacts between communities internal and external to the areas of appropriation and for what reasons. The study revealed that transactions can give rise to effects further away in locations which are outside the boundary of the appropriation. Thus land appropriations do not only concern the communities within the vicinity of the acquisition. The livelihoods of the adjacent communities can be affected. On a comparative basis, the effects were not exactly the same given the differing localities – internal and external to the land acquisitions. The communities of Ananekrom and Dukusen were in receipt of direct impacts – the appropriation of the land they accessed and then the ensuing effects. Afrisere was not in receipt of direct impacts. However effects emerged with in-migration into the community. Preliminary investigation showed the impacts across the three communities to be similar due to the common dependence on the land and the same livelihoods. However, further interrogation proved that there was differentiation in impacts across the communities internal and external to the acquisitions. Such differentiation arose when taking into account the reasons behind the emergence of effects. This aligns with the argument of Tsikata and Yaro (2014:203) who contend that livelihood effects of commercial land deals and agriculture projects are not uniform between and within communities. This, they claim is a less discussed phenomenon even though there is growing recognition of the wide variety of

country experiences of land deals (Tsikata and Yaro, 2014:203). This study establishes that there are differences in impact for directly and indirectly affected communities. The impacts are not uniform across the localities even though preliminarily they may appear to be similar. The precipitating factors vary where directly and indirectly affected communities are concerned. Disparities and contrasts in community experiences therefore 'need to become an integral aspect of knowledge production on commercial agriculture projects and their land transactions' (Tsikata and Yaro, 2014:203). Thus in the examination of likely outcomes of land acquisitions, apart from the locality of the acquisition, the context of the wider vicinity needs scrutiny. Furthermore adjacent community consultations need to be undertaken prior to transactions in order to illuminate from their perspective the ways in which they can be impacted. This is because impacts might be local, or manifest downstream and in the wider vicinity (Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010:904). In addition, considerations need to anticipate and examine non-uniform effects across localities.

## **6.5 LIVELIHOOD IMPACTS THROUGH HUMAN SENSITIVITIES**

The second question of the research focused on the adjacent community, asking the question how and why livelihood impacts emerged in communities external to the areas of appropriation. The study revealed that through human characteristics of compassion, pity, sympathy and views of the right/good and appropriate behaviour, there was the moral obligation to provide support and the emergence of a moral economy. It is through these channels that impacts emerged in the adjacent community. Notably, where the adjacent community was concerned, the major reason for the transmission of effects was due to the matter of morality - perceiving and carrying out the right/good thing to do, portraying the acceptable/permissible behaviour, identifying with another human being and having compassion, sympathy and pity. Indeed the study revealed that the moral aspect – the extension of assistance on the basis of such response being the right/ appropriate action to take, the sense of compassion, pity and sympathy – was the main factor that influenced the desire to extend assistance. The presence of such human elements as causative channels for impacts in an adjacent community is largely not captured in the literature. However, as the study demonstrates, there does exist this humane aspect to land acquisitions which creates channels for the transmission of impacts.

In addition to the foregoing, there was the emergence of a moral economy in the adjacent community. Previous studies on the moral economy detail the social arrangements

introduced to assist those in need as well as the perception that all were entitled to livelihoods hence processes to accomplish this. Similarly, a moral economy emerged in the adjacent community and the research highlighted how this was through the social arrangements put in place to assist in-migrants. It was also through the introduction of measures to enable them to sustain themselves based on the perception that the in-migrants were entitled to livelihoods to cater for themselves and their families. The presence of a moral economy as a causative channel for livelihood impacts is largely absent from the literature. However as the study thus illustrates, the presence of a moral economy results in the emergence of livelihood impacts in a community where land acquisitions had not occurred.

From the adjacent community there was the provision of assistance to their counterparts who lost access to land because they identified with them as fellow Northerners and therefore brothers/sisters. Thus there exists the cultural aspect where origination from the same area fosters an identification and perception of brotherliness/sisterliness. Collective identification through similar positionality in terms of origination resulted in the emergence of livelihood impacts. Notably, such characteristics may not be very evident and discourse surrounding them does not feature in the literature in relation to land acquisitions and the emergence of impacts. The study however demonstrated that such identification through similar positionality does emerge and consequently allows for impacts to arise in the adjacent community.

Land acquisitions therefore do not only bring out livelihood implications in communities internal to the appropriation areas through the connection to and loss of natural or physical assets such as the land and farms or the knock-on effects leading to financial and socio-economic repercussions. Land acquisitions create effects in the adjacent community. These livelihood impacts emerge through human characteristics, the creation of support networks to sustain the livelihoods of others and social arrangements, all of which converge in the extension of assistance.

Fafchamps (1992:149) suggests that whenever economic and social conditions are such that individual survival is extremely uncertain without some form of mutual insurance, informal solidarity mechanisms tend to emerge socially. This is because scarcity can stimulate or nurture empathy as a result of which there arises a desire to extend assistance.

There are implications for the state therefore when contemplating large-scale land acquisitions. In the assessment of livelihood implications, cognisance needs to be taken of the adjacent communities but not only in terms of the possible impacts that can arise such as their access to water resources or disrupted routes to their farms. There needs to be the consideration of potential impacts stemming from the informal solidarity mechanisms and human or cultural sensitivities that could emerge from their perceived obligations to extend assistance.

## **6.6 RECIPROCITY**

In answering the second question of the research, the study cast light on the matter of reciprocity and how it contributed to the emergence of livelihood impacts. Where reciprocity is concerned, theoretically, it refers to the returning of something fitting and of proportionate value for benefits received or the giving of benefits to another in return for benefits received (Von Tevenar, 2006:182; Molm, 2010:119). The theory of reciprocity is also predicated on the assumption that people are willing to reward kind acts (Celen, Schotter and Blanco, 2017:63). However the study revealed that the reciprocity was not based on giving or returning of proportionate value what had been received. Rather it was instrumental in that it was based on the provision of assistance so that in one's time of need support would arise from somewhere, but exactly where was uncertain. Support would arise because one had provided help in the past but one could not forecast where the assistance would proceed from. This was in reverse to a kind act being rewarded or returning of proportionate value for a benefit gained. It was rather that kind acts were undertaken in anticipation of being rewarded with help at a future date when in time of need. Secondly, reciprocity was emotive in that it was in the form of 'paying it forward'. There was the readiness to provide assistance in the future because there had been a time when in one's time of need, one had been helped. This is in contrast to the perspective of reciprocity which was rather predicated upon 'paying back' benefits that had been given. The subject of reciprocity both from instrumental and emotive perspectives as a causal mechanism for the emergence of livelihood impacts in an adjacent community is largely absent in the literature where effects of land acquisitions are concerned. The study however revealed these other perspectives to the matter of reciprocity. Reciprocity went beyond a return of value for a benefit received. It concerned giving in expectation of future receipt, paying it forward or giving at one's own expense. This manner of reciprocity in turn resulted in livelihood impacts emerging in the adjacent community. The adjacent community study demonstrates that similar to the consideration of

impacts stemming from human sensitivities, there needs to be the consideration of potential impacts from such issues such as reciprocity which are not largely featured in the literature or which may be overlooked as insignificant.

## **6.7 SECURITY THROUGH IDENTITY, EXCLUSION AND THE MORAL OBLIGATION**

The study further revealed that identity and social exclusion together with a moral obligation could be employed as a form of security. The identification of the non-indigenes as Northerners not only by themselves but also by the Ashantis and the acceptance that they originated from the north of the country resulted in a number of scenarios. On the one hand the shared origin from the North and residence in Ashanti brought out the awareness of exclusion. This was on the grounds that they were 'visitors/ foreigners/ strangers/ migrants' in Ashanti with no usufructory rights to land. There was on the other hand the social categorisation by those in whose territory they resided. Social categorisation in particular is intimately bound up with power relations and relates to the capacity of one group successfully to impose its categorisations of ascription upon another set of people (Jenkins, 2008:23). In terms of the social categorisation, the identification that was imposed on the Northerners/non-indigenes by the indigenes resulted in them drawing on such collective identity as a form of security. This was in the sense that in spite of their differing ethnicities, they identified with one another and so derived or extended assistance. Thus because of the exclusion and social categorisation the convergence as a collective identity gave rise to the impetus to assist each other. The collective identification also yielded oneness and solidarity. This in turn precipitated the appreciation of the challenges that others faced and the moral obligation to help each other. Security therefore can be derived from dissimilar identity (the Northerners being dissimilar in identity to the Ashantis) and social categorisation. The non-indigenes to a territory can draw on such security to ensure a form of sustenance in the interim whilst restructuring/reorganising their livelihoods following impacts to them.

## **6.8 ETHNIC DIVERGENCE AND THE STRENGTHENING OF TIES**

The ethnic dynamics that emerged in the study cast the light on the matter of conflicts especially within the context of the Northerners. Within the communities, there existed differing ethnicities, albeit the majority originating from the northern part of Ghana. Ethnicity

has been perceived to be instrumental where conflict is concerned. The reasons attributed to ethnic conflict are diverse: pre-existing ethnic divisions (Esteban et al., 2012a:858), ethnic identities and hatreds that naturally draw people into persistent identities and antagonisms (Levine, 1999:166), groups unawareness or insensitivities to the impact their actions will have on others (Brown, 2010:95) to name but a few. With the northern part of Ghana ethnic conflicts 'have largely revolved around issues of ethnic identity, group history and land rights' (Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah, 2016:3). Interests in resources such as land have been a factor in conflicts. As noted by Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah (2016:21) the unbridled exploitation of ethnic identity by groups in their quest for land and resources is an underlying incentive for the many inter-ethnic conflicts. For some of the ethnic groups, 'the underlying causes have deep historical roots stemming from the colonial policy of putting a-cephalous societies [those having no single apical head as the locus of political power for the entire ethnic group] under the centralised states with the former societies feeling marginalised' (UNDP, 2012:x). Hence, there is the desire for 'their own chiefs and control over the lands on which they have settled' (UNDP, 2012:x). Furthermore, some societies have and continue to organise their lives and the use of land around the institution of the tindanba – the earth-priests; hence chieftaincy is alien' (UNDP, 2012:x). However the state by vesting lands in the people through the chiefs as occurs in southern Ghana creates conflict in the role of the chief and the earth-priest (UNDP, 2012:xi). Thus the control over resources (through which conflict is fuelled) is also connected to the chieftaincy systems for some of the northern ethnic groups. Ethnic conflict is not uncommon in the northern part of the country. These conflicts have involved various ethnicities for example, the Gonjas, Konkombas, Dagombas, Mamprusis, Kusasis (Brukum, 2000:131). In recent years, the Northern Region has been the scene of sporadic ethnic conflicts with high recurrence rate (Debrah, Alidu and Owusu-Mensah, 2016:1).

Interestingly and to the contrary, within the study area, there were differing ethnicities from the northern part of Ghana – Konkomba, Gonja, Kusaase, Gruiše, Frafra, Mamprusi, Dagomba, Daagarte to name a few – but the issue of conflict did not arise. These aspects of ethnicity which fuel conflict – ancient rivalries, group insensitivities, interests in resources, chieftaincy – were not evident across the communities. Furthermore, the rivalries of their counterparts up in the northern part of the country which engendered conflict there did not appear to emerge through those resident in Ashanti. Rather, the differing ethnicities produced solidarity and oneness which gave rise to the support for one another even where

it was detrimental to oneself. As constantly emphasized by Afrisere community members, *'you cannot sack him/her, you cannot look the other way, you have to help, you cannot go to bed full whilst he/she goes on an empty stomach, he/she is your brother/sister, when your brother/sister sleeps then you sleep'*. Thus there was rather the production of the strengthening of ties, the acknowledgement of oneness and therefore support for the brother/sister in need. Additionally, they drew security from perceiving each other as one and supporting each other within the context of loss of access to land and livelihood maintenance. The residence in territory not their own obviously played a role in their solidarity. The probability of conflict was low because the land did not belong to them. Essentially they could not fight over the land. Notably too, the fact that they had no usufructory rights to the land and were perceived as 'migrants/ visitors/ strangers/ foreigners' increased their vulnerability. Therefore there was rather the impetus to extend help to one another because it is on each other they had to depend. They needed each other to maintain their livelihoods whilst residing in a territory that was not their own. The state and customary land contexts alongside the adjacent community response therefore highlight the manner in which ethnic dynamics can rather lend itself towards security and support as opposed to being instrumental in the eruption of conflict. Ethnicity and ethnic divergence need not be tied to conflict even though oftentimes this is the case. It can be used as a tool to strengthen ties and engender aid and support to those of a differing ethnicity in times of trouble. The result is that not only are they helped but also the aid given and the oneness fostered in turn gives rise to reciprocity whereby those assisted also extend support to others in need. In essence, a community of support is built up from differing ethnicities.

## **6.9 FINAL REFLECTIONS – THE LAND OF THE CHIEFS AND THE LAND OF THE STATE – WHAT HAPPENS AFTER AN ACQUISITION?**

Large-scale land acquisitions can occur in the land of the chiefs and the land of the state but what happens after an appropriation? There are impacts to the livelihoods of community members, especially those who lose access to land. This is unsurprising and to be expected because once village members lose access to the land they derive their sustenance from, there will be repercussions or impacts. What is novel is the fact that the extent of such repercussions or outcomes differs based on whether the impacted community members are indigenous to the community or non-indigenous. Thus the positionality, social structures and the system of rights to land not only feature prominently where acquisitions are concerned

but also illuminate aspects of the culture/tradition which relate to resource use. The culture and traditions figure prominently within the African and Ghanaian set-up. Hence in engaging with issues within an African/Ghanaian context, there is the need to consider matters through a cultural/traditional lens. This can be seen with regards to peoples within the Ghanaian context which can be extended to the African situation. Not only are there different ethnicities but also these have varied traditions/cultures specific to them. In addition, they have their approaches regarding resource use based on their traditions and cultures. Therefore the manner of access to the resource may vary according to the different people groups. For instance, with regards to land, acquisitions will affect various ethnicities differently because of the traditional/cultural contexts within which there exist relationships between the distinct ethnicities and the particular land they are accessing. Therefore, where resource capture is concerned, there are the effects to livelihoods and these will be influenced by the positionality, social structures and system of rights and access to resources.

Another novel aspect of the outcomes is that they differ based on the land tenure types. That is, whether it is the land of the chiefs or the land of the state. The land tenure type contributes to the intactness or otherwise of livelihoods in the interim period following acquisitions. Hence effects are not generalised across land systems. There is the possibility of greater security and a lesser extent of impact in the immediate term dependent upon the land type. The study showed this to exist with regards to customary lands and even for the non-indigenes. Thus it highlights a relative greater protection/security when accessing the customary lands. In this regard, the significance of particular land types emerge in that they contribute to the nature/extent of effects. In the examination of land acquisitions therefore, livelihood implications need to be considered within the context of the different tenure systems. Furthermore, where resource capture is concerned, different contexts produce varying implications and effects of capture may not be homogenised across a resource base.

The livelihood impacts arising from acquisitions in the land of the chiefs and the land of the state do not only affect villages within the appropriation areas. They manifest in the wider environs. This in itself may not be surprising. The novelty stems from the causal channels through which the impacts manifest. It is as a result of empathy, compassion and the desire to do what is deemed right and appropriate. It is also as a result of solidarity arising from

common origins. Hence ethnic dynamics, morals and human characteristics are channels through which impacts from land acquisitions emerge in the wider vicinity.

What happens in the land of the chiefs and the land of the state following an acquisition establishes the non-homogenous nature of repercussions from land acquisitions. It sheds light on differentiated outcomes resulting from the particular land systems. It highlights the positionality, social structures and systems of rights through which the effects of resource capture may vary and furthermore how these illuminate the influence of the culture and traditions. It also elucidates the emergence of livelihood impacts in the wider vicinity through human considerations such as morality. Finally, what happens in the land of the chiefs and the land of the state casts light on the contribution of ethnic dynamics in influencing how the effects of resource capture emerge further afield.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 – Interview Guide for Communities where land was acquired

I am a PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin and I am conducting research on the topic: ‘The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What Happens after an Acquisition in Ghana?’

The study will investigate the differentiation in livelihood implications within and across communities as a result of large-scale land acquisitions and the reasons why there is variation. It will also examine the emergence of impacts in the adjacent communities and how different these are from those experienced by communities within the areas of acquisition in the different land tenure systems in Ghana.

The study is purely an academic exercise and all information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Responses will be used anonymously and cannot be traced to the persons who provide them. Kindly permit me to thank you in advance for your time and contribution to this research.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

Village:.....

Respondent:..... (R1, R2, R3 etc)

Age Range: [ ] 18 – 30 [ ] 31 – 40 [ ] 41 – 50 [ ] 51 – 60 [ ] Above 60

Gender: [ ] Male [ ] Female

1. Are you indigenous to the community and if a migrant, from where?  
What is your source of employment/income?  
What is the main source of employment within the community?
2. What is the significance/importance of the land to you/your community?  
In what ways does the land contribute to your livelihoods/sustenance?
3. Are you aware of the large-scale land acquisitions taking/that have taken place within your community/neighbouring communities/the district?  
If yes,
  - a. Which communities have been affected?
  - b. What size(s) of land acquired?
  - c. What type of land acquired – forestry reserve land, stool land or both?
  - d. Who is acquiring the land?
4. Have you lost access to land as a result of the acquisitions?

- a. If no, why not?
  - b. If yes, what size of land have you lost access to?
  - c. Were you allowed to harvest your crops/remove your animals prior to the acquisition of land?
  - d. Were you given compensation and if yes how much?
5. Prior to the loss of access to land (for no loss of access to land go to question 7),
- a. What size of land did you have access to?  
How did you originally obtain access to the land and was it forestry land or customary land?
  - b. What did you use the land for?
  - c. If farming/animal rearing what did you cultivate/rear per farming season
  - d. How much did you harvest per farming season?
  - e. Was this for consumption, sale or both?
  - f. What proportion was consumed and what proportion sold?
  - g. Concerning consumption, how was food distributed within the household?
  - h. Concerning sale, how much income was generated per farming season?
6. Following the loss of access to land (for no loss of access to land go to question 7),
- a. have you been able to access land elsewhere?
  - b. If yes,
    - i. What size of land?
    - ii. Where?
    - iii. How did you obtain access to the land?
    - iv. Is it forestry land or stool land?
    - v. What do you use the land for?
    - vi. If farming/animal rearing what do you cultivate/rear per farming season and if different from land previously accessed, why is this the case?
    - vii. How much do you harvest per farming season (i.e. bags of maize, boxes of tomatoes, truckloads of yam etc.)?
    - viii. What proportion is consumed and what proportion sold?
    - ix. As there been a change in how is food distributed within the household?
    - x. How much cash income is generated per farming season?
    - xi. Do you have to trek a longer distance to this new parcel of land (than the previous land you used) and if yes, how has this affected you?

- xii. Have you had to change your farming methods with the new parcel of land and if yes why?
  - c. If you have not accessed land elsewhere, what do you do in terms of employment/what do you currently engage in?
    - i. How has this affected you/your household?
  - d. Has the pattern of food distribution changed within the household? If so how?
- 7. Where there has been no loss of access to land,
  - a. What size of land do you have access to?
  - b. How did you originally obtain access to the land and is it forestry land or customary land?
  - c. What do you use the land for?
  - d. If farming/animal rearing what do you cultivate/rear per farming season?
  - e. How much do you harvest per farming season?
  - f. Is this for consumption, sale or both?
  - g. What proportion is consumed and what proportion sold?
  - h. Concerning consumption, how is food distributed within the household?
  - i. Concerning sale, how much income is generated per farming season?
- 8. In what ways has the loss of access to land affected you/your household/the community?
  - a. Are you able to access forest products and if yes which forest products?
  - b. Has there been a change in food security/shortage of supply of foodstuffs as compared to before the land acquisitions in the community (other factors remaining constant eg weather, pests)?
  - c. If yes, has the change in supply of foodstuffs resulted in changes in food prices as compared to before the loss of access to land (other factors remaining constant eg weather, pests)?
- 9. Has there been community agitation/disturbance as a result of loss of access to land?
- 10. Have people moved out of the community as a result of loss of access to land?
  - a. If yes, where have they moved to?
  - b. How has this affected the community?
- 11. Do inter-community relations exist between your community and the neighbouring communities?
  - If yes,
    - a. Which communities and what type of inter-community relations?

- b. As a result of loss of access to land within your community have community members turned to these neighbouring communities for help and if yes what type of help?

## **Appendix 2 – Interview Guide for Communities where land was not acquired**

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

Village:.....

Respondent:..... (R1, R2, R3 etc)

Age Range: [ ] 18 – 30 [ ] 31 – 40 [ ] 41 – 50 [ ] 51 – 60 [ ] Above 60

Gender: [ ] Male [ ] Female

1. Are you indigenous to the community and if a migrant, from where?
2. What is your source of employment/income?  
What is the main source of employment within the community?
3. What is the significance/importance of the land to you/your community?  
In what ways does the land contribute to your livelihoods/sustenance?
4. What type of land do you have access to?
  - a. If stool land is it customarily owned or customarily leased?
  - b. If leased, who is it leased from?
  - c. What is the agreement with respect to 'payment of rent'?
  - d. How did you originally obtain access to the land?
5. What size of land do you have access to?
6. What do you use the land for?
  - a. If farming/animal rearing what do you cultivate/rear per farming season?
  - b. How much do you harvest per farming season on average?
  - c. Is this for consumption, sale or both?
  - d. What proportion is consumed and what proportion is sold?
  - e. Concerning consumption, how is food distributed within the household?
  - f. Concerning sale, how much cash income is generated per farming season?
7. Are you aware of the large-scale land acquisitions in the neighbouring communities?  
If yes,
  - a. Which communities have been affected?

- b. What size(s) of land have been acquired?
  - c. What type of land has been acquired – forestry reserve land, stool land or both?
8. Are you aware of the impacts in the neighbouring communities?
- a. If yes, what type of impacts?
9. Have people migrated into your community as a result of loss of access to land in their communities?
- If yes,
- a. Which communities are they moving from?
  - b. Have there been any impacts from the increase in your community numbers/size?
10. Have the in-migrants asked for land on which to farm in your community?
- a. If yes, who did they request for land from?
11. Were portions of land given to in-migrants?
- If yes,
- a. Who gave them the land?
  - b. Was the land given out unused/vacant land or was it land the community/individuals were using?
  - c. If it was not vacant land, how and why was it given to in-migrants?
  - d. What sizes of land have been given out to in-migrants?
  - e. What is the agreement with respect to the in-migrant's 'payment of rent' for use of the land and why?
12. Have you personally given out a portion of your land?
- If yes,
- a. What size of land did you give out?
  - b. Was it unused/vacant land or land you were using?
  - c. If in use, what were you using it for?
  - d. What size of land do you have left to make use of?
  - e. Has the decreased size of land for farming resulted in less cultivation or is there compensation by intensification of cropping?
  - f. If less cultivation how has this affected you?
  - g. Has the decreased size of land resulted in a change in the farming systems?
  - h. If a change to the farming systems, what change and have any effects arisen as a result?
13. Keeping other factors constant e.g. weather, pests etc,
- a. How much do you now harvest per farming season (i.e. bags of maize, boxes of tomatoes, truckloads of yam etc.)?

- b. Has the change in size of land for farming resulted in a change in yields?  
If no why?
  - c. If yes, what type of change?
  - d. If yes, has the change affected:
    - i. The pattern of food distribution within the household; if yes, in what way?
    - ii. Cash income generated from the sale of produce; if yes, in what ways;
    - iii. Has any such change in income generated affected the provision of other household necessities e.g. payment of children's education, payment for health services, payment for other household items etc?
14. Have you experienced any other effects resulting from:
- a. giving away portions of your land?
  - b. the in-migration into your community e.g. pressure on facilities like wells/boreholes, overcrowding in community due to new houses being built, crime etc.
15. If portions of your land have not been given out:
- a. have you experienced/are you aware of any effects to the community resulting from other community members giving away portions of their land?
  - b. Have you/your household personally experienced effects of the in-migration/giving out of land to in-migrants despite not giving out portions of your land?
  - c. If yes, what effects?
16. Do inter-community relations exist between your community and the neighbouring communities?  
If yes,
- c. Which communities and what type of inter-community relations?
  - d. Have the inter-community relations influenced in your community's response to the neighbouring communities' members loss of access to land?
17. Have there been any other effects/impacts to your community generally as a result of the large-scale land acquisitions/loss of access to land in the neighbouring communities?

**Appendix 3 – Interview Guide for Focus Groups for Communities where land was acquired**

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting:.....

Village:.....

Focus Group Discussion – Men:.....

Focus Group Discussion – Women:.....

What is the significance/importance of the land to you/ the community?

1. In what ways does the land contribute to your livelihoods/sustenance?
2. Prior to the loss of access to land in the community what were the sources of income/livelihood of the community?
3. Is the loss of access to land independent of ethnicity or are the migrant farmers from the northern part of the country more affected than the indigenous Ashantis?
4. How have community members livelihoods been affected by the loss of access to land
5. Was compensation given to those who lost access to land?
6. What happens to community members who lose access to land/how do they sustain their livelihoods?
7. How has the loss of access to land affected the community as a whole?

#### **Appendix 4 – Interview Guide for Focus Groups for Communities where land was not acquired**

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting:.....

Village:.....

Focus Group Discussion – Men:.....

Focus Group Discussion – Women:.....

1. Are you aware of the large scale land acquisitions that have taken place in the neighbouring communities?
2. What is the significance/importance of the land to you/ the community?
3. In what ways does the land contribute to your livelihoods/sustenance?
4. How have the large scale land acquisitions in neighbouring communities affected their livelihoods?
5. How have the communities members' responded to the acquisitions?
6. Has this given rise to migration out of the affected communities and where are people moving to?
7. Have you/ your community experienced any effects and if so what effects

8. Have affected communities members' turned to you for help and what type of help have you given?
9. Does interaction/engagement take place between your community and the neighbouring communities? Which communities and what type of engagement

## **Appendix 5 – Interview Guide for Key Informants at National Level**

I am a PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin and I am conducting research on the topic: 'The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What Happens after an Acquisition in Ghana?'

The study will investigate the differentiation in livelihood implications within and across communities as a result of large-scale land acquisitions and the reasons why there is variation. It will also examine the emergence of impacts in the adjacent communities and how different these are from those experienced by communities within the areas of acquisition in the different land tenure systems in Ghana.

The study is purely an academic exercise and all information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Responses will be used anonymously and cannot be traced to the persons who provide them. Kindly permit me to thank you in advance for your time and contribution to this research.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting:.....

Location: Accra

Institution:

Lands Commission (Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources)

Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

Ministry of Food and Agriculture

Respondent:

Minister

Deputy Minister

Chief Director

Senior Official.....

Other.....

1. How do you define large-scale land acquisitions/deals/transactions within the Ghanaian setting? (question for the Lands Commission)

2. Under what circumstances are large-scale land acquisitions allowed to proceed (where the government of Ghana is concerned – question for Lands Commission)?
3. What type of role does your organisation play with respect to large-scale land acquisitions
4. Is there collaboration with other ministries where large-scale land acquisitions are concerned?
  - a. If yes with which ministries and what type of collaboration?
5. With regards to large-scale land acquisitions what concerns does the government have about food security and livelihood security of local communities?
  - a. how are these concerns being addressed at the national level?
  - b. how do the implemented measures filter down to the local levels?
6. What policies are in place with regards to large-scale land acquisitions in Ghana?
  - a. are the policies dependent upon the particular ministry?
  - b. within these policies is FPIC (Free Prior Informed Consent) considered given that Ghana is signed up to the UNDRIP (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People)?
  - c. do policies take into consideration
    - i. the involvement of local communities in stakeholder consultations?
    - ii. the protection and sustainability of community livelihoods?
    - iii. neighbouring communities outside of the vicinity of the acquisitions?
7. How do you ensure that the implementation of the policies filter through to the local communities?
8. Given that the current government has a ‘planting for food and jobs’ initiative in place, is there the concern that the acquisition of large tracts of land may undermine this initiative?

## **Appendix 6 – Interview Guide for Key Informants at Regional Level**

I am a PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin and I am conducting research on the topic: ‘The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What Happens after an Acquisition in Ghana?’

The study will investigate the differentiation in livelihood implications within and across communities as a result of large-scale land acquisitions and the reasons why there is variation. It will also examine the emergence of impacts in the adjacent communities and

how different these are from those experienced by communities within the areas of acquisition in the different land tenure systems in Ghana.

The study is purely an academic exercise and all information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Responses will be used anonymously and cannot be traced to the persons who provide them. Kindly permit me to thank you in advance for your time and contribution to this research.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

Region: Ashanti

Institution:

- Lands Commission
- Forestry Commission
- Environment Protection Agency
- Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) – Crop Research Institute
- Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) – Forestry Research Institute
- Other.....

Respondent:

- Senior Management Official
- Other.....

1. What is your institution’s mandate and involvement where the disposition of land is concerned?
2. What type of land falls under your institution’s mandate?
3. Is your institution involved in the process of large-scale land acquisitions (within the Agogo district of the Ashanti Region)?
4. Does your institution collaborate with other government agencies with regards to large-scale land acquisitions?
  - a. If yes, which agencies in particular?
  - b. If no, why not?
5. Does your institution collaborate with traditional authorities with regards to large-scale land acquisitions?
  - a. If no why not?
6. What is your institution’s role in the process of large-scale land acquisition generally (and specifically the acquisitions in the Agogo area)?

7. Typically what type of land is acquired (with reference to the acquisitions in the Agogo area)?
8. What sizes of land were acquired (with reference to the acquisitions in the Agogo area)?
9. Who owned the land before the acquisition?
10. Who used the land before the acquisition?
11. What was the land used for prior to acquisition?
12. Who acquired the land?
13. What was the land used for after the acquisition?
14. What assessments were undertaken prior to land acquisition and what did the assessments entail?
15. Did community consultations take place prior to acquisitions and was there genuine agreement from the community members?
16. Is the FPIC (Free Prior Informed Consent) considered in community consultations?
17. Did consultations take place with communities external to the acquisition or only those internal to the acquisition?
18. Are you aware of the livelihood impacts of these acquisitions to the communities where land has been acquired?
  - a. If yes can you elaborate on these livelihood impacts?
19. Are you aware of the livelihood impacts of these acquisitions to the communities external to the acquisitions?
  - a. If yes can you elaborate on these livelihood impacts?
20. How have the communities responded to the acquisitions?
21. Was any compensation given to the local communities upon acquisition of the land they used?
22. Following the acquisitions, how have the communities fared, that is, are they better off or worse off in terms of their livelihoods?
23. Does your institution monitor the effects to the communities as a result of land acquisitions and if so over what period of time does such monitoring take place?
24. Following acquisition, is access maintained to essentials for example forest products such as herbs, game, firewood?

**Appendix 7 – Interview Guide for Key Informants at District Level**

I am a PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin and I am conducting research on the topic: ‘The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What Happens after an Acquisition in Ghana?’

The study will investigate the differentiation in livelihood implications within and across communities as a result of large-scale land acquisitions and the reasons why there is variation. It will also examine the emergence of impacts in the adjacent communities and how different these are from those experienced by communities within the areas of acquisition in the different land tenure systems in Ghana.

The study is purely an academic exercise and all information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Responses will be used anonymously and cannot be traced to the persons who provide them. Kindly permit me to thank you in advance for your time and contribution to this research.

District Level — Asante Akim North District – Interview with one District Assembly member and/or the District Chief Executive in each district.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting:.....

Location:.....

Respondent:

[ ] District Chief Executive

[ ] District Assembly Member

[ ] Other.....

- 1. Is the District Assembly officially aware of the large scale land acquisitions taking place in the district?
  - a. If yes are the acquisitions on state land, customary land or both?
- 2. Is the District Assembly involved in the process of large-scale land acquisitions in the district?
  - a. If involved, is this involvement on state land, customary land or both?
  - b. If non-involvement on state land why?
  - c. If non-involvement on customary land why?
- 3. Where these land acquisitions are concerned does the District Assembly collaborate with other government agencies?

- a. If yes which government agencies?
4. Is this collaboration (ie working in partnership/cooperating with each other) on state land acquisitions, customary land acquisitions or both?
  - a. If non-collaboration on state land acquisitions why?
  - b. If non-collaboration on customary land acquisitions why?
5. Where these land acquisitions are concerned does the District Assembly collaborate with the traditional authorities?
  - a. If non-collaboration on customary land why?
6. What type of land is acquired?
7. What size of land is acquired?
8. Who is acquiring the land?
9. Which communities have been affected by the acquisitions?
  - a. Is this concerning state land or customary land?
10. Are these affected communities internal to the acquisition area?
11. Are neighbouring communities (external to the acquisition area) affected by land acquisitions?
  - a. If yes how are they affected?
12. How have the communities responded to the land acquisitions?
  - a. Where state land acquisitions are concerned?
  - b. Where customary land acquisitions are concerned?
  - c. What type of responses?
  - d. Are these responses from communities both internal to and external to the acquisitions or only internal to the acquisitions?
13. Have complaints filtered through from the communities to the District Assembly following land acquisitions?
  - a. Where state land acquisitions are concerned?
  - b. Where customary land acquisitions are concerned?
  - c. What type of complaints?
  - d. Are these complaints from communities both internal to and external to the acquisitions or only internal to the acquisitions?
14. Has the District Assembly observed effects in the communities as a result of the land acquisitions?
  - a. Where state land acquisitions are concerned?
  - b. Where customary land acquisitions are concerned?
  - c. What type of effects have been observed?
  - d. Are these effects to communities both internal to and external to the acquisitions or only internal to the acquisitions?

15. What are the major ethnicities within the districts?
16. Has the land being used by one particular ethnicity been acquired as opposed to another ethnicity?
  - a. If yes why is this the case?
17. Has land been acquired in greater proportions by one particular class of people?
  - a. If yes which class and what is this based on (for example, ethnicity, economic power)?
  - b. If yes why is this the case?
18. What are the major sources of livelihoods within the communities?
  - a. Internal to the acquisition?
  - b. External to the acquisitions?
19. What have been the sources of livelihood within the communities in the district?
  - a. Before the land acquisitions on state land and on customary land?
  - b. After the land acquisitions on state land and on customary land?
20. Have there been changes to livelihoods of communities internal to the acquisitions where state land and where customary land is concerned?
  - a. If yes why?
  - b. If no why?
21. Have there been any changes to the livelihoods of neighbouring communities external to the land acquisitions?
  - a. If yes why?
  - b. If no why?
22. Where acquisitions have taken place have the communities been granted compensation?
  - a. If yes has this compensation been equal to the lands and livelihoods or harvests lost?
  - b. If no why?
  - c. If no is the District Assembly working to help communities secure compensation?
23. In view of the land acquisitions (where they are being/have been undertaken) how is the District Assembly working to protect the livelihoods of the rural communities where the land is the major resource depended on?

District Level — Asante Akim North District – District Directorate of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture – Interview with one District Official.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting:.....

Location:

Respondent:

District Official

Other.....

1. Is the District Directorate aware of the large scale land acquisitions taking place in the district?
2. Is the District Directorate involved in the process of large-scale land acquisitions in the district?
  - a. If not involved, why?
  - b. If involved, what type of involvement/to what extent?
3. Are there any concerns about the compromise to agricultural production and food security of the local communities as a result of these land acquisitions?
  - a. If yes, what type of concerns?
  - b. If no, why?
  - c. Do these concerns extend to neighbouring communities external to the land acquisitions?
  - d. If yes why?
  - e. If no why?
4. Are there also concerns about the ripple effects of agricultural production and food security since the rural areas provide much agricultural produce for localities further afield and urban areas?
5. Is agricultural output affected as a result of the large scale land acquisitions in the District?
  - a. If yes how is agricultural output affected?
6. Are there issues of food security in the District as a result of the acquisitions?
  - a. Is this limited to the communities within the vicinity of the acquisitions?
  - b. Are neighbouring communities (external to the acquisition) affected?
7. Are there issues of livelihood security (in terms of agricultural employment) as a result of the acquisitions?
  - a. If yes is this limited to the communities within the vicinity of the acquisitions?
  - b. Are neighbouring communities external to the acquisition affected?
  - c. How are these issues being addressed?
8. Is the District Directorate working to address agricultural production and food security within the communities affected by land acquisitions?
  - a. If yes how is this being undertaken?

- b. How do any measures put in place filter through to the local communities?
  - c. If no why?
9. Is the District Directorate working to address agricultural production and food security to neighbouring communities external to the acquisitions?
- a. If yes how is this being undertaken
  - b. How do any measures put in place filter through to the local communities?
  - c. If no why
10. Does the District Directorate collaborate with other district/local level government/non-governmental agencies with regards to land acquisitions?
- a. If yes which agencies?
  - b. What type of collaborations take place?
  - c. If no, why not?
11. Does the District Directorate collaborate with the Traditional Authorities – (Paramount, Divisional and Village Chiefs) with regards to land acquisitions?
- a. If yes what type of collaboration takes place?
  - b. If no, why not?

District Level — Companies involved in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions – Interview with one Official in each company.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting:.....

Location:.....

Company:.....

Respondent:

Company Official

Other.....

1. What size of land has been acquired by your organisation?
2. Has this land been acquired on state (forestry) land or customary land?
3. For what purpose was the land acquired?
4. What was the land previously used for?
5. What is the land currently used for?
6. Was compensation given to the communities?
  - a. As a result of acquired land?
  - b. As a result of lost harvests?
  - c. If yes how much compensation?

- d. If no why?
- 7. Did stakeholder consultations take place with the affected communities?
  - a. If no why?
  - b. If yes was FPIC (Free Prior Informed Consent) considered?
- 8. Were livelihood impact assessments undertaken?
  - a. If yes what did these assessments entail?
  - b. If no why?
- 9. Were there considerations of the neighbouring communities (external to the acquisition area) in terms of any impacts to them?
  - a. If yes why?
  - b. If no why?
- 10. How have the communities responded to the land acquisitions?
  - a. What type of responses?
  - b. Are these responses from communities both internal to and external to the acquisitions or only internal to the acquisitions?

**Appendix 8 – Interview guide for key informants at traditional hierarchy level**

I am a PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin and I am conducting research on the topic: ‘The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What Happens after an Acquisition in Ghana?’

The study will investigate the differentiation in livelihood implications within and across communities as a result of large-scale land acquisitions and the reasons why there is variation. It will also examine the emergence of impacts in the adjacent communities and how different these are from those experienced by communities within the areas of acquisition in the different land tenure systems in Ghana.

The study is purely an academic exercise and all information provided will be treated with absolute confidentiality. Responses will be used anonymously and cannot be traced to the persons who provide them. Kindly permit me to thank you in advance for your time and contribution to this research.

Traditional Authority at Local Level – Within each community the interview of the chief or a principal elder or a queen mother.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

Village:.....

Respondent:

[ ] chief (*ohene, odikro*).....

[ ] principal elder (*kontihene, nifahene, benkumhene, ohenkeyeame* etc).....

[ ] queen mother.....

1. What land types are within your community?
2. Who owns the land?
3. Is the land used by indigenes or migrants or both?
4. What is the land used for?
5. How is the land allocated to the indigenes or migrants?
6. What are the major livelihoods within the community?
7. Are you aware of any large-scale land acquisitions taking place?
8. Have your community lands been acquired?
  - a. If yes how much land has been acquired?
9. Has your community been affected by these acquisitions?
  - a. If yes in what ways has your community been affected?
  - b. Specifically how have community livelihoods been affected?
10. Are you aware of whether the neighbouring community lands have been taken?
  - a. If yes, do you know whether this has affected them?
  - b. If yes, in what ways has it affected them and their livelihoods?
11. If their lands have been acquired, has it affected you and in what ways?
  - a. if their lands have been acquired and yours not acquired, do you perhaps know why yours were not acquired and why theirs were acquired?
12. Conversely has the acquisition/non-acquisition of your lands affected them?
13. Were consultations undertaken with you as traditional authorities before the acquisition of the land?
14. Were consultations undertaken with the community before the acquisition of the land?
15. Do you know whether consultations were undertaken with neighbouring community traditional authorities and community members prior to the land acquisitions?
16. Where acquisitions have taken place, how have your community members responded/sustained their livelihoods?
17. Have you been able to draw on help from the paramount chief to protect your peoples and lands from acquisitions where these would not benefit your community and you were not in favour?

Traditional Authority at Paramountcy Level – Interview with the Paramount Chiefs of Agogo (Agogohene ) or the Divisional Chiefs in charge of land disposition or the Registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

Paramountcy:.....

Respondent:

[ ] Paramount Chief

[ ] Divisional Chief in charge of land disposition (e.g. Nifahene etc).....

[ ] Registrar of the Traditional Council

1. Have large-scale land acquisitions been on-going within your paramountcy?
2. If yes have these been on stool (customary) land or state (government) land?
3. What sizes of land were acquired and in which areas?
  - a. If yes, were consultations undertaken with you prior to the land acquisitions?
4. Were there collaborations between you (the Traditional Council) and government agencies on the land acquisitions?
  - b. What type of collaborations?
  - c. Which government agencies were involved?
5. Were the livelihood implications to the various villages under your paramountcy considered prior to any land acquisitions?
6. Have there been any benefits or otherwise to the various villages under your paramountcy as a result of any land acquisitions?
7. Have any complaints reached you from the various villages under your paramountcy concerning the acquisitions that have taken place?
  - a. If yes what do the complaints relate to?
8. Have there been efforts to help people who have had their livelihoods compromised?
  - a. If yes, what has been undertaken to help them?
9. By virtue of your position were you able to prevent acquisitions where they would be detrimental or where the villages within your paramountcy were not in favour?
10. What would be your response to the comment that the chiefs 'sell off' the land without recourse to the government agencies e.g. Lands Commission and so are compounding the livelihood problems of the local communities?

Ashanti Regional House of Chiefs – Interview with a Paramount Chief or Registrar or Senior Official at the Secretariat of the Regional House of Chiefs.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

Regional House of Chiefs: Ashanti Region

Respondent:

[ ] Paramount Chief Paramountcy.....

[ ] Registrar

[ ] Senior Official

- 1. Are you (as the House of Chiefs) aware of any of the large-scale land acquisitions taking place within the Ashanti region?
- 2. Do you (as the House of Chiefs) have any concerns about the trend?
  - b. If yes what are these concerns?
- 3. Where land acquisitions have taken place, are you aware of any benefits or compensations to the local affected communities?
- 4. Is the House of Chiefs addressing the issue of large-scale land acquisition in terms of protecting the lands and livelihoods of the communities within the region?
  - a. If so how is it being addressed?
- 5. Is the House of Chiefs collaborating with the government to ensure the food and livelihood security of the affected local communities are not compromised?
  - b. What is being done (in terms of collaboration)?
- 6. What would be the response of the House of Chiefs to the comment that the chiefs ‘sell off’ the land without recourse to the government agencies e.g. Lands Commission and so are compounding the livelihood problems of the local communities?

National House of Chiefs – Interview with a Paramount Chief or Registrar or Senior Official at the Secretariat of the National House of Chiefs.

Date:.....

Time:.....

Setting/Location:.....

National House of Chiefs:.....

Respondent:

[ ] Paramount Chief Paramountcy:.....Region:.....

[ ] Registrar

[ ] Senior Official

1. Are you (as the National House of Chiefs) aware of any of the large-scale land acquisitions taking place within Ghana?
2. Do you (as the National House of Chiefs) have any concerns about the trend?
  - a. If yes what are these concerns?
3. Is the National House of Chiefs addressing the issue of large-scale land acquisition at the national level (in terms of protecting the lands and livelihoods of the local communities)?
  - a. If so how is it being addressed?
  - b. If so what resolutions are being undertaken?
4. How are these resolutions and their implementation filtering down from the National House of Chiefs right to the local communities and villages?
5. Is the National House of Chiefs collaborating with the government to ensure the local communities are not adversely affected by land acquisitions?
  - a. What is being done (in terms of collaboration)?
6. What would be the response of the National House of Chiefs to the comment that the chiefs 'sell off' the land without recourse to the government agencies e.g. Lands Commission and so are compounding the livelihood problems of the local communities?

## **Appendix 9 – Informed Consent Form**

### **Template for Informed Consent Form**

#### **School of Natural Sciences, Trinity College Dublin**

**Title of research study:** The Land of the Chiefs and the Land of the State – What Happens after an Acquisition in Ghana?

This study and this consent form have been explained to me. I believe I understand what will happen if I agree to be part of this study.

I have read, or had read to me, this consent form. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I freely and voluntarily agree to be part of this research study, though without prejudice to my legal and ethical rights. I have received a copy of this agreement and I understand that, if there is a sponsoring company, a signed copy will be sent to that sponsor.

**Name of sponsor:** Trinity College Dublin

**PARTICIPANT'S NAME:**

**PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE:**

**Date:**

**Date on which the participant was first furnished with this form:**

**Participants with literacy difficulties:**

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely and understands that they have the right to refuse or withdraw from the study at any time.

**Print name of witness:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of witness:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date (Day/month/year)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Thumbprint of participant:**

**Statement of investigator's responsibility:** I have explained the nature, purpose, procedures, benefits, risks of, or alternatives to, this research study. I have offered to answer any questions and fully answered such questions. I believe that the participant understands my explanation and has freely given informed consent.

**Researcher's signature:**

**Date:**