

Involuntary Resettlement in Ghana: Implementation, Planning and Management of Social Impacts in Hydropower Projects

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Abstract

Improved access to land and enhanced tenure security especially among rural farmers has been recognized as key constituent to economic and social development in Ghana. Nevertheless, the increasing demand for land to deal with the high incidence of urbanisation and population growth has greatly undermined land accessibility, tenure security and sustainable development affecting vulnerable groups in society. As a result the focus of the research seek to examine the implementation, planning and management of involuntary resettlement resulting from hydropower development and also to investigate some of the major social impacts associated with involuntary resettlement in Ghana.

The methodology considered appropriate for this research was the case study approach with emphasis on qualitative approach. Information concerning involuntary resettlement with emphasis on implementation, planning and management challenges in different manifestations was used to analyse the study. Sources of information from published peer-reviewed journals and published documents from international organizations whose activities are involved in involuntary resettlement were mainly used for undertaking the study.

This study revealed that, the reasons of challenges in involuntary resettlement in Ghana were tenure insecurity and conflicts creation, procedural delays in compensation payment, inadequate compensation and rehabilitation assistance, inadequate infrastructure provision, limited impact of livelihood restoration programs, institutional weakness, community discontent, little information disclosure, insufficient transfer and relocation assistance. It also discovered that land tenure arrangement problems such ownership structure, conflicts over ownership; inadequate funding by government, lack of institutional capacity, cultural and ethnic diversity and politicisation of development, were some of the causes of challenges in involuntary resettlement in Ghana.

It is strongly recommended that streamlining the current land acquisition processes, boost of local government revenue, conceptualizing dams as development for people, introducing cultural harmony, building strong institutional capacity and legal reforms on compensation issues would help lesson or solve the problems. The insights from this paper also advocate for further research to establish the root causes of resettlement implementation challenges particularly in Ghana and also establish a broad framework that will deal with the interrelationships between root causes of compensation challenges.

Keywords: Involuntary resettlement, Hydropower, Social impacts, Ghana

1. Introduction

Since 2008 that the world witnessed unprecedented urbanisation growth, the term urbanisation has gained popularity among academia's, local, regional and national governments, non-governmental organisations and international organisations (UN-Habitat 2008) such as the World Bank and United Nations. With an estimation of about 5 billion people living in urban areas particularly in developing countries (UN-Habitat 2008), it is paramount that government and major stakeholders at all levels of authority provide basic infrastructure and social services to promote the wellbeing of citizens (Adu-Gyamfi 2012). In spite of this necessity in terms of infrastructure provision is the alteration in social and economic life of project affected persons. Particularly, among other projects, it is dam construction that often led to adverse modification in immeasurable number of people lives. For example, the Aswan dam in Egypt displaced more than 10,000 persons, Narmada dam India also displaced about 70,000 peoples, Kaptai hydropower project in Bangladesh displaced almost 90,000 peoples, Nangbeto dam, Togo dam displaced about 10,000 dwellers, Sobradinto Dam in Brazil displaced 60,000 rural and urban dwellers, the Akosombo and Kpong hydropower dam in Ghana also relocated about 78,000 and 7,000 respectively, three Gorges and Danjiangkou dam also replaced 1.3 million and 383,000 peoples respectively (Scudder T. 2005, Zaman M. 2010). From this elucidation, Zaman 2010 concluded that particularly in developing countries where there is increasing rate of urbanisation coupled with much substantial industrialisation and agricultural modernisation programs there is no possibility that in the future involuntary resettlement will reduce. Cernea 1997 pointed out that main experts in sustainable development have emphatically stressed that "between the period of 1990-2020 will represent a three decades of explosive growth in energy demand and supply in the developing world with dam construction likely to continue in a sustained rhythm". To these experts, they argue that dam provides infrastructural element necessitated for national development. Contrary, others have also argued that the degree of negative impacts involved in dam is justifiable to prevent its construction (Cernea 1997). It causes enormous social negative impacts especially when preventive

measures are not put in place. In different ways: it obliterates land, destroys community and cultural assets, hampers societal organisational arrangement and kinship formation and also causes serious environmental impacts (Asante-Manteau 2011). Based on these harmful impacts the Rural Development Institute (RDI) of the Asian Development Bank has pointed out that past projects that have resulted in involuntary resettlement have been associated with higher impoverishment rates which shouldn't be the case (RDI 2007). It further argued that, by employing comprehensive development approaches these risks could be avoided or mitigated. According to RDI 2007, the approaches can be categorised into (a) establishing appropriate compensation for loss assets and (b) rehabilitation strategies to help displaced persons to restore their living standards. Unfortunately, past development projects that have involved involuntary resettlement have showed instances of underestimation, miscalculation, and undervaluation of compensation which resort affected persons to struggle and find other alternative in order to make a living (RDI 2007).

Ghana for instance, the implementation, planning and management of compulsory acquisition have also been occupied with underestimation and undervaluation of compensation packages mainly because the processes and standards for undertaking land acquisition activities have been undermined (Larbi 2008), as a result even after a period of forty five years that compulsory acquisition involving involuntary resettlement began, there are still some challenges between displaced persons, host communities and implementing organisations unresolved (Raschid-Sally et.al 2008). These challenges ranges from dilapidated and lack of infrastructural facilities, huge outstanding compensation, tenure insecurity, lack of employment, economic hardship, lack of access to investment and credit opportunities, rural-urban migration, conflict over community resources and quarrels over community leadership (Raschid-Sally et.al 2008). Particularly, these involuntary resettlement failures have occurred as a result of lack of funding, weak administrative and legal framework, political restructuring and land tenure arrangements (Gordon 2006). These challenges have different manifestation on the lives of project affected people as it hinders the socio-economic development. Considering the above challenges in various resettlement schemes across the country, the government has therefore adopted a lot of preventive and mitigation measures, among them include preparation of environmental and social impact assessment and resettlement action plans, commissioning of involuntary resettlement research and establishment of public multi-stakeholder consultation forum. In spite of the efforts made by government, civil society organisations, researchers and non-government organisations to address resettlement challenges, after the implementation of the Bui dam involuntary resettlement which took place recently these problems have emerged again. Therefore, the volume of this paper seeks to highlight some of the important aspect-implementation, planning and management of involuntary resettlement in Ghana.

1.2 Research methodologies

The research design that was used for the research was the case study approach with emphasis on qualitative techniques. Data was needed to examine the effects of land tenure arrangements, financial constraints, weak legal and administrative framework, cultural and ethnic diversity and politicization of development on the implementation, planning and management of involuntary resettlement in Ghana. Information on these issues was needed to answer the research questions and work out the problem of the study accordingly. The research depended on mainly secondary data. The secondary data source included a comprehensive reviewed of pertinent reports and documents that was relevant to the study. The data for this research was sourced from technical reports, scholarly journals, literature review articles, and reference books. Technical reports containing work done on various research projects such as those by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, UN-Habitat, World Commission on Dams, Asian Development Bank and World Bank provided a useful source of information for this study. Other reports were also originated from on-going and completed research projects by some non-governmental organizations. Scholarly journals enclosed with a description of original research and experimentations written by professionals in involuntary resettlement also served as important source of information to this study. Internet search was the main tool used to obtain second-hand information from secondary data source. This was accomplished using online resource to collect relevant materials necessary for the study. The untrustworthiness and unreliability characteristics of this source required me to use appropriate references and critical analysis for complete findings.

1.3 Background to Hydropower Development in Ghana

1.3.1 Hydropower development situation

Currently, Ghana electricity supply is generated by hydropower which currently has an installed capacity of 1598 MW. The three hydropower dams namely, Akosombo, Kpong and Bui provide electricity to both industrial and residential needs of the country. The Aluminium Company (VALCO) which operates aluminium smelter at Tema is one of the major consumers of electricity generated by Akosombo and Kpong dams. The company alone and other industrial companies consume about two thirds of the total energy generated from the two dam's whiles the commercial sector and other institutions consume 6% (cited by Kyei Dompoh 2012 from

Agbemabiese and Byrne 2005). To improve energy supply in the country, a strategic national energy plan for the period 2005-2025 have been drawn up which proposes the construction of four hydropower dams. They are the Bui dam which was commissioned in 2013, Hemand and Juale also to be built by 2015 and Pwalugu also to be built by 2020. The strategic energy plan also proposes the current Akosombo and Kpong dams be developed in order to increase its generation facility by a merged 160MW. Further to these developments, a discussion is underway to construct another hydropower dam on River Pra which will also generate 125 MW (International Water Power and Dam Construction cited in Hensengerth 2011). Again, hydropower generation in the country is supported by thermal power and the prominent ones include the Takoradi plant at Aboadze which generate a capacity of 330 MW and Takoradi II power plant which also generates 220 MW operated by the Takoradi International Company. To further increase the energy supply, the government of Ghana and Canada has started the Takoradi expansion project which is expected to generate 132 MW. Further to this, the Volta River Authority also runs various thermal plants at Tema I which generates 110 MW capacities and the Mines resource plant. Again, the thermal plant at Tema II also generates 49.50 MW and another one at Kpone close to Tema is expected to generate 220 MW after its completion (Hensengerth 2011).

1.3.2 Hydropower immigrant's basic situation

The history of involuntary resettlement particularly those resulting from hydropower development began in Ghana in the early 1960's. The table below shows the number of displaced persons as a result of hydropower dams in Ghana.

Table 1: showing displaced persons in hydropower development in Ghana

Name of dam	Number of resettles	Household size	No of affected communities
Akosombo dam	80,000	15,000	740
Kpong dam	7,000	N/A	6
Bui dam	1216	219	7

Source: Mettle 2011

The implementation of forced resettlement programs in the country have been accompanied with the displacement of people from their traditional lands to centralized resettlement communities. For example, the Akosombo dam which displaced 80,000 peoples from their traditional lands represented one percent of the entire national population. Population density from affected communities was very small. It was realised that only one group Keta Krachi had a population of over 4000 (Chamber 1970). This means that project affected communities consisted of diverse range of ethnic groups with each group having a distinct culture and tradition. Communities that have been affected by hydropower projects are generally rural communities and therefore lack basic infrastructure such as access to portable water, sanitation facilities, electricity, roads, commercial and community centres. Farming and fishing has been the main source of income in affected communities. These economic activities are chosen as a result of their closeness to water bodies and access to fertile lands. Education which is a key to human development is always low in affected communities; hence cultivate negative impact on people life especially in restoring their livelihood and adapting to new environment (Chamber 1970).

1.3.3 Legal framework of land acquisition

The national laws governing the country clearly indicates that acquisition of land and properties must be carried out in accordance with laid down legislative stipulations. In pursuit of these statutory regulations requires the payment of sufficient and fair compensation, and execution of involuntary resettlement. The policy and legal framework of compulsory acquisition in Ghana is laid down in compliance with many international laws particularly from international financial institutions whose activities are mostly directed towards financing development projects.

1.3.3.1 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana

The 1992 constitution of Ghana which is fundamentally recognized as the abiding law of the country strictly makes provision for utmost safeguard to private property ownership and rights. Although, the state has intrinsic power to acquire properties through eminent domain there exist some stipulations established to restrict the actions of acquiring authorities.

Article 20 (1) states ' No property of any description or interest in or right over any property shall be compulsorily taken possession of or acquired by the State unless the following conditions are satisfied'. (a) the taking of possession or acquisition if necessary in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning or the development or utilization of property in such a manner as to promote the public benefit; and (b) The necessity for the acquisition is clearly stated and is such as to provide reasonable justification for causing any hardship that may result to any person who has an interest in or right over the property.

Article 20 (2) Compulsory acquisition of property by the State shall only be made under a law which makes provision for. (a) The prompt payment of fair and adequate compensation; and (b) a right of access to the High Court by any person who has an interest in or right over the property whether direct or on appeal from other authority, for the determination of his interest or right and the amount of compensation to which he is

entitled.

Article 20 (3) Where a compulsory acquisition or possession of land effected by the State in accordance with clause (1) of this article involves displacement of any inhabitants, the State shall resettle the displaced inhabitants on suitable alternative land with due regard for their economic well-being and social and cultural values.

1.3.3.2 Other Legislations

In addition to the national constitution, there are also other specific legislations, acts and policies. The relationships between these enactments are indistinguishable and depending on the purpose of acquisition they are considered or used jointly. Among them include:

- State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125 as Amended)
- The Lands Statutory Wayleaves Act, 1963 (Act 186)
- Administration of Lands Act 1962 Act 123
- Acquisition under public conveyance Act 1965 (Act 302)
- The National Land Policy, 1999
- The Volta River Development Act, 1961 (Acts 46)
- The Bui Power Authority Act (2007) Act 740

1.4 Organization and responsibility of Involuntary Resettlement

In Ghana, the major institutions that are responsible for making decisions of involuntary resettlement related to hydropower projects are mainly the Bui Power Authority and Volta River Authority both established under the Ministry of Energy with other institutions supporting with their services (Gordon 2006). Basically, discussions on construction of dam are done at the ministerial level by one of its departments before it is sent to the legislative house for deliberation and consideration. The following ministries, departments and agencies listed below are the main institutions responsible for implementing involuntary resettlement in Ghana.

Bui Development Committee/Secretariat (BDC/BDS): This institution was setup by the Ministry of Energy to supervise the development of the Bui hydropower project. Therefore the body was responsible for the planning, management and implementation of the project. Their executive role placed them at the highest rank in the implementation of the project involuntary resettlement. The preparation of the Environmental and Social Impact Assessment and Resettlement Action Plan were supervised and controlled by this body.

Volta River Authority (VRA): In 1961, the Volta River Authority was established to build up and generate electricity supply from the Akosombo hydropower resource basin and convey and sell electricity across the nation. To enable the body function effectively and efficiently, it has been established by an act to compulsory acquire land and pay appropriate compensation to affected persons.

Land Commission: It is the main state agency responsible for facilitating acquisition of land on behalf of the government. In the preparation of the executive instrument which is used to acquire land, the land commission plays an important role.

Land Valuation Board (LVB): LVB is responsible for valuing all private and public properties in the country. Particularly, when their roles are interlinked with the involuntary resettlement, they are responsible for taking an inventory of all affected assets. Therefore, this organization is responsible for determining appropriate compensation to all affected assets. Generally, there are situations where organizations such as VRA and BRA may conduct its own compensation assessment, to ensure government supervision and compliance with law the valuation board is involved.

The Regional and District Authorities: Organizational arrangements set up during resettlement programs involve all relevant government institutions (district assemblies) located within the project area. Their involvement in involuntary resettlement is to ensure that resettlement communities are equipped with the necessary government service such as education, health care, water, electricity and telecommunication.

Ministry of Food and Agriculture: In the implementation of resettlement programs the Ministry of Food and Agriculture provides significant support to affected people through the supply of seedlings, fertilizers, and insecticides. They also support affected persons with extension services and other assistance.

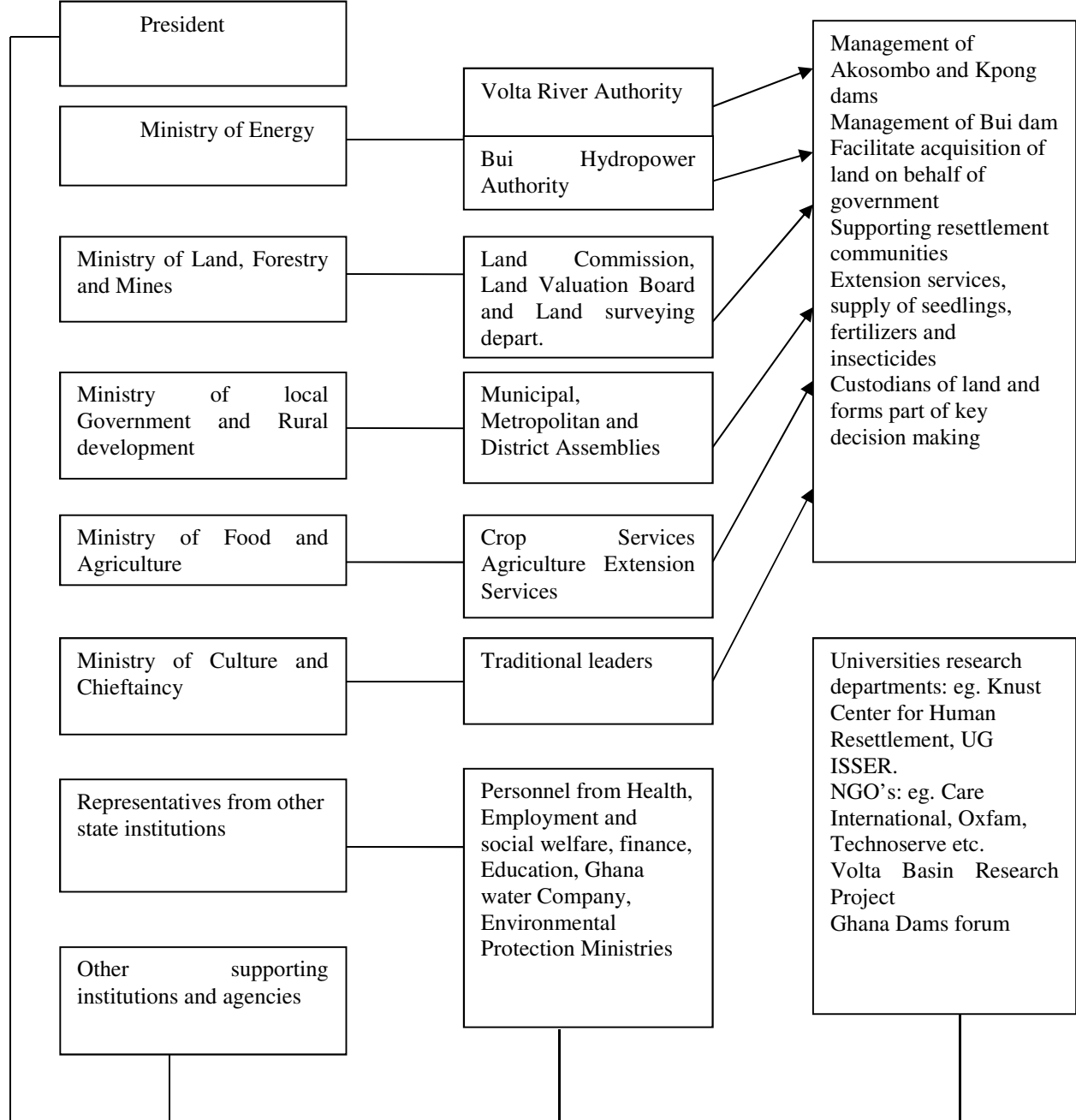
Traditional Authorities: both project affected area and host community's in land acquisition falls under traditional jurisdictions headed by traditional leaders. Since the chiefs are the custodians of the land and are also seen as leader of communities, they form part of major decision making. Normally they also represent affected people on resettlement committees.

Non Governmental organizations: A number of NGO's are involved in resettlement implementation to provide wide range of development functions in the field of health, education, agricultural, entrepreneurship, micro-credit, environmental safeguarding and human right protection.

Research institutions: They undertake consultancy and consultative research on affected persons to know the suitable income restoration programs that are best and preferred by affected persons. They also conduct monitoring and evaluation studies to know the results of resettlement objectives.

Ghana Dams forum: This forum was established to bring together major stakeholders in dam construction and resettlement activities to meet and discuss the possible environmental and social impacts associated with hydropower dam.

Figure 1: Major institutional actors involved in involuntary resettlement in Ghana



Source: Adapted from Gordon 2006

2 Implementation, planning and management of involuntary resettlement in Ghana- issues at Glance

Generally, the construction of dams in Ghana have been associated with negative social, physical, cultural, economic and environmental changes which has greatly affected large size of the population. Therefore, the only possible means to mitigate these negative impacts is to establish appropriate compensation and other resettlement measures to restore and improve people living standards. For this reason, over the past years of undertaking various resettlement programs in Ghana, the government has solely relied on employing housing and community infrastructural development, land allocation and farming, and establishment of cash compensation as the main methods and policy elements to mitigate possible impacts of involuntary resettlement. The ways in which they are initiated are discussed in the paragraphs below:

2.1 Implementation of involuntary resettlement

2.1.1 Housing and community development

In past resettlement schemes particularly Akosombo, Kpong and Bui resettlement, majority of the reinstatement measures were established in the form of in-Kind compensation through the provision of houses and community basic facilities and services. For example, during the implementation of Akosombo resettlement, it established 52 new communities, 1300 core houses containing a bed room with a foundation for additional two rooms – a kitchen and a porch, 82 school blocks, 46 smaller markets, 52 boreholes, 6 constructed wells, 34 mechanical and 23 hand pumps. In addition to these social services about 500 miles of road and over 100,000 hectares of farm land were given to resettled communities (Gordon 2006). Also the Kpong and Bui resettlement scheme also resettled affected persons into six and three organised centralized communities respectively.

Shortfalls

1) In spite of all these facilities, centres for community gatherings and traditional palaces were very few.
2) The housing policy that was adopted in the Akosombo resettlement was the self-help labour approach whereby 1300 core houses were constructed to be completed by the people themselves. The completion of the core houses required skills and techniques as a result affected people were provided technical assistance as well as building materials. Under this approach, uniform standard housing designs were given to all affected households which through their own initiatives were to complete the left portion of buildings. The initial one room core houses that were provided at resettlement communities could not accommodate individual families due to high household size. This means that no provision was made to take into consideration the size of households. During the execution of Akosombo resettlement program there was non-existence of property valuation specifications to determine appropriate compensation to reinstate affected properties. This problem compelled resettlement authorities to adopt a standardized housing scheme to be distributed indiscriminately to affected households. It is sad to note that, some of the core houses that were provided by government to replace affected people still remain the same and untouched leaving them in dilapidated structures (Gordon 2006). Whereas resettlement areas should be attracted for a living with service provision such as quality water supply, transportation and communication network, Akosombo resettlement areas are different, dilapidated housing structures has rendered communities into bad condition resulting residents especially the youth to flee to other nearby urban centres which provides a better scenery (De wet 2000).

Plate 2.1: A clinic at Senchi resettlement community



Plate 2.2: bore hole provided at Akosombo community



Source: Mettle 2011

Plate 2.3: 24 seats toilet at Jama Settlement



Source: Mettle 2011

3) Also, effective planning which highlight on time dimension is very central to achieving an excellent resettlement scheme. The inefficiency in project planning in the Bui dam caused impartiality in the distribution of houses in resettlement communities. For example, because of limited time constraint faced by authorities the affected people who were settled at Jama community were initially informed the place could not be their permanent place where latter the decision was reversed to make it a permanent place. Therefore the authority promised affected people in Jama resettlement community to add additional one bedroom to their houses due to the fact that their houses had a backlog of one room compared to houses provided in other resettlement communities (Mettle M. 2011). Again, during the relocation period, four separate communities were put together at Jama town without taking consideration their religious and ethnic significance as a result upon arrival each religious group such as Muslims, traditional worshippers etc. requested for a separate place of worship but due to financial difficulties the authorities were forced to build one community centre for all the community members to be used as a place of worship and other social programs (Mettle M. 2011).

Plate 2.4: Model house planned at Jama community



Source: Mettle 2011

Plate 2.5: House at Jama resettlement community



Source: Mettle 2011

2.1.2 Farming and land allocation

The other form of resettlement policy in Ghana is land allocation and farming technique. Mainly, this approach is always chosen because usually majority of affected people sources of livelihood are dependable on agriculture. For example, during the Akosombo resettlement scheme, the main livelihood restoration program that was employed for the affected people was said to be 430,000 acres of modern mechanized agriculture on communal basis system. This program was said to have changed to traditional method of farming practices

whereby each household were given three acres of land (Kalitsi E.A. 2008). Also in the Bui and Kpong dam resettlement program every farmer was allocated farmland to undertake farming activities.

Shortfalls

(4) The 430000 acres agriculture initiative in Akosombo resettlement failed during its testing stage as a result of inability by project authorities to clear land for farming, delay in getting equipments and non availability of assembling farming inputs such as fertilizers and insecticides. Lack of extension officers to educate farmers on new farming practices and inadequate logistics also led to failure implementation of the program. Again, considering the local environment the affected people were not known to the modern program as a result the program was later changed to subsistence farming which was already familiar with the people (Raschid Sally et. al 2008). Lessons were picked from the experiences of Akosombo modern agriculture program and fused into Kpong rehabilitation program. Although, the farming policy adopted under the Kpong resettlement scheme improved, it failed to meet its targets because of lack of land clearing (Raschid Sally et. al 2008).

5) Comparing the nature of land used by farmers before the Akosombo dam construction, the lands that were given to them after the resettlement were of lesser quality and this greatly affected their crop production. The sad situation is that in some cases some displaced farmers have not received their lands yet (Kalitsi, 2003). The actual intention of VRA in the land allocation was to grant every resettled farmer twelve acres of land but due to clearing failures which resulted in 8,000 acres out of an intended 54,000 acres cleared; this objective was not accomplished (Goldsmith and Hildyard 1984).

6) A similar problem occurred in the Bui resettlement program. Authorities were challenged with inaccessibility of land to replace affected people. Unfortunately when land was demarcated for resettlement activities some group of people in host community started claiming ownership of the entire area and ended up selling to developers (NCC 2009). For that reason only two acres of farmland were given to replace PAPs for their previous five acres land and it was also infertile (Selby 2009). This situation therefore make PAPs very vulnerable since they either have to purchase land from members of host communities or serve as tenants in sharecropping agreement (Selby 2009).

2.1.3 Payment of Cash compensation

In Ghana, resettlement authorities in past development schemes have also sought to relied on payment of cash compensation to reinstate affected persons for loss of properties and other improvement to lands.

Shortfalls

(7) Procedural delays in compensation

Planning for prompt payment of compensation is a prerequisite for ensuring that affected people overcome the hustles involve in displacement. In the case of Bui resettlement, compensation estimated for affected peoples farm products were not paid to them earlier than two years after displacement as a result a study by Mettle 2011 captured some affected people complaining that if they had received their packages earlier they could have used part of the payment to buy insecticides and fertilizers to undertake their farming. Also, providing affected people with cash compensation can sometimes be detrimental, for example in the Akosombo resettlement project, people were given the choice to choose between minimum compensation or deciding to join a centralised resettlement communities, for those who choose cash compensation they were not paid earlier than five years (De wet 2000). Also the Kpong project also delayed payment of compensation.

(8) Partiality

Principle of inequity and unfairness were applicable in Akosombo resettlement program, there was no formal index for determining compensation. Hence the valuation of houses and properties did not take into consideration people existing buildings and other structures. The core houses that were provided at resettlement sites were of the same size irrespective of one's existing structures. This led to a lot of complaints among affected people leading to tensions between affected people and project authorities (Chamber1970). Again, affected peoples who originated from neighbouring countries such as Togo and Nigeria were not given compensation in cash, project authorities claimed that when given them cash they could return back to their homelands or other countries with the cash without using the money to develop housing and other social services, therefore they were rather resettled through the centralized planned resettlement program (Chamber 1970).

(9) Inadequate compensation and rehabilitation assistance

Since about forty years ago that Akosombo and Kpong resettlement scheme was implemented, there still exists a huge outstanding compensation of about GH¢750 million. This problem has made members of host communities to retract or claim their lands causing a lot of differences among community members (Kalitsi 2008). Furthermore, a Ghanaian news agency was reported saying that farmers who were relocated as a result of the Bui dam have felt disappointment about the amount of compensation delivered to them by government. It indicated that the expectation many farmers had to receive huge return for the destruction of their crops and economic trees turned into sadness when the Land Commission presented the group with a 'cheque'. In all about 580 farmers were given GH¢1,225,630 to be shared, whereas the utmost recipient had GH¢7,300 the least had

GH¢25 (GNA 2012). During the valuation exercise the valuates recorded the exact number of trees and crops where farmers were compelled to sign with witness but during the payment of compensation it was not based on what have been agreed upon (GNA 2012).

Also, as part of the Bui resettlement program it was agreed that livelihood enhancement programs based on PAPs previous occupational skills be executed, among them included support to agriculture, fishing, trading, grazing, hunting and forest product collection (ERM 2007). It was further stated that these objectives would be achieved through the establishment of development committees, business development programmes and improved access to loans. Though emphatically stated that steps would be put in place to implement these livelihood strategies, when Mettle visited the resettlement communities in 2011 she found that the support given to the farmers were insufficient, no credit unions established and also no extension officers. More so, farmers were promised to continue their fishing activities however they were halted immediately after resettlement (Mettle 2011).

(10) Benefit sharing

Both informal and formal job creation in hydropower project development could be a major benefit sharing strategy to help affected people quickly restore their lives. For the case of Bui dam according to Sutcliffe 2009, majority of staffs and labourers that the project needed was skilled and considering the unskilled or low educational level of the people there was no employment for them. According to him, even when there was a concern to get them involved they were only empowered to carry stones and water around the dam. This means that after the construction of the dam the people may not be able to apply for any positions since those vacancies would require high technical capabilities. Also, dam development especially in developing countries often provide way for local peoples to engage in petty trading because of high migration and employment rate in dam site. The situation seem different when Sutcliffe visited the Bui project site, it was discovered that the Chinese nationals who form a greater percentage of the working force were barely spotted in the local communities and presume they rather go to the neighbouring larger cities to buy their things at the detriment of the local communities (Sutcliffe 2009).

After many years of executing the Akosombo (1965) and Kpong (1982) resettlement programs, a resettlement trust fund has been established in 1996 to take charge the various challenges facing affected people through several project initiatives within resettlement communities and also to get rid of pressure on government and VRA. Annually 500,000 USD is mainly contributed by the VRA to support this fund. The creation of the fund took about thirty years after the resettlement implementation and the allocated fund is inadequate to solve basic challenges that resettlement communities face. Currently it is hardly to estimate that any resettlement community receives more than 10,000 USD annually (Kyei Dompheh 2012). Also, during the implementation of Akosombo and Kpong resettlement, most of resettlement communities were not connected to the national grid system. This means that was the VRA disregarded the impact of the project on the affected persons in kindness to urban dwellers. (Kyei Dompheh 2012).

(11) Limited impact of livelihood restoration programs

A research conducted by Volta Basin Project has concluded that the destruction of economic or income generation activities in project affected areas has led to an increase rate of prostitution, crime, sexual transmitted diseases and other massive rural-urban migration especially among the youth to nearby urban cities to find jobs (Partners 2008).

2.2 Planning and Management challenges on Resettlement Schemes-Issues at a Glance

2.2.1 Conflicts and ethnic diversity

According to Tsikata, (2006), past resettlement programs that have been initiated in the country has done little to preserve both social and cultural significance of both displaced persons and host communities. For instance, a study of resettlement communities in the country twenty five years after relocation had lived in conflicts and tribal division. Particularly, these tensions have continued to increase as the young cohorts continue to support conflicts over chieftaincy and community leadership. This gesture has consequently led to the creation of intermarriage problems among various ethnic groups hampering socio-economic development (De Wet 2000). Also, there are always conflicts between host communities and resettles group in the form competition over natural resources and infrastructural provisions. Usually, many host community members feel unfairly treated because especially when income and livelihood strategies are implemented for settlers when host communities receive little compensation and access to social services. As Obosu-Mensah 1996 argues, the impartiality in the determination of compensation between the two groups has led to misunderstanding, conflicts and social non-cohesiveness in resettlement areas, for example host communities groups such as pastoralists usually resort to destroying settlers crops on the accounts that they continue to hold ownership of their lands which still bear outstanding compensation.

2.2.2 Participation and Information disclosure

Obviously, during the Akosombo resettlement program emphasis was laid on public participation where the

affected people were informed about aspect of project through public campaign along with various discussions at legislative committee level. As Ofori 2008 stated, even though there was participation, the PAPs were not involved in the decision making. For example, the lack of participation that took place in the Akosombo resettlement led to a situation whereby people were misinformed that socio-economic exercise conducted was related to pool tax as result many people flee away losing their properties (Ofori 2008).

Again, under the Bui dam project there was no public hearing conducted before undertaking the census exercises in affected communities which made the scope of the participation limited. For instance, a study conducted by Sutcliffe revealed that none of his respondents had an idea about when they were going to be resettled, at what time compensation was going to be ready and also by what means they can raise their grievances to the implementing organization (Sutcliffe 2009).

2.2.3 Expertise

Involving right expertise to conduct studies involving resettlement has significant role to play, for the case of Bui resettlement the resettlement planning framework was conducted by international consultants who had little knowledge about understanding the real needs of the people. Unfortunately, personnel who were recruited to supervise and manage the resettlement program were not part of the team who conducted the socio-economic surveys and therefore they do not know the aspiration and needs of the peoples. With regard to this problem Mettle 2011 says, the office allocated for resettlement operations had no affiliation to specialists such as surveyors, land valuates etc. and they only sort to their services when it becomes very necessary. Again, proper planning and management of every component of resettlement process is very essential. In the case of Bui resettlement, the resettlement planning felt short in the area of selecting fertile land for farmers. Unlike the Akosombo resettlement whereby project authorities involved agriculture extension officers, social scientist and agronomist to first examine the soil for its support for agriculture nothing of that sort occurred in the Bui resettlement scheme (Mettle 2011). Again, because the farmers were not assisted in developing their farm they encountered serious problems upon realised that the land allocated to them was not fertile. Farmers had complained their assigned land contains 'rocky, weedy, and insecticides' since it has been used for long period of time and have been left idle to fallow (Mettle 2011).

2.2.4 Politicisation

The influence of politicisation which is always compounded by change in government power and authority has a detrimental role to play in development projects. For example, implementation of the Bui project was started by the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and handed over to the National Democratic Congress (NDC) when NPP lost power in the 2008 general elections. At its initial stage a board of trustee was setup by the NPP government to manage all the affairs of the hydropower project including its resettlement operations however when the NDC government came to power it has to dissolve the board and establish its own by appointing people affiliated to their party. This partisan politics in development projects sometimes affects resettlement schemes and therefore must be seen as a national policy for growth and advancement. Also, at Akosombo dam resettlement, President Nkrumah took the operations of resettlement an imperative or special project but his successor President Busia came to change this priority when his attention was focused on improved rural development neglecting key state projects as a result affected people no more received any special awareness and consequently led to worsening their standard of living (De Wet 2000).

3 Conclusion

The major issues and challenges confronting the establishment of appropriate compensation in land acquisition of Ghana principally includes land tenure arrangements, inadequate funding by government, lack of institutional capacity, cultural and ethnic diversity, politicisation of development and gaps in legal/policy framework. The causes of the above challenges have different sources and impacts on successfulness of land acquisition execution. For example, problems relating to land tenure arrangement stems from the country's structure of land ownership, high cost of land making it very difficult for government to pay compensation, conflicts over land ownership resulting from claims of multiple ownership. Secondly, inadequate funding by government mainly stems from the fact that resettlement activities in the country are financed solely by the central government without support from the Municipal and District Assemblies. It was realised in the study that the central government is rather the major contributor of funds for development at the local government level because they lack enough revenue. Lack of information on persons eligible for tax payment, lack of permanent staffs and poor transportation network across the country were some of the reasons why the local government is unable to raise adequate funding to finance project at the local level.

Lack of qualified professional, low staff motivation, high dependency and weak internal management were some of the institutional challenges that affect the establishment of appropriate compensation. Also, the diverse society of Ghana embodied with multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi religious often distorts the outcome of compensation objectives. Regular change of government and attempt to by government in power to fulfil political manifestoes even when there is unavailability of funding also affects compensation objectives.

Lastly, inadequate enforcement of proper legal and policy framework which makes no provision for vulnerability protection, prior payment of compensation, resettlement assistance, consultation, participation also affected compensation determinations in Ghana.

On the social side, the challenges mentioned above have affected the implementation, planning and management of compensation issues in land acquisition of Ghana. Due to the country's land tenure structure, land allocation and farming activities in past resettlement schemes have been immaterialised because authorities are challenged to access to adequate and suitable land to replace farmers. Also inadequate funding has also led to the provision of inadequate basic facilities and services in resettlement communities. It has also led to non payment and delay in payment of compensation. Also, transfer and relocation assistance, livelihood restoration programs and benefit sharing activities are mostly inadequate mainly because of inadequate funding.

Also, lack of institutional capacity has led to inability by authorities to implement livelihood restoration programs particularly those related to farming and other business ventures. Also, lack of strong institutional capacity has also led to poor planning and inadequate preparation in compensation issues. More so, ethnic and cultural diversity have led to creation of conflicts between host population and resettles over community leadership and resources. Political persuasion have also led to a situation whereby succeeding government disregard the activities of compensation and resettlement issues.

The findings from the study suggest conceptualization hydropower dams as a development for the people. One of the greatest challenges facing compensation and resettlement issues in Ghana is the high political persuasion that politicians attach to development projects. For example, government in an attempt to fulfil their manifesto promises has no choice than to construct hydropower projects. In doing so they pay more attention to the construction of the dam without giving some consideration to the social aspects of project affected people. With regards to this, less attention is paid to affected peoples livelihood and restoration programs, compensation issues, community infrastructure and other important resettlement opportunities. In order to prevent this from occurring in the future resettlement execution, it is recommended in this study that though development projects are prerequisite for the country's economic development, it should be conceptualised as development for the people and not earmark as development that will bring economic hardship or disruption. When this goal is achieve it will rather facilitates a tool that will bring a significant economic and social growth to the affected people. Accordingly, one of the best possible ways government can achieve this broad goal is to provide alternative rehabilitation strategies, take advantage of the project area development potentials and again build on prospects that project itself would generate. Secondly, participation is a condition to ensure development that is accepted by PAPs for the betterment of their lives. Nangbeto project, Togo illustrates a good example of participation. In this case study, community institutions and organisations were formed by the people themselves to supervise and manage the resettlement process. This meant that the people were involved in issues relating to design of resettlement programs, construction of new houses and choosing of housing plots (World Bank 1998). The same gesture was envisaged in Lesotho highlands water project when 'people's involvement program' was mainly built up to encourage affected persons to bargain for constructive resettlement conditions (De Wet 2000). Thirdly, to ensure adequate protection of PAP's there is a need for authorities to ensure that adequate and fair compensation are disbursed timely to help PAP's undertake their economic activities. A good case example occurred at Gariiep and van der Kloof Dams, South Africa on the Orange River when affected people humbly vacated their houses to make way for the dam construction because compensation rates for farmers were established at full market rates which allowed them to make purchase of other farms outside their vicinity and others moved to urban centres for a living (World Commission on Dams 1998).

Moreover, principle of benefit sharing requires government to fully share the benefits of the project with the affected people. In Ghana, this has become a difficult task to implement because of change of power by political parties since each government has its own preferred policies and most of the times discontinue the policies of previous government. As the case may be, it was more than thirty years for a fund scheme to be established to provide basic facilities in Akosombo resettlement communities. It also revealed that the fund is not able to serve its purpose since the amount is very little. Therefore in this study it is recommended for project authorities to offer certain percentage of hydropower revenue or royalties to affected communities and this percentage must be reviewed regularly to reflect the current economy.

Again, PAP's should be given employment opportunities resulting from the development of projects and also allow them to enjoy some of project proceeds such as electricity supply and irrigation provision. A good example occurred in Manantali when only local peoples were employed for constructing the dam. This positive motion brought successive economic growth in local communities because there was massive flow of income into the villages. Also at Kariba, whereas there was a lot of temporary income generating activities related to the construction of the dam, the fishing industry at the local setting also enabled multiplier effect (Grimm 1991).

It is realised from preceding paragraphs that agricultural development in resettlement activities in Ghana has failed. It is recommended that actions are taken to discontinue this problem in future resettlement activities since agriculture is the backbone of the country's economy. A good example can be learnt from

Manantali hydropower project, in this project authorities considered factors such as ‘fertile soil, adequate rainfall and also very modest host community population density’. It therefore led to a satisfactory agricultural development that is combined with considerable expansion of market for farm products (De Wet 2000). In similar way, PAP’s at Kariba dam were able to use the proceeds of the project to enhance their agricultural production. Within the first five years following the activities of resettlement the PAP’s engaged themselves in fish enterprise scheme which later prospered and the earnings from this activity was later ventured into other economic activities such as cotton perceived as cash crop (De Wet 2000).

Furthermore, adequate basic community infrastructure such as schools, clinics, roads, markets, water and sanitation, refuse collection and disposal, cemeteries and environmental protection must be fully provided in resettlement communities to promote social and economic development. In addition, there should be a strong institutional and economic base force at resettlement communities to seek to maintenance and improvement of services.

Again, one of the best way of conceptualising projects as development for the affected people is making them as stakeholders of the hydropower project. For instance, this method will require PAPs to receive part of the compensation either in cash or other economic or social livelihood restoration program and the remaining balance could be invested in the form of equity in the hydropower project. In this way, the affected people may have the potential of receiving long-term economic returns. However this method of rehabilitation strategy can be dangerous if careful feasibility is not conducted to know whether the equity investment is not profit oriented.

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